

*Architectural Lessons of Carlo Lodoli (1690-1761):  
Indole of Material and of Self*

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*to my grandparents*

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To the many friends and colleagues I have spoken with over the past few years, I hope this work is the beginning of many more conversations to come.

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*Ai miei amici di Venexia, mille grazie...allora, prendiamo uno spriss a do'draghi! A presto!*

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None of this could have been completed without the gentle hand and meticulous eye of my editrix.

*Original Contribution:* A discussion of Carlo Lodoli's bi-fold understanding of *indole* (inherent nature); with respect to both meaning in architecture and the education of architects.

Carlo Lodoli (1690-1761) exists as a footnote in most major history books of modern architecture. He is typically noted for either his influence on the Venetian Neoclassical tradition or as an early prophet to some sort of functionalism. Though I would not argue his influence, I doubt his role in the development of a structurally determined functionalism. The issue of influence is always present as very little of his writings have survived and his built work amounts to a few windowsills. He did, however, teach architecture. I propose to explore the pedagogic potential of Lodoli's lessons of architecture.

Lodoli's teaching approach was not necessarily professional in that he did not instruct his students in the methods of drawing or construction techniques. Rather, his approach was dialogical. The topics were sweeping, often ethical, and ranged from the nature of truth to the nature of materials. Existing scholarship pertaining to Lodoli most often focuses upon his students' production of texts, projects, and projections. Andrea Memmo's *Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana* (1786, 1833) and Francesco Algarotti's *Saggio sopra l'architettura* (1756) are both specifically named by the respective authors as advancing Lodoli's architectural theories. Often overlooked are the apologues, or fables, used by Lodoli in lessons to his students. The main source for these fables is the *Apologhi Immaginati* (1787). Others were included in Memmo's *Elementi*. Apologues from both sources have been translated for the first time into English and can be found in Appendix I of the dissertation.

I look specifically to these stories to understand and illustrate Lodoli's approach to making, teaching and thinking. This is understood through Lodoli's characterisation of the identity of materials and of the self. Within this dissertation I intend to flesh out the textual and architectural fabric surrounding the pedagogic activities of the Venetian Friar known as the Socrates of Architecture, Carlo Lodoli.

*Contribution originale* : Une analyse de la notion de *indole* (nature inhérente) chez Carlo Lodoli à propos de la théorie de l'architecture et de la formation des architectes.

Le nom de Carlo Lodoli (1690-1761) est à peine mentionné dans la plupart des livres d'histoire de l'architecture moderne. On signale généralement sa contribution au mouvement néoclassique vénitien ou on en parle comme d'un prophète d'une certaine forme de fonctionnalisme. Son influence sur la théorie architecturale est difficile à mesurer parce que peu de ses écrits ont été conservés et que sa contribution en termes de réalisations se limite à quelques seuils de fenêtres. Carlo Lodoli a cependant enseigné l'architecture. Je me propose d'étudier le potentiel pédagogique de ses leçons d'architecture.

L'enseignement de Lodoli n'était pas purement professionnel, car il n'enseignait pas les techniques de dessin ou les méthodes de construction. Son approche était plutôt dialogique. Il abordait un large éventail de sujets, souvent moraux, qui s'étendaient de la nature de la vérité à la nature des matériaux. L'enseignement de Lodoli nous a été transmis par les textes, projets et projections de ses étudiants. Les deux œuvres principales qui présentent les théories architecturales de Lodoli sont celles de Andrea Memmo, *Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana* (1786, 1833) et celle de Francesco Algarotti, *Saggio sopra l'architettura* (1756). Jusqu'à présent personne n'avait porté une attention particulière aux apologues, ou fables, que Lodoli employait pour illustrer ses leçons d'architecture. La majorité de ces fables se trouvent dans le *Apologhi Immaginati* (1787) publié par Memmo. D'autres se trouvent aussi dans le *Elementi* de Memmo. J'ai traduit pour la première fois en anglais les apologues de ces deux sources. On les trouve en annexe de cette thèse.

J'ai porté une attention particulière à ces fables afin de mettre en évidence la conception de Lodoli tant en ce qui concerne l'acte de bâtir, que l'enseignement et la réflexion. J'ai choisi de traiter ce sujet à partir de la caractérisation de l'identité des matériaux et du soi. Mon objectif dans cette thèse était d'étoffer le contenu textuel et architectural qui entoure les activités pédagogiques du frère vénitien connu comme le Socrate de l'architecture, Carlo Lodoli.



*Alexander Longhi painted Brother Lodoli,  
not among the greatest apologists,  
nor among the greatest architects*

*figure 1*  
*Alessandro Longhi*  
*Portrait of Carlo Lodoli*

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Early in the eighteenth century there was an ambivalence between architectural theory and its application. When matters concerning actual construction were discussed craftsmen were still intuitively “right.” As the century progressed this ambivalence began to break down, or possibly one could say that this ambivalence began to merge into architectural knowledge as applied theory. This movement led to the institutionalization of architectural education, within the French Model, throughout the European continent within the first half of the nineteenth century. Notwithstanding the formalisation of architectural education, the underlying ambivalence remained through the twentieth century: architecture was studied either as an art or as a science, in the model of the *Ecole de Beaux-Arts* or the Technical Institute.<sup>1</sup> A quick look to the organization of contemporary architectural schools in North America and one realizes that we are not so far removed from this dichotomy.

One realization of this shift was the increased publication during the eighteenth century of various texts directed specifically towards the student wishing to be educated as an architect.<sup>2</sup> These texts were generally not concerned in promoting original knowledge, nor did they solely produce commentary on a previous author. Rather, they contained observations, problems, and

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<sup>1</sup> See Ulrich Pfammatter, *The Making of the Modern Architect and Engineer* (Basel: Birkhäuser, 2000), for the development of architecture and engineering education in Europe through the nineteenth century.

<sup>2</sup> A proper history of this, specifically dealing with the shift from architectural treatise to educational manual on the peninsula, has not yet been written. Nicholas Pevsner, *Academies of Art Past and Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge UPress, 1973), follows the development of various academies throughout Europe. Giulio Brunetta, *Gli Inizi dell’Insegnamento Pubblico dell’Architettura a Padova e a Venezia* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1976), attempts to establish which was the first public school of architecture in the Veneto. *In Urbe Architectus: modelli, disegni, misure*, edited by Giovanni Curcio and Luigi Spezzaferro, (Rome: Argos, 1991), and Gil Smith, *Architectural Diplomacy: Rome and Paris in the Late Baroque* (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1993), describe the Roman context. Other authors focus on the history of specific Academies. For the Venetian Academy see Elena Bassi, *L’Accademia di Belle Arte di Venezia nel suo bicentario* (Venezia: Accademia dei Belle Arti, 1951), and Gino Fogolari “L’Accademia veneziana di pittura e scultura del Settecento,” *L’Arte* vol. 16, (1913): 241-72, 364-98. For a discussion of the Academy in Florence see Karen-edis Barzman, *The Florentine Academy and the Early Modern State: the Discipline of Disegno* (Cambridge: Cambridge UPress, 2000).

exercises for students to work through and complete. Upon completion of the exercises, the student was deemed to have acquired enough knowledge to be named as an architect. It should be noted that while there were various connotations to the title of architect—academic, professional, and political—there was not yet anything similar to the professional requirements currently mandated for licensure as a professional architect in North America.

The emergence of this new type of treatise raises a number of issues. There are initial questions concerning the treatises' reception: who used the books? How were they received? More substantively, the texts evoke questions concerning the nature of education and the understanding of truth itself. Is there a certain knowledge that architects should possess beyond the orders? Where does one find this knowledge? Does it exist within the measurements of ruins? If so, need a student travel to see such ruins? Perhaps knowledge is still to be found in the treatises and commentaries of previous authors. Or is it possible, or even appropriate, to learn all one needs to know through the act of constructing buildings? By extension, how is this knowledge taught? Can architecture be understood through demonstrations of physical properties? Through the completion of a series of problems and exercises in the manner of Ferdinando Galli Bibiena or Bernardo Vittone, in which a student begins with very simple geometric constructions and, by the end of the text is able to trace shadows within the interior of a coffered dome?<sup>3</sup> These problems were usually accompanied by various observations of previous authors, histories, and even dictionaries. In this way the student was given a kit of parts from which to learn architecture in a step-by-step process.

Other questions are likewise raised by the events of the eighteenth century. Is an architectural education solely for the professional, the cosmopolitan, or the politician? Should architecture be part of the university? Is it to be discussed solely in the academies? Or is the

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<sup>3</sup> See Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, *Direzioni a' giovani studenti nel disegno dell'architettura civile, nell'Accademia Clementina dell'Istituto delle scienze* (Bologna: Leilo dalla Volpe, 1731) and Bernardo Antonio Vittone, *Istruzioni elementari per indirizzo de' giovani allo studio dell'architettura civile* (Lugano: Presso gli Agnelli, 1760).

knowledge of architecture best conveyed through the guilds, through craft? These debates were taking place specifically within the realm of art and architectural education as well as within the philosophic realm. This is the age of Rousseau and Vico, both of whom offer an important buttress to the discussion. Differences also existed at this time as to an architect's liability and other legal responsibilities. Girolamo Masi and others include descriptions of architectural jurisprudence within treatises directed at students of architecture.<sup>4</sup>

The forgoing questions were compounded by the fact that the *métier* of the architect, at that time, was itself far from defined. Should the architect draw or does the architect build? There are many examples of eighteenth century architects acting as we know today: making drawings and models and then overseeing a construction project to completion. But the time period offered alternative ways of action as well. Piranesi is an interesting example. He named himself as "Venetian Architect" (*venet[us]. Architectus*) even though he consciously chose not to build until late in his life.<sup>5</sup>

In the Veneto, architecture was indeed considered to be part of the duties of the *patria*, of political action. Andrea Memmo is typically named as the architect of the *Prato della Valle* in Padua.<sup>6</sup> However, it was Domenico Cerato and his students who made the drawings for the project, Francesco Piranesi who made etchings to help sell subscriptions for the project in Rome, and still others who oversaw and carried out the difficult draining of the Prato. The original idea to make the project did come from Memmo; once it was discussed with others, he acted more as a fundraiser. The construction of the project was essential to his role as Governor (*Provveditore*) in

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<sup>4</sup> See Girolamo Masi, *Teoria e pratica di architettura civile, per istruzione della gioventu specialmente romana* (Rome: Antonio Fulgoni, 1788).

<sup>5</sup> Giambattista Piranesi, *Opere varie di architettura, prospettive, grotteschi, antichità* (Roma, Bouchard, 1750) frontispiece. Jean-Laurent Legeay is another example. See Gilbert Erouart, *Architettura come pittura: Jean-Laurent Legeay un piranesiano francese nell'Europa dei Lumi* (Milan: Electa, 1982).

<sup>6</sup> See Radicchio Vincenzo, *Descrizione della general idea conceptia in gran parte effettuata d'al eccellentissimo signore Andrea Memmo* (Rome, Antonio Fulgoni, 1786), and, more recently, *Prato della Valle: due millenni di storia di un'avventura urbana*, edited by Lionello Puppi (Padua: Signum, 1986).

Padua and was so important to him that he continued promoting the project after he had moved on to his next political post in Rome.<sup>7</sup>

Inherent within all of these questions are varying positions concerning the role, use, and understanding of geometry, history, beauty, and truth. Is geometry to be understood as still relative to a symbolic cosmology, or is it a neutral tool that may be used to understand physical properties of material or to promote comfortable planning? Within the rise of a historical consciousness depicted by writers like Rousseau and Vico, the Vitruvian ideal of beauty becomes a question of appropriateness, character, and taste. Further, how is this accounted for? Is it natural or acquired? Should the work of history be seen as a sourcebook for imitation, as a guide to making, or as justification for current tastes and styles? Is it enough to look at Vignola or Palladio? Why not Serlio or Scamozzi or Pozzo? After Perrault's critique of the Orders as the basis for a universal meaning in architecture, how might the architect make meaningful architecture? Can we ignore history all together? Each of these topics and concerns refers to the fundamental question: how does one make architecture that is essentially meaningful for another?

These questions, present in the eighteenth century, are still relevant in current discussions. The dichotomy between architectural education and professional practice only highlights the failure of the distinction between the model of the *Ecole de Beaux-Arts* and that of the Technical Institute. It is my position that seeds of a more appropriate modern architectural education may be found in some positions that appear in the Veneto during the eighteenth century. A careful investigation into this time offers a critique of, as well as radical departure from, current strategies—thereby providing an approach that informs the perceived gap between architectural practice and professional education.

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<sup>7</sup> The very imaginative funding for the project was set up on a subscription basis and calibrated to social rank. People funded the project through purchase of the sculptures that line the park. See Vincenzo Radicchio, *Descrizione della general idea conceptia in gran parte effettuata d'al eccellentissimo signore Andrea Memmo* (Rome: Antonio Fulgoni, 1786). Radicchio was Memmo's fictional secretary. The name itself is a pun on the vegetable of the same name that is grown in the mud of Vicenza, similar mud to that of the Prato della Valle in Padova. In a sense the project was harvested, as the vegetable.

## *Content of the Work*

The main body of the dissertation is composed of two major sections—*Material Indole* and *Indole of the Self*—framed by a sketch of the horizon of architectural education in the Veneto at the beginning and an Apologia for the art of architectural education at the end.

The first frame outlines the various ways of learning architecture in the eighteenth century in Venice. I introduce biographic information pertaining to Lodoli and explain the choice of primary source materials. The *Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana* and the *Apologhi Immaginati* were both written and published by Andrea Memmo whose noble heritage and careful political views helped him to accomplish a remarkable amount of work within the waning years of the Republic. The first source, the *Elementi dell'architettura Lodoliana o sia l'arte del fabbricare con solidità scientifica e con eleganza non capricciosa*, was first published in Rome in 1786. Memmo's daughter Lucia Mocenigo published the second edition in Zara over forty-five years later. I am using the Zara edition as it contains both volumes. Hereafter I refer to it as the *Elementi*. There is minimal difference between the first edition and the first volume of the second edition.<sup>8</sup> The manuscript is typically reported to have been in the Biblioteca Municipale in Treviso where it was either lost or destroyed during World War II.

There are two editions of the *Apologhi Immaginati, e sol estemporaneamente in voce esposti agli amici suoi / dal fu fra Carlo de' conti Lodoli*. The first was published on the occasion of Memmo being elected as *Procuratore di S Marco* in 1787. Gio Claudio Molini published another edition in Paris in 1800 and contains minimal grammatical corrections to the first and is a smaller format. I am using the 1787 edition from the collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Hereafter I refer to it as the *Apologhi*. The collection has never been fully

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<sup>8</sup> In the 1786 edition there are no quotes around the apologues, only for some of the quotes from other authors. A few paragraphs have been fused together. There are slight changes in some of the words, for example: “il suo” in place of “il lui” to indicate the possessive.

translated into English and no modern Italian Edition exists.<sup>9</sup> Appendix I of this work includes a full English translation of each of the fables in the *Apologhi* and also of those in the *Elementi*.

The first major section—*Material Indole*—focuses on Carlo Lodoli’s proposal for a truthful architecture as found within an understanding of the nature of materials. The first edition of the *Elementi* contained an introduction to Lodoli’s character and biography, followed by a critique of Vitruvius and what Memmo referred to as the three golden ages of architecture: Greek, Roman, and Modern. Memmo situated Lodoli’s critique within a barrage of quotes from previous authors on each topic. This volume concludes with a discussion of the rules of architecture, and definitions of architecture and architectural history. The first volume of the *Elementi* is clearly critical. One senses it is not done to simply be negative, but rather it is Memmo’s way to place Lodoli’s revolutionary attitude towards the Western cannon of architecture. The second volume, written soon after the first but not published until almost forty years later by Memmo’s first daughter Lucietta, offers a more positive approach to architectural making and thinking. It begins, however, with a scathing critique of Francesco Algarotti. Memmo then discusses Lodoli’s Vitruvian trifecta of solidity, convenience, and beauty (*solidità, comodo, bellezza*) and then ends with Lodoli’s theory of substitutions.

I have organized this section in a similar manner. Both the *Elementi* and this section are based on a partial quote from Jeremiah 1:10: *Ut Eruas et Destruas, Ut Plantas et Aedifices* (in order that you may root out and destroy; in order that you should plant and build), which can be found on the frontispiece of both the first edition of the *Elementi* and the Venetian edition of the *Apologhi*.<sup>10</sup> Memmo related this axiom to Socrates’ refutative mode of thinking. Memmo explained: “...cioè Socrate, il quale nella scuola voleva che fossero prima sradicati i pregiudizii, dubitando sempre delle opinione ch’erano in corso, per giunger indi con maggior felicità alla

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<sup>9</sup> Thomas Roscoe in *The Italian Novelists* (London: Frederick Warne and Co, 1900) translated two stories into English. Joanne Paul, “Of Substantiating Nature” (M.Arch diss. McGill Univ., 1995) translated seven others.

<sup>10</sup> See Appendix I for frontispiece.



conoscenza del vero.”<sup>11</sup> Memmo indeed followed this approach by doubting all of the previously recognised canons of architecture: the Greeks, the Romans, and the Moderns.

Through Memmo, it is clear that Lodoli diagnosed a lack of universal truth. He is critical of both the Moderns and the Ancients. However, there is still the possibility of meaning of architecture. Lodoli looks not to the orders, or imitation, but to making and an understanding of materials.

In the second half of this section, I attempt to flesh out Lodoli’s understanding of material *indole*. I present Lodoli’s understanding of material *indole* as a direct critique of the Orders and also as a possible source of architectural meaning in a historical world. Examples and apologues are given to illustrate this position. Lodoli persistently searched for and depicted analogies of “nude reason” in order to form “clear ideas” of an architecture that is described as being “undressed” or “nude.” The section concludes with Lodoli’s theory of substitutions and a return to self.

The second major section—*Indole of the Self*—develops the use of the term *indole* with respect to one’s own self, character, and natural disposition.

The next half of the dissertation continues the discussion of *indole*. I explore the latent potential found within Lodoli’s understanding of the *indole* of self. This is discussed in the context of the particular situation faced by the *patria* of Venice in the eighteenth century. It is my intention to show that Lodoli’s turn to the self is not unusual, but in fact part of a larger trend in the same direction. I describe the specifically Venetian role of the mask—both on the stage and in public life—as it relates to an understanding of self. I outline this “emergence of the self” and demonstrate specific and particular ramifications of the Veneto for Lodoli’s educational proposals.

As with materials, there is a direct critique of the blind acceptance of habit and tradition. I then reconcile the seeming contradiction within Lodoli: the desire for “nude reason” and “clear

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<sup>11</sup> *Elementi* II: 234.

ideas” on the one hand and the presentation of his lessons through fables, themselves masked and dressed on the other. The section concludes with a discussion of Vico’s own *periautografia* that informs Lodoli’s theory of the self in relation to *indole*.

An apologia for the art of architectural education concludes the dissertation. I discuss the ramifications of this study within the realm of architectural education today.

**1. Frame**  
**Horizon of Architectural Education**

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*Quod enim munus reipublicae afferre majus, meliusve possumus,  
quam si docemus atque erudimus juventutem?*

*What greater or better gift can we offer the Republic  
than to teach and instruct our youth?*

Cicero, *De divinatione lib. 2. §. 2.*  
Quoted by Andrea Memmo, *Elementi I*: 49

## *Architectural Education in the Veneto*

Architectural education in the Veneto began in the seventeenth century when Galileo taught the theory of civil and military architecture.<sup>1</sup> Architecture was a topic of study in Padua, albeit sporadically, throughout the next hundred years. By the middle of the eighteenth century, there were various ways of learning about architecture—an education that was typically seen as an attempt at recognition for artists separate from the guilds, a political means of reform, or a continuation of the Venetian tradition with respect to craft. Within the poles of Venice and Padua there is an emerging cast of characters focused specifically on architecture as an essential topic of study within the University, the Academy, and the city of Venice itself.

In *Parere intorno al sistema dell'Università di Padova* (1715), Scipione Maffei (1675–1755) exposed and offered remedy for the defects he saw within the university system. The *Parere*, addressed to Francesco Grimani Calergi, proposed means by which to restore to the *Università di Padova* its ancient superiority. Maffei faulted the university for having too many chairs (*cattedre*) in some faculties and too few in others. He felt the existing chairs were no longer appropriate and rhetorically asked if all of astronomy should still be learned from Aristotle. The reorganization Maffei proposed was not simply to keep up with changing technologies. Rather, educational reform within the university was an essential component of Maffei's overall project to cultivate an Italian cultural history that would facilitate the recovery of what he perceived as his nation's glorious past, something he himself was active in promoting.<sup>2</sup> Language, which Maffei called “the foundation of knowledge,” was paramount. It was not enough however to teach only grammar. One should also know how to speak well (though he

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<sup>1</sup> Architecture was studied within the *studium* of the chair of mathematics. See Antonio Favaro, “I successori di Galileo nello studio di Padova fino alla caduta della Repubblica” *Nuovo Archivio Veneto*. Vol. 33, (1917): 96–182. See also Marco Frascari, “Sortes Architectii in the Eighteenth Century Veneto” (Ph.D. diss., Upenn, 1981), 179–206.

<sup>2</sup> See Scipione Maffei, *Parere intorno al sistema dell'Università di Padova* (Milano: Presso Cairo e Compagno, 1808): 6–12.

added that speaking well was itself insufficient to overcome dull content). For Maffei, an understanding of history was essential to his project. He was no historicist, however. Maffei and other members of the *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova* proposed changes in the *studium* to include more progressive topics such as speculative mathematics, geography, nautical studies, architecture, fortifications, mechanics, and perspective.<sup>3</sup> In essence, he attempted to overcome the historical canon.

Giovanni Poleni's (1683–1761) professional activities profited from this educational reform. Almost exclusively remembered for his contributions to physics, he also made contributions to the fields of hydrostatics, kinetics, and material properties. Poleni held the position of *Savi alle Acque*—the consultant to the Venetian government for all engineering questions concerning the lagoon. Because of this, he considered himself a subject of the Republic and therefore kept a careful record of all his lectures, experiments, and demonstrations.<sup>4</sup> He was educated at the *Collegio alla Salute* maintained by the Somaschi and the master Francesco Caro. Poleni's education was syncretic and heavily influenced by Gassendi. Poleni did not go into either law or medicine, but rather chose to follow his scientific interests under the Neapolitan Dominican Friar Tommaso Pio Maffei, a resident at SS Giovanni and Paolo. Maffei's pedagogic approach was based upon demonstration, as was Poleni's.<sup>5</sup>

Though originally destined for a judicial career, he held a series of diverse chairs throughout his tenure at the *Università di Padova* from 1709 until his death in 1761. These included but were not limited to physics, mathematics, and theoretical medicine. The first chair

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<sup>3</sup> The *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova* was created in 1517 in an attempt to reestablish the University after it had been suspended in 1509. The board was in control of the coursework (*studium*) for the *Università di Padova* and also held responsibility for luring the best professors to Padua. The political stance of the *Riformatori*, understandably, changed dramatically through the centuries. By the early eighteenth century the concerns of the *Riformatori* included a shift to the new scientific method, the relative ease of matriculation and graduation, and student riots. See *L'Università di Padova: Otto Secoli di storia*, edited by Piero del Negro (Padua: Signum, 2001): 39–41, 67–71.

<sup>4</sup> At least thirty volumes of such are still in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice.

<sup>5</sup> See Brendan Dooley, "Science Teaching as a Career at Padua in the Early Eighteenth Century: The Case of Giovanni Poleni," *History of Universities*, Vol. 14 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985): 115–152. Dooley believes that Tommaso Maffei, not Scipione, was the source for Poleni's pedagogic approach. Antonio Conti and Bernardino Zendrini, the future Senate engineer, also took tutelage from this Maffei.

was granted in recognition of his new calculating machine and recently published descriptions of his experiments with the barometer. Poleni's intellectual output was immense. He wrote treatises on topics as varied as astronomy, hydraulics, the theatre, Roman antiquity, and the statics and strengths of materials. Most relevant for this study was his appointment to the chair of *Principia Militaris Architecturae* in 1739.

Poleni exemplified his motto "from the text of Vitruvius and the mind of Newton" (*iuxta textum Vitruvii et mentum Neutoni*) with his truly massive study of Vitruvius, and his attempt to found a *Teatro di Filosofia Sperimentales* early in his teaching career.<sup>6</sup> The *Excercitationes Vitruvianae* was begun by Poleni and published in an incomplete state in 1739-41. It was eventually finished and republished in 1812 by Giulio Pontedera, a student of Simone Stratico, himself a student of Poleni. The entirely Latin text contained an annotated bibliography of each edition of Vitruvius' Ten Books through 1812, a biography of Vitruvius,<sup>7</sup> a bibliography of secondary sources, a dictionary of Latin terms used, and what was proposed to be the definitive Latin version of Vitruvius.<sup>8</sup> In his *Memorie Istoriche della Gran Cupola del Tempio Vaticano* (1748), Poleni proposed a solution to the ailing dome of St Peter's. In a section drawing (SEE FIGURE TWO), Poleni inscribed the interior and exterior shells of St. Peter's dome with a catenary curve.<sup>9</sup> Poleni was able to show that the failure of the dome corresponded precisely to where the

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<sup>6</sup> Giovanni Poleni, *Excercitationes Vitruvianae primae* (Padua: Typis Seminarii, 1739-41). The "theatre" was eventually completed at his own home in Padua. See Augusto Cavallari-Murat, *Giovanni Poleni e la Costruzione Architettonica* (Padova: Societa Cooperative Tipografica, 1963) and also Emilio de Tipaldo, *Biografia degli Italiani illustri nelle Scienze nelle Lettere ed Arti del Secolo XVIII e de' contemporanei di Emilio De Tipaldo* (Venezia: Alvisopoli, 1845) for more information.

<sup>7</sup> This biography was taken directly from Scipione Maffei, *Verona Illustrata* (Verona: Vallarsi e Berno, 1731-32).

<sup>8</sup> Of all the editions reviewed, Poleni praised Perrault above all others. See Giovanni Poleni, *Excercitationes Vitruvianae primae* (Padua: Typis Seminarii, 1739-41): 120.

<sup>9</sup> Robert Hooke already discussed the catenary curve and its specific importance to the construction of an arch in 1671. Poleni was generous with his sources and did not claim originality. From a meeting of the Royal Society on 7 December 1671: "Mr Hooke produced the representation of the figure of the arch of a cupola for the sustaining such and such determinate weights, and found it to be a cubico-parabolical conoid." He added, that by this figure might be determined all the difficulties in architecture about arches and butments. Christopher Wren used this section in the construction of St. Paul's cathedral. For the reference, see Jacques Heyman, "Hooke's Cubico-Parabolical Conoid," *Notes of the Royal Society of London* Vol. 52, No.1 (Jan., 1998): 39-50.

shells did not align with the catenary curve. While Poleni recognised the role of materials and craftsmanship in construction, he also believed that the structure of a dome acted in a predictable way. Indeed, the failures of the dome could be related specifically to the geometry of the curve.

In book two of his study, Poleni described how other injured domes might be cured with the same remedy—reinforcement with iron rings to align with the section of the catenary.<sup>10</sup> Though not quite modern engineering, Poleni’s work introduced the possibility that a geometrical solution, separate from any symbolic intentions, could be an appropriate means to an architectural solution. Though Poleni proposed an approach to architecture that emphasized scientific experimentation with materials, it was through the understanding of structural diagrams that the truth of construction was revealed.

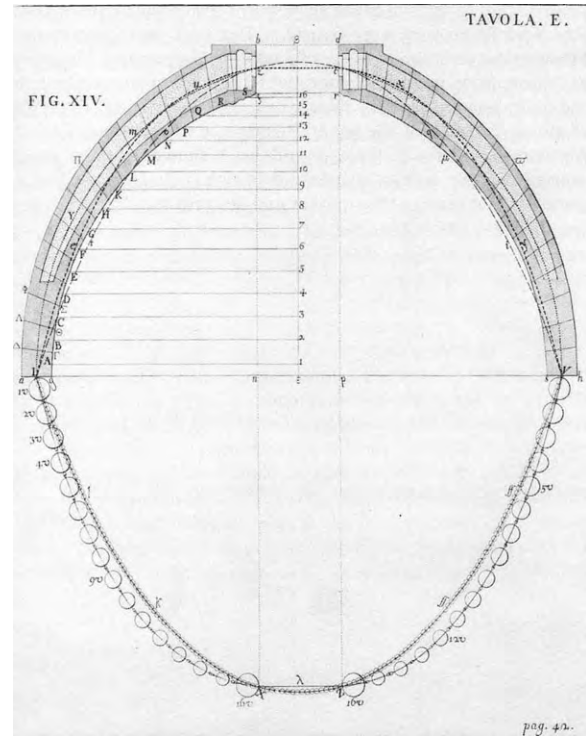


figure 2  
Catenary Curve placed over the section of  
the dome of St Peter’s in Rome,  
Giovanni Poleni

While other professors were reciting ancient texts to an uninterested student body, Poleni was excitedly demonstrating recent scientific experiments.<sup>11</sup> Throughout his life Poleni had

<sup>10</sup> See Poleni, *Memorie istoriche della gran cupola del tempio vaticano e de' danni de essa, e de' ristoramenti loro, divise in libri cinque, alla santita' di nostro Signore papa Benedetto XIV.* (Padua: Stamperia del Seminario, 1747–48). For a discussion on the issue of geometry versus craftsmanship see Book I, VIII; on craftsmanship, see Book I, XII; on accidents during construction, see Book I, XIII; on the defects of other domes including the domes of Padua, Florence, Montefiascone, S. Marco in Venice, and others in Rome, see Book II, XVII–XX.

<sup>11</sup> See *L'Università di Padova: Otto Secoli di Storia*, edited by Piero del Negro, (Padua: Signum, 2001): 67–68, which describes the typically apathetic attitude of students and faculty at the Università di Padova in the early eighteenth century. So lax were the attitudes of the student and the faculty, that a degree was actually conferred upon a cow.

collected almost four hundred scientific instruments for use in such demonstrations.<sup>12</sup> He was especially interested in the trajectory of projectiles whose path seemed to trace one side of the catenary curve. Though Poleni's writing relied heavily on existing textual sources, his teaching shows a shift from text-based theory to demonstration. Truth was no longer solely the rule of the ancients; rather it was in the proof of what was shown, what was demonstrated.

It is interesting to note that Poleni's close friend Giovanni Battista Morgagni (1682–1771) was also spurning ancient authority. Morgagni had left his teaching position at the rival university in Bologna over a dispute regarding the authority of Galen's *Methodus Medendi* in medical training. As a professor of anatomy in Padua, Morgagni collaborated with Poleni on anatomical descriptions of the left ventricular functions and even contributed an article to the *Excercitationes*. Building upon previous authors' investigations, Morgagni understood the action of the heart as a series of forces. He described the heart's function, as did Bernoulli before him, geometrically by the catenary curve. This was, of course, similar to Poleni's solution for the ailing dome of St. Peter's.<sup>13</sup> Ironically, Poleni died of a heart attack in 1761, a failure of the forces he had detailed earlier.

To Poleni, education was considered a continuation of the scientific method. A mistake or structural failure, architectural or otherwise, was seen as a problem to be solved. This could be accomplished through a series of experiments projecting a theoretical solution into a real situation. The solution, once proven analytically, was true both for that situation and for others. The truth and verification of the solution was understood to be separate from the situation.

Simone Stratico (1733–1824) studied medicine under Morgagni until 1743. He became professor of *Medicina Theoretica* in 1747. In 1764 he was, rather suddenly, selected to fill the

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<sup>12</sup> Roughly one hundred of these are still on display in Padua.

<sup>13</sup> See Giovanni Poleni, *Epistolarum mathematicarum fasciculus* (Padova: Stamperia del Seminario, 1729) and also Augusto Cavallari–Murat, "Morgagni e Poleni collaboratori nella interpretazione di un passo Vitruviano e nello studio della meccanica cardiaca," *Rivista di Anatomia Patologica e di Oncologia*, Vol. 21 (1962): 228–52. Morgagni's insight owes a debt to the work of a contemporary, J–B Senac (1693–1770).



chair of *Architettura Civile e Militare*—open since Poleni's death in 1761. Stratico taught courses in naval architecture from 1769–1773 and continued the work on the *Excercitationes Vitruvianae*, which was eventually republished with additional articles and commentary by Pontedera, his nephew, in 1825.<sup>14</sup> Stratico was well-connected within the academic and political spheres of the Veneto. Andrea Memmo reported that Lodoli saved the young Stratico's life from soup that had been poisoned.<sup>15</sup> Stratico also acted as a critic for another school of architecture in Padua: Domenico Cerato's *Scuola Practica d'Architettura*.

Born outside of Vicenza in the small village of Mason, Domenico Cerato (1715–1792) was educated in Padua and then returned to Vicenza where his natural inclinations led him to become an architect.<sup>16</sup> He began work with a few small commissions and then, in 1755, invited youth of the noble class to study the principles of architecture with him. Ottavio Bertotti Scamozzi, the inheritor of Vincenzo Scamozzi's wealth, was one such student. The Scamozzi money unfortunately did not stay with the school and after only a few years Cerato's school was forced to shut down due to economic and other reasons. After living in a monastery for a few years, he found work in Padua with his lifelong friend Giuseppe Toaldo. The two renovated an existing tower, transforming it into an astronomical observatory for the *Università di Padova*. Known as *La Specola*, the building became Cerato's lodgings as well as his professional and academic studio.

After his appointment as professor of *Practica Architettura Civile* within the University in Padua, Cerato opened a school of architecture on his birthday in 1771. The school attempted to revive and formalize the quality of craft found within the Veneto that was once highly sought

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<sup>14</sup> See Giulio Brunetta, *Gli Inizi dell'Insegnamento Pubblico dell'Architettura a Padova e a Venezia* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1976) for further discussion. Stratico went on to write a massive trilingual nautical dictionary: *Vocabolario di Marina in tre lingue* (Milan, 1813).

<sup>15</sup> *Elementi* II: 132–35.

<sup>16</sup> These “natural inclinations” and other issues are discussed in Giambattista Fogaroli, *Notizie sulla vita dell'architetto abate Domenico Cerato, vicentino* (Padua: Prosperina, 1863). Ettore Motterle believed his career path was due simply to his connections to wealthy Vicentines. See his “L' Abate D. Domenico Cerato, architetto e professore” (Ph.D., diss. Università di Padova, 1959). See also Giambattista Zanazzo, “L' Abate Architetto Domenico Cerato,” *Odeo Olimpico. IV* (1943–63): 83–92.

after but had, in recent years, been less desired. The students were craftsmen employed in various aspects of construction, and the school was organized into three classes: masons (*muraro*), carpenters (*marangon*), and stonecutters (*tagliapietra*). Eleven years later Cerato added an open class for diverse arts such as painting, surveying, estimating, etc.

Cerato would meet with his students on Sundays over the course of ten months. Coursework relied heavily on his own text, *Nuovo Metodo per disegnare li Cinque Ordini d'Architettura Civile conforme le regole di Palladio, e di Scamozzi, ed alcune regole di Geometria pratica* (1784). The title itself reveals Cerato's reliance upon the rules laid out by Palladio and Scamozzi, though he also credits Barbaro and Perrault as the most intelligible commentators of Vitruvius and therefore most useful for the study of civil architecture.<sup>17</sup>

Cerato's text follows the typical pattern of instructional guides of the eighteenth century.<sup>18</sup> The first volume instructs students to begin slowly by producing geometric figures—points, lines, and polygons. Each is described textually. The figures then compound, building upon the knowledge and constructions of previous exercises. Eventually the students were supposed to be able to render quite complex geometric representations. The second volume begins with a discussion of the modules of the orders and then outlines, in similar textual fashion, the geometric construction of each of the five orders as described by both Palladio and Scamozzi. These exercises began with the construction of a grid from which modules would be drawn and drawings overlaid. Unlike most instructional guides, Cerato's text contains no images at the back of the book, but only textual instructions. This was done as Cerato felt that the students would retain the information they were learning more clearly than if they had the images in front of

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<sup>17</sup> Domenico Cerato, *Nuovo Metodo per disegnare li Cinque Ordini d'Architettura Civile conforme le regole di Palladio, e di Scamozzi, ed alcune regole di Geometria pratica* (Padua: Penada, 1784): 107.

<sup>18</sup> Others include Ferdinando Galli Bibiena, *Direzioni a' giovani studenti nel disegno dell'architettura civile, nell'Accademia Clementina dell'Istituto delle scienze / unite da Ferdinando Galli Bibiena* (Bologna, 1731–32), Girolamo Fonda, *Elementi di architettura civile e militare ad uso del Collegio Nazareno* (Roma, 1764), Giuseppe Leoncini, *Istruzioni Architetoniche pratiche concernenti le parti principali degli edific delle case, secondo la dottrina di Vitruvio e d'Altri autori* (Rome, 1697), and Bernardo Antonio Vittone, *Istruzioni elementari per indirizzo de' giovani allo studio dell'architettura civile* (Lugano, 1760).

them to copy.<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, all of the images relating to the geometric constructions of the orders, less the underlying module grid, can be found in an edition of Palladio published in Venice by Albrizzi in 1746.<sup>20</sup> The Cerato text follows the images in the Albrizzi publication point-by-point and section-by-section. The latter contains no text.

Cerato's guide ends on a suggestively modern note. After over five hundred and fifty pages of learning how to draw lines, circles, polygons, and the orders to the most minute detail, the student was then asked to make a plan for a house, which would allow light into each of the rooms. The students were asked to show this project in plan, section, and elevation, each related and to the same scale. Cerato added that the student might want to base the drawings on a grid to allow for a more commodious (*comodo*) plan. The grid of the plan was related to the grid constructed for the modules of the order. He even gave directions:

Si facci il solito riquadro ABCD, ed in esso da ogni numero di ciascun lato, tanto a piombo, che a livello, si tirino col lapis tante linee, le quale, fatto il disegno, si cancelleranno: ma quì ora si punteggieranno leggermente coll'inchostro, onde restino visibili per esempio degli altri casi, che occorreranno.

In questa maniera avrete formata una graticola, che riuscirà molto comoda, poichè, essendo composta di tanti quadrati, o siano quadrati uguali, vi potranno questi servire, come di Modulo per misurare le porzioni, che occupar devono le parti delle case, che sono le camere, luoghi da servizio, sala, scala, ecc.<sup>21</sup>

Within the Veneto, Cerato proposed the most professional coursework. The activities of the school emphasised the successful completion of drawings and documents, thereby assuring a successful construction. Competitions were held annually, with Cerato and Stratico judging the

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<sup>19</sup> See Giulio Brunetta, *Gli Inizi dell'Insegnamento Pubblico dell'Architettura a Padova e a Venezia* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1976): Appendix I for Cerato's plan of the school as presented to the *Riformatori*.

<sup>20</sup> [Andrea Palladio], *Delli Cinque Ordini di Achitettura di Andrea Palladio Vicentino* (Venice: Albrizzi, 1746.)

<sup>21</sup> Domenico Cerato, *Nuovo Metodo per disegnare li Cinque Ordini d'Architettura Civile conforme le regole di Palladio, e di Scamozzi, ed alcune regole di Geometria pratica* Cerato (Padua: Penada, 1784): II: 298.

students' work and awarding a gold medal worth four *zecchini* to the winner in each class. The competitions were often based not on imaginary or archetypal projects but rather on proposed buildings. In fact, final presentations included budgets outlining material types and quantities. Interestingly, no guides to any of these activities were given within Cerato's text. One could assume that this type of knowledge could be gained while working on a particular project. Indeed, Cerato often employed his students to make drawings in his growing practice. Cerato was not paid through the university, but rather received money through his commissions. Beyond *La Specola*, Cerato was involved in plans for an *Ospedale* and the *Prato della Valle*. These projects were both completed in Padua and done in conjunction with Andrea Memmo. After Cerato's death, his student-turned-assistant, Daniel Danieletti, assumed control of the courses. The school remained in *La Specola* until 1807 when, under Austrian rule, the building was turned into a prison. Courses then moved to the University where they became part of the *Classe fisica e matematica*.<sup>22</sup>

Separate from the University in Padua but still within the spirit of educational reform, architecture was also taught in Venice within the Academy. In 1724 the *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova* had asked the *Collegi dei Pittori e degli Scultori* to propose how the education of artists might be systematized in a similar way to the Academies in Rome, Bologna, and Florence.<sup>23</sup> It was not until at least twenty-five years later (24 September 1750) that this request finally began to be realised. Doge Pietro Grimani (1741–52), a patron of the arts and a close

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<sup>22</sup> See Giulio Brunetta, *Gli Inizi dell'Insegnamento Pubblico dell'Architettura a Padova e a Venezia* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1976) for a description of the school during and after the various occupations of the French and Austrians through the nineteenth century.

<sup>23</sup> It should be recognized here that the *Collegi* were not similar to modern colleges, but rather a variant of the guilds. These urban, self-governing bodies of the professions had the ability to legislate licensure and to produce bylaws, including admittance typically based on birth status. The scope of responsibility was a function of the distinction of *Collegi*. For example, in the medical profession, the *Collegi* had a more philosophical position and would typically treat only internal illnesses requiring observation of symptoms, while those of the guild (barber-surgeons) would treat wounds and fractures. In architecture and engineering, the *Collegi* were consulted for issues regarding land management, contracts, and property assessment. See Elena Brambilla, "Scientific and Professional Education in Lombardy, 1760–1803: Physics between Medicine and Engineering" in Fabio Bevilacqua–Lucio Fregonese, *Nuova Voltiana: Studies on Volta and His Times*, (Pavia: Università degli studi di Pavia–Hoepli, 2000): 51–99.

friend of Carlo Lodoli was essential to the creation of the *Veneta Academia di Pittura, Scultura e Architettura*. The name of the Academy was changed in 1807 to *Accademia Reale di Belle Arti*.<sup>24</sup>

In the first few years, the Academy was directed by Giambattista Piazzetta (1683–1754) and located on the second level of the old *Fontego della Farina*—just to the east of the *Zecca* and the modern *Giardini Reali*. In April 1754 Piazzetta died and the school opened late, in December, under the guidance of Antonio Fosatti. On 2 January 1756 the *Riformatori* requested a change the school's leadership. One month later, Giambattista Tiepolo was named president and Giambattista Pittoni and Gianmaria Morlaiter were named as *Consiglieri*. The bylaws were established and stabilized so as to include a membership of thirty-six artists. From this group four masters would be chosen annually to guide the students on a week-to-week basis. The president, the two *Consiglieri*, and the treasurer were elected for two years and could not serve consecutively but could serve again after a term had passed. Only the Chancellor could be chosen from outside of the thirty-six. The academic year began on 18 October, the date of the *Festa di S Luca*, the patron saint of artists, and lasted until *La Sensa*, the annual Venetian marriage to the sea. The courses, held on Sunday mornings, were free until 1768 and very popular. The first lessons began with the students copying plaster nudes; an open gallery was held at the end of the year to show student work made throughout the year.

Antonio Visentini (1688–1782) taught architecture and perspective at the Academy beginning in 1764. At the end of the school year in 1767 Francesco Costa was chosen over Visentini as the *maestro d'architettura prospettica*.<sup>25</sup> After Costa's retirement in 1772, Visentini returned to the post where he remained until 1778. Other professors of perspective (*proseppetica*) included Pietro Gaspari (from 1772), Francesco Battaglioli (from 1778), Francesco Guardi and

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<sup>24</sup> Carlo Scarpa was one of the last students to receive a diploma in 1926 just before the Academy closed.

<sup>25</sup> Costa, among other things, completed a text on perspective. See Giovanni Francesco Costa, *Elementi di prospettiva per uso degli architetti, e pittori esposti da Gianfrancesco Costa, architetto, e pittore Veneziano* (Venezia, 1747). He also made the etchings used in [Andrea Palladio], *Delli Cinque Ordini di Architettura di Andrea Palladio Vicentino* (Venezia: Albrizzi, 1746), the image counterpoint to Cerato's treatise.

Antonio Mauro (from 1784), and Davide Rossi da Thiene (from 1792). Each professor was expected to propose coursework, and then to defend it against the *Riformatori* prior to being nominated.

Visentini was a regular at the salon of Joseph Smith and was considered a close friend of the Englishman.<sup>26</sup> Visentini designed at least two homes for Smith. The house where his salon met still sits on the Grand Canal just before the Rialto.<sup>27</sup> The bulk of his writing exists in manuscript form, including “L’Esame che fa l’Architettura alli muratori marangoni e tagliapietre,” which examined the state of architectural production within the Veneto. The text is a discussion between Lady Architecture and a group of students regarding the current state of architectural education. She criticizes her audience for reading only Vignola and Pozzi, while ignoring Palladio. In addition, architects were accused of not knowing how to build and craftsmen of not understanding the aesthetics of making. Visentini argued that they collectively knew neither the skeleton of nor the shadow cast by the figure of Lady Architecture.<sup>28</sup>

Though Visentini published very little, his etchings can be found in many important publications from the press of Giambattista Pasquali, including those by Poleni and Antonio Conti.<sup>29</sup> Visentini is often remembered for his etchings based on Canaletto’s paintings, which

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<sup>26</sup> Joseph Smith is an important character in connecting many of the people discussed in this dissertation. Though not exactly a scholar—he was described as having a “title page understanding” of most works—his salon and library therein contained an incredible collection of books and prints, both ancient and modern. For the best description of his life and activities see Frances Vivian, *Il Console Smith mercante e collezionista* (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1971). For the contents of his library see Joseph Smith. *Bibliotheca Smithiana, seu Catalogus Librorum D. Josephi Smithii Angli per Cognomina Authorum Dispositus*. (Venice: Pasquali, 1755).

<sup>27</sup> This house is now known as the *Ca’ Mangli-Valmarana*. Visentini also designed, for Smith, another Palazzo on the Grand Canal just next to the *Ca d’Oro* as well as a country estate. See Frances Vivian, *Il Console Smith: Mercante e Collezionista* (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1971).

<sup>28</sup> I was not able to access the manuscript in the *Marciana*. My description is referenced from Marco Frascari, “Sortes Architectii,” (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1981): 198.

<sup>29</sup> These connections were surely made through Consul Smith. Visentini made etchings for Poleni’s *Exercitationes Vitruvianae* (1741) and also for the *Memorie Istoriche* (1748). For a more complete listing of his etchings, see Frances Vivian, *Il Console Smith: Mercante e Collezionista* (Vicenza: N. Pozza, 1971) and “Joseph Smith, Giovanni Poleni, and Antonio Visentini,” *Italian Studies* Vol. 18 (1963) by the same author. Many of the etchings are now available only in the British Museum. Conti was influential in establishing the chair of Experimental Philosophy that Poleni held for many years. Both had more than passing interests in Newton.

illustrated various Venetian views. His *Prospectus* contains etchings by Visentini of Canaletto's work.<sup>30</sup> The images are not always exact replicas, however. Visentini typically kept the views set by Canaletto while sometimes altering the content of the etching. An example of this is the painting of the *Entrance to the Grand Canal: looking East* (1725, 1744). Canaletto painted the existing buildings of the Grand Canal on the left side of the image (SEE FIGURE THREE). Visentini etched only the more important and recognisable buildings of the *molo*—the *Zecca*, the *Biblioteca Pubblica*, and the *Palazzo Ducale*—omitting other, lesser-known buildings (SEE FIGURE FOUR).<sup>31</sup>

*figure 3*  
*Entrance to the Grand Canal:*  
*looking East,*  
*Canaletto*



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<sup>30</sup> Antonio Visentini, *Prospectus/Magni Canalis Venetiarum* (Venice: Pasquali, 1735). The plates, based on paintings owned by Consul Smith, were re-cut and republished in 1742.

<sup>31</sup> Canaletto was one of many who depicted this scene. The one reproduced here hangs in Gemaldegalerie Alte Meister in Dresden. The Visentini is from the *Prospectus/Magni Canalis Venetiarum* (Venice: Pasquali, 1735). See JG Links, *Canaletto* (London: Phaidon Press, 1982): 32, 82.

*figure 4*  
*Entrance to the Grand Canal:*  
*looking East,*  
*Visentini*



Smith also commissioned Visentini to make a series of etchings that catalogued Venetian homes and churches in plan and elevation. The five-volume *Admiranda Urbis Venetae* and its companion, *Artis Architecturae Varia*, which contained a mix of Italian and English buildings amongst others, were far from objective.<sup>32</sup> In the collection, Visentini regularised the plan and elevation drawings of the various buildings, which were all shown without context. In his approach to representation, Visentini followed the attitude of Canaletto. That Canaletto adjusted viewpoints left and right or up and down, added buildings, or altered relative distances between buildings to show a more pleasing view, is well known and documented.<sup>33</sup>

Interestingly, Canaletto was constructing these views with the aid of the *camera obscura*. Most contemporaries of Canaletto recognised his use of the visual aid. Antonio Maria Zanetti the younger explained:

Canal taught the correct way of using the camera ottica [camera obscura]; and how to understand the errors that occur in the picture when the artist follows too

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<sup>32</sup> See Elena Bassi, *Palazzi di Venezia: Armiranda Urbis Venetae* (Venezia: Venezia Editrice, 1976).

<sup>33</sup> See André Corbez, *Canaletto: una Venezia Immaginaria* (Milano: Electa, 1985): 41–170 and JG Links, *Canaletto* (London: Phaidon Press, 1982): 20–83. Canaletto also produced a series of *capricci* that placed real buildings in alternate contexts. The most famous is probably the Palladian project for the Rialto Bridge that is shown with the *Palazzo della Ragione* from Vicenza next to the Rialto. Many others were doing things in Venice and in other Italian cities. For a comparison between Piranesi and Canaletto, see John Wilton-Ely, *Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1978): 32, fig.41,42.



closely the lines of the perspective, and even more the aerial perspective, as it appears in the camera itself and does not know how to modify them where scientific accuracy offends against common sense.<sup>34</sup>

Far from being a practical tool to represent reality, the *camera obscura* was notoriously difficult to work with.<sup>35</sup> The question here is not the scientific accuracy of the device but rather the ability to modify what was seen in the camera (literally, the room) and to present it in a more “common sense” way. Thus, Canaletto and Visentini were able to correct what was understood to be scientifically real on the basis of common sense. Through this viewpoint Venice was shown to be much more regular and open than in fact it is in one’s experience. Canaletto’s paintings are very well composed, more so than Venice itself. Very often in his views of *Piazza S Marco*, the entire campanile can be seen. In others, *S Maria della Salute* can be seen framed by the edge of the library and the column of *S Teodoro*. In actuality, it is impossible to see these framed views unless one shifts their gaze. Both in the decontextualised idealisation of Venetian buildings in the *Admiranda Urbis Venetae* and in the vedute of Venice, the subject is corrected within the frame of the painting.

One of the few published texts of Visentini, tried also to make corrections, although his topic was the errors and abuses of architects rather than the reproduction of buildings. Not entirely his own, the *Osservazioni di Antonio Visentini, architetto Veneto de servono di Continuazione al Trattato di Teofilo Gallaccini sopra gli Errori egli Architetti* (1771), was commentary on a text first written by Teofilo Gallaccini (1564–1641)—a long-dead Siense physician who had lived in virtual obscurity.<sup>36</sup> After the manuscript was discovered in Smith’s

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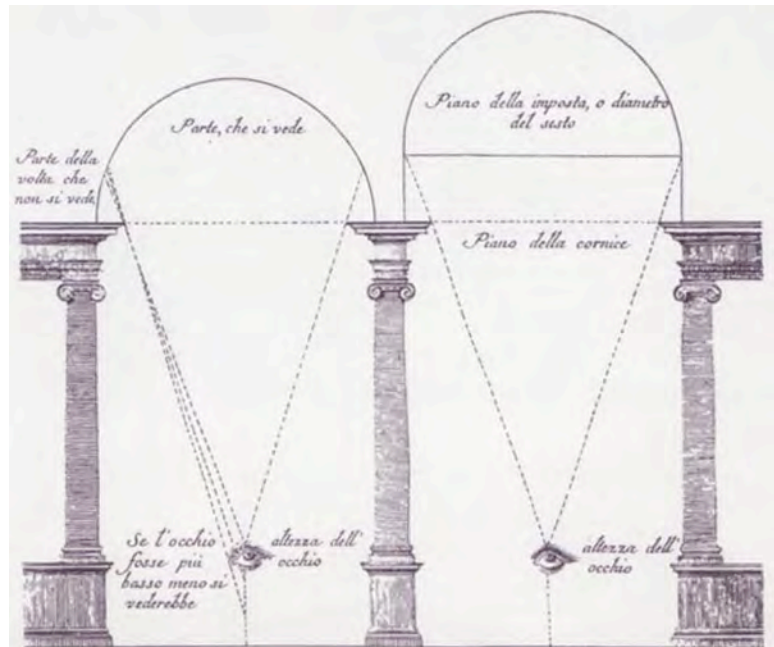
<sup>34</sup> Anton Maria Zanetti, *Il Professore m’intendara* as quoted in JG Links, *Canaletto* (London: Phaidon Press, 1982): 117. Zanetti made a caricature of Canaletto that shows him from the back and shaped like a box, or a small *camera obscura*. See *Caricature di Anton Maria Zanetti*, edited by Alessandro Bettagno, (Venice: Neri Pozzi Editore, 1969).

<sup>35</sup> For a much fuller description of this and other devices, see Jonathan Crary, *Techniques of the Observer*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1992) and for the relation to architectural representation see Alberto Pérez-Gómez and Louise Pelletier, *Architectural Representation and the Perspective Hinge* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997): 281–89.

<sup>36</sup> See Alina A. Payne, “Architectural Criticism, Science, and Visual Elegance,” *JSAH* Vol. 58, No. 2 (June 1999): 146–69. Payne, rather tenuously, connects Gallaccini to Lodoli through Visentini.

library and reprinted with an addendum by Visentini, it found a welcome audience in the Veneto’s reform-minded, late-eighteenth century architectural circles. Gallaccini’s—and I would argue Visentini’s—criticism was based solely on an understanding of visual solidity. To avoid mistakes and to produce beautiful proportions, a building must be visually cogent.

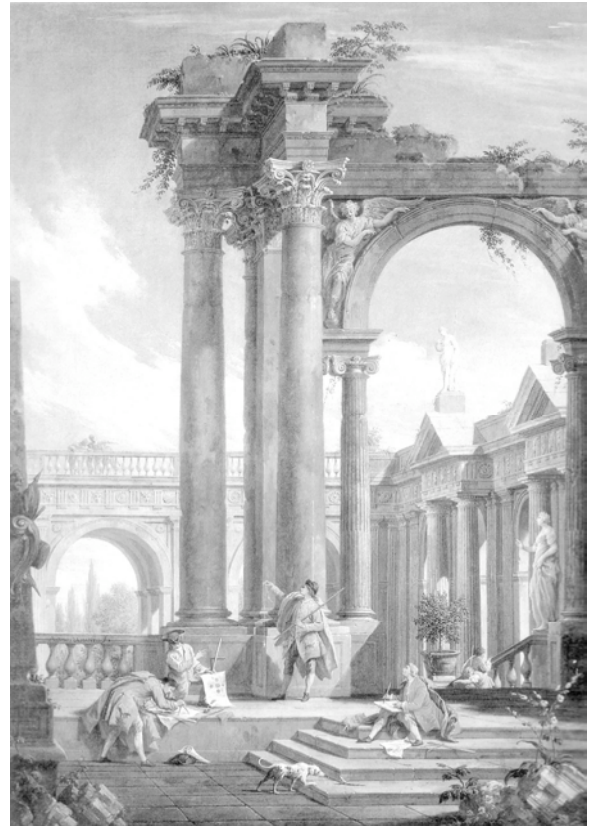
An example of this is Gallaccini’s criticism of an arch in the interior of the Pantheon. According to Gallaccini, if an arch springs from a point above a capital that it rests upon, it should be raised up to allow the impost to be seen from eye-level. Gallaccini pointed out “questo è un errore nato dal non aver cognizione alcuna di prospettiva” and showed the corrected arch (SEE FIGURE FIVE).<sup>37</sup> His criticism had nothing to do with the actual physics of an arch, the construction of the arch, or the materials that could be used. The structural significance of the arch in Gallaccini’s opinion, should be made, or corrected, according to the “common sense” perception of the viewer—similar to Visentini’s corrections of Venice.



*figure 5*  
Gallaccini’s Visual Correction

<sup>37</sup> Teofilo Gallaccini, *Trattato di Teofilo Gallaccini Sopra gli Errori degli Architetti* (Venezia: Pasquali, 1767): 32.

It would be overly simplistic to reduce those teaching architectural perspective at the Academy to one school of thought or to claim that Visentini is representative of the Academy. But it is possible to say that the architectural education there promoted a visual understanding of architecture vis-à-vis the drawing, etching, and painting of the city and of architecture. This opened up the possibility, at least, that students could be trained in perspective and drawing and be considered an architect. Interesting in this respect is the *prospettiva architectonica* by Visentini, now hanging in the *Accademia* in Venice, which



*figure 6*  
*Perspective View with Students of Architecture,*  
Antonio Visentini

shows young students copying ruins with their tools of the trade in hand (SEE FIGURE SIX).

Following the lead taken by the other arts—the copying plaster casts—copying of ancient buildings formed the basis of instruction.<sup>38</sup> The analogy is that the nude cast was to painting as the ruin is to architecture, exposed to view. Visentini's addition to the discussion of architectural education was a realisation of this very basis. His view, however, was not an objective gaze.

Whether considering Canaletto's constructed views or Visentini's regularisation of the buildings

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<sup>38</sup> This follows the tradition of Bellori, continuing the line of argument presented by Zuccaro years before, in proposing that the *Idea* which originated in the mind of God illuminated all things. The task of the artist according to Bellori was to imitate the highest artist by finding within himself a notion of that perfect beauty by means of which nature could be perfected. Art instruction, therefore, should follow this principle whereby students copy plasters of more famous works. See Erwin Panofsky, *Idea, A Concept in Art Theory*. Tr. by Joseph JS Peake (Columbia: USC Press, 1968): 105–7 and also Appendix II, which contains a translation of Bellori's 'L'idea del Pittore Dello Schultore e Dell' Architetto scelta della Bellezze Naturali Superiore Alla Natura.'

of Venice, one can conclude that the representation of built form should be adjusted, or corrected in the sense of Gallacini, to become more pleasing to the eye.

While this introduction is not meant to be exhaustive, it demonstrates some of the emerging distinctions and questions present in the architectural pedagogy of the eighteenth century Veneto. Giovanni Poleni's demonstrations of various *machinae*, Domenico Cerato's professional practices at *La Specola*, and Antonio Visentini's visual corrections of Venice each offered a competing vision of how the architect could be taught. In addition, there were different versions of what the architect produced: does the architect act like a modern engineer, who understands a project as a problem to be solved? As a professional architect who makes drawings and oversees the construction of a built project? Or does the architect make images?

It is within this frame of architectural education that I believe it is most productive to view Carlo Lodoli.

## ***Lodoli Biography***

Carlo Lodoli told the following story to a young Andrea Memmo.<sup>39</sup> Crates was a young and noble man who rarely yearned for anything and lived a very comfortable life. He was constantly being showered with gifts and praises but then also asked to give money to his friends and family. One day he realised that everyone, while giving him something, was only trying to get something more from him in return. He found that even though his intentions were true, his generous ways elicited a negative reaction from most people. Some spoke ill of him because he would let himself be so easily tricked; others avoided him so as not to feel shame for having received gifts from him; and still others avoided him for fear that they might be asked to return what he had given them.

One day he decided to renounce all of his wealth and follow the Stoic way of life. Having come to this conclusion, he went to tell Diogenes of his decision to free himself from all that prevented him from living a virtuous life, hoping to forever gain the affection of the master. Diogenes was not so quick to praise Crates, knowing that his young mind could easily be coerced into changing. Crates maintained that he had come to the decision on his own and only after seriously considering his own life. Moved by his steadfastness, Diogenes decided to test the young student.<sup>40</sup>

To be sure Crates would not be moved by vanity, Diogenes made him remove his headpiece, dress sword, and toga. He then led him through the most elegant piazzas of Athens wearing only a cloth bag, leather belt, and saucepan by his side. Crates was mocked relentlessly. Some even thought he had gone mad. Crates made his way through the piazzas and insults, with

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<sup>39</sup> *Apologhi*: 69-72. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>40</sup> The Crates referred to here is most likely Crates of Thebes, known as the “door opener” for his habit of entering into people’s homes, and who may have been a pupil of Diogenes. See *Diogenes Laertius’ Lives of Eminent Philosophers*, translated by RD Hicks, (Cambridge: Harvard UPress, 1972): Book VI, ch. 2. The Diogenes in Lodoli’s story is most likely Diogenes of Sinope, and was called *kynos*, or dog, which is where the word for cynicism derives.

Diogenes suspecting that he continued only on account of to his pride to prove his master wrong. The next test came after a long class. Diogenes asked Crates to serve him dinner. Crates returned as quickly as possible with a bowl overflowing with lentils. As he approached, Diogenes kicked the bowl out of his hands and left the young student burned and covered in broth.

This was too much for Crates. He ran away in shame, not accustomed to such mockery. “Poor child,” said Diogenes. “He thought that he would be able to learn to live philosophically from only the lessons of a few months, believing erroneously that pleasure and poverty are sisters. Oh! How he was deceived. However, he did have the courage to renounce all that most men are dazzled by. For this, at least, he deserves my assistance.” Diogenes instructed his other pupils to find where Crates had run off to and then bring him back. They found him curled up in a doorway and convinced him to return, saying that the master was trying only to make an example of him.

Comforted, Crates returned to the master where he was greeted warmly. They began to talk and did not stop until they came to the Palace of Aristodemus who was known for displaying his excessive wealth.<sup>41</sup> The two were welcomed in by the attendants and allowed to roam freely through each of the very well-appointed rooms. Entering into one such room Diogenes asked Crates what he saw on the wall. Crates replied that it was Achilles who was represented. “Yes, it is true,” Diogenes replied. “It is Achilles the Principal of the Youth, the glorious hope of all Greece.” He continued, “Look now, who is it that was given to him as a master and guide? It was Chiron, a centaur!” Diogenes was now getting worked up. “Do you think, Crates, that this happened for no good reason? Of course not! The Ancients understood the importance to place together two natures—reasoning animal and mechanical animal, and that consequently there would be in him a great knowledge of contemplative virtue and of brutal vice. He would then be able to distinguishing the good from the bad, and the false from the true. It is also known that he

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<sup>41</sup> It is ironic that Diogenes brings Crates there to learn the lesson. Aristodemus was known to have coined the phrase “money makes the man.”

was the most knowledgeable in all of Greece in things of Music, understood as the mother of Wisdom. He was also very knowledgeable of medicinal herbs, so much so that he taught medicine to Asclepius, and Astronomy to Hercules. With all of this knowledge, some considered him to be a man, almost a God, though others said he was a monster since such brilliance was not possible. Since we are driven by various principles, from different intelligences, from educations, effects, and from diverse passions, it is not possible to judge universally. However, one must decide.”

Diogenes then put the question to Crates. “Now, Crates, you must decide to which side you prefer to ascribe: to the opinion of a few wise men, or to that of the multitude who are not (SEE FIGURE SEVEN). If you are about to choose the first, than rest assured you will never blush of shame for tricks similar to those that I played on you recently, and also you would have less trouble and more tranquility.



*figure 7*  
*Crates and Diogenes*

If not, you should negotiate with your own intellect in a clear way, if at all possible, and desire nothing more than to fill your mouth and chest with philosophy as you seem to desire.” The philosopher would have reasoned further, but the abundant tears from such a nourishing lesson had convinced the youth that it was preferable to be on the side of those few enlightened, fair, and discreet men as opposed to the large number of the stupid, the envious, and of the prejudiced. It is easy to see the analogy here: Diogenes is to Crates as Chiron was to Achilles. I would add: as Carlo Lodoli is to Andrea Memmo, his young student.

Andrea Memmo was widely perceived as the next brilliant politician from a long line of such leaders from one of the most illustrious families of Venice.<sup>42</sup> His political acumen allowed him a career that followed that of his most accomplished ancestors—in particular, the path of his paternal uncle also named Andrea. Both held similar and important positions within Venice, Padua, Rome, and Constantinople, and both ended their political careers as *Procuratore di S Marco*.

Memmo named Lodoli as the New Diogenes.<sup>43</sup> He claimed that it was after reading Diogenes that Lodoli began his particular method of philosophizing.<sup>44</sup> Diogenes of Sinope was considered to be a cynic. The word itself literally means dog-like.

Accordingly, the Cynics were renowned not only for being frank and direct (e.g., for “barking” and “wagging their tails”), or for their skill at distinguishing between friends and enemies (in their case, those capable of philosophizing vs. those who were not), but, above all, for their way of living in public like dogs, “shamelessly indifferent” to the most entrenched social norms.<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>42</sup> See GianFranco Torcellan, *Una Figura della Venezia Settecentesca: Andrea Memmo*, (Venice / Rome: Istituto per la Collaborazione Cultural, 1963) for the most informative biography of Memmo. His family, which included two Doges, was considered to be of the original twelve families. There is even a symbolic sarcophagus on the façade of Palladio’s church of *S Giorgio Maggiore* that honours Doge Tribuno Memmo (979–91). The Memmo family line ended with Andrea’s death in 1793.

<sup>43</sup> *Elementi* I: 39.

<sup>44</sup> *Apologhi* 6.

<sup>45</sup> See *The Cynics: The Cynic Movement in Antiquity and Its Legacy*, edited by R. Bracht Banham, (Berkeley: U of California Press, 1996): 4–5. It is interesting to note the dog on the steps of Visentini’s *prospettiva architectonica*. See *figure six*.



Lodoli was known to have despised beautiful appearance without substance, and he was abhorred by empty praise. Memmo described Lodoli's memory as vast, his imagination vivid. His defects were many, including an intolerance to speak with those for whom he had little respect. He had little care for the ordinary and did not like anyone who did not at least stimulate him. Memmo asserted that "l'impeto del suo temperamento gli promossero molto nemici, benchè la sua morale non gli si potesse con ragione rimproverare."<sup>46</sup> This mix of virtues and defects, similar to those embodied in Chiron, gave him the reputation of a cynic. Lodoli's physical presence matched the description of his difficult character. For example, he refused to wear the *bauta*; rather, he could be seen in his typically stained, brown Franciscan habit.<sup>47</sup> Memmo described him this way:

L'abito da zoccolante che portava contribuava ancor più ad un esteriore poco conforme per comparire galante; anzi aggiungendosi e le macchie sanguigne del suo viso, e i capelli incolti, e spesso la barba di più colori e quasi irsuta, e quegli occhi di fuoco che avea tutti scintillanti, poteva insieme quasi metter paura alle anime un poco delicate.<sup>48</sup>

One need only to look at the portrait of Lodoli by Alessandro Longhi to recognise the strength and directness of his gaze.<sup>49</sup> The marks on his face were the result of difficult illnesses that he suffered, again similar to Chiron, throughout his life, including a mild form of leprosy, elephantiasis, and recurring ulcers. He sought out natural remedies for his conditions and followed a Pythagorean diet, avoiding meat, beans, and wine, a diet promoted at that time by his physician Antonio Cocchi. Lodoli was simply monstrous.

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<sup>46</sup> *Elementi* I: 112.

<sup>47</sup> The *bauta* consisted of a partial white mask, black tri-corn hat, and black cape that was worn for at least the six months of *Carnivale* and often longer: see figure 23. The phenomenon of the *bauta* is discussed in the third section of this work.

<sup>48</sup> *Elementi* I: 113. *Zoccolante* refers to Lodoli's Franciscan Order in Venice named as such on account of the wooden shoes typically worn by the friars to keep their robes clean of Venetian muck.

<sup>49</sup> See the image that follows the abstract of the present work. The original of Alessandro Longhi's *Ritratto di Carlo Lodoli* is at the *Gallerie dell'Accademia* in Venice. There is another by Alessandro's brother Pietro—*Gruppo di abati e sacerdoti veneziani*, at the *Pinacoteca Querini-Stampalia* in Venice—that sarcastically shows Lodoli with a cup of wine and food amongst all of the religious orders of Venice.

Cristoforo Ignazio Antonio Lodoli was baptized in the parish of *S Luca* in Venice on 28 November 1690 into a family that had come to Venice from Umbria.<sup>50</sup> His father Bernardo was conferred a *dottorale* from the University in Padua in 1675 and then married Anna Maria Alberghetti, the daughter of a general in the Venetian fleet. Bernardo fathered five children and, after remarrying, had four more with his second wife Andrianna Da Ponte. Cristoforo's first education was with the friars of San Francesco della Vigna, close to his home and where he would return to live twenty years later.

After a quarrel with his father—he was expected to follow his father's professional choice—young Cristoforo ran away to Cattaro in Dalmazia.<sup>51</sup> In 1706 he accepted his religious calling, took a new name, Carlo, and completed his novitiate on 20 April 1708. Antonio Muazzo was his first teacher in Cattaro, where he took a typical course of study composed of mathematics, geometry, and philosophy.<sup>52</sup> Lodoli also studied languages and was well versed in at least Illyrian (language of Dalmazia), French, Latin, Greek, Italian, and of course Venetian.

He left Dalmazia and went to Rome to continue his study of mathematics with Padre Evora in the convent of the *Ara-Coeli*. He stayed there from the age of nineteen to twenty-two and this, according to Memmo, is where he began to develop a passion for the fine arts. Lodoli next went to Forlì—a seminary known for its rich collection of over five hundred Aldine first editions—to study philosophy and scholastic theology. Preceded by his reputation as a young scholar, he was sent to the convent of San Benardino in Verona to teach scholastic philosophy to novitiates. During this trip, Lodoli visited Tuscany to see the works of the Medici in Florence.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Andrea Memmo is the most reliable source for biographic information on Lodoli. See *Elementi* I: 39–51.

<sup>51</sup> This is now the city of Kotor, part of Montenegro.

<sup>52</sup> GianAntonio Muazzo was a Venetian nobleman who lived in Crete until the end of the War of Crete (1669) when he moved to Venice. He had a huge collection of manuscripts and books. In addition, he wrote many unpublished works of history, of Crete, the Wars, and the Venetian constitution. See, for example, his *Del Governo Antico della Repubblica Veneta...* (1670–99), which deals with the office of the doge, political protocol, and the decline of nobility.

<sup>53</sup> This is a reference to the collection of busts based on thematic principles of style and displayed with a rough chronology of Roman rulers to Gallienus. This collection was interspersed with a more arbitrary selection of gods and goddesses. See Haskell, *History and its Images* (New Haven: Yale UPress, 1993):

Established in Verona, Lodoli was often invited for public debates on theology and philosophy. Scipione Maffei, impressed by the talent and cognition displayed by Lodoli, consequently invited the young Franciscan to his Academy.<sup>54</sup> There, Lodoli was introduced to books of antique erudition, oratory, poetry, diaries, and literary journals. Memmo reported that Lodoli quickly absorbed all of this and was soon able to discuss these matters with the most learned men. At this time, Lodoli also began to tutor the youth of the nobility in Verona in the sciences of astronomy, physics, and math.

His superiors then asked him to teach a session of theology in Venice. He did not want to go because of the still unresolved conflict with his father, though after being offered a tutoring position from Maffei he accepted the offer and arrived in Venice in 1720. Upon arrival he was recommended for the Chair of Nautical Sciences (*cattedra di nautica*) at the *Università di Padova* but refused. In August of 1723 he was named as the *Revisore dei libri da dare alle stampe*—essentially the censor of all books printed in Venice. Three years later he was given control of all books imported into the Veneto, a massive responsibility, especially considering the delicate relationship between the Venetian Council of Ten and the Inquisition, both in Rome and Venice.

Lodoli was not content to simply conform to the existing rules—to simply say whether or not a book was to be allowed according to existing regulations. Rather, he studied past methods and recreated the office of censor with the intention of making “useful” books more available to private libraries and booksellers alike.<sup>55</sup> Printing in Venice had always been more open than other cities on the peninsula in terms of religious freedom, and especially in contrast to the

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163–64. Anton Francesco Gori, who was named as a “celebrated antiquarian” by Memmo, see *Elementi I*: 306, illustrated the collection in the Eighteenth century

<sup>54</sup> This is a reference to Maffei’s “colony” of the *Accademia degli Arcadi*. See Giuseppe Silvestri, *Un europeo del Settecento: Scipione Maffei* (Treviso: Neri Pozza, 1968): 51–68. Maffei’s project to reform the cultural landscape was clearly a part of his interest in the formation of the Arcadian colony in Verona. I am unsure if Lodoli became a full member, though it was known that Piranesi frequented the Arcadian colony in Rome. Piranesi names himself “fra gli Arcadi / Salcindio Tiseio” in the frontispiece of the *Prima Parte di Architetture e Prospettive*. (various) For other references to the *Accademia degli Arcadi*, see GL Moncallero, *L’Arcadia, Teorica d’Arcadia* (Firenze: Olschki, 1953). Maffei named himself ‘Orilto Berenteatico.’

<sup>55</sup> See the *Elementi I*: 59–65 and also *Carlo Lodoli: Della censura dei Libri*, edited by Mario Infelise, (Venezia: Marsilio, 2001).

Inquisition in Rome. Infelise reported that during Lodoli's tenure the control of the press moved even further away from religious restrictions.<sup>56</sup> In fact, during Lodoli's tenure as censor the Inquisition in Venice consisted of only one person. This move to a freer press ended in a conflict with Rome in 1765, which reformed censorship procedures. Already by the end of Lodoli's term the political situation had started to shift. In January 1742 the *Riformatori* named a successor to Lodoli, Marziale Reghellini. Booksellers, especially, mourned the passing of Lodoli's tenure to the more ecclesiastic-minded Reghellini.

During his time as censor Lodoli surely came into contact with many of the most important texts of the early Enlightenment as well as many of the characters involved. Rousseau was the secretary of the ambassador to Venice in the early 1740's. Though I have no evidence of a meeting between Lodoli and Rousseau, it would not be difficult to imagine the two meeting in Pasquali's Press or Smith's Salon.<sup>57</sup> Memmo claimed that Lodoli and Laugier met while the latter was collecting research for his twelve-volume history of Venice.<sup>58</sup> Laugier was in Venice with Abbe Bernis and mostly likely would have met Lodoli in the salon of Smith, one of the few homes open to foreigners. Montesquieu reports that he met with Lodoli on his voyage to Italy.<sup>59</sup> Voltaire was in very close contact with Memmo and would have surely crossed paths with Lodoli either in person or in published form.<sup>60</sup> It is also at this time that Lodoli came into contact with

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<sup>56</sup> *Carlo Lodoli: Della censura dei Libri*, edited by Mario Infelise, (Venezia: Marsilio, 2001): XIII.

<sup>57</sup> See Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *The Confessions*, translated by JM Cohen (London: Penguin, 1953): Book 7.

<sup>58</sup> Memmo accused Laugier of plagiarism based on the reports of Pietro Contarini who, while in Paris, had read Laugier's *Essai sur l'Architecture*. Contarini had noticed some similarities to Lodoli and wondered why he was not mentioned. See *Elementi* I: 344. See also Wolfgang Herrmann Wolfgang, *Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory* (London: Zwemmer, 1962), who convincingly discredits the possibility of plagiarism either way. Rather it is Memmo who unknowingly plagiarised Laugier through his own "borrowing" of Milizia.

<sup>59</sup> See Charles de Secondat Montesquieu, *Voyages de Montesquieu* (Bordeaux: G. Gounouilhau, 1884–86). Lodoli's name is misspelled as "Soboli."

<sup>60</sup> Memmo wanted to form a French theatre in Venice to improve upon the quality of the Italian theatre. He was the first in Venice to have Voltaire's *Ecossaise* which was inscribed "*l'illustre Patricien Vénitien Andrea Memmo, homme savant, homme de gout, et très-verse dans la littérature, trouva cette Piece charmante, et me l'envoya croyant que je pourrais en faire quelque chose pour mon theatre.*" See Gianfranco Torcellan, *Una Figura della Venezia Settecentesca: Andrea Memmo* (Venice/Rome: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1963).

Giambattista Vico whose *New Science* (1724, 1744) and *Life of Giambattista Vico* (1725, 1728) Lodoli unsuccessfully attempted to republish in Venice.<sup>61</sup>

Though no longer as confident and prosperous as she once had been, Venice in the early eighteenth century was indeed experiencing a time of healthy economy and trade that would last at least until the Seven Years War in 1756. The publishing houses of Pasquali and Albrizzi were doing well. The press of Remondi in Bassano, where Memmo's *Apologhi* was published, boasted more than forty presses and more than one thousand employees. There was not, it seems, the nervous tension that Venice would feel in the years after the war, leading to the fall of the Republic. These years were most marked, economically, by the shift in policy that allowed the merchant class (*cittadini*) to buy their way into the patrician class. This change had been introduced a century earlier to help pay for various wars and to support those impoverished nobles known as the *barnabotti*. It has been said that this often resulted in the loss of a wealthy citizen and the creation of a poor noble.<sup>62</sup>

In 1739 Lodoli was elected *Padre Generale* of his religious commission of *Terra Santa* in Venezia, a position he held until 1751. It was at this time that he reorganized the library at *S Francesco della Vigna* and began offering lessons in architecture to the youth of the patrician class. He later moved to Padua in a self-imposed exile for the last few years of his life. He died there on 27 October 1761.

Lodoli's could count amongst his circle of friends the most important and influential men of the Republic. Memmo, mindful of political hierarchy, listed them in order of rank beginning with the Doges Ruzzini (1732-35), Pisani (1735-41), and Grimani (1741-52). He then continued

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<sup>61</sup> See *The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico*, translated by Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1995): 181–98. The first edition of the *New Science* was published in Rome (1724). Lodoli requested that the “profound book” be republished in Venice. Vico sent Lodoli a six-hundred-page manuscript and then, after a series of misunderstandings and delayed letters, recalled his text. The second printing was in Naples (1730) at Vico's expense. The third and definitive edition was published again in Naples in 1744. See also Franco Bernabei, “Mito ragione architettura: Vico e Lodoli,” in *Vico e Venezia*, edited by Cesare de Michelis and Gilberto Piazzamiglio (Venezia: Fondazione Giorgio Cini, 1982).

<sup>62</sup> See James Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1962). I treat this topic more in-depth later in the present work.

through the labyrinth of councils that made up the Venetian government. The names form a who's who of Venetian history: Morosini, Mocenigo, Contarini, Grimani, Ruzzini, Tiepolo, Quirini, Gradenigo, Emo, Tron, Foscari, and, of course, Memmo.<sup>63</sup>

Lodoli was also in touch with men of science and philosophy within and around the Veneto. Again, it was a formidable list of personalities and included at least the following: Antonio Conti (intellectual maverick and promoter of Leibniz and then Newton), Bernardo Memmo (Andrea's father), Bernardrino Zendrini (mathematician to the Republic), Giuseppe Toaldo (public professor of astronomy in Padua), padre Stellini (professor of Ethics in Padua), Giovanni Poleni, Giovanni Battista Morgagni, abbot Facciolati (author of the massive *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* [1771]), Antonio Vallisneri (professor of "practical medicine" in Padua), Melchior Cesarotti, Giambattista Vico, Pietro Giannone (the anti-clerical historian), and Angelo Pisani.

With these connections and especially under the benefaction of his patriarchal friends in Venice, Lodoli was able to begin a school. His first student was the one that brought him back to Venice from Verona: Lodoli tutored Carletto Soranzo, the son of Andrea Soranzo, then the *Procuratore di S Marco*. In fact it was also through his Soranzo connections that Lodoli was named as censor. Lodoli was asked to teach the young Carlo that which "ch'era più necessario ed utile nell'uso del mondo."<sup>64</sup> This most useful and necessary knowledge included architecture. Believing it would be good to have other students, Lodoli took on a few more young patricians, including Vincenzo da Riva, Filippo Farsetti, M. Antonio and Girolamo Zorzi, Francesco Venier, Battista Maratti, Francesco Algarotti, Andrea and Bernardo Memmo, Angelo Quirini, Giustiniana Wynne, and Zanetti the celebrated poet and priest of Soave.

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<sup>63</sup> Alvise Pisani was a member of one of the wealthiest families in Venice at this time. The Pisani residences included the Palazzo Pisani adjacent to *S Stefano* completed by Frigimelica (the Conservatory of Music since 1897), the Gothic Palazzo Pisani–Moretta in *S Polo*, as well as the Villas at Strà and Montagnana near Padua. Palladio began this last project. See *Elementi* I: 72–76 for the complete list.

<sup>64</sup> *Elementi* I: 49.

Classes did not meet regularly and there was no specific coursework. Memmo believed that Francesco Venier saved Lodoli's lessons and put them into a general treatise entitled *Instituzione al Sapere*.<sup>65</sup> This is said to have included a list not only of lessons, but also a bibliography of texts used. Lodoli wanted to keep the school small and did not always teach to everyone at the same time. Rather, he would talk with students to see what their abilities and interests were. Depending on their interests, Lodoli would accompany students to different libraries and to different people who were learned on certain topics. Various members of the *patria* would often stop by and discussions would be held concerning current events. GianAlberto Tumermani, the well-known printer from Verona, said "Che pareva ch'egli [Lodoli] fosse molti e non un solo."<sup>66</sup>

The discussions drew heavily on Lodoli's favourite authors: Cicero, Puffendorf, and Bacon. The lessons of the school were given in a conversational format and within the context of the events and places of Venice. Courses were held within the garden of the *S Francesco della Vigna* and were focused around political and civic institutions. Students also read the most important pieces of history, oratory, and poetry, as well as national constitutions (*patrie costituzioni*).<sup>67</sup> Lodoli also brought his students on walks through the city. As Memmo explained, "Terminata poi o l'una o l'altra scuola, conduceva talvolta que' giovani che ne avean piacere e tempo per la città, ora osservando una cosa ed ora un'altra or visitando l'arsenale, or un museo, or qualche celebre artista."<sup>68</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> I have not been able to find this text, nor have I found reference to it in secondary sources. The young Venier is probably most famous for losing, in a few years of poor gambling, the fortune his family had amassed over centuries. His legacy still sits upon the Grand Canal, known today as the Peggy Guggenheim Collection, or the *Palazzo Infinito* as it was never finished. Luisa Cassati, the inheritor of the Annan textile fortune and another wonderfully scandalous riches-to-rags story, lived in the Palazzo before Guggenheim took it over.

<sup>66</sup> *Elementi* I: 52.

<sup>67</sup> See *Apologhi*: 80-91, for an entertaining description and critique of the European political situation in the mid-eighteenth century. In the end, the narrator is unable to find an inspiring government to live under and instead decides to become a chimney sweep in San Marino.

<sup>68</sup> *Elementi* I: 58.

Lodoli had a serious collection of paintings and sculpture. Although Memmo felt the need to apologize for Lodoli, who didn't have the resources to acquire paintings that one would have seen in other collections of the day, Memmo considered Lodoli's collection was, however, more useful. Lodoli's paintings follow the progression of art through Titian, Raphael, Correggio, Buonaroti, and Paoli. Other pieces were by Carpaccio, the Vivarini da Murano, Donato Veneziano, Marco Basaiti, Bellini, Croce, and others. He also collected from the Lombard school: Francesco Squarcione, Andrea Mantegna, and Coreggio. There were many pieces from the Florentine School including Cimabue and Giotto. Still others were taken from various Flemish artists and the German romantic school. This organisation may have been influenced from his days with Maffei and almost surely affected Algarotti's attitude towards the purchase and arrangement of the collection for Frederick August II, the Elector of Saxony.<sup>69</sup> Memmo also reported that Lodoli had an assortment of architectural etchings, both of wood and of copper, and a wide selection of books on architecture.

These collections, as well as an assortment of architectural fragments that he had accumulated in the courtyard of *S Francesco della Vigna*, were used in Lodoli's lessons on architecture. After Lodoli's death in 1764 almost all of this was sold, taken away, or simply left in the library. At that time an unnamed member of the Council of Ten approached the Franciscans and told them that it would be best for the monastery to return all of Lodoli's papers. Believed to be state documents, as he was the censor many years prior, much of what Lodoli had written was confiscated. Considered to be not very important, they were stored under the leaky roof in the *Piombe* prison next to the Palazzo Ducale where the work rotted into history.

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<sup>69</sup> See Francis Haskell, *Patrons and Painters* (New Haven: Yale UPress, 1980) for more on Algarotti's taste in collection and also his relations with Frederick August II. Maffei was one of the first to organize artefacts in such a way.



## *Primary Sources*

The issue of primary source material is always a concern when discussing Lodoli. Early scholars assumed that he did not write anything.<sup>70</sup> They were wrong, however. Lodoli did write. Indeed, Memmo reported that Lodoli had written lessons for his students, not one but many treatises on architecture, as well as a book of architectural propositions (*sostituzioni*).<sup>71</sup> After reading the first edition of Memmo's *Elementi*, a certain father Egidio returned to Lodoli's cell at *S Francesco della Vigna* hoping to find some books that may have been left after Lodoli's death.<sup>72</sup> There he found a series of manuscripts within an armoire. The manuscripts contained lessons of Lodoli's school dealing with philosophy, history, politics, art and science, a history of *Fossa Claudia*, and four texts written for the *Riformatori dello Studio di Padova* regarding his role as censor.<sup>73</sup> He also found books on literature and history with annotations by Lodoli. The texts for the *Riformatori* are the only ones that have been re-discovered.<sup>74</sup>

As no specifically architectural text remains, the typical route to Lodoli's thought is via his students. Scholarship around Lodoli usually focuses on who may have best represented his true voice. At least three versions of Lodoli's theory exist: Francesco Algarotti, Zaccaria Sceriman, and Andrea Memmo.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> See Appendix II for elaboration.

<sup>71</sup> *Elementi* I: 118.

<sup>72</sup> For a description, see *Elementi* I: 120–22.

<sup>73</sup> *Fossa Claudia* is the city of *Chioggia* at the southern end of the Venetian lagoon. It is of earlier origin than Venice, and most likely the Roman *Portus Aedro*, or *Ebro*, though its name is derived from the Roman *Fossa Claudia*, a canalized estuary which, with the two mouths of the *Meduacus* (later called the *Brenta*), formed the harbour. See *Elementi* I: 59.

<sup>74</sup> See Mario Infelise, *Carlo Lodoli: Della censura dei Libri* (Venice: Marsilio, 2001).

<sup>75</sup> Francis Haskell in *Patrons and Painters* (New Haven: Yale UP, 1980) promotes Algarotti endlessly. Edgar Kaufman flip-flops between Algarotti and Memmo in various articles. Joseph Rykwert in *The First Moderns: Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980) compellingly establishes what Memmo had said two hundred years prior. This position is shared by Italian secondary sources as well, notably in Manlio Brusatin, *Venezia nel Settecento: stato architettura: territorio* (Torino: Einaudi, 1980).

Francesco Algarotti, a student of Lodoli known throughout the courts of Europe as the “Swan of Padua,” produced the only treatise during Lodoli’s life.<sup>76</sup> Lodoli quickly dismissed the *Saggio* in a sarcastic and surely embarrassing fable.<sup>77</sup> The story describes a situation in which a hunter, just returning from a hunting trip, leaves a gift of a fat pheasant in a well-known cook shop. Upon returning to the shop, the pheasant, which was to be enjoyed with a friend, was nowhere to be found. After examining the situation, the hunter discovers that an apprentice has fried the prized bird along with the daily rissoles and fritters. Memmo records that Lodoli’s reaction to Algarotti’s treatise was not malice but rather disappointment owing to Algarotti’s ignorance—a severe blow for sure to the socialite’s ego.

The *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton* (1764), written by Zaccaria Sceriman, has also been described as presenting a Lodolian opinion.<sup>78</sup> Sceriman was born in Venice in 1709, the son of a wealthy noble Armenian family and received a Jesuit education in Bologna. The *Viaggi* describes the plight of Enrico Wanton who is shipwrecked off the coast of Terra Australis in the Land of the Monkey-People (*Paese degli Scimie*).<sup>79</sup> The society of the capital city, *Scimiopoli*, displays the excess of fashion, costly luxury, and arranged marriages. This decadence is reflected in the architecture, characterized by a superfluity of non-structural columns, inappropriate use of materials, disregard for pleasing proportions. A philosopher among the *Scimie* is called mad due to his emphatic manner of presentation. Frascari has argued that this is a caricature of Lodoli.

The second half of the *Viaggi* is set in the Kingdom of the Dogfaced Men (*Regno dei Cinocefali*) and is ruled wisely but sternly by a philosopher king. For the *Cinocefali*, education begins with the reading of *novelette gentile*: short stories or fables that describe and distinguish

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<sup>76</sup> Francesco Algarotti, *Saggio Sopra l’Architettura* (Bologna: 1756).

<sup>77</sup> *Elementi* II: 43. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>78</sup> Enrico Sceriman, *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle terre incognite australi, ed ai regni delle scimie, e de’ cinocefali nuouamente tradotti da un manoscritto inglese* 2 vol. (Bassano, 1764). Most specifically, Marco Frascari promotes this view. See Marco Frascari, “Sortes Architectii,” (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1981). Sceriman also translated Laugier’s twelve volume *Histoire de la Republique du Venise* (1759–1768) into Italian.

<sup>79</sup> This is most likely a reference to Henry Wotton (1568–1639), an Englishman who had lived in Venice as an ambassador for many years and who wrote extensively on architecture and education.

virtues, vices, and passions by their comparison or opposition. A venerable sage identified as Leibniz leads the philosophers. Lodoli, again, was referred to as a cynic and an appropriate guide to this region. Both lands can be read as caricatures of Venetian society.

Most modern scholarship recognizes Andrea Memmo as Lodoli's most faithful student. Memmo presented Lodoli's theory of architecture in at least two texts. The first, the *Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana*, proposed new norms of architecture, while critiquing most everyone who had ever called himself or herself an architect, especially Vitruvius. The text also contains an outline for a treatise on architecture that Memmo claimed Lodoli gave to him at the end of his life. Essential to this outline is the metaphoric relation between function and representation. Thus, Lodoli is often referred to as the precursor to the modern dictum "form follows function." Memmo also describes an organic architecture—noted by Rykwert as being the first to name architecture in this way.<sup>80</sup> Its length and abundance of topics make the *Elementi* the usual source for Lodolian scholarship.

Andrea Memmo was not your typical Venetian.<sup>81</sup> The young Andrea was groomed from birth for an important life in politics. He was named Andrea after his uncle, the family patriarch and well-respected statesman.<sup>82</sup> The young Andrea literally followed his elder namesake into political life. By 1771 he was the Governor (*Provveditore*) to Padua and was busy promoting his successful urban renewal projects—specifically the *Prato della Valle*. In 1777 he was appointed as the Ambassador (*Balio*) to Constantinople, a position he held for five years. During his tenure there he made plans for the reconstruction of the ambassador's house.<sup>83</sup> He was then appointed,

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<sup>80</sup> Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980): 336 n.115. The characterization may come from Antonio Conti who described clothing in a similar way. See his *Prose e Poesie*. Seriman referred to some intellectuals as *organica* in the second half of his *Viaggi*. The Conti reference was given by Marco Frascari in "Sortes Architectii." (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1981): 142–43.

<sup>81</sup> See note 41 of this section for references to Memmo's biographical information.

<sup>82</sup> The elder Andrea held many positions in the Venetian government, including the Ambassador (*Balio*) to Constantinople, where he was famously imprisoned and tortured, and ended his career as the *Procuratore di San Marco*, the highest position in Venice, after the Doge.

<sup>83</sup> See Tommaso Bertele, *Il Palazzo degli ambasciatori di Venezia a Constantinopole le sue antiche memorie* (Bologna: Apollo, 1931). Though I have not seen the building, drawings can be found in the

again in the capacity of ambassador, to go to Rome, arriving there in the spring of 1783. Rome was, for the recently widowed father of two girls, full of empty excitement. The lack of influence wielded by the Venetian Republic was painfully clear to him, and he found himself amused but bored. While in Rome he began to write what was to become the *Elementi*. He was elected as the *Procuratore di S Marco* in 1787 and was narrowly defeated for the selection of Doge two years later by Ludovico Manin, the last Doge of Venice. Memmo died in 1793 after a long bout of gangrene—one year before the Republic would do the same.

On the occasion of Memmo's appointment to the *Procuratore* in 1787 at least two texts related to Lodoli's teachings were published. The first, an Arcadian apologue by Melchiorre Cesarotti entitled *La Luna d'Agosto*, made homage to Lodoli and the moon. The second was the *Apologhi Immaginati* published by Memmo. It is difficult to determine the exact authorship of the *Apologhi*. It is clear that Lodoli presented the stories orally, but many students heard them and a few offered their recollections to the collection. Most important was Andrea's brother Bernardo, who helped to organise and to edit the collection.<sup>84</sup> Memmo noted these difficulties in authorship in the introduction and in various letters.<sup>85</sup>

The *Apologhi*, as the title indicates, is a collection of apologues or fables. It is important for this study as it offers not only Lodoli's theoretical position, but also constitutes a record of Lodoli's lessons. The Oxford English Dictionary, defines an apologue as "an allegorical story intended to convey a useful lesson; a moral fable. Applied more especially to a story in which the

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Bertele text and also Manilo Brusatin, *Venezia nel Settecento: stato, architettura, territorio* (Turin: Einaudi, 1980): images 107, 108. Both are reproductions of originals in the *Archivio di Stato* in Venice. Memmo's proposal was not completed. The Bertele text shows photos of the palazzo in 1931, without the Lodolian sills. I have no evidence of its current condition.

<sup>84</sup> See Susanna Pasqualli, "Scrivere di architettura intorno al 1780: Andrea Memmo e Francesco Milizia tra il Veneto e Roma," *zeitenblicke* Vol. 2 (2003).

<sup>85</sup> See Susanna Pasqualli, "Scrivere di architettura intorno al 1780: Andrea Memmo e Francesco Milizia tra il Veneto e Roma," *zeitenblicke* Vol. 2 (2003): notes 10, 11. The letters are between Memmo and Giulio Perini and document both Memmo's uncertainty as to what he should publish—a second version of Moral Apologues or include the architectural ones into the first volume—and the difficulty in rendering Lodoli's original tone in written text. The original letters are catalogued in the *Archivio di Stato*, in Florence, Ad 94–147, 02.10.1784.

actors or speakers are taken from the brute creation or from inanimate nature.”<sup>86</sup> It is related etymologically to an apology, understood as a defence, most famously used in this manner by Plato, who named the depiction of Socrates’ trial by the same title.

The Socratic connection is important. Lodoli is named as “*forse il Socrate Architetto*” in the frontispiece of the *Apologhi* and the first edition of the *Elementi*.<sup>87</sup> Memmo also referred to Lodoli as Socrates in a letter to his close friend Giulio Perini. In his typically modest manner, Memmo claimed that he was not the Plato to his Lodoli (as Socrates), but he is certain that the apologues will introduce Lodoli to more than only those in Venice.<sup>88</sup> The reference to Socrates is not due so much to due to his lack of writing, as many modern scholars are quick to point out. Rather, the name derives from his difficult character, his desire to form a new Republic, and his interest in the education of young men. Each of these claims was credited to him in the eighteenth century.<sup>89</sup> In the introduction to the *Apologhi*, Memmo stated that Lodoli was an insatiable admirer of Socrates and wished to imitate him. Indeed, Socrates is the main character in a number of the fables.

The *Apologhi* contains fifty-six fables. Memmo begins the introduction by apologizing for not being able to remember all of them. He expressed their importance, but did not feel that he needed to prove how important they were. Memmo asserted: “Non perderò ora tempo a mostrar quail utilità possano derivar dalle immagini [the apologues], che fondata sopra una ben intesta analogia, e con industria dirette all’uso pratico della vita per la stessa via del diletto

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<sup>86</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version. s.v. “Apologue.”

<sup>87</sup> See Appendix I for frontispiece.

<sup>88</sup> See Susanna Pasqualli, “Scrivere di architettura intorno al 1780: Andrea Memmo e Francesco Milizia tra il Veneto e Roma,” *zeitenblicke* Vol. 2 (2003): note 121 and also GianFranco Torcellan, *Una Figura della Venezia Settecentesca: Andrea Memmo* (Venice/Rome: Istituto per la Collaborazione Culturale, 1963): 187, who cites a letter to Giulio Perini from Memmo dated Rome 23 July 1785: “La mia opera Lodoliana è già terminata, e sono contento d’averla fatta. Io non sarò un Platone, ma sono certo che il Socrate architetto sarà disotterato.”

<sup>89</sup> Giorgio Baffo penned a few pornographic poems upon the death of Lodoli, which placed Lodoli’s character and personal habits in a less than positive light. See Piero del Negro, ed. Giorgio Baffo, *Poesie* (Milano: Mondadori, 1991): 385–88. Algarotti referred to the students of Lodoli as the “Socratic Army.” For further reference see *Elementi* II: 7, II:42 and also *Apologhi* 6, 7.

agevolano l'intelligenza, o purificano il cuore."<sup>90</sup> He goes on to explain that Lodoli was not interested in simply proposing moral tales, as other fable-tellers may have done. Rather, Lodoli "crearne per l'uso di tutte le professioni, come s'è potuto vedere, dove trattai dell Civile Architettura [*Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana*], e come meglio vedrassi nella seconda parte d'esso mio libro già compiuta, e che non tarderà molto ad uscire."<sup>91</sup> The stories were clearly pedagogical in design, intended to spur action and not simply for amusement or contemplation.

Both texts by Memmo were written for and dedicated to students of architecture. Both explore the common theme of *indole*.

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<sup>90</sup> *Apologhi* 5–6.

<sup>91</sup> *Apologhi* 6.

2. ***Material Indole***

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*Doctrines must take their beginning from that of the matters of which they treat.*

Giambattista Vico, 1744

*Ut Eruas et Destruas...*

The *Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana* was dedicated “ a’soli giovani studiosi d’Architettura.”<sup>1</sup> What follows is a tour de force offering a critical examination of over two thousand years of architectural history, quotes, opinions, and references. It is difficult to actually imagine a student of architecture sitting down with the *Elementi*, reading it straight through, and getting much out of it. I don’t believe this was the reception Memmo intended when writing the book. Rather than attempting his own historical survey or architectural treatise per se, Memmo was attempting to write down and to put into context the thoughts and opinions of his long-dead master.<sup>2</sup> As shown in the *Elementi*, Lodoli questioned the essential nature of architectural knowledge. In doing so, he questioned the entire Western architectural tradition.

Memmo recognised the potential resistance to Lodoli’s position. He understood, however, that some students of architecture would simply not need Lodoli’s theory to question for themselves, others would. Memmo described the reception of his text with a story of two friends who were at a parade.<sup>3</sup> One of the two, a pygmy, was trying to watch what was happening. Being rather short he was unable to see the parade as it passed. He asked his friend what was going on. His friend replied that the pygmy had good eyes and good ears and should get up on a chair if he wanted to see. Memmo related the two friends to students of architecture. Some will be able to clearly understand Lodoli’s position. Others, like the pygmy, may need a chair to stand upon. Memmo explained his intention in writing the *Elementi*:

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<sup>1</sup> *Elementi* I: 127.

<sup>2</sup> Memmo began writing twenty years after the death of Lodoli. He continually apologizes to the reader for his memory lapses. In fact, this may be a contributing factor to Lodoli’s relative obscurity. Architects of the nineteenth century popularized Milizia much before Memmo or Lodoli. Susanna Pasqualli in “Scrivere di architettura intorno al 1780: Andrea Memmo e Francesco Milizia tra il Veneto e Rome,” *zeitenblicke* Vol. 2 No. 3 (Dec., 2003): believes this was the case because Memmo was not intending to write his own theory whereas Milizia’s work, though far from original was still seen as his own. Pasqualli references Cicognara for her argument.

<sup>3</sup> *Elementi* I: 127-28. See Appendix I for complete translation.



Devo pur dichiarare che non osando io, nè avendo il tempo o la volontà di fare un trattato d'architettura, (il che credo non essere cosa difficile impastando con nuovo glutine il già detto come in questi ultimi tempi tanti altri fecero) non ho, dico, altro oggetto in questa mia impresa che di esporre quello che reputerò necessarissimo per far meglio comprendere i lodoliani elementi.<sup>4</sup>

For those pygmy-like students, Memmo offered a chair to stand up on and understand the elements of Lodolian architecture.

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<sup>4</sup> *Elementi* I:128. The “glutine” that Memmo refers to is most likely the work of Milizia, which he relied upon for much of his text.

## *Vitruvius*

The *Elementi* begins with Vitruvius, who, is repeatedly referred to as the voice of the ancients. Memmo was not interested in making a complete study of Vitruvius as others, including Lodoli, had done.<sup>5</sup> Instead, Memmo's goal was to "d'investigar le ragioni prime e nude delle cose, non sarà meraviglia se siamo per ispogliare Vitruvio di quella tanta autorità, che gli derivò dall'essere stato il solo fra gli antichi scrittori d'architettura che abbiamo quasi illeso."<sup>6</sup> Memmo repeatedly used these analogies of undressing (*ispogliare*) something to access a "nude" reasoning that was seen as a revelation of something original or most basic.

Memmo set out to show that notwithstanding Vitruvius's continued authority, his work contained many contradictions. Consequently, one should not blindly follow the text. Considering prior commentary on Vitruvius throughout history, Memmo suggested that Lodoli's position was not unique; through his catalogue of previous critique, Memmo attempted to demonstrate that a tradition critical of Vitruvius had been established.

Memmo first reviewed the earliest Latin and Italian editions of Vitruvius, quoting a number of authors critical to the Roman writer.<sup>7</sup> Memmo maintained that Leon Battista Alberti was a great admirer of Vitruvius but, quoting Alberti, claimed "che in molti luoghi della sua opera [Vitruvius's] alcune cose mancano, ed in altri più se ne desiderano."<sup>8</sup> Memmo contended that some of the criticism of Vitruvius stemmed from the difficulty in interpreting what Vitruvius

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<sup>5</sup> Memmo lists a series of Lodoli's corrections to the Galiani edition of Vitruvius, which I discuss later in this section. The most important eighteenth century study of Vitruvius was Poleni's *Exercitationes Vitruvianae* (first part published 1739-41). Surely Lodoli and Memmo were well aware of Poleni's work: both were friends with Poleni, it was partially published while Lodoli was censor, and Consul Smith had a copy in his library.

<sup>6</sup> *Elementi* I: 133.

<sup>7</sup> See *Elementi* I: 133-52. Memmo most likely did not look at all of the earliest editions, but relied upon Poleni.

<sup>8</sup> *Elementi* I: 139. Memmo cited Alberti, *Dieci Libri dell'Architettura* 4 vol. (Rome, 1784): 253. See also Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*. Trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavenor. (Cambridge MA: MIT Press, 1988): 154.

was trying to say. These included at least the following: Gasparo Scioppio,<sup>9</sup> Gerardo Giovanni Vossio,<sup>10</sup> Girolamo Cardano,<sup>11</sup> Giovanni Amico,<sup>12</sup> Guglielmo Filandro,<sup>13</sup> Girolamo Mercuriale,<sup>14</sup> Guglielmo Buddeo, who, while reading Vitruvius, felt as if he was drowning in a tempestuous sea, and, most importantly, Berardo Galiani.<sup>15</sup> Blondel in the *Encyclopedia* described Vitruvius as disorganised and very obscure. Perrault was referred to as one of Vitruvius's harshest critics, believing him to not only be mistaken, but also pretentious.

Memmo also noted more practical critiques. Vincenzo Scamozzi, for instance, was one of few people with the courage to assert that Vitruvius had barely discussed the materiality of the orders. Memmo quoted Scamozzi:

Che dovea con maggiore studio e diligenza procurare di meglio descrivere a spiegar più scientificamente le parti de'suoi [Vitruvius] scritti, le modulazioni degli ordini, le proporzioni delle loro parti e membra, e tante altre cose le quali come dice egli, invero mancano nella sua opera; e dimostrare molto più chiaramente tutte le cose, come si conveniva ad un eccellente architetto, con una infinità di esempj, di scritti e delle famose opere delle Grecia, le quali a tempo suo erano in fiore, e che tuttavia egli non vide, nè punto osservò.<sup>16</sup>

Memmo's catalogue of criticism continued to focus on perceived inconsistencies within the orders. Giuseppe Zannini had accused Vitruvius of omitting words for the upper elements of the orders.<sup>17</sup> In his preface, Augustin Charles d'Aviler claimed that if professionals wished to

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<sup>9</sup> Kaspar Schoppe (1576-1649), was a virulent anti-Jesuit and scholar of Machiavelli.

<sup>10</sup> Gerardus Johannes Vossius (1577-1649), was a Dutch Humanist and close friend of Hugo Grotius.

<sup>11</sup> Cardano (1501-76), the well-known physician, was born, after unsuccessful attempts at his own abortion in Pavia. He was imprisoned by the Inquisition for reading/drawing the horoscope of Christ and finally committed suicide. See his biography *De Vita Propria Liber (the Book of My Life)*, translated by Jean Stoner (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd., 1931).

<sup>12</sup> Giovanni Biagio Amico offered a critique of Vitruvius in his own *L'Architetto Pratico* (1726).

<sup>13</sup> Memmo is referring to the Filandro edition of Vitruvius of 1544 published in Rome.

<sup>14</sup> Mercuriale was a well-known professor of medicine (1530-1606) at Pisa. He was also the First Physician to the Grand Duke (Medici).

<sup>15</sup> Many, including Memmo, considered this to be the most important Italian edition of Vitruvius on the peninsula in the eighteenth century, much to the chagrin of Poleni and Stratico.

<sup>16</sup> *Elementi* I: 142.

<sup>17</sup> *Elementi* I: 143.

abandon the Gothic, their best guide was not Vitruvius. Frezier's critique of Vitruvius concerned the organisation of the orders with respect to different levels of the façade. Cordemoy thought that the entablature must not have resulted from good reason, and accordingly criticized Vitruvius' acceptance of them in the architrave. Wolfio was critical of Vitruvius' rules to fix *acroteria*.<sup>18</sup> Serlio noted the difficulty in understanding Vitruvius's description of capitals. Conte de Caylus claimed that Vitruvius not only failed to instruct him in the invention of the orders, but even made him unhappy. Patte's critique, simply, was that Vitruvius did not offer practical advice.

These practical concerns were often based on perceived contradictions in Vitruvius' work. Memmo cited Henry Wotton, who was himself repeating what many had said before him. Wotton then added that, though he wished to follow Vitruvius, he was troubled by the contradictions. Roland Frèart de Chambray claimed that the work of "Father Vitruvius" was suspect and conformed neither to the practice of the ancients nor to that of contemporary architects. Le Roy noted the contradiction between the archaeological evidence and the textual evidence. Carletti concurred with Le Roy and added that Vitruvius was not very clear in his writing. Bernardo Vittone, the disciple of Juvarra and Guarini, thought Vitruvius' inconsistencies very tiring. Sanvitali agreed with everyone else: Vitruvius was obscure in his style, without a method, confusing, and his doctrine of the orders was imperfect. Further, he felt that Vitruvius contradicted himself by stating that the text was not intended to be a treatise on the origin of architecture but only on the principles of construction. Finally, Laugier noted that while Vitruvius exposed some of the mysteries of architecture, he was ultimately unable to tear open the veil surrounding it. Laugier added that most moderns—excluding of course his intellectual mentor, Cordemoy—blindly followed the contradictions found in Vitruvius.

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<sup>18</sup> Christian Wolfe (1679-1754), was a follower of Leibniz and intellectual maverick.

Having adopted “an iron and fire approach,” a phrase taken directly from Francesco Milizia, Memmo apologized for his pessimism.<sup>19</sup> The critique can be summed up as follows: Vitruvius was obscure and difficult and his advice was often far from practical. All of these reasons derive from contradictions found in his work. Memmo wanted to emphasize that Lodoli was not alone in his criticism of Vitruvius.

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<sup>19</sup> Memmo borrowed this directly from Milizia who in fact probably took it from Piranesi. See Giovanni Battista Piranesi *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette*. Tr. Caroline Beamish and David Britt. (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2002): 107.

## *The Greeks*

Vitruvius was not the only guide to ancient authority. The monuments of the Greeks are also guides of a sort. Memmo again referenced previous writers to support this claim.<sup>20</sup> For example, Frezier wrote that the best model of architecture was to be found in Greece. Blondel asserted that in France neither Brunant, nor le Brun, nor le Clerc had ever able been able to approximate the beauty of the Greek orders. Laugier, in his history of architecture, claimed that architecture attained perfection with the Greeks.<sup>21</sup> Le Roy agreed, adding that the Greek principles were the easiest to execute and, that those who altered the Greek orders were bizarre. Comte de Caylus believed that Greek architecture displayed the most sublime and elegant parts. Memmo was quick to point out that he did not share these views.

Notwithstanding his catalogue of references, however, Memmo conceded that Greek Architecture may have been a “golden age.” He agreed with Le Roy, and Stuart and Revett, who claimed that this peak occurred in Athens during the Age of Pericles. Memmo had never seen any of the monuments first hand, however. Indeed, his sources were textual and included Jacob Spon, Johann-Joachim Winckelmann,<sup>22</sup> Michel Fourmont,<sup>23</sup> Julien-David Le Roy,<sup>24</sup> Nicholas Revett and James Stuart,<sup>25</sup> and Giambattista Piranesi.<sup>26</sup> Memmo praised Revett and Stuart for

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<sup>20</sup> See *Elementi* I: 153-96.

<sup>21</sup> Marc-Antoine Laugier, *Essai sur l'architecture* (Paris: Chez Duchesne, 1753).

<sup>22</sup> Here Memmo mis-referenced Winckelmann's *Recherches sur l'architecture des anciens* (Paris, 1783). It should be *Remarques sur l'architecture des anciens* (Paris, 1783).

<sup>23</sup> Fourmont (1690-1746) was a member of the *Accademie des Inscriptions*. He was sent to Greece to copy inscriptions by the French government. Winckelmann praised his work.

<sup>24</sup> Julien-David Le Roy, *Les ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grece*. (Paris 1758, 1770).

<sup>25</sup> Stuart and Revett travelled to the Levant via Venice and surely came into contact with Memmo through Consul Smith, who funded the trip. For a larger discussion on various travels to the Levant and for discussion surrounding the intention and reception of both Le Roy and Stuart and Revett, see Dora Wiebenson, *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1969). See also Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage into Substance* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984), for a discussion of travel accounts to “foreign” lands through the eighteenth century

trying to correct Le Roy and Piranesi for his criticism of the Frenchman. Nevertheless, Memmo's main source remained Le Roy's *Le ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grece* which was available long before Stuart and Revett's landmark study, *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762-1816).<sup>27</sup>

The first part of Memmo's critique is this; given how few people have actually seen the Greek monuments in person, it does not make any sense to imitate them. Memmo admitted that he enjoyed both Le Roy's and Stuart and Revett's beautiful words, he wondered where are the places that the authors speak of? He appealed to the young student intent on imitating the Greeks:

A così belle parole, a tante autorità mi rassegno: ma chiederò poi ove sono codesti modelli per poterne avverti la gioventù che amasse d'imitarli? In qualche luogo dell'Attica, dell'Arcipelago o dell'Asia certamente saranno. Quelli che affermano non solo esser bella una cosa, ma più bella di tutte, o l'avranno ben esaminata cogli occhi proprii, o ne avran ritratto, da diligentissime relazioni idee sì giuste e tali da equivilere a'più accurati disegni. Ma quale fra i fervidi predicanti fu in Grecia ad osservarne le ruine dal du Roy [Le Roy] e dallo Stuart in fuori? Nessuno. Come! Nessuno ha veduto quel che consiglia altrui ad imitare come il non *plus ultra* del bello? Eppure è così.<sup>28</sup>

Memmo asked why it was that modern authors seemed to reference the same buildings while the classical sources of Thucydides, Xenophon, Herodotus, Polybius, and Plutarch did not. Memmo claimed to privilege the classical sources owing to their direct access to the time and place of the

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<sup>26</sup> Giambattista Piranesi, *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani* (Rome, 1761). As the title suggests the text is not primarily about Greek architecture, though Piranesi does take time to criticize Le Roy and the Greek monuments.

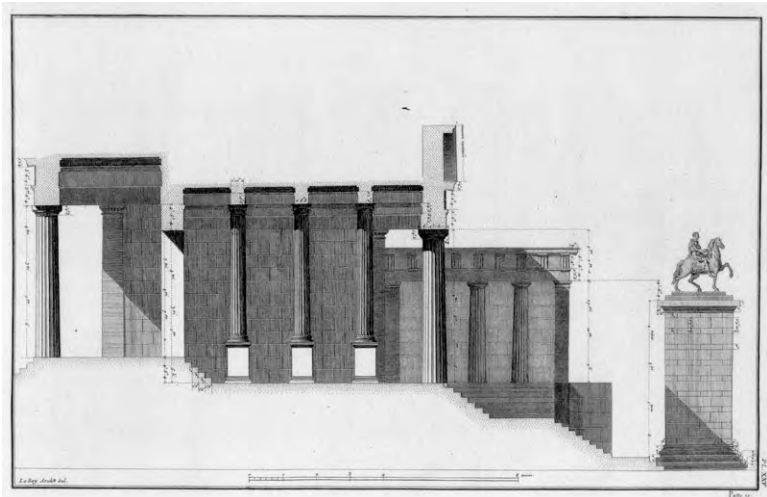
<sup>27</sup> Revett and Stuart's initial survey was conducted between 1751-54 with the support of the Society of Dilettanti. The first volume went to press in 1762, the second (posthumously) in 1789, the third, 1794, and the fourth in 1816. Memmo could only have seen the first volume, which he dates as 1776. It is doubtful that Lodoli saw any of them. Lodoli most likely knew the second volume of Richard Pococke's *A Description of the East* (London: 1745). Memmo references Pococke's descriptions of pyramidal Egyptian temples (*Elementi* I: 171) and an example of a pre-Greek column (*Elementi* I: 300).

<sup>28</sup> *Elementi* I: 157.

buildings described by the modern authors.<sup>29</sup> He reasoned that if he was not able to have seen the buildings first hand, then those who lived in and had used them had privileged access to the meaning of the monuments. Memmo, however, looked to the more modern authors.

Memmo's description of Greek architecture revolved around five monuments: the Propylaia of the Citadel in Athens, the Temple of Minerva (the Parthenon), the Temple of Erechtheus, the Temple of Minerva Sunias, and the Lantern of Demosthenes (also known as the Monument to Lysikrates). Previous authors who made the journey to Greece typically discussed these buildings. Though Memmo repeatedly stated that he had never been to Greece, he described the buildings of the Acropolis as if he were walking through them: he immediately complained that the stairs were too high to be comfortable, actually moaning from the pain in the backs of his knees and feet (SEE FIGURE EIGHT).

*figure 8*  
*Section of Propylaia,*  
*Pierre Patte, after Le Roy*



Memmo explained:

Presentiamoci adunque ad uno di que tempii. Che veggo! Il mio polpite, il mio garetto non può reggere nell'ascender i gradini all'intorno senza un'immensa fatica. Come? Sono questi alti più diciannove pollici, profondi ventisei? Se

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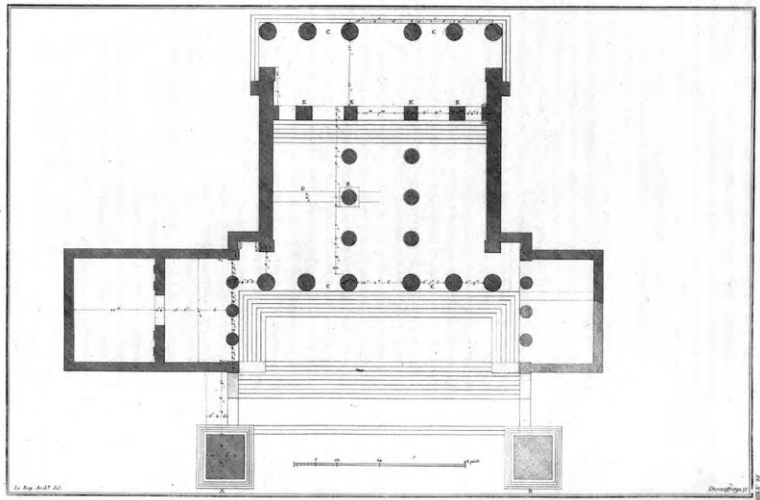
<sup>29</sup> All of these classical writers could have been considered “historians,” though Memmo’s claim of primary access is a bit dubious for Polybius and Plutarch. Both of who lived more than two centuries after the Age of Pericles.



Iddio non mi allunga le gambe più di quelle d'un gigante, non potrò mai entrar a pregarlo nella sua santa casa.<sup>30</sup>

Memmo compared the stairs to those in a Roman theatre and reasoned that at least the Roman stairs had a dual purpose: they could be used as seats as well. Continuing to the top of the stairs, Memmo reached the portico, which he admitted was a helpful protection against the rain. He wondered though, what could the two spaces to either side of the portico have been used for especially as there were no doors? The two spaces seemed superfluous and unnecessary (SEE FIGURE NINE). Continuing his walk, Memmo finally arrived at the Parthenon. There, he was surprised to find no natural light in the cella. He imagined that modern people would scream if a temple were built with only one entrance for both light and air.

*figure 9*  
*Plan of Propylaea,*  
*Jean-Francois de Neufforge*  
*after Le Roy*



Essentially, the meaning of a building is dependant upon convenience and use (*comodo*). Memmo initially questioned how the Greeks could see this structure as advantageous but then rationalized that ancient Greek temples were used for sacrifices, not Christian masses, and that while Greek temple was likely to be suitable for Greek sacrifices it was not an appropriate model for a Christian church and even less so for a house to live in. He concluded that Greek monuments should not be used as models for modern churches or homes, just as one should not

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<sup>30</sup> *Elementi* I: 168-69.

imitate the dress (*il costume*) of a Greek pagan.<sup>31</sup> In other words, one should follow the use and convenience of modern rituals and situations and not simply imitate ancient buildings. There is a clear recognition here by Memmo of historical difference.

The description of the monuments continues through each of the orders: the Doric Parthenon, the Ionic Temple of Erectheus, and the Corinthian Lantern of Demosthenes. Each element of the orders is named and described with reference to the other elements. No images are given. Memmo praised the elements that were correctly proportioned with respect to material and use, and condemned those that were derived from the proportions of wood but then sculpted in stone. Very few elements were praised. Memmo did approve of a round cornice—depending on the material used—and noted that it could be useful to keep the rain off. He added, though, that this role was unnecessary in a land where rain seldom falls.



*figure 10*  
*Section of Lantern of Demosthenes,*  
*Jean-Francois de Neufforge*  
*after Le Roy*

Memmo critiqued the Lantern of Demosthenes, first because he could not understand the use of such a small circular temple and then on account of the inconsistencies in the elements of the orders (SEE FIGURE TEN).

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<sup>31</sup> *Elementi* I: 172-73. Memmo stated: “Ne’ tempj degli antichi una soll’ara trovavasi pe’ sacrificj. Cambiatisi questi fra noi fortunatamente con quello della messa, e multiplicatisi in conseguenza gli altari, non potremmo anche volendo, imitare in questo il costume dei Greci pagani.”

I quote from Memmo:

La fascia sotto imposta che non corrisponde all'altezza della colonna, è solo un semplice ornamento di scultura. Le colonne poi *sono e non sono colonne*, perchè con qualche piccola alterazione nella parte in cui congiungonsi fra gli attaccamenti de'lastroni, furono lavorate intere nel di dentro, lasciate però le canalature; non comparendo al di fuori che quali rotondi pilastri striati.<sup>32</sup>

The orders have become columns and should act as such. The elements of the orders, if they do not respond to the material or to structural performance, are simply superfluous.

Emerging from Memmo's critique of Greek monuments are two ideas that will be treated more comprehensively in the next part of this section: *solidità* and *comodo*. Greek monuments were not built with real or apparent solidity (*solidità*) with respect to the materials that the buildings were made. The architectural elements of the orders did not correspond to architecture constructed of stone. Further, Greek temples lacked an understandable convenience or appropriateness (*comodo*). Memmo had trouble understanding how the temples could have been appropriate to the rituals that occurred in them. Notwithstanding Memmo's professed uncertainty as to the original intentions of the temples, he was quite confident that they were not equivalent to the purposes of an eighteenth century house. It is for these reasons that the temples should not be used as models for contemporary architecture.

After *undressing*—Memmo's word to describe his critical hermeneutic—the Parthenon, Erechtheon, and Lantern of Demosthenes, Memmo wondered if the examples given by Le Roy and Stuart and Revett were really the most beautiful examples to imitate.

...[O]sserverò che essendo un vero vizio nell'architettura il gettarsi senza frutto, avrebbe il padrone di una nuova fabbrica ragion di lagnarsene col suo architetto, se vedesse che per imitare la laterna di Demostene gli si facesse gettar

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<sup>32</sup> *Elementi* I: 183-84, (emphasis added).

superfluamente quel denaro in un maggior materiale ed in un maggior lavoro, che non essendo necessarii, potrebbe riserbare per meglio impiegarlo.<sup>33</sup>

Not only is imitation bad, it is a waste of money. Memmo warned the youth:

Ora raccogliendo la sostanza di quanto esposi in esso, è da riflettere che quelli i quali consigliarono a seguire gli esempi de' Greci del buon secolo in confronto delle regole vitruviane, non dedussero da sicuri fondamenti quanto sostennero, e che in conseguenza i giovani avrebbero potuto prendere molti equivoci od imitare delle cose non tanto lodevoli, se si fossero attenuti anche a'soli le Roy, Revett e Stuart.<sup>34</sup>

Underlying all of this is, as with the Vitruvius, a criticism of the blind acceptance of the authority of the ancients. He asked where we would be if Bacon, Galileo, Newton, Boyle, Vauban, and others had not questioned antiquity, but simply followed in its tracks without daring to venture into new territory. Memmo concluded the section on the Greeks by making a mock plea for forgiveness to the readers of Lodoli if he was not blindly carried away by Vitruvius or by contemporary writers who, without any real knowledge, praise and privilege the work of the Greeks over all others. Ever the politician, Memmo rationalised that the brightness and quickness of the golden age of Greece may have influenced many Greek sculptors and architects into poor reasoning. Memmo was setting up his discussion of the Romans who, he believed, did not simply imitate the past.

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<sup>33</sup> *Elementi* I: 184.

<sup>34</sup> *Elementi* I: 196.

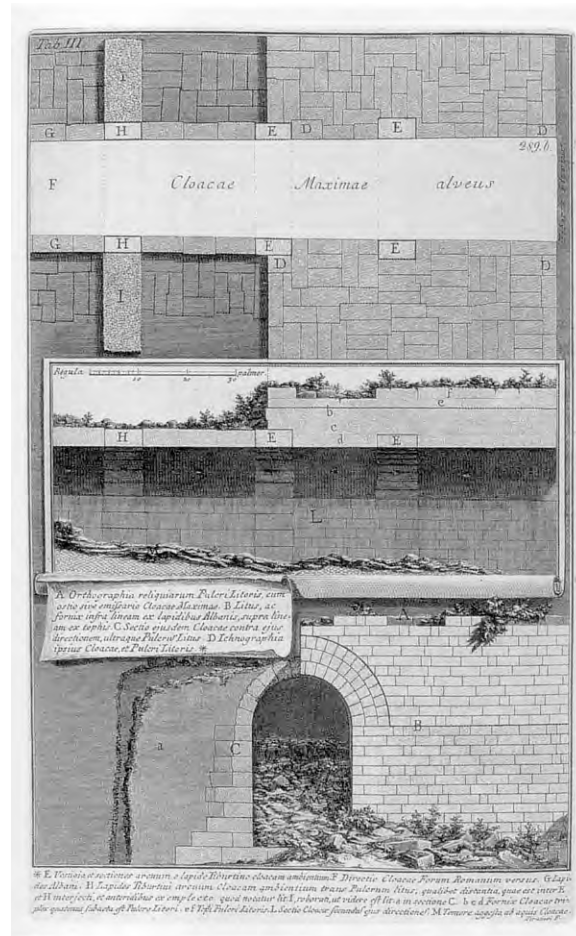
## The Romans

It is clear that neither the rules of Vitruvius nor the examples of the Greeks should be blindly adhered to. What then, is the best path to follow? Should one even look to the past? For Lodoli and Memmo there were many interesting examples in Rome from which to learn, though of course, not simply to imitate.

It is important to remember that both Lodoli and Memmo had first hand knowledge of Rome. Lodoli, in his early twenties, stayed at the monastery of *Santa Maria di Aracoeli* in between the *Campidoglio* and the Roman Forum. Memmo was there as an older and well-respected ambassador (1783-87). It was in Rome that Memmo decided to write what would become the first volume of the *Elementi*. In the *Elementi*, Memmo named examples of what were considered to be important pieces of Roman architecture. The first example given was the *Cloaca Maxima* (SEE FIGURE ELEVEN). Memmo described this as

a project that displayed the solidity of architecture as understood by Etruscan

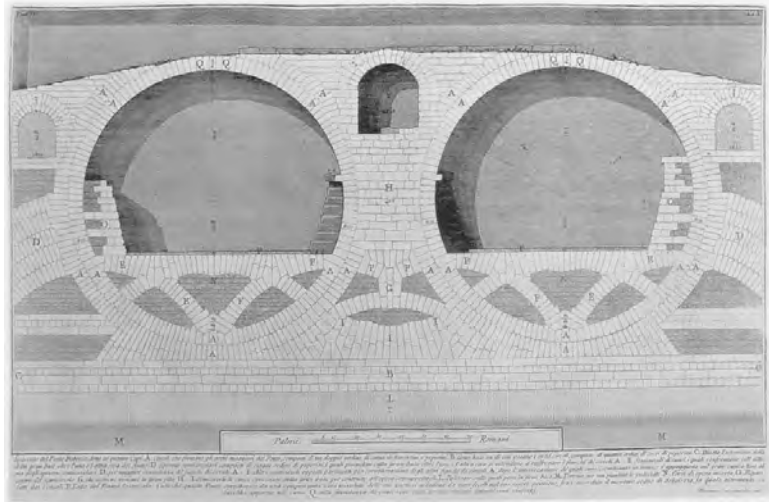
architects. He also praised the *Ponte Fabrizio* (also referred to as the *Ponte Quattro Capi*) (SEE FIGURE TWELVE) as an example of good architecture. Neither employs columns, either as ornament or for structure. Though Piranesi had been dead for a few years when Memmo was in Rome, his



**figure 11**  
*Cloaca Maximus,*  
*Piranesi*

presence was still felt.<sup>35</sup> Piranesi had praised both projects in various texts.<sup>36</sup> Neither project is shown in Desgodetz's *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome* (Paris, 1682, 1779).

figure 12  
Ponte Fabrizio,  
Piranesi



To Memmo, Roman architecture represented the second “age of gold.”<sup>37</sup> In making this argument, he continued the method of selective referencing. For example, Memmo reported that Alberti praised the new inventions of the Romans, for combining the most praiseworthy ideas of the ancients. Palladio believed that the Romans were able to make things better than even those who came after them. Scamozzi asserted that the architecture of the Romans was equalled only by the excellence of the empire itself; he claimed that the true and perfect understanding of Roman art could only be gained through the measure of their buildings. For Scamozzi, it was not possible to equal the Romans. Alessandro Pompei said that the work of the Romans demonstrated merit for many centuries. Nicolò Carletti and Vincenzo Lamberti said the same thing.

<sup>35</sup> The student/teacher relation between Piranesi and Lodoli is often assumed; clearly there are strong affinities between the two characters. I have not been able to determine for sure if Piranesi was in fact a student of Lodoli. Rykwert, Brusatin, both Kaufmans, and Haskell all assume a connection. Memmo does not mention Piranesi when he lists other students of Lodoli. See Lionello Puppi “Appunti sulla educazione Veneziana di Giambattista Vico,” *Piranesi tra Venezia e l’Europa*. Ed. Alessandro Bettagno, (Florence: L.S. Olshiki, 1983): 219 for a listing of Piranesi’s early professors. Lodoli is not mentioned.

<sup>36</sup> The *Cloaca Maxima* was represented in Piranesi, *Della magnificenza ed Architettura de’ Romani* (Rome, 1761), a book given to Lodoli by Piranesi a few years before Lodoli’s death (See *Elementi* II: 139). The *Ponte Fabrizio* was described in Piranesi’s *Le Antichità Romane IV* (Rome, 1756).

<sup>37</sup> See *Elementi* I: 197-238.

That the Romans excelled in art and architecture was universally understood; though what Memmo debated in particular was the moment at which Rome most fully achieved its glory. Memmo referenced Milizia who asked, “E chi non sa che il secolo d’Augusto è stato per le scienze e per le belle arti il secolo d’oro? Fu allora che l’architettura greca si stabilì fortemente in Roma, e vi prese un sublime volo....”<sup>38</sup> The Greeks were good, the Romans better. Memmo then discussed other architects who had debated at which point the Romans achieved their brilliance. For instance, Blondel maintained that Roman architecture as well as the other arts, reached the highest point of perfection under Augustus. Paolo Federigo Bianchi suggested the same, namely that there was a universal reign of good taste in architecture under the reign of Augustus. Briseux, in contrast, claimed that perfection was attained under Vespasian. Sanvitale reported that, while the Greek architecture was certainly captivating, the Romans brought architecture to new heights—which was perfected by Augustus, neglected by Tiberius, exaggerated by Nero with excessive ornament, had flowered anew under Trajan, but then declined under Severo.

This perfection was most clearly revealed in the Pantheon which, Memmo claimed, left a very strong impression on Lodoli and also his own young mind. Both praised the building for its simplicity and honesty. Indeed, Venetian architects from the Renaissance through the eighteenth century found a very strong model in the Pantheon. Various “mini-Pantheons” are scattered around the Veneto including Palladio’s *Tempietto Barbaro* (1579-80) in Masè (near Treviso), *San Simeone Piccolo* (1718-38) in Venice by Giovanni Scalfarotto, the *La Chiesa della Maddalena* (~1760) in Venice by Tommaso Temanza, and the *Tempio* in Possagno (1819) by Antonio Canova and Antonio Selva.<sup>39</sup> While Memmo admitted that the Pantheon was clearly an example to learn from, he still asked: what is the real Pantheon? Memmo related that Lodoli, too, had asked this question. He quoted Lodoli:

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<sup>38</sup> *Elementi* I: 201.

<sup>39</sup> This is a partial list. For others built through the nineteenth century and also throughout other parts of Italy see Carrol Meeks, “Pantheon Paradigm,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 19 No. 4 (1960): 135-44.

Come! Pien di meraviglia riposi, vi potrebbero essere differenze in cose di fatto, quali sono le misure, e specialmente le riportate da quelli che appunto più stimaronsi per la soma esattezza ch'ebbero nel copiar le fabbriche de' Romani? Ella non si riscaldi contro di me, gentiluomo garbatissimo, seguitò a dirme, perchè non vi metto niente del mio. Potrei forse farlo perchè quando io fui a Roma era estatico pure di sì grandiose mole, che perciò non lasciai di molto osservare; ma quando io posso parar innanzi altri, loro cedo il posto volentieri. Or ella abbia la bontà di prendere di questi quattro autori, compreso il Desgodetz, per confrontarli tra essi. Mi saprà poi dire quello che la sembrerà, e per ora più non ne parliamo.<sup>40</sup>

Notably, critique was not focused around the architecture or construction of the building, but rather the scholarship pertaining to it. Memmo related that different authors—such as Serlio, Perrault, Chambray, and Desgodetz—offered different accounts as to the meaning of Roman buildings.<sup>41</sup> He also noted that there were inconsistencies between these authors and the building itself. Unlike the Greek monuments that Memmo and many others had not seen, he and the authors referenced were all able to see first hand the ruins still laying half-buried about the capital. This critique raised the issue of the primary source in research and education.

The question asked specifically was this: What is the “real” source of historical scholarship? What are the true proportions of Roman architecture from which to learn? What constitutes the real building? Is it found in the textual description of authors, like Palladio? Memmo noted the contradiction between the *teoria* of Vitruvius—named as the only Roman theorist whose work survives—and the actual building. Is it in the actual measurements of the building? The building is obviously there and should be considered as the primary source, but

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<sup>40</sup> *Elementi* I: 204-05. This section is in quotes.

<sup>41</sup> Memmo also pointed out discrepancies between Serlio, Desgodetz, and Labacco in their descriptions of the *Tempio Marte Vendicatore*, though this may be due to the fact that it was still half-buried. See Memmo, *Elementi* I: 226.



how should one deal with reconstructions or renovations? At what point in history is a building most true?<sup>42</sup>

Memmo argued that students who claimed to be following Roman architecture as drawn or described by Palladio, for example, were being misled. He pointed out that Palladio's drawings were in large part his own invention. According to Memmo, Palladio actually added to and corrected, though with great imagination, Roman buildings. The buildings existed; they were not complete fabrications. The representations given by Palladio, however, clearly did not conform to the existing buildings, then or now. Therefore, argued Memmo, students who relied upon Palladio believing to be imitating antiquity were actually imitating Palladio more than any Roman architect whom they claimed to venerate though knew nothing about.

Memmo verified his claims through a description of the Pantheon and measurements provided by other authors. Memmo privileged Desgodetz's, believing that his studies most closely adhered to the actual building. I am not aware of any references of Memmo or Lodoli ever making archaeological studies of antiquity, Roman or Greek. All of Memmo's sources for the measurements of the Pantheon were, however, dependant upon Desgodetz. In other words, his sources were all textual. This makes his claims a bit dubious, although the observations and critique are fruitful, nevertheless.

The contradiction within the Pantheon that disturbed Memmo was based on the width of the column at the left corner of the portico (when facing the façade). Memmo claimed that this was smaller than the others. Desgodetz reported this column to be four feet and six and one half inches. The column on the opposite side of the façade measures four feet and eight and one half inches.<sup>43</sup> Following Vitruvius, exterior columns should be larger than the others, but the same size as one another. Memmo postulated that the discrepancy might have occurred during a reconstruction under the rule of Urban VII. He wondered, though, how an architect,

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<sup>42</sup> In Italian "vero" can mean to both "true" and "real."

<sup>43</sup> See Antoine Desgodetz, *Les Edifices Antiques de Rome* (Paris, 1682): Plate 1.

knowledgeable of the rules of Vitruvius could make such a mistake. Memmo believed that an ancient Roman architect must have made the error, particularly because the diameters of other columns also varied. Whether or not this resulted from the architect or the construction, Memmo was unsure. According to Lodoli, this discrepancy—columns of different proportions within the same situation—was not acceptable for one desiring the sober architecture (*la castigata architettura*) of the five orders.

To complicate matters, the order on the inside did not match the order on the outside. Memmo believed that this, and many of the other abuses and contradictions of the Pantheon arose from the difficulty in adding a square porch to a round temple. This he maintained was both an unnecessary accessory and was not able to be connected to the main body of the building. Memmo critiqued the mini-pantheons in and around Venice along these same lines.<sup>44</sup> After all of this discussion, Memmo left it to the young students to whom the book was dedicated, to decide whether the Pantheon deserved continued praise. He added, however, that he did not want people simply to cast down judgements against him or the building. He did admire the Pantheon for its magnificence, breadth, form, simplicity, durability, and choice of materials. Memmo stated:

Frattanto ampiamente dichiarerò che il padre Lodoli non disprezzava l'architettura del tempo di Augusto, chè anzi l'ammirava per la magnificenza, per la novità e per la bellezza dell'invenzioni, e soprattutto nelle piante e nell'ordine nel distribuirle, come per il modo solido col quale piantavansi le fondamenta e formavansi le muraglie, parti sì integranti dell'arte, e che forse si osservarono da' moderni assai meno degli ornamenti.<sup>45</sup>

What Lodoli admired in the architecture of the Romans was not that they copied or built upon the architecture of the Greeks, which he understood to be an architecture of wood translated into stone. Rather, Roman architects were praised for their ability to reason imaginatively and for their use and understanding of materials.

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<sup>44</sup> See *Elementi* I: 259-62.

<sup>45</sup> *Elementi* I: 230.

The underlying critique here echoes the critique of Vitruvius and the Greeks—one should not blindly follow historic example. Memmo referenced Frezier, who claimed that one should not copy the defects of the ancients. Frezier added that one should excuse Vignola and Scamozzi for making certain mistakes based on imitation. While they could be faulted for imitating, they were not responsible for the mistakes made before them. Serlio observed that the Romans made licentious mistakes: an ovolo cut above the dentils, and modillions in the same cornice without reason. Patte believed that the Romans used many different proportions and that this was the rationale behind various interpretations by more modern writers. Memmo also referred to Milizia, who alleged that many of the remaining Roman buildings were full of defects against good sense. Milizia gave examples: the columns were too short at the mausoleum in Provence; the measurements were too high at the Arch of Constantine; and the design of the Temple in Assisi drawn by Palladio simply went against good taste.

Memmo next turned to the Moderns.

## *The Moderns*

Memmo believed that the importance of Roman architects lay in their ability to reason well. Accordingly, contemporary architects should not merely imitate monuments of history, but rather try to understand the *intentions* of historical works. This contention not only raises the question of what architects should study, but more importantly opens up the possibility of an architecture whose significance does not depend upon replication of previous work. Lodoli recognised that Romans and Greeks existed in a different time and place than his own. To simply reproduce the form of the previous architectures was no longer appropriate.

Lodoli's view towards imitation can be explained by a story related in the *Elementi* about the architect Giorgio Massari.<sup>46</sup> Lodoli was asked to comment on a recent competition proposal for the *Ospedale della Pietà* by Massari—one of the busiest architects of the mid-eighteenth century in Venice and one whose formal debt to Palladio was clear. Lodoli mocked Massari's obvious references to Palladio. Massari responded by claiming that it was easy for Lodoli to say such things, as he (Lodoli) did not actually build; Massari explained that he had a family to feed and if he didn't take the job someone else would. Lodoli responded by asking Massari to name a district in any city in which there were prostitutes. He then asked if it were still possible for a woman to live there decently. The answer was obvious: the fact that prostitution exists does not mean that all women must prostitute themselves. Nor should we, as architects, prostitute ourselves to clients or to history.

Although Lodoli clearly opposed imitation in architecture, he understood and even praised imitation in painting and sculpture. These arts differ from architecture in that they were based on something. It is easy to say that a sculpture or painting is beautiful because it may look like a man or a woman, a cat or a tree. Indeed, each culture defines what makes these things

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<sup>46</sup> *Elementi* I: 7-10. See Appendix I for complete translation.

beautiful. In contrast, architecture is not *based on* anything; it *is* something. This is an important distinction. Memmo reminds us that there are no houses in nature.

Lodoli did recognise that some imitation is better than others. He described a second, lesser, class of beauty—one that is never essential. Memmo expressed Lodoli's opinion: "Il Padre Lodoli voleva che nella bellezza si avesse a distinguere la essenziale, da quella che solo consisteva nel ben imitare una cosa, anche per sè stessa bellissima."<sup>47</sup> The example given is the *Redentore* by Palladio on the Giudecca in Venice. Lodoli praised the harmony found in all of the parts, and the simplicity of the module. He tended to favour the simplicity found in the *Redentore*'s form over buildings featuring heavily ornamented sculpture, which replicated animals, saints, and other personages.<sup>48</sup> This attitude towards a less extravagant architecture that was becoming more common in the mid eighteenth century can also be traced to Scipione Maffei's critique of decadence. Maffei believed that the rise of decadence was linked directly to the fall of the Roman Empire and, analogically, that a similar "craving for novelty" was occurring in his own time. Maffei evoked Plato's argument that the corruption of music could lead to the corruption of behaviour.<sup>49</sup>

Memmo's critique continued through the architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, denominated as the third golden age. Memmo, in a sweeping generalization of history, wondered why everyone praised modern buildings, without recognising that so many of these buildings were made to appear as if they were Roman or Greek. The Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns is almost moot. Lodoli's position, though diluted by Memmo's references, offers an interesting perspective. "The Moderns" Memmo referred to were mostly Italian architects from the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. Each of the descriptions and

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<sup>47</sup> *Elementi* II: 78.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, the then recently built church facades of *S Moisè* and *S Maria di Zobenigo* near *S Marco* and *S Stae*, respectively on the Grand Canal.

<sup>49</sup> For further discussion see Francis Haskell, *History and Its Image* (New Haven: Yale UPress 1993): 178.

critique found in the *Elementi* can be also be found in Francesco Milizia's *Memorie degli Architetti*. Memmo took Milizia's critique directly.

Francesco Milizia was born in Oria in 1725 and died in Rome in 1798. His writing, though not vast, was exhaustive.<sup>50</sup> Milizia's first book, *Vite de' piu' celebri architetti d'ogni nazione e d'ogni tempo* (1768) was republished at least three times in his own life. The title changed to *Memorie degli architetti* at the next printing that very same year and was the edition to which Memmo referred.<sup>51</sup> Many more editions and translations followed after his death. The book compiles, in biographic form and chronological order, architects from pre-history to the eighteenth century. Italian architects, especially those from Naples, were given priority, though many foreign architects were also included. Of special interest is the index that lists not only people but also buildings and places.

In 1781 Milizia published the *Principi d'Architettura Civile*. This work outlined his thoughts of architecture in a clear but sometimes contradictory manner. In the introduction, Milizia claimed that:

Il pregio degli edifici non consiste ne'grandi massi di pietre sopra pietre, e molto meno nella folla degli ornamenti gettati alla rinfusa. I materiali nell'Architettura sono come nel discorso le parole, le qualli separatamente han poco, o niuna efficacia, possono esser disposte in una maniera spregevole; ma combinate con arte, ed espresse con energia muovono, ed agitan gli afftetti con illiminata possanza.<sup>52</sup>

After that potentially enlightening introduction, Milizia could state nevertheless that "architecture is an art of imitation."<sup>53</sup> Meaningful architecture, to Milizia, was based on his three requirements: beauty, commodity, and solidity (*bellezza, comodità, solidità*). The *Principi* is

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<sup>50</sup> For a complete list see William B. O'Neal "Francesco Milizia, 1725-1798," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 13 (Oct., 1954): 12-15.

<sup>51</sup> I consulted the 1781 edition printed in Parma.

<sup>52</sup> Francesco Milizia, *Principi d'Architettura Civile* (Bassano, 1785): ix-x.

<sup>53</sup> Francesco Milizia, *Principi d'Architettura Civile* (Bassano, 1785): 26.

organized around a discussion of these three topics, beauty being the most important.<sup>54</sup> The most important component of beauty is ornament. This was understood to include the orders, but also sculpture, painting, marble, stucco, and so forth. Three types of orders represent the three types of columns: Doric, firm or hard (*soda*); Ionic, medium (*mezzana*); and Corinthian, delicate (*delicata*). Although Milizia considered the orders to be ornament, they were also clearly thought to be the foundation of beauty and of meaning in architecture.<sup>55</sup>

Milizia recognised that buildings do not have a specific model in nature to imitate. Architecture is definitely man made, as revealed in the primitive hut. That said, the elements of the orders *imitated* nature, according to Milizia. The column, for Milizia, originated with the tree.<sup>56</sup> This had a few ramifications that Milizia described: columns must be round—he had never seen a triangular tree—and they must be smooth.<sup>57</sup> Further, pilasters are not columns because trees are freestanding. The base of the column was derived from the feet of animals, or women, or from the roots of plants. He then reasoned that the arch derived from two trees, bent down on top of each other like arms. Stairs derived from trees laid on their side next to one another up an incline.

Regardless of the many contradictions between Milizia’s stated position and those that Memmo claimed to be representative of Lodoli, Milizia was praised. Memmo often referenced Milizia in footnotes, but just as often did not.<sup>58</sup> Italian architecture was generally lauded, but described as “one-eyed amongst the blind” (*monoculo tra’ciechi*).<sup>59</sup> According to Memmo, Lodoli called Milizia a “colonel of architecture” due to the massive compilation of building

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<sup>54</sup> Though Milizia does take the time to name the other “most important” parts of architecture: commodity and solidity.

<sup>55</sup> Lodoli clearly was not against ornament, though he was very critical of the orders. I treat this more fully in a subsequent chapter.

<sup>56</sup> Francesco Milizia, *Principi d’Architettura Civile* (Bassano, 1785): 20. Lodoli mocked those who believed that the true proportions of the orders were derived from trees. See *Elementi* I: 319.

<sup>57</sup> Milizia did not discuss the obvious contradiction here between rough bark and smooth columns.

<sup>58</sup> See *Elementi* I: 249-70. Memmo condensed more than two hundred pages of Milizia’s text into a little more than twenty-one.

<sup>59</sup> *Elementi* I: 244.

descriptions and architect biographies found in the *Memorie*; more significantly, Memmo claimed that Lodoli believed Milizia to be an original voice.<sup>60</sup>

His originality is difficult to know with any certainty. Milizia's biographies of early architects and buildings are referenced from typical sources: Pausanius, Livy, Pliny, and Vitruvius. However, few, if any, references are given for architects after the fifteenth century. Wolfgang Hermann has stated, "It is obvious that Milizia was an exceptionally unoriginal writer." He demonstrated that the majority of Milizia's was a nearly literal transcription of various writers including Laugier, Frezier, Cordemoy, and, surprisingly, Algarotti.<sup>61</sup>

The same can be said for Memmo; he was clearly not an original thinker. Memmo's writing, however, differed from Milizia's in one very important way. Deciding not to adhere to Milizia's opinion that it was "peggio chi accarezza i corvi, e strazia le colombe," Memmo did not include any of the praise offered by Milizia.<sup>62</sup> Rather, Memmo's sampling of Milizia's survey, omitted most of the foreign architects and many from Naples. The longer entries by Memmo—Michelangelo, Palladio, and Vignola—match Milizia's entries, though without any of the commendation. Memmo named these three as the most popular architects. As one would imagine, his critique followed Milizia's principles of architecture as described in his texts. Some buildings are good others are bad. Some columns are too fat, others too slim.

For Milizia, judgement of beauty, of the good, relied on one's own taste. Noting that many people had constructed entire systems of philosophy to understand what constituted beauty, he rhetorically asked: what then is beauty? The answer: beauty is what I like.<sup>63</sup> Offering a rose as an example, he asked if it was beautiful. Indeed, the answer was yes. And why? Because he

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<sup>60</sup> I have no evidence that Lodoli was in contact with Milizia apart from the second hand praise offered to Milizia in the *Elementi*. Lodoli died in 1764, while Milizia's first edition of the *Vite* was published in 1768.

<sup>61</sup> See Wolfgang Herrman, *Laugier and Eighteenth Century Theory* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1962):192-95.

<sup>62</sup> Milizia, Francesco. *Memorie degli architetti antiche e moderni*. (Venice: Remmondi, 1784): LXXVI.

<sup>63</sup> "Bello è quell che piace." Milizia, Francesco. *Memorie degli architetti antiche e moderni*. (Venice: Remmondi, 1784): 351.



liked it. It is difficult to engage with this, somewhat anachronistic, position.<sup>64</sup> He attempted to show both the very good and the very bad within the history of architecture. Milizia was careful in his understanding that authority had such power that it could convert even “the drunkenness of Cato into a virtue.” That said, only a “man of taste and genius,” after observing nature and ascertaining some principles, would be able to make well.

Memmo stated that many other authors had questioned the authority of the ancients according to taste. To Memmo, one’s own taste was an insufficient measure of beauty as it lacked any universal principle. He recognised that:

Il proprio gusto non basta, perchè poi ogun crede d’aver ragione nel suo diverso da quello d’un altro. *In questo caso chi ha ragione?* Dal non essersi ancor piantate incontrastabili regole, nasce poi una perpetua contraddizione in que’che promulgano i giudizi loro. Non ne addurrò qui che un solo esempio.<sup>65</sup>

It is not enough to have “good taste.” This is not enough to make a universal Truth; taste exists in different times and places. What then was considered beautiful or truthful? Though Lodoli admired the past, he had abandoned belief in the infallibility of the ancients. One ought not to seek for a set of rules that could be fixed and transferred in a modern instrumental sense or even in the sense of a canon of architecture. Both are open to question. Thus one should look to history not in order to copy or imitate architecture, but rather to determine the truth of a particular architecture. Memmo looked to the Moderns to see if they were able to do so. Memmo put it clearly: “Lodare è facile quanto prendere un sorbetto; ma architettare correntemente è della più astrusa difficoltà.”<sup>66</sup>

Memmo, however, did not argue with Milizia. Rather, he restated Milizia’s intention as his own in order to discuss the Moderns as follows:

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<sup>64</sup> It is interesting here to note Kant’s subjective understanding of taste. In attempting to comprehend beauty, he too used a rose as an example. See Kant, *Critique of Judgment* (1790). Milizia’s example precedes Kant’s though I would not venture to claim influence either way.

<sup>65</sup> *Elementi* I: 237, (emphasis added).

<sup>66</sup> *Elementi* I: 259.

L'esame d'ogni opera de' moderni separamente, sarebbe un'impresa da molti volumi. Bastami ore che si venga a scorgere dietro il ragionar di sì pregevole soggetto, quanto dal più al meno, tutti o in una parte o in un'altra traviassero dal diritto sentiero; tutti secondando un certo gusto proprio, senza mai piccarsi di seguir quella severa e chiara dimostrativa ragione che sola doveva essere la guida loro.<sup>67</sup>

Indeed, Memmo was determined to show only those architects whose "taste" may have been respected, but who, according to Memmo's negative critique, did not follow the clear and severe reason that was to act as our guide.

Milizia's description of Michelangelo had referenced Vasari who was on intimate terms with Michelangelo. Memmo, however, skipped the life story—broken nose, all of the paintings, the dissections, Vasari's caresses, and most of the sculpture. Instead, Memmo began straightaway with descriptions of architectural abuse: "Cadde Michelangelo in un abuso peggiore, cioè di fare all'imposte degli archi un oggetto eccedente quello de' pilastri; il che fa un cattivissimo effetto, specialmente allorchè si veggono queste imposte di profilo."<sup>68</sup> Memmo skipped over the *Campidoglio*, described by Milizia as "in forma bella, utile, e comoda."<sup>69</sup> Considering the *Palazzo de' Conservatori*, which forms a wing of the piazza, Memmo criticised the columns as being consumed by the thickness of the wall. Memmo continued: The door openings are ugly. There is not enough light in the stairwell. The exterior ornament is offensive. The proportions are off. There is a cornice that is useless. Memmo does not discuss the Medici Library, praised by Milizia for its convenience and novelty, nor the San Lorenzo chapel, described by Milizia as one of Michelangelo's most beautiful works.

Memmo contended that the *Palazzo Farnese* required less ornament and should be bolder. He continued: the *Piazza Farnese* is clumsy. The columns are false and the Corinthian capitals seem too small. In the courtyard there are three cornices when there should only be one

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<sup>67</sup> *Elementi* I: 248. He does not need to examine each work of the Moderns as Milizia has already done so and Memmo simply copies him!

<sup>68</sup> *Elementi* I: 253.

<sup>69</sup> Milizia, Francesco. *Memorie degli architetti antiche e moderni*. (Venice: Remmondi, 1784): 206, vol. 1.

at the top. The *Porta Pia* has no regularity and is a rather extravagant composition. The doors are also irregular. The orders are contradictory: the primary order is Doric, the final Ionic; the ornament of the columns is gothic, and the mouldings are all Corinthian. The windows of the exterior of the *Sapienza* buildings are poorly disposed: there is a contradiction of the orders.<sup>70</sup> The impostes of the arches in the courtyard are projected too far with respect to the pilasters, and there is confusion between the capitals of the orders at the windows and the cornice of the door. The stairs, finally, are nice but a bit steep. Memmo does not cite Milizia when he refers to the *Sapienza* as “è un edificio grandioso, magnifico, e ben ripartito, con ben intensi ornate alle porte e alle finestre.”<sup>71</sup>

Milizia and Memmo excused Michelangelo for the irregularity in much of his work—using too much licence, not following the good rules of architecture, and showing a bizarre and proud certainty. Milizia noted that these were also the predominant characteristics of his painting. Memmo concluded that if Michelangelo had in fact found the essence and origin of architecture, he would not have been bothered by so much caprice and error.

Moving on to Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Memmo again skipped over the biographic information of and launched into a critique of his architecture. The most praiseworthy project by Vignola was the *San Andrea sulla Flaminia* in Rome—a work Memmo believed all young people aspiring to be architects should look at, avoiding the defects, of course. Memmo described the plan as a rectangle ornamented by Corinthian pilasters without pedestals. He commended the lack of a cornice. Though Memmo gently praised Vignola, he still claimed that the building was not simple enough. He bemoaned the useless niches, which lined the altar and occurred at irregular divisions. Memmo asserted that the building was an awkward imitation of the Pantheon and he critiqued it accordingly: the front porch is useless and awkward. The modillions in the Corinthian gate for the church of *SS Lorenzo e Damaso* were called annoying because they

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<sup>70</sup> This refers to the complex surrounding the church of St. Ivo in Rome. Both Milizia and Memmo wrongly credit these buildings to Michelangelo.

<sup>71</sup> Milizia, Francesco. *Memorie degli architetti antiche e moderni*. (Venice: Remmondi, 1784): 215, vol. 1.

represent the heads of beams that could not possibly be there. Not mentioned by Memmo, but admired by Milizia, were the unbuilt project for *San Petronio* in Bologna, “un disegno parteci parte del Gotico e del Greco”<sup>72</sup> and the *Palazzo a Caprarola* (the *Villa Farnese* near Viterbo), which for Milizia “è senza alcun dubbio l’opera più grande e più bella.”<sup>73</sup>

Notwithstanding his criticism, Memmo believed that, with a bit of philosophy, Vignola could have made that little step separating good from perfect. In order to render the most general and practical rules, Vignola had, from time to time, altered the ancient rules of proportion. In other words, Vignola was able to adapt the rule of the ancients for his own time. Still, Memmo does not go as far as Milizia to say that Vignola’s treatise on architecture had become the “alphabet of architects.”

The first of Andrea Palladio’s projects discussed by Memmo was the *Palazzo della Ragione* in Vicenza. Memmo critiqued the superimposition of large and small orders on the façade. Both Memmo and Milizia thought that the two orders should be kept separate. If this had been done, they reasoned, practice would have aligned with theory.<sup>74</sup> Milizia, however, was able to claim “il gran pregio di questo edificio, e la gran difficoltà in contratta, e separata de Palladio consiste che accordando il nuova col vecchio.”<sup>75</sup> Memmo simply did not include this praise.

Milizia and Memmo praised the *Palazzo Thiene* as a noble edifice with a convenient arrangement. Both criticized the fact that it had one floor in the rustic order and the second is composite. In the courtyard of the *Accademia* in Venice there is not a single triglyph, but rather a continuous interweaving of horse and panther graciously tied with straps and decoration (*festoncini*) in the guise of a continuous metope. Memmo and Milizia reasoned that Palladio hid

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<sup>72</sup> Francesco Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antiche e moderni*. (Venice: Remmondi, 1784): 23, vol. 2. This is huge praise by Milizia. He considered the Greek (as “refined taste”) and the Gothic (as “unfettered nature”) to be the two pinnacles of western architectural history. According to Milizia, all meaningful architecture takes part in one or the other of the two characteristics of taste.

<sup>73</sup> Milizia, Francesco. *Memorie degli architetti antiche e moderni*. (Venice: Remmondi, 1784): 27, vol. 2.

<sup>74</sup> It is interesting to note that Memmo and Milizia did not mention the obvious difference between the very regular representation of the plan of the *Palazzo* in Palladio’s *Quattro Libri* and what was actually built.

<sup>75</sup> Milizia, Francesco. *Memorie degli architetti antiche e moderni*. (Venice: Remmondi, 1784): 35, vol. 1.

the triglyphs because the floor corresponds to the frieze and is not supported by the beams, but rather from a vault. In essence, then, the representation of the materials with respect to the construction of the building was hidden by the ornament and was therefore not truthful.

The elevation of the *Palazzo Valmarana* has two orders, though both begin at the same level. This was considered by Memmo and Milizia to be in “bad taste.” Even worse were the statues of soldiers at either end, on top of the pilasters that concluded the first floor. On top of the other columns were more columns. They both concluded that the larger columns must not be real, if they could be represented by a soldier at the corners. The façades of *S Giorgio Maggiore*, *S Francesco della Vigna*, and the *Redentore* also were not free of abuses.<sup>76</sup> The *Redentore* had acroterii on the façade and the pediment was made of calcium. The *Tempietto* at the *Villa Barbaro* in Maser was based on the Pantheon and therefore contained all its errors. Memmo did not describe the *Teatro Olimpico*, a project Milizia believed to be the best in all of Italy. The critique of Palladio ended with Memmo writing him off with the following statement: “Tutto ciò dimostra l’architetto (Palladio) che va a tastone.”<sup>77</sup> A rather demeaning categorisation of an architect who was easily the most revered, or at least the most widely imitated, in northern Italy during the mid eighteenth century.

The section on the Moderns concluded with Memmo explaining that he was faithfully reporting the opinion of Lodoli.<sup>78</sup> Students reading the text, however, were to take it upon themselves to examine personally the buildings and texts. Memmo stressed:

Questi principii il pad. Lodoli cercava, e questi cercar si dovrebbero, per quanto a me sembra, da tutti quelli che si pongono, ad imparare l’architettura civile per professarla, e che dovrebbero subito seguire allorchè ritrovati si fossero.<sup>79</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Though neither Milizia nor Memmo name these abuses. See *Elementi* I: 262.

<sup>77</sup> *Elementi* I: 263.

<sup>78</sup> Lodoli was named here as “his author” even though Memmo’s source is clearly Milizia.

<sup>79</sup> *Elementi* I: 271.

The wealth of information and references given within the text are not simply meant to offer an encyclopaedic review. A different type of reading is called for and a different attitude towards the text is required. A back reading between the *Elementi* and the references given is necessary to understand, on one's own terms, the importance and meaning of each. Memmo continued, recognising the situation we all face:

Senza passar più oltre, basterà che si rifletta che la stessa sol da me indicata diversità delle opinioni intorno l'essenza dell'architettura, potrebbe provare che siamo restati all'oscuro sugli stessi oggetti su' quali devesi poi senz'alcuna incertezza contemplarla, e che non per anche gli autori più celebri si sono dopo tanti secoli in una chiara, distinta, e positiva idea stabilmente tra loro convenuti. Sapessimo almeno in tal incertezza aver il coraggio di dubitare, che in conseguenza barcollassero non poco! Ma come accostumati siamo a crederci infallibili, potremo così di leggieri indurci a credere, che tutto quello che fu sinora giudicato buono e bello in architettura, nol fosse più? Il nostro amor proprio potrebbe forse permettercelo?<sup>80</sup>

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<sup>80</sup> *Elementi* I: 284.

...*Ut Plantas et Aedifices.*

The question has been presented: how does one make an architecture that is meaningful? Does one have the courage to doubt and to question one's preconceptions? I begin this section with the story of "The Sadistic Sculptor."<sup>81</sup>

There was once a professor of sculpture, a lover of pure design. After staying many years in Rome he was truly at the height of his career. At the very moment that he was to make his great fortune in the world, he fell into a violent and passionate love for a woman that he believed could serve as his ideal model. Unable to possess the woman, he killed her.

The sovereign, an aggressive promoter of the arts, was unsure of an appropriate sentence. Amongst the officials in his ministries was one who came forward with a completely new punishment in mind. He reminded the Majesty of one of his possessions in the West Indies—an island completely inhabited by *Caramogi*—men and women whose members were completely deformed.<sup>82</sup> The minister argued that confining to such an island one with a passion for perfection in the arts would be the worst possible sentence. The reality of continually finding himself in the midst of the most abominable sights would equal death. The sovereign accepted the suggestion. This would be the sculptor's destiny.

Immediately upon disembarking, (SEE FIGURE THIRTEEN) the artist saw a group of dwarfs. A few amongst them had huge legs while others were twisted and bent out of shape. Some of the women had heads that were similar to their bellies; others had breasts larger than their heads. Knowing how terrible it would be to see such a vision just one time, one can easily imagine how day after day the sculptor became more desperate to see a body of normal proportions. To be the only man of proportion on the island attracted the inhabitants, especially the women.

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<sup>81</sup> *Elementi* II: 173-76. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>82</sup> Lodoli uses the word "*contraffatte*," for deformed which has the connotation of being imitated.



figure 13  
Island of the Caramogi

The sculptor was at the height of his delirium when the wife of his custodian, who had been in the habit of watching him while he undressed, let herself into his apartment. She caught him just as he was completely naked and immediately declared that she had always felt passionately for him. The woman was huge, and constantly drenched in sweat. She smelled so bad that when she approached, the sculptor was not able breathe. Her nose was truly awesome, only her mouth was larger. Three people would be able (if they dared) to kiss her at the same time without knowing the others were there. Her hands were longer than her fingers, her feet longer than her legs, and she was completely lacking a neck. Her voice was a deep baritone. She was utterly awful to experience.

The sculptor could not flee without great risk of her accusing him of mistreating her. At the lowest moment of his depression of spirit, and thinking of nothing but the disastrous beauty that had caused his misfortune, he decided right then to kill himself. Fearing lest the continual



sight of revolting eyes, deformed physiognomies, and ridiculous figures cancel his memory entirely—visions of the gracefulness of the Apollo of Belvedere, of the Venus of the Medici, of the Hermaphrodite of the Borghese, of Peto and Avra of Piombino, of the Venus of Callipeda, of Gladiators, of Laocoonte, and many other sublime statues of the Greeks, the Romans, and the Moderns as well. All would be lost.

“Oh yes!” he exclaimed, his face wet with tears. “Oh, yes, I feel the idea of beauty abandoning me. These ghosts cancel it day by day. But wait, what is this?” In the moment of his most intimate pain, raising his eye to the face of a young girl, though monstrous, he saw an eyebrow of the finest Oriental taste, just a bit arched. “And what is this?” he thought to himself. “Am I able, in the center of all of this deformity, to rejoice?” The sculptor asked the girl if he could draw her eyebrow; but of course, not the eye. After some days he found, in another monster, a round heel that was bony on the top but which he could not find more beautiful.

In the hope to be able to reveal the archetype of beauty, which the sculptor had in mind for a man and a woman, he had looked with passion and found gold in dung. He was then able to recover from the most diverse parts, what was beautiful for everyone, to create a whole that was harmonic and perfect.<sup>83</sup>

So where can we find this heel or eyebrow of immense beauty? Although it is clear that Memmo questioned the “taste” of Michelangelo, Bernini, or others who looked to Greek and Roman buildings, he claimed it was not Lodoli’s intention to do so. We should not, however.

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<sup>83</sup> The story is reminiscent of Zeuxis as told by Cicero. Zeuxis was asked to paint a Helen. Recognising the impossible task of representing the ideal of beauty, he made an image derived from five Crotoan maidens. The ideal of beauty was re-created through the combination of fragments. See Cicero, *De Inventione* (On Rhetoric). Tr. H. M. Hubbell, (Cambridge: Harvard Upress, 1962): book II, ch. 3. Zeuxis was also famous for representing a group of centaurs. Frascari relates Piranesi’s combinatory way of making in the *Parere* to Zeuxis. See Marco Frascari, *Monsters of Architecture : anthropomorphism in architectural theory* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishing, 1991): 27.

repeat their mistakes and should remain critical of blind adherence to norms created by historical precedent. Memmo explained:

Ma non credete voi che i Buonarotti, i Bernini, i Giacomo della Porta, gli Ammenati grandi scultori, ancora non pretendessero di aver tanto gusto, quanto voi altri, e di far meglio nelle loro fabbriche che i vostri Greci ed i vostri Romani? E non avete veduto quale immenso partito si fecero? Oh! eglino con tutto il mondo s'ingannavano, ed io non m'inganno! Chi n'è il giudice? Gli stessi Greci ed i Romani ed i Sammicheli ed i Sansovini, ch'esattamente ne seguirono gli esempi. Ma gli avete voi colle scientifiche leggi della litologia esaminati senza prevenzioni? No, perchè non mi sono mai curato di saper di litologie, supponendo che quei primi maestri anche fabbricando in pietra, ne sapessero più di me.<sup>84</sup>

Memmo continued, mockingly asking:

Si tratta forse di fare i panni e le pieghe leggiere, come nelle arti imitatrici della scoltura e della pittura, le quali non portando nessuna conseguenza rovinosa, si possono senza scrupolo di coscienza, verso chi spende, render simili alle costumanze de' Greci e de' Romani?<sup>85</sup>

Lodoli did not look to historical precedent in search of form to imitate; however, he did look back. Lodoli further explained this relationship to historical precedent with the story of “The Young Nun and Her Mother” (SEE FIGURE FOURTEEN).<sup>86</sup> A young nun was in the habit of making the same cakes. Her mother, bored by the same cakes all of the time, asked her to make something else. The young nun tried, but after several attempts returned to her mother, having reverted to her old ways. Lodoli warned us that one without genius might be similarly tricked into old habits. Importantly, the young nun looks to her old mother in her attempt to break with her habits. In other words, she looks to her mother, one we might expect to be more traditional,

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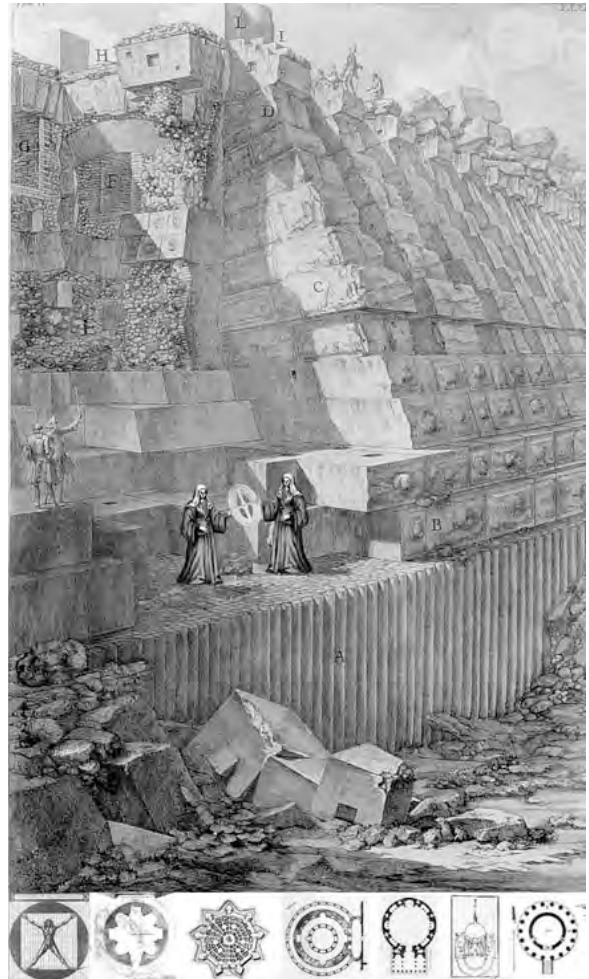
<sup>84</sup> *Elementi* II: 116.

<sup>85</sup> *Elementi* II: 117.

<sup>86</sup> *Apologhi*: 18. See Appendix I for complete translation.

to make a break with her own past. It is clear that Lodoli wished to break with habit, however he still looked to the past to find meaning.

Vitruvius was, in the eighteenth century, the basis of western architecture and indeed its authority. Lodoli, like the young nun returning to her mother, repeatedly referred back to Vitruvius throughout the *Elementi*. The Galiani edition of Vitruvius, referenced by Memmo, was known as the definitive Italian edition of the eighteenth century.<sup>87</sup> It is a bi-lingual edition containing corresponding Latin and Italian text on facing pages. Lodoli did not simply cite Galiani's translation, but in fact made corrections to his Italian.<sup>88</sup>



**figure 14**  
*The Young Nun and Her Mother*

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<sup>87</sup> Berardo Galiani, *L'Architettura di M. Vitruvio Pollione colla traduzione Italiana e Commento del Marchese Berardo Galiani*. (Naples, 1758).

<sup>88</sup> Memmo claimed that Lodoli had written on architecture and specifically on Vitruvius, though he did not reference any source specifically. Lodoli's corrections are very specific and would seem to have come from a textual source. It is difficult to imagine Memmo remembering word-for-word corrections after twenty years.

## *Common Sense*

The first correction I will discuss was given in Latin: “Ea [architecture] nascitur ex fabrica, et ratiocinatione.”<sup>89</sup> Galiani’s translation was: “Si compone di pratica e di teorica.” [Architecture is composed of practice and theory.] Memmo claimed that Lodoli would have rendered the phrase more literally: “Ella nasce dall’esperienza non meno che dal raziocinio.”<sup>90</sup> [Architecture is born from experience no less than from reasoning.]

Lodoli re-framed the discussion of architectural theory and practice to include one’s common sense experience. He explained this shift through a story in which “common sense” was travelling throughout Europe.<sup>91</sup> He (common sense) was visiting Venice during the month of May—the time of year when the weather was pleasant and all of the theatres would be open. Common Sense would be able to witness the Great Marriage between Venice and the Sea (*La Sensa*) that he had heard so much talk of. On his first day, he awoke just before dawn and rushed to see the *Piazza S Marco* and to examine each and every part of all the buildings he had read so much about. When he arrived, he was astonished at the brilliant glory of S Marco and of the piazza, but couldn’t help but ask his guide, “why, if this piazza is so magnificent, did it take over six centuries to build?” The guide had no answer. Regardless, he continued to make his survey of all the buildings. Amongst all of the beautiful works in the piazza, he came across one that he felt was truly the standard by which to judge all others—the three great flagpoles at the end of the piazza that supported the flags of this most-Serene-Republic with dignity and care. He could not praise enough those ship-makers (*Arsenalotti*) who had made these fine poles.

After admiring the piazza, Common Sense wandered over to the edge of the water where the Golden Bucentaur (*l’aureo bucintoro*) and all of the other boats in her escort were docked. He continued through the two great columns near the dock—considered to be bad luck by

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<sup>89</sup> *Elementi* I: 273.

<sup>90</sup> *Elementi* I: 274.

<sup>91</sup> *Elementi* I: 16-18. See Appendix I for complete translation.

Venetians, but he *was* a tourist. There he saw the great boat up close. He was dumbfounded to see that the boat's mast was not vertical but in fact was set at an angle. He asked out loud. "How could the workers who had placed the three poles in the piazza with such care, have made the masts at such an angle?" (SEE FIGURE FIFTEEN)

figure 15  
*La Partenza del Bucintoro*, detail  
Guardi



Some sailors overheard his ranting and reported him to their captain, asking "who was this little masked figure with a foreign accent who was going on about the boom-sprit because it was at an angle?" They brought the captain on land and he confronted common sense. After much argument, he realised that he was fighting a losing battle. The frustrated captain retorted, "If you enjoy standing upright, then go to the flagpoles!" The captain was later seen in the piazza ripping up his nautical charts and *bauta*. He recognised that the *Bucintoro* made no sense as a boat.

The *Bucintoro* was the exaggeratedly gilded and excessively ornate—including saints, pagan gods, allegorical persons, and demons—ship used in the annual Marriage between Venice and the Sea. Its importance lay in the tradition it represented not in its ability to sail. It was infamously not seaworthy.<sup>92</sup> Indeed, when Napoleon took Venice he thought of making a final

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<sup>92</sup> See Maurice Andrieux, *Daily Life in Venice at the Time of Casanova*. (London, 1972): 115-17. For more information about the tradition of *La Sensa*, see Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. (Princeton: Princeton UPress, 1981): 90.

slap in the face of the moribund Republic by sailing the *Bucintoro* all the way to Paris. After sailing it only in the famously calm lagoon, the French realised that it was completely unfit for a sea journey. They simply burned it to make the job of stripping the boat of its gilding that much easier.

Common sense is a type of knowledge based on situation and not on a canonical tradition. There is a certain common sense that guides the construction of boats. This was especially well known in the Veneto, where various boats had been developed for the specific conditions of the city and surrounding lagoon. The *Sàndolo*, for example, is a boat that has developed over time and is, owing to its low drag and manoeuvrability, extremely well suited to transport people and goods as well as to fish within the very shallow lagoon. Lodoli used the example of the overly ornate *Bucintoro* to stress his point, which was surely not lost on his Venetian students.

Lodoli understood, however, that common sense was not something shared by everyone. Another apologue entitled “Chiomponia, or the Island of the Maimed” seemed aimed less to the glorification of common sense than to the masses that appeared to lack it.<sup>93</sup> There was once a wealthy Dutch shopkeeper who decided to exchange all that he owned into precious rings and to move his family to the West Indies. His ship was pushed off the main route by a terrible sea storm. The storm eventually destroyed the ship and everything in it but the shopkeeper and a small box that held his precious rings. Luckily, he knew how to swim and was able to make it to a nearby island. After recovering from the storm and realising the loss of his entire family, the shopkeeper decided that he would have to learn the customs of his new country. He was able to understand that everything on the island was paid for by a series of huge coins. However, he was not able to understand their value. He thought to himself that the only way for him to survive on the island was to start selling some of his rings. Therefore, he asked the Innkeeper who had

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<sup>93</sup> *Apologhi*: 34. See Appendix I for complete translation.  
*Material Indole*

helped him to recover, how much his rings would be worth. The Innkeeper, struck dumb by such marvel, eventually asked him, “in what land did he believe to be in?”

The Innkeeper continued, “Let me examine your limbs.” They seemed to be composed of several parts, some long, some limp, and some flexible. “They are certainly not similar to ours which seem to be made of a whole piece like the horn of a young calf. Yours seem, on the contrary, to be made like shrubs, pliable at the end, which naturally are quite suitable for ornaments at the end.” At that moment, the Shopkeeper, interrupted him, exclaiming, “how can I ever live if I haven’t got anything but rings in a country where there are no fingers!”

Such a crude destiny, concluded Lodoli, is reserved for those teachers who, equipped with exquisite common sense and extraordinary wisdom, find themselves dealing with ignorant, stupid, and prejudiced people.

This sort of common-sense understanding of his situation guided Lodoli in his only architectural project: renovations to the hospice of the *S Francesco della Vigna*. The Church plan was by Sansovino; Palladio worked on the façade (ca. 1564). The original quarters (*ospizetto*) for the *frati* consisted of six rooms, all connected by a narrow and dark corridor. It was not planned well; the brothers were required to always keep the doors to their cells open in order to allow free passage through the building. Lodoli reduced the walls to half-height so as to allow sufficient light into each of the cells. He widened the corridor at shoulder height and angled it down, making it narrower at the floor to allow two people to pass with their belongings. The renovation also had the advantage of stopping the rain from seeping in and soaking the wall. Memmo reported that many did not praise Lodoli’s renovations and he himself even named them “irregularities.” Nevertheless, he considered the renovations to be convenient (*comodo*).<sup>94</sup>

The other part of Lodoli’s renovation was to the window frames in the hallway leading to the living quarters. Throughout Venice, Lodoli saw cracks repeatedly appearing in the centre of stone windowsills. Anyone who looks today will still see such cracks everywhere. Lodoli

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<sup>94</sup> See the *Elementi* II: 158-59 for a complete description of the renovations.

believed this was due to a lack of understanding of materials, as well as a lack of foresight with respect to the weathering of buildings. To remedy this condition, builders would either leave out a course of brick underneath the sill, or make the sill of multiple pieces. Both solutions, Lodoli observed, still held the strong possibility of failing under typical conditions. Lodoli believed that the downward force on either edge of the sills pushed the middle portion of the sill upward and thus caused the stone to crack in the middle. To resolve this, he re-made the hallway windowsills out of three pieces (SEE FIGURE SIXTEEN). The middle piece, wider in the centre and narrowed towards the outside edges, took the form of a catenary curve.<sup>95</sup> This middle piece was joined to the two sidepieces underneath the jambs with a mortise and tennon. Memmo claimed this was a completely new and totally Lodolian invention. He called the solution a substitution (*sostituzioni*).

Lodoli proposed another such substitution for a doorframe. Though it is not known if Lodoli did in fact construct one such frame, an example can be seen in the frontispiece of the Giovanni Ziborghi edition of Vignola<sup>96</sup> (SEE FIGURE SEVENTEEN). Domenico Cerato, the professor of architecture, constructed a very similar frame in his renovation at *La Specola* (SEE FIGURE EIGHTEEN). Memmo maintained that the



*figure 16*  
Lodoli's sill at S Francesco della Vigna

<sup>95</sup> Memmo does not reference Giovanni Poleni here specifically, though he does describe the curve of the sill as a catenary—the same curve proposed by Poleni to cure the ailing dome at St. Peter's in Rome.

<sup>96</sup> See the *Elementi* II: 159. Memmo referenced Giovanni Ziborghi, *L'architettura di Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola: ridotta a facile metodo per mezzo di osservazioni a profitto de' studenti* (Bassano: Remmondi, 1748). The image also contains the Vitruvian maxim. Kaufmann claims the doorframe is similar to one found near Forlì, where Lodoli travelled as a young monk prior to his time in Verona. See Edgar Kaufmann, "Lodoli Architetto," *In Search of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1982): 36.



Lodolian “substitutions” could be used by others but would have to be adjusted to fit other situations: “Altre soglie fece con segmenti di circolo, con catenarie, di pietre cotte, con la serraglia di pietra viva nel mezzo ed anche senza, *secondo le varie situazione.*”<sup>97</sup>



figure 17  
Door frame, Ziborghi



figure 18  
Door frame at La specola, Cerato

Memmo added that these pieces could also be the source for a new way of thinking about ornament. “Potete bene inventare di meglio nel rappresentare questi tre pezzi per quegli adattati ornamenti, che in quel misero luogo non convenivano, nè che aveva il raffinatore modo di far eseguire.”<sup>98</sup> Indeed, the infiltration of water, especially in Venice, has serious implications for the life of materials. Instead of avoiding the problem, Lodoli embraced the possibility that a building might weather. The top surface of the sill was slightly sloped down into the centre where a channel was carved to the front face. This would take water away from the joints where

<sup>97</sup> *Elementi* II: 159 (emphasis added).

<sup>98</sup> *Elementi* II: 158.

it is most dangerous, and allow the excess to drain off from the thicker portion of the sill. After time, rainwater stains the sill, creating a reverse keystone within the arch of the sill (SEE FIGURE NINETEEN). The keystone, typically used to denote meaning within architecture, is reinterpreted by Lodoli, locating the act of building within the passage of time.

Following Lodoli's advice, Andrea Memmo designed very similar sills for his palazzo on the Grand Canal and for the Venetian Embassy in Constantinople (SEE FIGURE TWENTY). Memmo named the solution of the window frame as a Lodolian osteology (*osteologia lodoliana*).<sup>99</sup> Lodoli understood the performance of stone in a specific situation and in a common-sense way. This understanding allowed the materials to perform well and remain unbroken over time.



*figure 19*  
Lodoli's sill,  
detail



*figure 20* – Memmo's Osteological Substitutions  
House for the Ambassador to Constantinople



Ca' Memmo

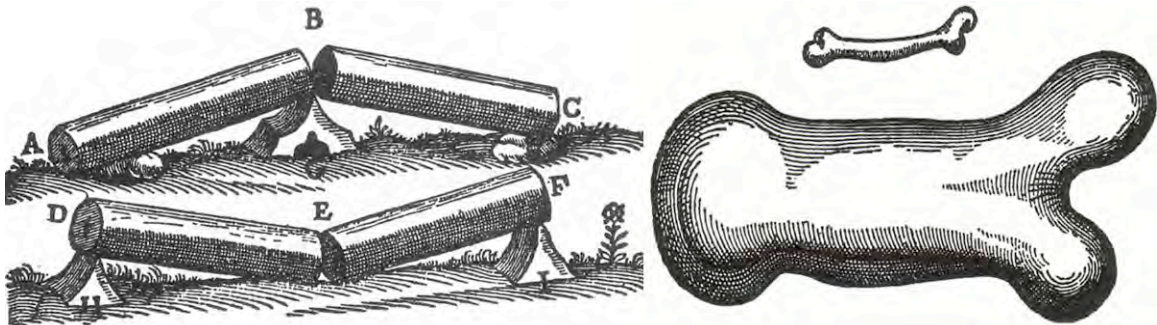
Memmo described a similar approach to materials from Galileo. He referenced a dialogue found on the second day of Galileo's *Two New Sciences*. This particular discussion

<sup>99</sup> *Elementi* II: 160.

followed an attempt to support a column, which was lying on the ground. A support was placed directly in the middle of the column, was now acting as a beam. A few months passed and the beam cracked exactly in the place where the support was placed. Sagredo (the character of Galileo's student Giovan Francesco Sagredo) pointed out that a similar accident would not have occurred in a smaller column made of the same stone if its length and thickness were the same ratio as that of the larger column. As explained in proposition VII:

Among heavy prisms and cylinders of similar figure, there is one and only one which under the stress of its weight lies just on the limit between breaking and not breaking, so that every larger one is unable to carry the load of its own weight and breaks, while every smaller one is able to withstand some additional force tending to break it.<sup>100</sup>

Salviati (one of the other characters in the dialogue, representative of Galileo's friend Filippo Salviati) illustrated this principle by sketching a bone three times the size of a normal bone. He observed that the new bone was out of proportion and concluded that if one wished to "maintain in a great giant the same proportion of a limb as that found in an ordinary man he must find a harder and stronger material for making the bones"<sup>101</sup> (SEE FIGURE TWENTY-ONE).



*figure 21*  
*Galileo's Osteological Explanations*

<sup>100</sup> Galileo Galilei's *Two New Sciences*, translated by H. Crew and Alfonso de Salvio (New York: Dover, 1952): 126.

<sup>101</sup> Galileo Galilei's *Two New Sciences*, translated by H. Crew and Alfonso de Salvio (New York: Dover, 1952): 131.

He continued to explain that it is this same principle that allows a small animal, like a cat, to be able to fall from a much higher distance than a larger animal without risk of breaking a bone. For the larger bone to perform the same way as a smaller bone, the material must be different. We can conclude that there are proportions specific to each material.

## *Indole Defined*

Memmo expanded upon this understanding of materials with relation to architecture:

Si giungerà solamente in tal modo a fabbricare con vera ragione architettonica; cioè dall'esser la materia conformata in ogni sua parte secondo *l'indole e natura sua, ne risulterà nelle parti legittima armonia e perfetta solidità*: ed ecco il forte argomento e l'ariete del filosofo [Lodoli], con cui egli urta impetuosamente, e quasi d'un colpo tutta la moderna, e intende di rovesciare l'antica architettura, alle quali si sostituirà quando che sia un'architettura propria...<sup>102</sup>

The *indole* of a material is that which allows for the perfect proportion and solidity (*armonia e solidità*). Following Galileo's example, one could say that the *indole* of a cat's bones is appropriate to its situation and, as such, is able to perform well. According to the outline for a treatise on architecture that Lodoli left with Memmo and is given in the *Elementi*, these elements constitute the first and second essential parts of architecture.<sup>103</sup>

*Indole* refers to the temperament and natural inclinations that characterise an individual.

What is most important here is the possibility for one's character to not only to be understood, but also to grow and be nurtured.<sup>104</sup> One is who they are but there remains the possibility of change, *of becoming*. The definition and etymology of *indole* are as follows:

*Indole*: 'temperamento di un individuo nell'insieme delle inclinazioni naturali che lo caratterizzano' (1437-38, L.B. Alberti; l'es. di A Pandolfini, cit. dai vocabolari, ne è la ripetizione)

Vc. Dotta, lat. Indole (m), comp. di indu- 'dentro' e di un der. del v. alere 'nutrire'. Il sign. orig., infatti, era, 'accrescimento, incremento' attribuito tanto agli uomini, quanto alle piante, ma pop. si collegava la vc. a dolore (m),

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<sup>102</sup> *Elementi* II: 20 (emphasis added).

<sup>103</sup> *Elementi* II: 55-6: "Libro IV. I. Definizione della prima parte integrale, cioè della solidità architettonica in genere: della struttura fornice, della struttura travale. Libro V. I. Definizione della seconda parte integrale, cioè dell'analogia ovvero proporzione architettonica in genere."

<sup>104</sup> It is not my intention, although tempting, to make a comparison between Lodoli's critique vis-à-vis *indole* and a similar critique as based on character put forth in the French context by Blondel, Boffrand and others. As the argument is presented, it will become evident to the reader that the two critiques are simply different.

avvicinandola a indolente (m), perchè si riferiva all'età giovanile, che non conosce il dolore.<sup>105</sup>

Though Memmo continually stressed that Lodoli was not alone in this position, I have not found other references to *indole* being used with respect to materials. Lodoli's use of *indole* to describe materials is rare if not unique. The use of this trope allowed Lodoli to articulate a critique of the imitation of form. Lodoli berated most modern architects for their simple-minded repetition of the same forms without respect to materiality. He asked:

Devesi perciò sempre replicare abbasso, in alto, a mezzo, di dentro, di fuori, in piccolo, in grande, in gigantesco, di legno, di cotto, di pietra, in metallo, in butiro, in formaggio. Se così ha da essere in eterno, come finora verificossi, avremo noi quella varietà così estesa che si esige, onde dal piacere sempre sorpresi, abbiamo da restarne incantanti?<sup>106</sup>

Lodoli's lament continued: "Povera pietra! Fu trattata come fosse ricotta, senz'alcuna attitudine per sè stessa."<sup>107</sup> Certainly one should build differently in stone than in cheese.<sup>108</sup>

It was in this same spirit that Lodoli mocked the work of one of the more important architects of his day, Tomaso Temmanza.<sup>109</sup> In 1755 the clock tower in *Piazza S Marco (Torre dell'Orologio)* was renovated. Temmanza added a column just to the inside of the existing openings at the ground level of the clock tower façade (SEE FIGURE TWENTY-TWO). Lodoli

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<sup>105</sup> *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*. Manlio Cortelazzo, Paolo Zolli (Bologna: Zanichelli, 1979-1988). The *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca* (Venice: Giovanni Alberti, 1612) gives the definition as "indole: Natural disposizione, e inclinazione allo' mparare, e dicesi de fanciulli." *Indole* does not appear in Ephraim Chambers's *Dizionario Universale delle Arti e delle Scienze*. (Venice, 1748-49). *Indole* is not frequently used in modern Italian, though there is a rock band from Sardinia named "Indole."

<sup>106</sup> *Elementi* II: 90.

<sup>107</sup> *Elementi* II: 123.

<sup>108</sup> Charles Dodgson may disagree.

<sup>109</sup> Memmo named Temmanza as Lodoli's great nemesis. See *Elementi* II: 100. Temmanza quoted an unnamed poet in his reply to the insult by Lodoli. It was as follows:

*Fu vero parascito, e maldicente  
Degli uomini, di Dio, della Natura  
E dicitor di Apologi insolente.*

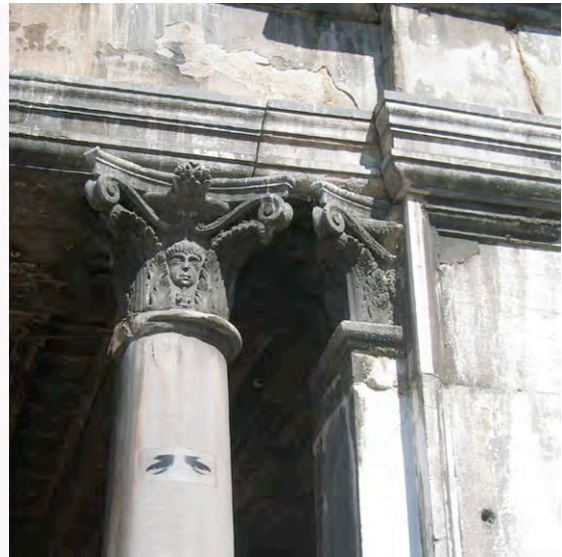
See Tomaso Temmanza, *Vite dei più celebri architetti e scultori veneziani* (Venezia, 1778). It is the only mention of Lodoli in the text. Ivanoff, in the introduction to Temmanza's *Zibaldon* (Venezia: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1963), explained: "Tale preparazione scientifica può spiegare certi orientamenti razionalisti e illuministici del Nostro, indipendentemente dall'esempio del celebre Carlo Lodoli, suo acerrimo nemico."

considered the addition untruthful and superfluous.<sup>110</sup> His reaction was to paint the following graffiti on either column: “Lustrissime siore colonne cosa feu qua? No lo savemo in verità.”<sup>111</sup> [Illustrious mister column, what are you doing there? Truthfully, we don’t know.]

The two columns look to each other and, truthfully, do not know why they are there. A closer look indeed demonstrates Lodoli’s quip against Temmanza. Just above the capital of both columns there is now a crack in the beam—identical, in fact, to the one described by Galileo in his Dialogue (SEE FIGURE TWENTY-THREE). In this situation, the orders, though “correct,” are not truthful with respect to the materials of which they are constructed. Just as a large animal will break a bone if it attempts to fall like a cat, a stone beam supported incorrectly will crack.



*figure 22*  
Temmanza’s Renovation of the Clocktower in S Marco



*figure 23*  
Demonstration of Temmanza’s Osteological Abuse

Lodoli illustrated this understanding of materials in another story: “A Traveler to the Academy.”<sup>112</sup> Roger Joseph Boscovich, the famous scientist, was traveling through the peninsula

<sup>110</sup> The pairing of the columns is similar, though not exactly the same, to those of the *Procuratie Nuove* by Scamozzi on the opposite side of the piazza. There are many other instances of paired columns in and around Venice.

<sup>111</sup> *Elementi* I: 125.

<sup>112</sup> *Elementi* II: 71-74. See Appendix I for complete translation.

and would be staying near the Academy of the Fiery Ones (*Infuocati*).<sup>113</sup> The members of the Academy wished to lure him to make a visit and were discussing various ways to honour him. Some thought to sing songs in praise of him; others thought to elegantly decorate his room and make a grand buffet; still others thought that someone so famous would enjoy to hear sonnets and songs. After much discussion it was decided that they would try to convince their venerable old master poet to read, or at least have read by another, a few cantos from the heroic work that he had spent his lifetime writing. Agreed, a few members went to meet the scientist and invite him to their Academy.

Boscovich accepted their invitation, but was only available for dinner the next day and would then have to leave early that night. They rushed back to the Academy with the good news and began to help the others in the rush to prepare. Great curtains were thrown over the walls and each member searched for his wig and powder. Not one spare set of white gloves could be found. All of the members were busy, some preparing the rooms, others turning ice into ice cream, and still others memorizing the compliments to be offered to Boscovich.

Just as they were finishing the preparations, Boscovich appeared to a roar of trumpets, sonnets, and compliments. After the noise had died down, the young abate Lindetto (very clean and tidy one) began to recite the poem. The poem praised Boscovich's profound genius and at the end encouraged the Muse: "Deh! ispira, o Diva, alla mia cetra il fiato!" [Alas! Inspire, oh Diva, inspire breath into my lyre!] Astonished at the gaffe, everyone quickly began to mumble... "Breath into lyre?" The contradiction was obvious: the lyre is not a wind instrument and does not rely upon a gust of air to be played. Lodoli added to the poet's final line, "Fiato all cetra, no? trave alla pietra!" [Breath into lyre, no? Beam of stone!] (SEE FIGURE TWENTY-FOUR).

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<sup>113</sup> Boscovich wrote extensively and has been credited as the forerunner to modern atomic theory. He also persuaded Pope Benedict XIV to remove Copernicus from the Papal Index of Forbidden Books. Dianna Bitz, in "Architettura Lodoliana: Topical mathematics as architecture" (Ph.D. Diss. Emory Univ., 1992), claims that Boscovich's theory of natural physics heavily influenced Lodoli.



Lodoli rhetorically concluded:

Tanto vi stupite che un povero poeta caduto sia in quella incongruenza per una semplice svista, e nessuno di voi stupirà che date siensi le proporzioni e le rappresentanze lignee ad una material che non si piega, ma si spezza?<sup>114</sup>

This critique can be understood more clearly by looking back to Lodoli's outline in the *Elementi*. Lodoli used the word *indole* within the section on *solidità* to describe the inherent properties and characteristics of both natural (wood, earth, sand, stone, etc.) and artificial (brick, mastics, composite, etc.) materials. In the second book of the outline he explained:

Che la funzione della materia tutta atta a compor fabbriche, è quella moltiplicata e modificata azione che risulta della stessa materia, qualor venga essa impiegata dimonstrativa-mente, secondo la propria *indole* ed il proposto fine, e fa sempre essere concordi tra esse *solidità*, l'analogia ed il comodo.<sup>115</sup>

Materials, when employed according to their proper *indole*, are considered to be *functional*. Earlier in a discussion of ornament Memmo referenced Lodoli when he stated:

Il padre Lodoli ben lunghi dall'essere poi quale il signor conte lo fa supporre, nemico dichiarato d'ogni ornamento, non si immaginò al certo di escluderne alcuno, purchè non fosse messo contro convenienza; sulla quale Vitruvio si ben ragiona, cioè si dovesse mai mettere in immagine od in termine più preciso del

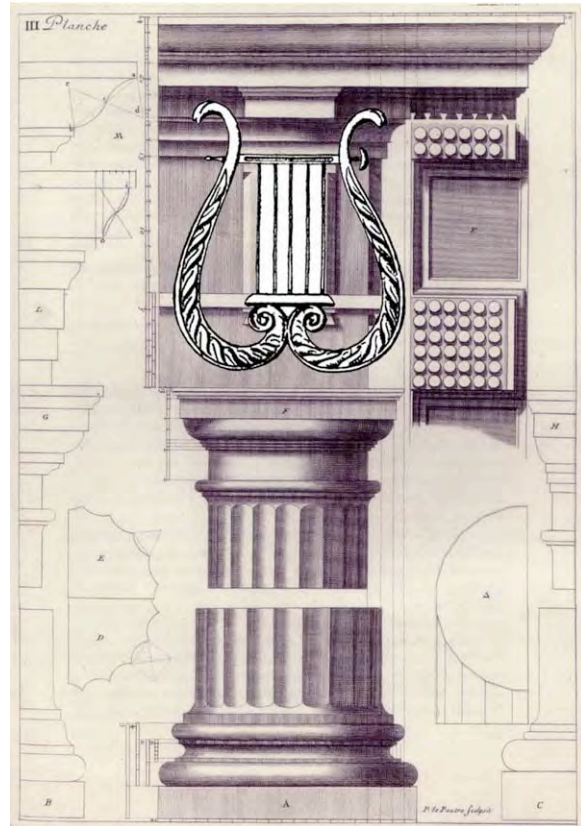


Figure 24  
Traveler to the Academy

<sup>114</sup> *Elementi* II: 74.

<sup>115</sup> *Elementi* II: 60.

Lodoli, *quello che non avrebbe potuto starsene in verità, o come l'alto diceva in funzione.*<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> *Elementi II*: 38 (emphasis added).

## ***Function and Representation***

For Lodoli function was a synonym for truth. Memmo claimed that Lodoli derived this understanding of function-as-truth from a quote of Vitruvius: “Ita, quod non potest in veritate fieri, id non potuerunt (antiqui) imaginibus factum posse certam rationem habere.”<sup>117</sup> Lodoli translated the quote: “Quello che non può stare nel fatto in verità, non si rappresenti.”<sup>118</sup> Though Vitruvius stated this, Lodoli believed he did not follow his own advice. In fact, Memmo claimed he was completely out of tune (*intiero scordato*) with his own definition. This dictum was so essential to Lodoli that it was wrapped around his portrait in the frontispiece of both the *Elementi* and *Apologhi*.<sup>119</sup> The quote there reads reads “Devonsi unire fabrica e ragione—e sia funzion[e] la rapresentazione” [Building must be unified with reason—and function will be representation].

A rendition of this phrase has also been added to the cloister in the *S Francesco della Vigna*. The first states the date, Anno MDCCXLIII (1743). The second presents the maxim ‘Ex fabrica et ratione.’ However, within the ‘O’ we find ‘cinatio’ (SEE FIGURE



**Figure 25**  
From cloister of *S Francesco della Vigna*

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<sup>117</sup> Berardo Galiani, *L'Architettura di M. Vitruvio Pollione colla traduzione Italiana e Comento del Marchese Berardo Galiani* (Naples, 1758): 136. The full quote continues to discuss proper meaning and true nature (*indole*): “Omnia enim certa proprietate et a veris naturæ deductis moribus traduxerunt, quorum explicationes in disputationibus rationem possunt habere veritatis.” See also *Elementi* II: 121.

<sup>118</sup> See *Elementi* II:13-16. See also Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antiche e moderni* (Venice: Remmondi, 17884): 14, “Quant è in rappresentazione deve essere in funzione.” Memmo also referenced Algarotti’s contribution from the *Saggio Sopra l’Architettura* (1756): 10, “Niuna cosa, egli insiste, metter s dee in rappresentazione, che non sia anche veramente in funzione.”

<sup>119</sup> See Appenix I for image.

TWENTY-FIVE). Kaufmann believes that the inscriptions marked the date of Lodoli's renovations to the cloister.<sup>120</sup> Lodoli was certainly there.

This understanding of the representational component of the performance of materials allowed Lodoli to make a critique of the orders and to question the essential meaning of architecture. Lodoli claimed that the orders did not represent the *indole* of stone and further that they were based on an architecture of wood falsely translated into an architecture of stone. This argument was supported not by the scientific testing of materials but rather by looking again to history to find a more truthful foundation. Memmo referenced Lodoli when he lamented:

Quanti uomini di sommo talento e di studii forniti, che prima d'udire somiglianti osservazioni credevano in buona fede essersi ridotta l'architettura nei cinque ordini, io intesi a desiderare che l'architettura medesima si ristudiasse di nuovo sopra fondamenti più solidi!"<sup>121</sup>

In his search for a more solid foundation, Lodoli implored us to remember that all architecture was not born in Greece. He wondered why all those who continued to imitate the past did not look to other histories, like the Egyptian, Etruscan, or Phoenician, to find inspiration or understanding. Memmo did not want to rewrite each of these histories in the *Elementi* and therefore referenced the work of the archaeologist Paolo Antonio Paoli.<sup>122</sup> Memmo commended Paoli for praising *as well as* pointing out the defects of the Greeks. Paoli also, and more importantly for Memmo, described a longer history that did not favour the Greeks.<sup>123</sup> Memmo claimed that Paoli:

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<sup>120</sup> See Edgar Kaufmann, "Lodoli Architetto," *In Search of Modern Architecture* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1982): 32. It is the same inscription as found in Ziborghi's Vignola. See figure 16.

<sup>121</sup> *Elementi* II: 109.

<sup>122</sup> Paoli was the president of the *Accademia Ecclesiastica* of Rome, from 1775-98. Memmo referenced Paolo Antonio Paoli, *Antichità di Pozzuoli: Puteolanae Antiquitates* (Naples: 1768).

<sup>123</sup> See *Elementi* I: 306-7. Memmo also referenced Antoine-Yves Goguet (1716-58), Thomas Dempster's *De Etruria Regalia* (1723), Anton Francesco Gori, Scipione Maffei, and Mario Guarnacci (1701-85). This last character was the secretary to Carlo Rezzonico and most likely the source of Piranesi's understanding of Roman Law, expressed in the *Carceri* etchings. Memmo also referenced Comte de Caylus (1692-1765)—a bizarre inclusion knowing his obvious Greek bias.

Prova indi ed evidenza coll' autorità de' sagri testi, e con quella de' più antichi profani autori, ed inoltre co' monumenti i quali ancor sussistono, che l'architettura fra gli orientali trasse la sua origine dalla pietra; che dagli Egizii comunicossi ai Fenicii, ai Tirreni od Etruschi, ed erasi condotta l'arte del fabbricare al suo primario oggetto ch'è la *solidità e la durata* degli edificii.<sup>124</sup>

At the time that the Greeks transferred the orders from an architecture of wood to an architecture of stone, Paoli claimed, the column had already been established as an element of architecture in Paestum. Further, this “invention” had predated the Greeks’ knowledge of the chisel. It is an important distinction. Paoli looked not to style or to development of form, but to actual methods of construction. This makes sense considering his larger goal, which was to demonstrate that the primary interest in the architecture of these cultures was solidity and durability (*solidità e durata*). It should be no surprise that Lodoli privileged these two characteristics of materials in the outline for his architectural treatise. As I have stated, the understanding of *indole* is crucial to both.<sup>125</sup>

It is important to note that a particular discourse underlies this position. The privileging of the Oriental-Egyptian-Etruscan-Roman historical line was seen as an important link to recover the cultural history of the Veneto, which was perceived to be in decline due to decadence. Maffei, Lodoli’s influential teacher in Verona, was attempting to promote a cultural recovery through such reform.<sup>126</sup> There was a surging interest in Etruscan culture as offering both a precedent to the Romans and means of privileging the Romans over the Greeks.<sup>127</sup> Piranesi, named as the

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<sup>124</sup> *Elementi* I: 296 (emphasis added).

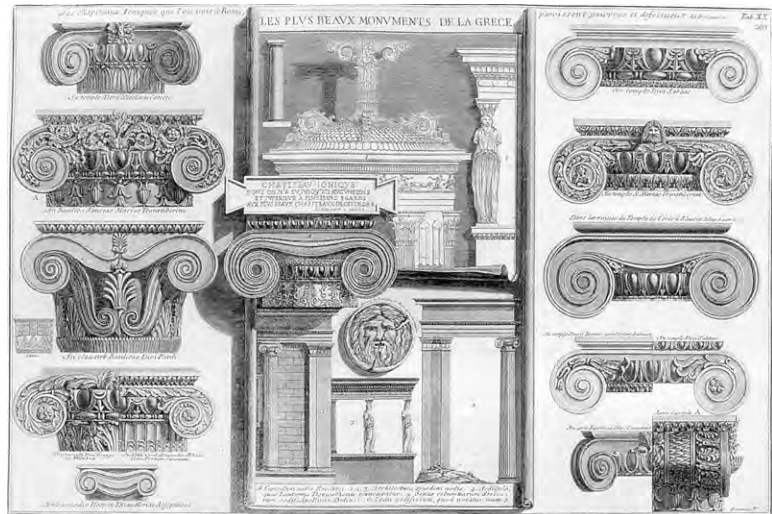
<sup>125</sup> See *Elementi* II: 51-64. On *solidità* specifically see *Elementi* II: 65-76.

<sup>126</sup> Maffei attempted to effect a cultural recovery through a series of endeavors including one of the first public museums in Europe (the Museo Lapidario Maffei, 1745), academic reform (*Parere intorno al sistema dell'Univ. di Padova*, 1715), theater reform (*Merope*, 1713), and a cultural history of Verona (*Verona Illustrata*, 1731-32) to name just a few of his interests. For further discussion, see Giuseppe Silvestri, *Un Europeo del Settecento: Scipione Maffei* (Treviso: Neri Pozza, 1968).

<sup>127</sup> The description of “Etruria” was based mostly in the fragments of Greek and Roman historians and focused on Tuscany. In the eighteenth century there was an interest to “discover” this ancient civilization in order to demonstrate a certain unity, and with this unity a sense of superiority over the rest of Europe. In 1726 the Etruscan Academy was founded in Cortona. See, for example, Thomas Dempster’s *De Etruria Material Indole*

“anti-Le Roy” by Memmo, was also attempting to recover the glorious past of Roman civilization through his reconstructions of Roma ruins depicted in the many etchings of the *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani* (Rome, 1761).<sup>128</sup> One plate in particular referred back to Le Roy’s study of Greek monuments: Piranesi collaged a series of elements from the Greek monuments but made one very interesting addition; he placed the Roman *bocca della verità* within the Greek capitals<sup>129</sup> (SEE FIGURE TWENTY-SIX).

figure 26  
bocca dell' verità,  
Piranesi



*Regali Libri Septem* (1723) and Scipione Maffei’s *Degl’Itali primitivi ragionamento in cui si procura d’investigare l’origine degli etruschi e de’latini* (Mantova, 1727), as well as Ludovico Antonio Muratori’s *Dissertazioni sopra la Antichità Italiane* (Rome, 1755). Each sought to establish an “Italian” history separate from Rome. Apostolo Zeno, a founder of the *Giornale de Letterati d’Italia*, was interested in publishing a collection of writers documenting an Italian history. Other writers who helped to establish a Roman historical context include Mario Guarnacci and Giuseppe Micali. Angelo Mazzoldi followed an Italian heritage all the way back through Etruria to claim that the roots of the Italian civilization were in fact Atlantis, located somewhere near Corsica. See Emiliana Pasca Noether’s *Seeds of Italian Nationalism* (New York: AMS Press, 1969) for a more complete review.

<sup>128</sup> Memmo considered this book to be of particular interest in describing the inventions of the Romans and Greeks. Memmo also claimed that it was personally given to Lodoli by Piranesi. See *Elementi* II: 139. See also Giambattista Piranesi, *Le antichità Romane; opera di Giambattista Piranesi*. (Rome, 1756); *Opere varie di architettura, prospettive, grotteschi, antichità* (Rome: Bouchard, 1750), and *Descrizione e Disegno dell’Emissario del Lago Albano* (Rome, 1762), in which Piranesi partially detailed and re-created the sewer system of Rome.

<sup>129</sup> According to urban myth, anyone who put their hand into the stone mouth and told a lie would not be able to pull their hand back out. Piranesi seems to be tempting Le Roy to place his hand in the mouth of truth.

The debate between Le Roy and Piranesi was given a more modern, nationalistic flavour in Piranesi's retort to Jean-Pierre Mariette.<sup>130</sup> Here Piranesi collapses the Italian freedom of expression inherent in the work of the ancient Romans against Mariette's more restrained French architecture whose basis was in the Greek ideals of Le Roy and Winckelmann. Accompanying Piranesi's etchings of the *Parere* were quotes and references. Piranesi also included within his etchings critical references regarding the relative justice of Roman and Greek law. References can also be found in his *Carceri* etchings.<sup>131</sup>

One of Piranesi's lesser-known etchings is of special interest here. The "Capriccio architetonico con la caduta di Fetonte" was reproduced on the reverse side of a *vedute di Roma*.<sup>132</sup> Phaeton was the son of the Apollo. To prove his worth to his father, Phaeton stole his father's chariot and raced it across the heavens to begin the day. He lost control and went too far making day turn to night. The chariot and Phaeton then fell to earth and giving birth to the great deserts. Calvesi and others have related this myth to Piranesi's perception of the rise and fall of Greek art and architecture.<sup>133</sup> The Greeks, as represented by Phaeton and while in the Po Valley, were overwhelmed by the greatness of the Romans and crashed to the earth.

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<sup>130</sup> See Giambattista Piranesi, *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette*. Tr. Caroline Beamish and David Britt (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2002).

<sup>131</sup> The second state of plate sixteen includes quotes from Livy: AD TERROR EM INCRESCENTI AVDACIE (to terrify the growing audacity) and INFAME SCELUS...(ARBO)RI INFELICI SUSPE(NDE) (infamous wickedness, hang him on the barren tree). Rykwert believes that this quote may allude to the episode in Livy regarding the trial of the patriotic Horatii for murdering his sister for which he was absolved. Another, IMPIETATI ET MALIS ARTIBUS, referenced the impious and wicked arts. See Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980): 378-81. Rykwert references Vico's knowledge and writing on Roman Law.

<sup>132</sup> Maurizio Calvesi found the etching in 1965. See Luigi Finacci, *Piranesi: The Complete Etchings* (New York: Taschen, 2000): 127.

<sup>133</sup> See Middleton, "Giovanni Battista Piranesi (1720-1778)," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 41. No. 4 (Dec., 1982): 337 for a list of other references to the same interpretation of the plate. Vico also described the story. See *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1962): § 651.

## *Origins*

Lodoli clearly privileged the Romans over the Greeks. However, his search was for a history more ancient than the ancients.<sup>134</sup> Memmo again evoked Vitruvius in considering the origins of architectural meaning. Memmo reiterated the origin story: man, in his primal state, began to interweave branches and mud in order to keep the rain off. The first roof was made by spreading such branches out to protect against the weather.<sup>135</sup> Next came the walls—to keep out pests and enemies. Trees were cut and squared to make columns and then placed at equal distances apart. After some time, ornament was developed that revealed the wooden construction of which the columns was made. Memmo continued to explain that each nation or peoples used different materials as were available to them: some used wood, some straw, some mud.<sup>136</sup> Others simply inhabited found spaces such as caves. The first peoples made these first dwellings with the materials that were around them. Memmo explained:

...e così facendo delle continue esperienze e diverse osservazioni, dall'incerte acquistarono la cognizione delle *certe proporzioni* di simmetria, ed osservando che la natura somministrava a larga mano, e legnami ed altra sorta di materiali da fabbrica, adopravangli.<sup>137</sup>

Although the column was derived from wood, one should not conceptualise this genesis as the direct transference of a tree in nature to a column. Memmo stated directly that while the orders were originally in wood, the column was not an imitation of a tree, a maiden, or anything

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<sup>134</sup> “Non mai per chi volendo alzarsi sopra l'autorità di tutti, altro non cerca che la pura ragion delle cose, ancor più antica, diceva il padre Lodoli, di quelli.” *Elementi* I: 342.

<sup>135</sup> *Elementi* I: 285-86

<sup>136</sup> Memmo understood nation in a similar way as Vico: a group of people with common institutions that develop independently of others. See *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1962): XX.

<sup>137</sup> *Elementi* I: 287. Memmo referenced Bernardo Galiani, *L'Architettura di M. Vitruvio Pollione colla traduzione Italiana e Comento del Marchese Berardo Galiani* (Naples, 1758.): 49 (emphasis added by Memmo).



else. Memmo mocked such analogies as being “swallowed only by ignorant people.”<sup>138</sup> He went on to ask who might have understood the column as representative of a tree:

Oh rappresentano gli alberi!...Quali di Grazia? Certamente nessuno. Non l’Egizie, non quelle degli antichi Italiani, usate prima che i Greci innalzassero fabbriche di pietra, non de’primi tempj de’Greci di cui si conserva memoria, non le doriche, ioniche, corintie, o toscane moderne o composite.<sup>139</sup>

He then explained the actual origin of the fluting and of the base:

Gli Egiziani scanalarono le loro colonne, eppure non intesero mai nè d’imitare le crepature delle cortecce degli alberi, nè le falde degli abiti delle matrone o delle donzelle, come alcuni vollero credere che i Greci abbiano fatto. E perchè no le basi delle colonne stesse, le parti delle quali non ripugnano all’indole delle pietra, per quanto siasi creduto che rappresentassero varj tasselli, messi un sopra l’altro, da potersi levare al caso che si putrefacessero piantati nell’umido terreno, e tanto meno que’piumacetti gonfii, e stretti da fettucce che altri sognaono?<sup>140</sup>

Ancients who used wood, built according to the proportions of wood. Once such proportions had been established through making, Memmo explained, the Greeks corrupted this wooden architecture by its translation into an architecture of stone. Memmo described the shift:

[I Greci] Avendo cominciato poi scultori o scalpellini a fare da architetti, ed osservando che putrefacendosi esse, allo scoperto poco duravano le opere loro, e che se si fossero da essi adoperate le mani nel rotondeggiare colonne, nel’incider capitelli, fregi e bassirilievi ec. in pietra, non solo si sarebbero le loro opere perpetuate, ma molto maggior premio ne avrebbero tratto, continuarono le medesime lignee forme nella pietra; materia come ognuno sa, *d’indole diametralmente opposta*, senza riflettere alle conseguenze. Questo fu un salto troppo azzardato...<sup>141</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> Memmo does not, however, extend the critique to Milizia: “Commisera quelli che, seguendo la volgare credenza (sendovi anche nelle scienza e nelle arti il suo volgo) inghiottirono che la colonna avesse tratta la sua prima origine da que’ travi in piedi che sostevano il tetto, come questi rappresentassero gli alberi delle primitive capanne.” *Elementi* I: 300.

<sup>139</sup> *Elementi* II: 137.

<sup>140</sup> *Elementi* II: 137.

<sup>141</sup> *Elementi* I: 358 (emphasis added).

Lodoli did not fault the Greeks for using a more durable material; rather their mistake was in using the same form for a completely different material. Lodoli claimed that the Greeks were not able to reason well. He compared their buildings to a woman with three eyes and a man with two noses, in other words contrary to common sense and good reason.<sup>142</sup>

Memmo then looked specifically at the errors found in elements of the orders: the modillions, triglyphs, and dentils. These are the square-cut elements in the cornice of the orders that are representative of the ends of wooden beams and rafters, which would bear the weight of a floor or roof. Again, Memmo quoted Vitruvius in order to critique the representation of these components in stone:

Quindi siccome è nato delle opere doriche l'uso de'triglifi e de'modiglioni, così anche nelle ioniche quello de'dentelli: e siccome i modiglioni figurano gli sporti de'punteri, così i dentelli ionici fanno le veci degli sporti dei panconcelli. Quindi è che tra i Greci non v'è stato chi avesse posti i dentelli sotto i modiglioni, perchè non è naturale che stieno i panconcelli sotto i puntoni; perciò se nelle copie si metterà sotto quello che nel vero si pone sopra i puntoni e i paradossi, sarà un'opera difettosa.<sup>143</sup>

It does not make sense generally to have the smaller beams (*i panconcelli*) below to support the larger beams (*i puntoni*). It makes even less sense to repeat this mistake in the representation in stone by placing the dentils below the modillions.

Memmo discussed another error was again in the representation of wooden rafters by the modillions at the corner of a building where the roof and pediment meet the wall. A telling example of this particular flaw is at the *Palazzo Barbaro* in Maser by Palladio (SEE FIGURE TWENTY-SEVEN). Both systems of construction are demonstrated, one truthfully, the other less so. The stone construction *indicates* the rafters that are only truly present within the construction of the wooden roof. Palladio chamfered the ends of the dark wooden beams thereby reducing their

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<sup>142</sup> *Elementi* I: 331. "Non potevano i Greci ragionare più giusto. Se fosse rappresentato quello che in verità, o nel probabile ed usato potesse stare, come per esempio una donna con tre occhi, od un uomo con due nasi, sarebbe questo senza dubbio contro la buona ragione." Similar, perhaps to the inhabitants of the Island of the Caramogi.

<sup>143</sup> *Elementi* I: 330 (emphasis added by Memmo).

visibility under the roof. It is important to notice that the wooden diagonal beam, essential to the roof construction, is *not* indicated in the stone representation.

The metope refers to the space between the triglyphs or modillions; it was representative of a piece of wood left there to block out the weather and was typically used by the Ancients as the place for ornament. Lodoli had no objections to metopes in construction—he reasoned that there would always be a place between the beams—and even promoted it so long as it contained no references to Roman or Greek sacrifice.

Memmo explained:

I vuoti tra un trave e l'altro potevansi ornare come più piacesse, secondo il Lodoli; perchè i pezzi che vi si ponevano per impedire che la troppa aria entrasse nell'interno, non ufficiavano. Questi pezzi di pietra, dettisi metope, furano già spesso senza inconvenienza variati dagli antichi e dai moderni.

Non piacevangli [Lodoli] però teste di bue, di montone, che potevano convenirsi a que'luoghi, ove simili animali sacrificavansi ne'tempii de'gentili, come de'cavalli ove fossero scuderie; ma che tra le moderne nazioni non sono più allusive, e restano solo immagini sguaiate e certamente non ammirabili, nemmeno per l'opera di scoltura.<sup>144</sup>



**Figure 27**  
*Corner condition at Palazzo Barbaro, Palladio*

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<sup>144</sup> *Elementi* II: 147-48.

This critique focused on the Ancient Greeks but was also directed to those Moderns who followed blindly in their footsteps. Both Memmo and Lodoli agreed that whatever Palladio did had been done without malice. Nevertheless, we should not shy away from recognising mistakes and at least have the fortitude to not copy them. It should be remembered that Venetian builders in the Eighteenth century did not have to look far to see the buildings of Palladio. Palladian buildings, which could be seen as precedents for the more sober architecture of the mid-eighteenth century, were easy to find throughout the Veneto. Indeed, these were often imitated without the theoretical underpinning of his writings.<sup>145</sup>

To construct architecture solely based on the orders is not only to base it on a false premise: it is also quite limiting. Lodoli explained further in the “Story of a Little Spanish Island.”<sup>146</sup> Lodoli remembered the Island well. He could recall the most pleasingly sweet and majestic sound of the native inhabitant’s language. Some Spanish landed on the island and were very excited to learn the new language quickly. They began with the alphabet but were only able to understand the meaning and pronunciation of the first three letters. The Spanish then left the island with the knowledge of only these letters and were not able to advance the language any further. Those content with the little that they knew, by force of their industry and competition, could produce the language in this way. As such it consisted only of words similar to these: *cabà, becà, cacabà, babac, becab*.

Lodoli concluded and asked:

Ma perchè mai rinunziare, poveri essendo, alla possibile ricchezza? perchè dovendo ricavare tutte le perfezioni *dai veri costumi tratti dalla natura*, giacchè

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<sup>145</sup> It was not unusual for well-known architects to be poorly educated at best. Tomaso Temmanza described Domenico Rossi as almost illiterate. Andrea Tirali could hardly write. Both architects established a visual tradition based on work by Palladio. See, for example, *Ca’ Corner della Regina* by Rossi and *S Nicolò da Tolentino* by Tirali. See Elena Bassi, *Architettura del sei e settecento a Venezia* (Napoli: G. D’Agostono, 1962).

<sup>146</sup> *Elementi*: II: 126. See Appendix I for complete translation.

ci serviamo dopo tanto tempo della pietra, vorremo escludere quei possibili di lei proprii ornate, lasciando al legno quelli, che al legno si convenivano?<sup>147</sup>

Lodoli was not the first to propose a break with the authority of the orders. Frémin and Cordemoy, at least, had attempted a break as well. Cordemoy was less radical than Frémin—or maybe just less sudden—but his treatise was more influential.<sup>148</sup> Though possibly similar in intention, Lodoli’s critique differs greatly from his French counterparts. The critique here is three-fold. The orders are not functional (truthful) because they do not demonstrate the *indole* of the materials of which they are made: if a beam is made of stone and supported correctly, it will not crack. Secondly, the orders do not represent the means of construction that they are attempting to imitate: the orders are a stone architecture derived from an architecture of wood. And, lastly, that the use of the orders is, quite simply, limiting.

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<sup>147</sup> *Elementi* II: 126-27

<sup>148</sup> See R. M. Middleton, “The Abbe De Cordemoy and the Graeco-Gothic Ideal: A Prelude to Romantic Classicism.” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*. Vol. 25, No. 3/4 (Jul.-Dec., 1962): 280-82. M. Petrocchi in *Razionalismo Architettonico e Razionalismo Storiografico* (Rome, 1947): 12, uncritically referenced Cordemoy’s influence on Lodoli.

## *The Primitive Hut*

Once the orders had been discredited as the basis of architectural meaning, Lodoli then looked to the other paradigm of eighteenth century architecture: the Primitive Hut. There was a vigorous interest in the “primitive” in the eighteenth century, less for what it actually was, than for what it was perceived to offer.<sup>149</sup> For many Venetians, “the primitive” was just across the Adriatic. The Morlacchi of Dalmatia appeared as characters in performances by Goldoni and were the focus of studies by various Venetians including those around Lodoli.<sup>150</sup>

The idea of the “primitive” held more than a passing interest for Rousseau and Vico. Both philosophers looked back to discover a more primal state, literally before history, that might allow access into man’s natural condition. Joseph Rykwert elaborates on the impact of primitivism on the architectural theory of the eighteenth century:

If architecture was to be renewed, if its true function was again to be understood after years of neglect, a return to the “preconscious” state of building, or alternatively to the dawn of consciousness, would reveal those primary ideals from which a true understanding of architectural forms would spring.<sup>151</sup>

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<sup>149</sup> There was clearly a curiosity factor in seeing something perceived as so different, of course. Travels to “the New World” offered literal and figurative accounts of “the other.” See Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage Into Substance*. (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1984) for an account of such travels.

<sup>150</sup> Andrea Quirini, Giustiniana Wynne, and others wrote about the Morlacchi. Memmo first became interested in Dalmatia around 1770 and then later just after his ducal defeat in 1790 within the context of Venice’s delicate neutrality during the Ottoman wars. Memmo attempted to reform the primitive structuring of the Morlacchi houses. His proposal included a reorganisation of housing and a reform of clerical education, which would lead to a more enlightened peoples. Their “primitive” situation was not a result of their primitive-ness, but rather the reverse; their primitive-ness was derived from their primitive conditions. Memmo proposed a reform of education through the creation of new Academies and the promotion of agriculture through the cultivation of land. See Larry Woolf, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford UPress, 2001).

<sup>151</sup> Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam’s House in Paradise* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993): 27.

Many Primitive Huts were represented in the eighteenth century, but Laugier's version usually stands out (SEE FIGURE TWENTY-EIGHT). For Laugier, reason could act as a safeguard to protect taste from the pitfalls of prejudice aroused by habit and fashion; reason would rise above taste. He accepted the principle of a universal beauty, but rejected the idea that something was good simply because it had always been done that way. His look back was in order to define an architectural lineage to its ground-zero point in Nature. The primitive hut was not seen as an artifact, but as representative of a noble simplicity from which one could deduce immutable law. It also helped to serve as the mythical foundation of Greek (read French) architecture. Architecture, as the Primitive Hut, should be composed of columns, architraves, and pediments. As Rykwert has said, "Laugier's little hut had been built on Rousseau's riverbank."<sup>152</sup>



figure 28  
Frontispiece from the second edition of  
Laugier's *Essai sur l'Architecture*

Memmo praised Laugier, though he was also quick to point out that most of what the Jesuit said he had probably was taken from Lodoli while he was in Venice.<sup>153</sup> In the *Elementi*,

<sup>152</sup> Joseph Rykwert, *On Adam's House in Paradise* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1993): 49. Though it should be noted that the two differed on the nature of origins; recoverable or not.

<sup>153</sup> See *Elementi* I: 344-5. Memmo claimed that Laugier, though a lover of architecture, first went to Venice to write about the history of the city and, only after meeting with Lodoli, decided to write on architecture. Memmo also believed that Laugier had plagiarized Lodoli. Pietro Contarini had gone to Paris where he came across Laugier's *Essai sur l'Architecture* (Paris; D-M Duchesne, 1755). Contarini noticed

*Material Indole*

Memmo actually quoted long passages from Laugier's *Essai*. He cited Laugier's belief that solidity was central to architecture, his understanding that the elements of a building should be understood as components of construction and not only ornament, his praise of the Gothic, and his severity of rules of architecture.<sup>154</sup> Memmo even claimed that "sono almeno i migliori che dar si possono per formare una buona fabbrica."<sup>155</sup> That said, Memmo criticized Laugier for his privileging of the Greeks over the Romans, and his understanding that the origins of architecture could be found in the primitive hut and the three elements thereof: the column, the entablature, and the pediment. Memmo added: "Ma pur egli quando si avvanza alla pratica che decide di tutto il merito delle teorie, abbandona la filosofia."<sup>156</sup> A strange comment since Laugier was known as a scholar and *hommes des lettres* who did not ever build.

Lodoli also looked back, making a critique of Vitruvius while doing so. If Vitruvius had travelled a bit, claimed Memmo, he would have been able to see buildings of stone and brick that did not attempt to imitate a primitive hut. There were surely many different forms of architecture before the Greeks: Egyptian, Etruscan, and Chinese, for example.<sup>157</sup> As these examples demonstrate, the purpose of looking back to a primitive architecture was not to imitate: nor was it possible to claim wood as the only material used. Memmo explained further:

E che perciò non potrebbesi assolutamente, e per tutt'i casi esattamente dire dietro la vera storia dell'architettura ch'essa fosse un'arte imatrice, e tanto meno che avesse ad imitare quell primo artefatto in legno; mentre volendosi imitare la prima produzione architettonica dettata non dalla natura, *ma dall'ingegno umano* (sendosi fabricato prima in pietra ne'paesi orientali) la

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similarities to Lodoli and wondered why he was not mentioned. Memmo shared his concern. See Wolfgang Hermann, *Laugier and Eighteenth Century French Theory* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1962) for a discussion of influence. Herrmann convincingly shows that Milizia borrowed heavily from his sources, which included Laugier. Memmo, as I have shown, also borrowed from Milizia.

<sup>154</sup> *Elementi* I: 343-48.

<sup>155</sup> *Elementi* I: 346.

<sup>156</sup> *Elementi* I: 346. It may refer to Memmo's perception of inconsistencies between Laugier's understanding of solidity and his privileging of the Greeks.

<sup>157</sup> Memmo again referenced Alcaini of Belluno and Paolo Antonio Paoli. See note 121 of this chapter for references to Paoli.



capanna non è da prendersi per chi lo sa per produzione prima sostituita alla natura; e tanto meno che una prima invenzione per l'ordinario non suol essere la migliore.<sup>158</sup>

Memmo again referred to a correction by Lodoli of Galiani's Vitruvius to elaborate upon and ground the critique. Galiani had translated the Latin "Fabrica est continuata, ac trita usus meditatio, quæ manibus perficitur e materia cujuscumque generis opus est ad propositum deformationis"<sup>159</sup> into Italian as: "La pratica è una continua e consumata riflessione sull'uso, e si eseguisce colle mani." [Practice is a total and complete reflection upon use and is carried out manually.] For Galiani, the Latin verb "perficere" was rendered into Italian as "eseguire" [to carry-out]. Lodoli believed this was not the best possible translation. Instead, he translated the verb into Italian as "perfezionare" [to perfect], and since the Latin phrase "manibus perficitur" held the potential of a very wide range of meaning, Lodoli chose not to limit the perfecting to that only done by the hands. Thus Lodoli translated the literal meaning of "manibus" into Italian as: "La pratica è una continua e consumata riflessione sull'uso, e si perfeziona coll'operare."<sup>160</sup> [Practice is a total and complete reflection upon use and is perfected through working (as in a piece of wood, which is worked or made.)]

If there were such a thing as the Primitive Hut, Memmo claimed it was not an imitation of nature nor was its form known. In fact, the only thing one actually knows of a first architecture is that it was made with the *ingegno* of man. Knowledge of pre-conscious or a primary architecture is found through making.

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<sup>158</sup> *Elementi* I: 292 (emphas added).

<sup>159</sup> *Elementi* I: 273.

<sup>160</sup> *Elementi* I: 274-75.

Giambattista Vico elaborated this understanding of making with his much-discussed axiom: *verum ipsum factum* [the truth itself is made]. Lodoli undoubtedly knew and had read Vico's work. While censor in Venice, Lodoli had requested from Vico the second edition of his *Nuova Scienza* so that it could be printed and distributed in Venice. Due to the extreme length of the manuscript and various financial issues, the printing was delayed. Unhappy with the setback, Vico withdrew his manuscript and printed it at his own expense in Napoli.<sup>161</sup>

The axiom was first described in *De Antiquissima Italorum Sapientia* (1710) as a counter to the "clear and distinct" ideas of Descartes. Vico did not offer much support for the *verum-factum* principle beyond a weak philological proof. He described his understanding, however, with the following analogy:

Divine truth is a solid image, like a statue; human truth is a monogram or a surface image like a painting. Just as divine truth is what God sets in order and creates in the act of knowing it, so human truth is what man puts together and makes in the act of knowing it.<sup>162</sup>

The divine has access to the *prima materia*, and as such can create forms. Humans do not have such privileged access, and therefore can only represent these forms. We can never truly know what providence has made. According to Vico, we may know language, history, culture, and geometric propositions, as we have made them. We do not make physical forms, however, and therefore can never truly know the laws of natural physics. For Vico, human understanding would always distinguish the laws of Nature and the laws of geometry.

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<sup>161</sup> See *The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. Fisch and Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell Upress, 1944): 166.

<sup>162</sup> Giambattista Vico *On the Most ancient wisdom of the Italians*, Tr. by L.M. Palmer (Ithaca: Cornell Upress, 1988): 46.

Human knowledge is based, for Vico, upon *ingenium*: “the faculty that connects disparate and diverse things.”<sup>163</sup> Palmer, who translated Vico, explains:

Ingenium is a productive and creative form of knowledge. It is poetic in the creation of the imagination; it is rhetorical in the creation of language, through which all sciences are formalized. Hence, it requires its own logic, a logic that combines both the art of finding or inventing arguments and that of judging them.<sup>164</sup>

Thus, *ingegno*, primary knowledge, can be understood to have its basis in imagination.

According to Memmo, *ingegno* was what allowed each of the original peoples to make a first architecture.<sup>165</sup> This was an essential component of a Lodolian architecture. The form of this first architecture was not known, and it surely differed from place to place due to diverse materials and landscapes (SEE FIGURE TWENTY-NINE). Memmo went so far as to say that there might have been a primitive hut with a pediment and columns, though he knows he has never seen it. There could too have been a

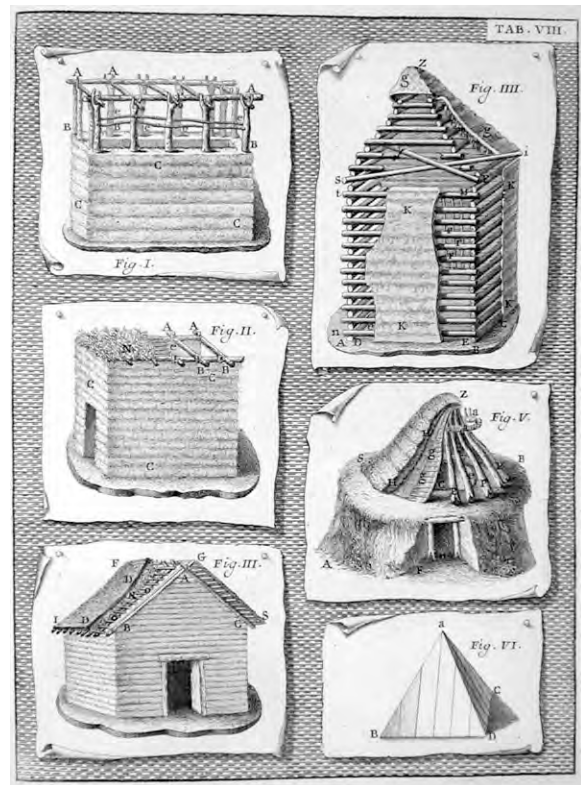


figure 29  
Various Primitive Huts,  
Poleni

<sup>163</sup> Giambattista Vico, *On the Most ancient wisdom of the Italians*, Tr. by L.M. Palmer (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1988): 96.

<sup>164</sup> Giambattista Vico, *On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians* Tr. by L.M. Palmer, (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1988): 34.

<sup>165</sup> *Ingegno* is derived from the Latin *ingenium* and refers to one’s innate or natural qualities. It is often translated as wit or genius, though the Latin did not have the same connotation as genius in English. The relation between *indole* and *ingenium* is tempting. Vico somewhat tenuously connects *ingenium* to *nature* etymologically. See Giambattista Vico, *On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians* Tr. by L.M. Palmer, (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1988): 97. This work is less interesting for Vico’s lack of etymological clarity than for his intention in understanding *ingenium*.

conical first hut like the one shown by Poleni and Milizia, but again no one knows for sure. For these reasons—the contextual basis of the Primitive Hut and its unknowability—it is clear that the imagined primitive hut of Laugier, or any other for that matter is not a model to imitate.

Lodoli's conceptualisation of multiplicity of primitive huts resonates with Vico's own search for the one true Homer.

Vico outlined an understanding of history based upon a comparative mythology that recognized a cyclical pattern of cultural revival. Termed *corso e ricorso*, each culture could be seen going through three ages. The first *Age of Gods*, was characterised by familial relations and values. Pre-political institutions of marriage, religion, and burial of the dead were established. The language was hieroglyphic or sacred. Myth was a state of being, a performance of reality and not simply a description. History was the performance of myth. Jove was understood, literally, to be the thunder in the sky. The creation of nations and states occurred within the second age, the *Age of Heroes*. The language was symbolic or figurative. Myth gave access to the larger questions of existence. Vico gave the example of Homer who heroically attempted to answer the great questions of life. Within the third age, the *Age of Man*, the language is epistolary or vulgar. Myth was considered an imaginative narrative, literally untrue, but still holding the ability to express a truth. The culture was no longer religious but attempted to hold on to the sacred through art. This third age foretells the advent of Romanticism as well as Surrealism—both as responses to the loss of the sacred.

Vico's consideration of natural law in the *Age of Heroes* led him to discover the true Homer. His "discovery" stated "Homer was an idea or a heroic character of Grecian men insofar as they told their histories in song."<sup>166</sup> The "true" Homer was in fact many Homers—each culture having created their own. Homer is therefore both specific to the nation from which s/he is

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<sup>166</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1962): §§ 873, 858-872. Vico's support for this claim is the substantial variation in essential components of Homer's life: where he was from (many towns lay claim), his age (there is a difference of 460 years), and major differences in style between the *Illiad* and the *Odyssey*.

derived, understood through language and place, and universal in the sense of characterizing a poetic way of thinking common to men of that age.

Similarly, for Memmo, each culture may have had a “Primitive Hut.” The point is not to archeologically *prove* the existence and form of a primitive hut—and therefore prove the origin of the elements of architecture, column, pediment, and entablature—but to demonstrate that each culture has had an original architecture that was made with the *ingegno* of man.

Vico’s discovery also evoked the problems of historical difference. Homer was not a modern man and thus should be looked at within the context of his own time. B. A. Haddock explains:

Vico’s achievement was to realise that the interpretation of documents and artefacts depended on theoretical considerations about the character of the men who produced those artefacts; and the need he felt to elaborate a new science of interpretation was born of an awareness that there was something incongruous about a conception of the origins of society and civilisation which presupposed the attributes of eighteenth century civility.<sup>167</sup>

This understanding avoided what Vico termed the conceit of scholars (*la boria dei dotti*). He described this in his first axiom: “Because of the indefinite nature of the human mind, wherever it is lost in ignorance, man makes himself the measure of all things.”<sup>168</sup>

Melchiorre Cesarotti, a close friend to both Lodoli and Memmo as well as a member in Maffei’s Arcadian colony, related Vico’s “discovery” of Homer to the reception of the Ossian poems in the mid-eighteenth century. Essential to the discussion, for Cesarotti, was not the truth-claim of the poems as historical artefacts, but rather the translatability of the poems from one

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<sup>167</sup> B.A. Haddock, “Vico’s Discovery of the True Homer: A Case Study in Historical Reconstruction,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 40, No. 4 (Oct.-Dec., 1979): 586.

<sup>168</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico* Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1962): § 120.

language to another and from one time to another.<sup>169</sup> Cesarotti recognised that there were basic emotions essential to human experience: fear, joy, and sorrow, for example.<sup>170</sup> These emotions could be expressed through language, without requiring a literal translation. Rather, there existed a latent potential within each language to express such emotion. Cesarotti understood that one could not translate directly from one language to another; something would be lost from the source and the potential of the language of the work being translated into would not be fulfilled.

Cesarotti believed that literal translations risked disfiguring or defacing (*sfigurare, sconciare*) Italian. Instead, one should “seduce language” (*sedurre la lingua*).<sup>171</sup> The potential for such seduction lay in the possibility of translation to enrich language. Maffei explained: “giova soprattutto ad arricchire la propria lingua di nuove parole, di nuove espressioni, di nuove frasi, di nuovi modi.”<sup>172</sup> There is a covert interest here, by Maffei and others, to prove that the Italian language could not only compete with, but be more expressive than, other languages. Thus the Italian language had to at least demonstrate that whatever could be expressed in one language could also be expressed in Italian.

Importing these ideas into the discussion of architecture, the primitive hut could be understood not as an artifact to be translated literally, but rather as an original source of poetic making that could be studied and translated into a modern situation. This poetic making could be looked to as a means of enriching current architectural vocabulary, of making something new.

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<sup>169</sup> Cesarotti, like many others did not doubt that the poems were historical even though dubious. See Kristine Louise Haugen, “Ossian and the Invention of Textual History,” *Journal of the History of Ideas* Vol. 59, no.2 (1998): 309-327.

<sup>170</sup> Gustavo Costa in “Melchiorre Cesarotti, Vico, and the Sublime” *Italica*, Vol. 58, no. 1, ‘700-‘800 (Spring, 1981), 3-15, outlines an Italian development of the sublime with reference to Vico’s aesthetic theory through Cesarotti’s reading of Ossian. According to Costa, Cesarotti was influenced by Vico and understood “primitive poetry as the perfect embodiment of the sublime of terror.” p. 4 Ossian was representative of this essential “joy of grief.”

<sup>171</sup> For further discussion of *la questione della lingua*, see Maria Denes Rosser. “A Consideration of the Interrelationship between Language and Translation Studies in Eighteenth-Century Italy.” *Italica*. Vol, 63, no. 1 (Spring, 1986): 49.

<sup>172</sup> Scipione Maffei, *Traduttori Italiani, o sia notizia de’volgarizzamenti d’antichi Scrittori Latini e Greci, che sono in Luce* (Venezia: Sebastiano Coleti, 1720): 17 quoted in Maria Denes Rosser. “A Consideration of the Interrelationship between Language and Translation Studies in Eighteenth-Century Italy” *Italica*. Vol, 63, no. 1 (Spring, 1986): 49.

## *Beauty Through Use*

If knowledge is found through making, beauty is found through use. Lodoli explained this in his story of “The Graceful Hunter” in which a young Knight meets an elegantly dressed grand Prince who is carrying a Spanish harquebus.<sup>173</sup> The Prince is invited to hunt with the Knight, who immediately recognizes that, although the Prince may have an amazing weapon, he is too uncoordinated to use it. Lodoli lamented:

Oh quanti Studiosi hanno una bell'apparenza, carichi la lor memoria di erudizioni, e pronti a formar subito calcoli matematici, e politici, che se gl'inviti ad agire nel commercio del Mondo, non sanno da qual parte in cominciare, e restan scornati, non di rado appunto colà ove mettono la maggior loro pretensione di comparire!<sup>174</sup>

The analogy here is obvious: a big, overly ornate gun, and the inability to hunt correspond to the overly erudite scholar, full of facts though unable to act (SEE FIGURE THIRTY). It is interesting to consider the possible source of Lodoli's apologue: *Laches*, an early dialogue by Plato, features a very

similar situation. In the Platonic dialogue the discussion revolved around the correct way to teach virtue. A young warrior had been armed with an unwieldy gun that too fails to fire in the heat of

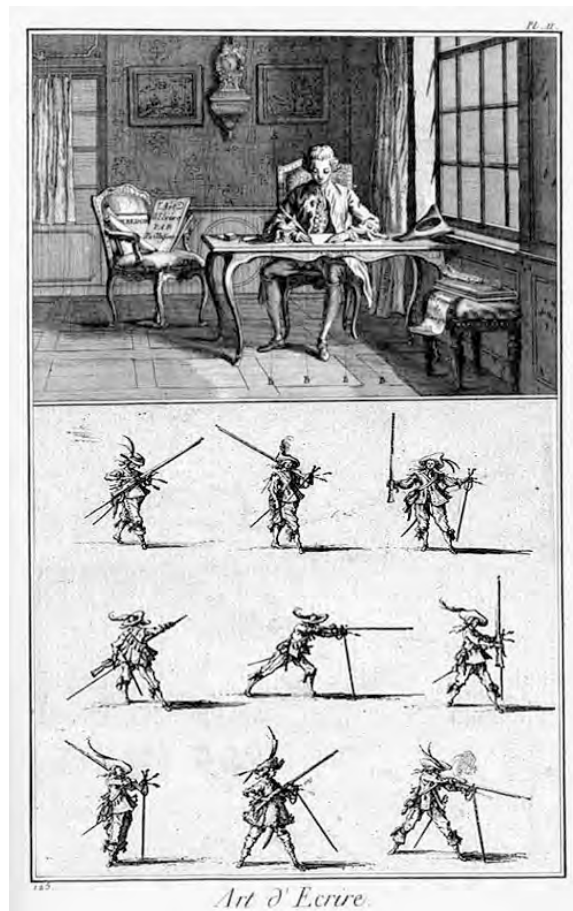


figure 30  
*The Graceful Hunter*

<sup>173</sup> Apologhi: 20. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>174</sup> Apologhi: 20.

battle. Interestingly, the gun is named knowledge (*sophisma*). Lodoli, surely aware of the Platonic dialogue, did not simply repeat it, but rather re-invented it.

Lodoli described other examples of beauty understood through use: a cannon, the gondola, and a musical instrument. The gondola is a noteworthy example. Lodoli praised each part of the boat for being made with a different type of wood.<sup>175</sup> In addition the gondola is one of the few boats that is not symmetrical. Anyone who sees them bobbing in the water can notice that they tilt to one side (SEE FIGURE THIRTY-ONE).



*figure 31*  
*The Gondola*

Gondolas are made this way so that a single person can row them successfully without having to shift the oar from side to side. If one were to push the gondola in the water from the back, *sans gondoliere*, it would arc to the right. Not only is it asymmetrical in plan, but in section as well. The back end of the gondola is elevated much higher out of the water. This section counteracts the weight of the *gondoliere* when he is perched at the back, rowing the craft. The asymmetry of

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<sup>175</sup> One interesting and important piece is the *forcola*—the wooden oar-post used in most Venetian boats. The seemingly arbitrary form actually accommodates up to ten distinct rowing positions of the *Voga al Veneta* as well as accounts for the specific form and weight of the *gondoliere*. The piece is still made by *Remèri* (a group of woodworkers who also make oars) out of walnut and is often dried for up to three years before the final form is found. While modern *gondolieri* may not own their gondolas, the *forcola* is extremely personal and is therefore taken from the gondola each night when the *gondolieri* leave. They are made of walnut due to that species' fair and uniform grain, strength, resistance to decay, and ability to be turned without splintering. Walnut is used for musical instruments for similar reasons.



the boat allows the rower to row from only one side, thus making the very large craft more easily manoeuvrable. In effect, the boat only “works” while it is being used. Indeed, it is the *gondoliere* who ultimately decides if the gondola is beautiful. Lodoli said:

È bella questa nave, questa galera, questa barca, se il vero bello di queste fabbriche nautiche non poteva derivare se non quelle scientifiche proporzioni, delle quali chi giudicava non avesse idea. Che una donetta poteva ben dire è pregevole questo cembalo guardando al prezioso legno di cui fosse formato, alle belle intagliature, ai tasti coperti di madreperla, ed altri ornamenti non musicali; ma che il solo professore di musica decider poteva del suo merito intrinseco: così l’artigliere poteva decidere se un tal cannone fosse più o meno atto ad un colpo più lontano e più sicuro, non quegli che ammirasse i belli ornamenti, i quali vi avesse sopra sparsi il fonditore.<sup>176</sup>

Indeed, the form of a musical instrument is derived from the performance of the instrument as much as from the performance of the materials. The materials used should be chosen not only for ornament, but for their intrinsic quality, their *indole*. Memmo rhetorically asked:

Nell’ottica (per esempio) se si volesse adoprare talco, certamente meno facile a rompersi del cristallo, costruirebbesi un buon telescopio? Gli occhiali resi che fossero con quello più durevoli, ingradirebbero egualmente gli oggetti, e servirebbero all’uso? Io credo di no. Se nell’acustica si facesse un istromento musicale di porfido, in luogo di uno di ottone o d’argento o di legno, creder mai si potrebbe che non rendesse il medesimo suono, benchè formato colla stessissima figura? Neppure.<sup>177</sup>

Lodoli exemplified this understanding of beauty-through-use in the construction of his own chair. Rather than building a chair in the manner of the Ancients or in a more popular style

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<sup>176</sup> *Elementi* II: 80-81. The “professore di musica” refers to a “professional” as in one whose profession it is to play music, and not to professors, as in teachers, of music.

<sup>177</sup> *Elementi* II: 22.

of the day, Lodoli formed the back of his chair to fit his shoulders. His buttocks formed the seat.

Girolamo Grimani, a close friend of Lodoli, commented while showing the chair:

Eccovi il vostro palazzo magnifico, dispendioso, ma non opportune all'uso vostro. I Sammicheli, i Palladii imitando gli antichi, come quelli che facevano questi grandi sedili senza consultar mai quel che la *nuda ragione* semplicemente esigeva, obbligarono tutti a star male. E non si potrebbe far delle case, come delle sedie ragionate? Intagliate pure, verniciate, indurate quanto volete per servire al necessario vostro lusso; ma senza scordarvi del comodo, diceva, e della resistenza opportuna. Sedete sull'uno, sedete sull'altra, e proverete se sia più comodo il seguir l'autorità degli antichi o lasciarla per tener dietro alla ragione.<sup>178</sup>

This way of making with nude reason (*nuda ragione*) was named by Lodoli as *organica*.

Memmo believed the use of the word was original to Lodoli and that it related to all types of making.<sup>179</sup> Lodoli observed that artisans who repaired and constructed things in wood (*facocchi*) approached making in this very way. He claimed that their work revealed a near perfect combination of solidity and apparent lightness, of commodity and ornament. No one knows what became of Lodoli's chair after Tomaso Farsetti, a good friend of Lodoli's, brought it to Paris.

It was this same type of thinking, found through making, and revealing beauty through performative use, that Lodoli promoted in his own approaches to making and to teaching.

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<sup>178</sup> This was quoted by Memmo in the *Elementi* I: 85 (emphasis added). This principle also relates to Piranesi's statement, *L'uso fa legge*. See Giambattista Piranesi, *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette*. Tr. Caroline Beamish and David Britt. (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2002): 102.

<sup>179</sup> Memmo included *arredi* which may refer to furnishings or clothing.

## *Unity and Variety*

In the *Saggio sopra l'Architettura* (1756), proposed to promote Lodoli's theory of architecture, Algarotti claimed:

Per tal via solamente arrivar poterono anche nell'architettura ad ottener quello ch'è necessario, come s'è detto [Lodoli] alla perfezione di tutte le arti, unità e varietà: unità perchè proveniente dal indole di una material sola; varietà per la molteplicità di modificazioni, di cui fosse capace la prescelta materia.<sup>180</sup>

On the surface this sounds in line with Memmo's presentation of Lodoli. There was not one way to make with wood or stone, but many. Algarotti continued to praise wood as the best material, because its nature (*uffizio*) provided for a variety of ornament and form.<sup>181</sup>

Although Algarotti understood the "function" of a material in a similar way to Lodoli, the two differed in their understanding of "representation." Algarotti's stated that "La pietra è ben lungi dal fornire, in virtù della natura sua propria, le tante varietà degli ornamenti e di forme che rich[i]ede l'architettura."<sup>182</sup> Wood is privileged over stone because, claimed Algarotti, it is easier to make more diverse forms from the one material. His somewhat bizarre logic asserted that architecture made of wood could be copied into stone, but it was more difficult to represent a stone architecture in other materials, like wood for example. This rationale renders his famous statement—"che del vero più bella è la menzoga" [that the lie is more beautiful than the truth]—understandable if nevertheless unbelievable.<sup>183</sup> Lodoli's understanding of the origins Greek architecture would not permit such a statement.

Antonio Conti (1677-1749), an important voice in the Veneto of the early eighteenth century wrote that the general idea of which many authors agree is that the beautiful consists in varied and multiplex unity. In the second volume of the *Prose e Poesie* (1756) he critiqued such

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<sup>180</sup> *Elementi* II: 28.

<sup>181</sup> Algarotti used the word *uffizio* (office) to refer to inherent nature and not *indole*.

<sup>182</sup> *Elementi* II: 37.

<sup>183</sup> *Elementi* II: 41.

authors for not developing this idea systematically, or making explicit the different degrees of the beautiful. For example, he warned that Algarotti's opinions would lead to ambiguity. Conti concluded with a rather relative statement: too much uniformity bores, too much variety distracts.

Memmo again looked to Galiani's Vitruvius and to Lodoli's correction of the same. The original Latin text stated: "Architectura est scientia pluribus disciplines, et variis eruditionibus ornata."<sup>184</sup> Galiani translated the phrase into Italian as "L'architettura è una scienza ch'è adornata di molte cognizioni." [Architecture is a science which is adorned with multiple intelligences.] Lodoli, re-translated the phrase as "L'architettura è una scienza da più dottrine, e da varie erudizioni." [Architecture is a science of many views and drawing from various eruditions.]

Memmo elaborated upon this definition with another analogy to music:

È vero che con sette note musicale si fa tanta musica, ma a quelle note convien aggiungere e i mezzi tuoni e i sospiri, e la differenza dei tempi, delle chiavi ec.: mentre cinque soli volendo che sieno gli ordini, e non potendone metter che un solo dall'alto al basso d'una facciata, credo che vi vorrebbe un di que'maestri di musica atti a rendere nuovo un motivo fra tanti vecchi, e che si considerando in conseguenza come miracolosi.

Il rubar di qua e di là, è comporre una nuova apparenza, la qual per ordinario non corrisponde più col principale in armonia; altro essendo musica, ed altro strepito di varii istromenti, com'è l'ammasso de'varii architetonici membri. Vogliamo architetti sapienti, originali; nè dobbiamo contentarci che dietro alle nostre lezioni, soltanto divengano più destri ladri.<sup>185</sup>

Anticipating the nineteenth century debate concerning which style to build in, Lodoli claimed it was fruitless to argue whether Palladio was better than Scamozzi, Vignola, or whomever, only to then imitate their designs. Lodoli did not believe that this was the way to understand or critique architecture. It was not enough to choose amongst old systems; rather one

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<sup>184</sup> *Elementi* I: 273.

<sup>185</sup> *Elementi* I: 365-66. This is an analogy also found in Milizia. "Appunto come con sette note si produce l'immensa varietà nella musica."

should decide by means of new and impartial philosophical examination. Lodoli believed that all great thinkers had actually thought this way and that others who did not do so should be considered sheep. This useless discussion will only lead to an architecture of imitation. Lodoli asked:

Ora solo chiederò, ove sia in sì stimato tempio quella varietà, che i moderni filosofi architetti tanto necessaria credono per costituire l'architettonica bellezza? La continua ripetizione delle stesse cose non forma al certo varietà; dunque dove sarà in quell tempio tanta causa d'ammirazione e di rapimento?<sup>186</sup>

Piranesi was also promoting the merits of variety. In the *Parere*, he railed against the “rigorist” position promoted by Protopiro. Though I would not venture to claim Protopiro as representative of Lodolian opinion, it is clear that Didascalò's defense of fantastic collages was not either. In Didascalò's opinion, the architect was free to invent and should not be required to adhere to obsolete rules. Thus, one should feel free to adorn as one sees fit. Piranesi considered the ruins of Rome as being heavily ornamented and still beautiful. This example however, was the only basis for his argument. He did not offer a principled criterion to guide judgement.<sup>187</sup>

As if in response to Milizia's discussion of the beauty of the rose, or Piranesi's whimsical ornamentations, Lodoli claimed that: “Lodare è facile quanto prendere un sorbeto; ma architettare correntemente è della più astrusa difficoltà.”<sup>188</sup> Lodoli critiqued “the cult of taste” that claimed superiority based on whim. From Memmo:

Se negano questo teorema, potrebbero aver forse delle apparenti ragioni; ma se è probabile che quelli i quali fossero per essere convinti che l'architettura non è come l'arte della danza, consistente nello sviluppo delle grazie del corpo, ma un'arte che decide della vita e della roba, ne convengano che non potranno più negare la conseguenza, che dar non si debba alla pietra la forma del legno, per

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<sup>186</sup> *Elementi* II: 93.

<sup>187</sup> Piranesi proposed that Protopiro should look to the soon-to-be published *Della magnificenza ed architettura de' romani*. Piranesi's more fantastic proposals based upon an “Egyptian-style” or on animal like figures seem to differ greatly from the Lodoli's own position towards materials and making.

<sup>188</sup> *Elementi* I: 259.

quelle tante ragioni che sonosi già addotte, e che già ognuno può facilmente ora conoscere.<sup>189</sup>

One must know what is essential. For Lodoli, essential beauty is based in truth and is, of course, related to the *indole* of materials. I quote from Lodoli:

Rispetto al primo punto, cioè che senza verità non potevasi dare bellza essenziale, talvolta diceva [Lodoli]. Che il cristallo per quanto lavorato fosse a faccette, in confronto di un diamante vero e brillantato, non poteva mai presso la intelligenza produrre che un bello d'imitazione: che non potevasi mai considerare per vermiglie le guance di una donna, se quell colore proveniva da cinabro messovi sopra: che non si avrebbe mai potuto dire bella, un apparente capigliatura, da chi la conoscesse ad arte attaccata; come con ragione potevasi giudicar bella quella parrucca, la quale bene imitasse una bella capigliatura ec.<sup>190</sup>

This true or essential beauty is not prescriptive, but rather situational. Memmo claimed that “credeva il Padre Lodoli che non si dovesse stringere la via alle variazioni, salva sempre la solidità reale ed apparente.”<sup>191</sup> Just as there was not only one Primitive Hut, Lodoli believed that there was not only one beauty. This is how “the Chinese” could rationalize a beautiful pavilion out of wood, though could not use the same proportions to build out of stone.<sup>192</sup> Each situation is different. This principle echoes Vico’s conception of common sense as “judgment without reflection, shared by an entire class of people, an entire nation, or the entire human race.”<sup>193</sup>

To understand how something could be appropriate to a situation, Lodoli again used the analogy of clothing.<sup>194</sup> He stated that there were two types of clothing in general—one of a man, and the other of a woman. However, this was only the base of truth. The clothing or costume should in addition be appropriate to the office and social station of the wearer. This is determined

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<sup>189</sup> *Elementi* II: 115.

<sup>190</sup> *Elementi* II: 81.

<sup>191</sup> *Elementi* II: 139.

<sup>192</sup> For Lodoli and Memmo “the Chinese” are typically offered as being the most foreign, the most “other.”

<sup>193</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1962): § 142.

<sup>194</sup> That said, architecture is not simply clothing. “L’architettura non è simile ad una moda, ad una donna, ad una stoffa, o ad un manicaretto.” *Elementi* I: 362.

by the appropriate convention of social hierarchy relative to place. Further, each of us wears a different costume during different seasons and for different events—the dress for a gala is different than that for work. Our costume is situational, both in time and location and also must reveal our nature. There are infinite possibilities of how this may be revealed, limited, however by appropriateness. Similarly, architecture can be made in various ways, though this making must be based upon the nature and truth of materials.

Lodoli told a story in which a hat-maker had ordered the latest hat in fashion in Paris for a wealthy client.<sup>195</sup> When the hat arrives, his wife falls in love with it that she begs her husband to make a copy of it to send to the client, who, at this point, is on holiday in the country. After a bit of discussion he agrees, sending his client the replica and giving his wife the original to wear. That night she is very well-received all over Venice and her hat is praised, as it rightly should be. The next morning, after hearing what an amazing reception his wife had received at the *casini* the previous night, the shopkeeper decides to wear the hat to the Rialto while he does his morning errands. Strangers snickered as he walked by; others could barely stop themselves from bursting with laughter while they spoke with him. Confused, he asked a friend why everyone was mocking him. His friend suggested that he might want to go home and give his wife her hat back. Still a bit confused, the hat-maker asked “But why, my wife received so many compliments last night.” The friend responded, “Sure, the hat is wonderful and lovely, but on your wife. On you, a serious man, making your business at the Rialto, it is terrible!”

Memmo added that you might laugh at this story, but then asked:

Ah! ridete, signori architetti, usciva allora il padre Lodoli, ascoltando tale stravaganza; e non riderete main el vedere che il gocciolatoio si ponga nel di dentro dove non cade pioggia, ed il fregio co’suoi trgilifi che smentiscano il di fuori?....”<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>195</sup> *Elementi* II: 97-100. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>196</sup> *Elementi* II: 100.

Lodoli often claimed that he was looking for new norms that would provide the essence of a meaningful architecture as this was not to be found within an architecture of the orders or in imitation of the primitive hut. Though Lodoli never explicitly defines what a “norm” may be, I believe it is very similar to his articulation of substitutions (*sostituzioni*). Memmo claimed that Lodoli had made a book containing many such substitutions in response to various abuses and mistakes he had found within the city—think of the windowsills and doorframes. Though he never specifically defined “substitution,” Memmo carefully said that Lodoli “per purgar quanto più fosse possibile quell’architettura, ch’ebbe corso nel colto mondo, onde render netto il suo terreno finora inselvaticato e spinoso, pensava di sostituirvi subito le nuove teorie ec.”<sup>197</sup> Variety is important, however, what is new should not be based simply in novelty or variety.

A substitution, I venture, may be defined as a truthful invention made not according to habit or blind imitation of precedent, but rather found through a specific *indole*, based on observation and situation, varied but not necessarily fashionable. I return to Lodoli’s motto, *Devonsi unire fabbrica e ragione, E sia funzion la rappresentazione*: if making is based in truth, then function will be revealed in the representation. I propose a looser understanding of the phrase: *if knowledge is found through making, beauty will be revealed in performance*.

Though far from being the precursor to the modern dictum “form follows function,” Lodoli’s proposal can still be seen as a productive and non-dialectical critique of a shallow postmodernist return to history. It challenges, as well, the modernist belief in a causal relationship between form and use. Though some modern scholars have named Lodoli’s thesis as a seed of modern utilitarian functionalism, the issues here are simply different. Rykwert described the etymology of function: “From the Latin *fungor* (I perform) it had been used in a

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<sup>197</sup> *Elementi* II: 235. This comes in a defense of Lodoli against attacks by Pietro Zaguri.  
*Material Indole*



number of European languages to mean activity or performance in general, or the specific activity of certain things or persons, particularly the carrying out of any ritual or ceremonial action.”<sup>198</sup>

Memmo ended the *Elementi* with two stories. He explained that he would conclude with a story and not simply a chart of measurements, because doing the latter would lead only to corrupt replicas (*viziosi repliche*). Not only would this bore the readers; it would also go against what Lodoli was teaching. Memmo stated that this would probably not satisfy everyone, only those who enjoyed the truth.

I too will end this section with two stories. The first, though not exactly a fable, is possibly not completely historical either.<sup>199</sup> Memmo explained that Lodoli was at a large party and engaged in a discussion on the relative merits of Greek and Roman architecture. Becoming a bit bored with the conversation and the party in general, he decided to walk around the enormous house. Lodoli found himself in a room adjacent to the kitchen when he noticed that his ring made of tombac began to change colour.<sup>200</sup> He rushed into the kitchen and immediately confronted the cook, demanding to know the contents of the soup. Knowing he had been caught, the cook ate the soup, threw it and then himself out the window. Lodoli ran to the host of the party to explain that there had been an accident. Simon Stratico, an attendant of the party and close friend of the host, was asked to determine what had happened and what should be done. After much discussion it was decided that Lodoli should pay for the wasted soup and was responsible for the death of the cook. Astonished, Lodoli replied:

Oh, questa fu ben sentenza da bestia!...Allora pronto riprese il Lodoli: e non sarà da bestia, ec. che dopo avervi fatto conoscere i difetti della civile architettura, perchè più non contiuiate in essi, e possiate dopo conosciuti studiarne i rimedii,

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<sup>198</sup> Joseph Rykwert, “Lodoli on Function and Form” *Architectural Review*. Vol. 160 (1976): 21-26. The performative component is still contained within modern Italian (*funzione*) and even English. It is used in English in the sense that one attends a “function,” like an awards ceremony or mass. In modern Italian it is typical to say “*vado alla funzione*” when referring to a religious service.

<sup>199</sup> *Elementi* II: 132-35. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>200</sup> Tombac is a metal known to change colour in the presence of arsenic.

vogliate obbligar me stesso ad affaticarmi ancor più suggerendovi le sostituzioni; il che è lo stesso come farmi pagare la zuppa, dopo che vi ho salvata la vita? Se le osservazioni che faccio sono falso o fuor di proposito, condannatemi per esse; ma non pretendiate da un semplice ragionatore quello che spetta a' professori, a genii creatori, a persone che possono dietro la mia ragione aver più gusto.<sup>201</sup>

Lodoli showed the errors in the situation, but refused to take responsibility for the faults or to offer a method to derive a solution.<sup>202</sup>

The next story described a rather pleasant philosopher who spent his days always in the service of others.<sup>203</sup> One day, as he was meditating over a book, a pack of flies came into his room and began buzzing all around, at times biting him. Although this initially disturbed him greatly, the philosopher realised that the flies too were distracted. Raising his eyes to ascertain the cause of their unusual whispering, he found that the flies and even some bees nearby were attracted to a great bowl of sweets that had been given to him—though from who he could not remember—and that was covered with a very thin white veil. He got up to observe their effort more closely—uselessly stretching their noses only to be able to smell what they wished to eat. He could not refrain from saying, as he removed the cloth, “Eat of your ambrosia, satisfy yourselves, be happy.” Thence, returning to his book, he no longer heard the annoying buzzing.

Memmo observed:

I nostri più svegliati architetti girano intorno la verità, la videro, l'adorarono, alcuno la beccò un poco, altri ancor la gustò; ma per colpa di quella non leggera coperta dell'autorità de' Greci, de' Romani, de' Palladii e de' Vignola, non ne ingoiaron tanta da sostanziansene, e da poter aumentare le loro forze.<sup>204</sup>

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<sup>201</sup> *Elementi* II:135.

<sup>202</sup> Lodoli told another, shorter story that expressed the same opinion. “Come? Soggiungera egli, vi avverto amichevolmente, che dietro appunto la polpa avete un buco nelle vostre calzette di seta, che se presto nol fate accomodare, ne cadra una maglia; e voi in luogo di essermi obbligato di questo salutare avvertimento noi condannate a volerne da me un paio! Quale ingiusta pretesa!” *Elementi* II: 132. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>203</sup> *Elementi* I: 366. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>204</sup> *Elementi* I: 367.

The analogy is obvious. We are the insects buzzing about and the sweets are the truth of architecture. Lodoli has lifted the thin veil off of the sweet history for us to enjoy and satiate ourselves. Lodoli made it clear that it is up to each of us to make our own decisions.

This return to the self is what I shall discuss next.

I have just attempted to describe and contextualise the ramifications of Lodoli's understanding of *indole* with respect to the truth of materials. Lodoli also understood and used the word *indole* with reference to the nature of oneself. I will call this "*Indole of the Self*" and this is topic of the next section of the paper. It is through this use of the word that the educational import of Lodoli's lessons is most clearly revealed. While Lodoli's understanding of *indole* with respect to education and the self may be original. I intend to demonstrate that it is contextual to an emergent sense of self that developed in the Venetian eighteenth century.

One might say that "the self" of the eighteenth century found themselves to be part of an emergent public sphere, or one should say a series of public spheres.<sup>1</sup> It is at this time in Venice that both physically, in various institutions and practices, and in print that a new public may begin to discuss, debate, and record ideas and events in a way different than previous times. In his landmark study, *The Fall of Public Man*, Richard Sennett differentiates between personality and natural character. The former emerged in the nineteenth century and the latter was seen as an eighteenth century understanding of self.<sup>2</sup> Personality becomes the way one may think about the implicit meaning in human life. This is not the same as natural character of the eighteenth century in at least three ways. The first is that personality becomes tied to variation in personal appearance. One *is*, according to how they appear and, more importantly, this can be controlled and changed. Secondly, this ability to control variation was understood as a self-conscious decision and lastly, that those who were not able control this variation were considered to be not sane. Spontaneity of expression was curbed by self-consciousness. It is between these two poles,

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<sup>1</sup> This is in reference to Jurgen Habermas. *The Transformation of the Public Sphere*. Tr. Thomas Burger. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981.

<sup>2</sup> See Richard Sennett *The Fall of Public Man*. (London: Norton, 1974): 150-154. See also Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: the Making of the Modern Identity*. (Cambridge: Harvard UPress, 1989). For a more recent study on the English context, see Dror Wahrmann, *The Making of the Modern Self: Identity and Culture in Eighteenth-Century England*. (New Haven: Yale UPress, 2004).

of natural self and personality, that it is most appropriate to place Lodoli's understanding of *indole* with regards to the self. For Lodoli, *indole*, was not yet personality, but it was more than a passive natural character.

3. *Indole of the Self*

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*Nosce te ipsum*

Giambattista Vico, quoting the Delphic Oracle

### *Ennobled Families and the Barnabotti*

The identity of the city of Venice as well as Venetians themselves has historically been understood to be self-made. Venice emerged, literally, from the sea. Indeed, the retrospective founding date of Venice, 25 March 421, corresponds with another dubious beginning, the Annunciation of Mary.<sup>1</sup> The adoration of Mary is typical in most Italian towns and Venice is no exception. However, in Venice the main church is not dedicated to her. S Marco, once simply the chapel of the Doge, is now the cathedral of Venice. St. Marc, as represented by a winged lion with open book, is ever-present in the architecture, mosaics, paintings, and myths surrounding Venice's identity. The arrival of St. Marc's relics offers another wonderfully suspicious beginning. The evangelist Marc set out into the Adriatic after a stay in Aquileia.<sup>2</sup> His ship was stalled in the lagoon by a storm and he stopped off at the point where the *Piazza S Marco* stands today. There, an angel appeared and said to him "Pax tibi Marce evangelista meus."<sup>3</sup> In 828, Venetian merchants rediscovered this reference, interpreting it as a sign that St. Marc's relics were intended to find rest on their island. The merchants went to Alexandria, infamously stole the relics, stored them on a boat containing pork to avoid a search by the Muslim protectors, and then returned to Venice to restore the saint to his proper place. The church built to hold the relics of St. Marc became the chapel of the Doge. Appropriate to Venetians' respect and understanding of the Doge's status, monies were donated to the Doge's chapel in disproportionate amounts relative to the other churches of the city.

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<sup>1</sup> See Garry Willis, *Venice: Lion City* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001): 37-41 and also chapter 17 and 18, for a description of the importance of the representation of the annunciation within Venice and Venetian history. See also, Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. (Princeton: Princeton UPress, 1981): 70-71.

<sup>2</sup> It is important to the myth that Marc left Aquileia, a Roman town, to arrive on the islands of Venice, a settlement with no Roman roots, thereby allowing it to claim a more direct lineage to God, through Mary rather than via the Emperors of Rome.

<sup>3</sup> This has been translated literally as, "Peace to you Marc, my evangelist," although this has been translated in a variety of ways. It is recounted in a mosaic above the door on the west façade of San Marco. For more details, see Edward Muir, *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice*. (Princeton: Princeton UPress, 1981): 23.

Venice may have had mythical roots but the city was historically, and enduringly, managed by a group of families. It was from these families that the Doge would be selected via a process that relied as much on luck as political manoeuvring. It is important to recognise that the title of Doge was not seen as the result of divine ordination.<sup>4</sup> For sure, the Doge held special status, but he was nevertheless not a king. Even within the eighteenth century, the decedents of these original families could still benefit from the wealth of the Republic regardless of their financial situation. By the thirteenth century the Great Council (*Consiglio Maggiore*) had emerged and it was decided that only Council members could hold political office in the Venetian Republic. The Great Council consisted of every member of the *patria* over the age of twenty-five. By 1381 the Golden Book that contained each of these names of the *patria* was closed to any new families. The young nobles named in the book could expect to enter into public life through a position of Governor (*Podestà, Capitano, or Provedditore*), Ambassador (*Balio*), or on one of the many committees from which all positions internal to the Venetian government would be selected. Of the roughly eight hundred positions within the government, only about one hundred were essential to actually run the Republic. This, of course, changed slightly with the conquests and defeats that occurred each century.

The mid-sixteenth century saw Venice's population and the wealth of its nobility peak. After that, both began to decline on account of various factors including Portuguese competition in the spice trade and the discovery of a trade route to the east by way of a route south of Africa. After a series of wars, various changes in the value of the Venetian currency and trade deficits, land ownership became more than just a safe investment to supply one's home with food; it emerged as a way to also make a profit.<sup>5</sup> Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries,

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<sup>4</sup> Early in the history of Venice there were attempts to change the constitution so as to pass the title of Doge onto a male heir. These attempts usually ended in riots or death to the heir. See John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice* (New York: Vintage, 1982).

<sup>5</sup> The Venetian coins known as *zecchini*—named after the place they were made, *il zecco*, the mint—were the first currency to be recognized internationally. This was no small feat considering the variation in almost all other forms of measurement, even within the Italian peninsula through the nineteenth century.



the wealth of the *patria* decreased, as did the number of patricians. Families were having fewer children due to health concerns, like widespread gonorrhoea and difficult legal issues surrounding generational land distribution. Upon the death of a male patrician, properties could not be divided amongst the heirs, and often the cost of working the land exceeded any profit. There were also two plagues that took the life of many elder nobles.<sup>6</sup> Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the ruling class had become smaller and the number of wealthy patrician families had shrunk. The core of the ruling class was also much younger and less experienced, and there were fewer men to fill the more expensive public offices.<sup>7</sup>

In 1645 the War of Crete found Venice with few allies and even less money. It was proposed that five families be allowed to buy their way into the *patria* at sixty thousand *zecchini* each. This marked the first time that a new family was allowed into the *patria* of Venice. Over the next seventy years, one hundred and twenty-seven families were accepted. No new law was passed, however, nor was the Golden Book opened again. Each family was admitted one by one, under a special bill. These families were most often admitted during wartime, with the funds going towards the protection of the rapidly shrinking Venetian empire.

The families that entered were typically either merchants or lawyers. Examples include the very well-respected Rezzonico family, originally from Como,<sup>8</sup> and the Manin family from Friuli, ennobled in 1651. Ludovico Manin was the first and last Doge to come from an ennobled

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Wool and silk manufacturing increased and peaked from 1560-1620, however trade hit its low point in the early seventeenth century. See James Davis *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling class*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UPress, 1962).

<sup>6</sup> During the first Plague (1575-77) the population of Venice went from 170,000 to 120,000 and included at least 300 Nobles. The second plague (1620-1631) saw the population drop from 140,000 to 100,000. See James Davis, *The Decline of the Venetian Nobility as a Ruling Class* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins UPress, 1962).

<sup>7</sup> Patrician men were expected to cover their living expenses while acting as public officials for the Venetian government. Even Andrea Memmo, one of the wealthier Venetians, complained bitterly about the high cost of living in a foreign city as an ambassador.

<sup>8</sup> The Rezzonico could count a Pope among their family. Pope Clement XIII (1758-69) was the last Venetian Pope. He was essential in securing work and protection for Piranesi while the Venetian architect was in Rome. The family's residence, Ca'Rezzonico was begun by Baldassarre Longhena in 1649 and finished by Giorgio Massari in 1750. It also contained many frescos by Tiepolo. It is now the Museum of the Eighteenth Century.

family. Ironically, he was the last Doge of the Republic as well. Other, less respected families also gained access to the nobility, including Widmann, Zolios, Franceschini, and Labia. The last were most famous for their ostentatious habits.<sup>9</sup> Unfortunately, many went from being wealthy merchants to poor nobles, living off of meagre political posts. Trade again suffered as some of the most successful merchants were buying public titles and not spices.

By 1775 the Great Council had elected five correctors to address the issue of financial and other abuses by the *patria*. The most well known response to these problems was the closing of the Ridotto where so many Venetians had lost their wealth. Another noteworthy correction was the opening of the nobility to forty new families. This was the first time that families could be ennobled without a war to finance. It is telling of the very sad state of the Venetian Empire that only ten families were willing to even apply.

Another result of this change in the noble landscape in Venice was the emergence of a new class of nobles known as the *Barnabotti*. These were patricians who, for various reasons, no longer held any wealth or possessions. They were offered housing near San Barnaba, hence their appellation, and a meagre stipend to live off if they agreed to remain unmarried and to have no offspring. It was a self-imposed pruning of the *patria*, by the patricians themselves. The *Barnabotti* retained their membership in the Great Council, but were forced, by their noble status, to abstain from any physical work. As a result, many tended to become corrupt state officials, political fixers, or spies for the Council of Ten.

Membership in the *patria* no longer guaranteed one's wealth or public standing. Nor, however, did exclusion from it rule out a role in the government. A family could change its social standing simply by buying into the government and helping to finance another war. The history of Venice, essentially a history of the Doges, was changing throughout the eighteenth

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<sup>9</sup> At one dinner party the Labias were so set to impress their guests that they concluded the evening meal by throwing all of the gold-ware, of course not silverware, into the canal that bordered the palazzo. The patriarch of the family famously announced "L'habia o non l'habia, sempre sarò Labia!" (If I have them or I don't have them, I will always be a Labia). After everyone had left, nets, which had been previously installed in the canal, were raised and all of the gold was recovered.

century. The line between the merchant class (*cittadini*) and the patricians was now much less clear. This new class of merchants-turned-*patria* had the opportunity to remake their history.

The Rezzonico family, recently ennobled, rose up through the ranks of Venetian political life, just as Ca'Rezzonico on the Grand Canal continued to rise. The house was finished in 1756. Two years later, in 1758, his brother Carlo was elected as the new Pope, Ludovico Rezzonico wed Faustina Savorgnan. The wedding was important because it gave the ennobled family historical credibility. The Savorgnan was a known and well-respected patrician family of Venice. For this elevation into the political and public realm, Tiepolo was commissioned to paint an Apotheosis commemorating the marriage. In the fresco, the bride and groom are driven by the chariot of the sun, accompanied by Apollo and to the sound of Fame's trumpets, which announce the event to the world.<sup>10</sup> As the Rezzonico rose up to the *patria*, the Gods came down to meet them. Not only does this show the collapse of a mythic realm onto the mortal, it also reveals a new possibility: to make oneself. Indeed, the genre of apotheosis paintings becomes quite popular. Other families, including the Grassi, Widmann, Giustiniani, Soderini, and Barbaro, commissioned similar works.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> Fortunately for the young lovers, Phaeton was not driving this time.

<sup>11</sup> See Thomas Haskell's *Patron and Painters* (New Haven, Yale UPress, 1981): 254. Haskell discusses the transformation of patrons from the seventeenth through eighteenth century in Italy. He unfortunately does not specifically discuss the ramifications of this transformation within the political structure of Venice.

Tiepolo was quite busy. He had also been commissioned by the Pisani family to make an apotheosis for the Villa Pisani in Stra, along the Brenta canal. The Pisani, definitely not recently ennobled, was a well-established family within Venetian history. The ceiling fresco at Villa Pisani is divided into roughly two sections (SEE FIGURE THIRTY-TWO). One side shows the known continents of Asia, America, and Africa. Europe is depicted above them all and on a bull, expressive of the more advanced civilization



*figure 32*  
*Apotheosis of the Pisani Family,*  
*Tiepolo*

that Europe supposedly possessed. The battle scene refers to wars with the Turks and shows two figures in coats bowing down in front of the invaders.<sup>12</sup> The other side shows the Pisani family sitting with various allegorical figures. Truth, for example, appears as a crowned, naked woman; she sits atop the globe and, seen from behind, can be read as Italy. The various arts are represented at her feet: astronomy with telescope and globe, music with horn and score, sculpture with block of marble and bust, and painting with brush. The allegories of Peace with palm

<sup>12</sup> Andrea Pisani, brother to the Doge Alvisio Pisani (1735-41), distinguished himself at Preveza at the end of the Turkish War. See John Julius Norwich, *A History of Venice* (New York: Vintage, 1982): 587.

leaves, and of Abundance with amphora and floral crown, complete the fresco. Almarò, the young son seen in blue, sits atop his mother while the trumpets of Fame spread the Glory of the family. The figure of Fame and her trumpets connects the two sides of the fresco. Mythic, historic, and personal history are thusly collapsed within the tromp l'oeil of the ceiling fresco.

Another interesting “collapse,” this time of the Barbaro family, is depicted on the façade of the *S Maria dello Zobenigo* in Venice. Completed in 1681 by Giuseppe Sardi, the façade does not show any religious figures. Rather, the likenesses of the Barbaro brothers were sculpted and now stand in each of the niches of the façade. The statues were set above maps of the regions conquered during their reign. Though not completely accurate historically, the façade does reveal another interesting collapse. The personal, and one could say political, history of the family takes the place of any religious iconography that one would normally expect on a church façade. It is interesting to note that the church is also known as *S Maria del Giglio*, or Mary of the Lily. The lily is the flower presented to Mary by the angel Gabriel at the Annunciation.

## *Emergence of Self into the Public Sphere*

Venetian identity, both of self and of city, was also being cultivated within the growing *giornale* culture in eighteenth century Venice.<sup>13</sup> Not only was Venice seen as a publishing centre; its rather open attitude towards the papal opinion allowed for and encouraged such production. One such example was the *Giornale de'letterati d'Italia*, a periodic journal focused exclusively on Italian literary news. The first volume, collected by Apostolo Zeno in 1709, included an introduction that set out the editors' purpose: to gather and present news of Italian scholarly works. Almost ten years later, Zeno left Venice and went to Vienna as court poet. His brother Pietro continued the *giornale* until his death in 1728. Angelo Calogerà also headed the production of more than one literary journal. He, along with Count Porcia, had begun the *Raccolta di Opuscoli scientifici e filologici* (1727-1757). With Zaccaria Seriman and Girolamo Zanetti, Calogerà also worked on the *Memorie per Servire all'Istoria Letteraria*. Both journals were intended to enrich the cognition of their readers through diverse topics.<sup>14</sup> Many other journals were in circulation as well.<sup>15</sup>

At this time, there was also an increase in the number and size of Academies and literary groups. Most cities contained more formalised Academies of Art that focused on painting, sculpture, and sometimes architecture.<sup>16</sup> Different in purpose and number, other Academies were organized for their members to discuss certain topics. These often had ironic or comical names

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<sup>13</sup> See *Giornali Veneziani del Settecento*, Ed by Marino Berengo (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1962), Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformati* (Torino: Einaudi, 1969), and also Emiliana Pesca Noether *Seeds of Italian Nationalism* (New York: Columbia UPress, 1969).

<sup>14</sup> Calogerà's intention for the various journals can be found in his autobiography. Seriman took over the publishing of the *Memoires* after a fallout with Zanetti and while Calogerà was in exile from Venice. He had been exiled for witchcraft, though the charge was more likely due to political conspiracies against him than his actual abilities as a sorcerer.

<sup>15</sup> For example, Scipione Maffei edited the *Osservazioni letterie che possano servire di continuazione al Giornale de'letterati* (1737-40), Giammaria Mazzuchelli the *Gli scrittori d'Italia cioè notizie storiche e critiche intorno alle vite e agli scritti dei letterati Italiani* (1753), and Girolamo Tiraboschi the *Storia della letteratura Italiana* (1722-81) 14 volumes.

<sup>16</sup> See Nikolaus Pevsner's *Academies of Art Past and Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge UPress, 1940) and also Julius Schlosser's *Sull'antica Storiografica Italiana dell'Arte* (Palermo, 1932): 685, for a more complete bibliography on artistic Academies.

such as *Accademia degli Animosi* (Academy of the Angry Ones), founded in 1691 by Apostolo Zeno, or the *Accademia dei Granelleschi* (Academy of Testicles) of Carlo Gozzi. Giambattista Vico was a member of the *Accademia degli Oziosi* (Academy of the Idle Ones). The Arcadian Academy was perhaps the best known. Founded in Rome in 1690 by Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni and GianVincenzo Gravina, it was a group of men and women who sought a return to classical simplicity through literature and poetry.<sup>17</sup> By 1728 there were over two thousand six hundred members organized into thirty-six colonies located in as many cities throughout the peninsula. The growth represents the calculated intention to propagate a cohesive and comprehensive programme of literary reform, which would then help to establish a modern national Italian culture. Inherent to this project was recognition of the social and civic functions of poetry.<sup>18</sup>

Discussion of the topics found in the various literary and scientific journals could be had in the growing number of cafés. Andrieux reports that there were over two hundred cafes in eighteenth century Venice, each with its own colourful name.<sup>19</sup> The public stayed out quite late, and it became necessary to propose new laws to restrict seating in the Piazza and various Campi after midnight. To get around the restrictions, patrons used overturned chicken coops and other objects not considered to be furniture, in place of seating. The arcades of the *Piazza S Marco*

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<sup>17</sup> For an early history of the Arcadian Academy, see Giovanni Mario Crescimbeni, *Storia dell'Accademia degli Arcadi* (Rome, 1712). Gravina left in 1710 to found his own Academy. For the role of women in Arcadia, see Susan M. Dixon, "Women in Arcadia," *Eighteenth-Century Studies*, Vol. 32, no. 3 (1999): 371-75.

<sup>18</sup> Though I have not yet found proof that Lodoli was a member of Arcadia, it seems quite likely that he was, at least during the time spent in Verona. Venice itself did not have an Arcadian colony. Memmo spoke briefly but not specifically about Lodoli and Arcadia, referencing Maffei's "privati accademici." See *Elementi* I: 45. Renata Targhetta would like to name Lodoli, not as an Arcadian, but as a Mason. She does not convincingly do so, but does show that a number of people around him were indeed involved in Freemasonry. Seriman referred to Lodoli's character in the *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton* as the "capo di seta," the same title that Montesquieu gave to Maffei, the head of the Arcadian Colony. See Renatta Targhetta, "Ideologia massonica e sensibilità artistica nel Veneto Settecentesco," *Studi Veneziani*, Vol. 16 (1988): 171-211 for further discussion.

<sup>19</sup> See Maurice Andrieux, *Daily Life in Venice at the Time of Casanova* (London: George Allen & Unwin., 1972): 22-24, 48, 49. The most well-known of these café's is Florian's, which still sits in the *Procuratie Nuove*. In the eighteenth century it was known as *Venezia Trionfante*. It was later renamed for its first owner, Floriano Francesco.

contained many of these cafes. It is ironic that this new public intercourse was happening so close to the *Broglio* where so many political deals had been made in the past.<sup>20</sup> Also popular at this time were the ever-present *malvasia* bars, where anyone could step up to enjoy a quick drink, or linger over a few.<sup>21</sup> These often had little or no seating, and patrons would thus spill out into the campo or street directly in front of the bar.

Pietro Longhi was one of the first artists to make his reputation by representing this new public sphere on canvas. His paintings are full of typical people—hunters, spinners, various families, and country folk—in public situations: at the café, the *Ridotto*, dancing, and at the tavern. He also recorded public events, for example the display of the lion and the rhinoceros in the *Piazza S Marco*, and the annual fight at the *Ponte dei Pugni*. Along with Gabriel Bella, Longhi also depicted various “functions” of the city, including machinations of the Council, various festivals, a bullfight, as well as more mundane events like the morning walk at the *Erberia di Rialto*.<sup>22</sup> Finally, the paintings of Longhi also show the interiors of more private spaces. Examples include the Sagredo family and the Michiel family<sup>23</sup> (SEE FIGURE THIRTY-THREE). The private individuals painted by Longhi are often posed in a relaxed way, or taking a lesson.

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<sup>20</sup> The *Broglio*, literally “garden,” is the area in between what is today the Marciana Library and the Palazzo Ducale. It was the place where members of the Maggior Consiglio would receive their robes and also the place where much gerrymandering of votes would take place. The term *imbroglio*, literally “in the garden” is derived from the arguments that would take place there.

<sup>21</sup> *Malvasia* was a Venetian property off the coast of Greece—literally an island fortress. The sweet wine that was shipped through this port was named for it. Evidence of the many *malvasia* bars in Venice is seen in the unusually high number of bridges and streets denominated “*Malvasia*.” The culture of enjoying *malvasia* seems to continue even today in Venice with the spritz, though of a different origin.

<sup>22</sup> Many of these were commissioned and retained by Andrea Quirini (1710-1795), a good friend of Andrea Memmo and student to Lodoli. See *Pietro Longhi Gabriel Bella: Scena di vita veneziana*, Ed. Giorgio Busetto (Venice: Bompiani, 1995).

<sup>23</sup> *La Famiglia Sagredo* depicted the matriarch Cattina. Famously and repeatedly widowed, she was known as a notorious *femme fatale* throughout Venice and as a flirt to a much younger Andrea Memmo. Beside her is her daughter Marina, wife to a Pisani and object of affection to Longhi. The boy in front of her is Almarò, her son who was also depicted in the Apotheosis by Tiepolo (figure 31). The other daughter is Caterina, who was courted by Memmo. Both daughters tried their hand at architecture. See Manlio Brusatin, “Qualche donna e l’architettura funzionale a Venezia nel ‘700,” *Per Maria Ciononi Visani: Scritti di amici* (Turin, 1977). The *patria* of Venice indeed tended to be incestuous.



Longhi's paintings also show characters wearing clothing appropriate to their station in society. For example, the wealthier are differentiated by their French-influenced fashions. Longhi shows women in brightly coloured dresses lacking in panniers. Men wear rich frock coats (*velade*) and waistcoats. The children are dressed as little adults.<sup>24</sup> In almost every image, Longhi showed those of a lower class outside and in the act of doing something. The wealthier subjects are typically shown in a somewhat nondescript, but similarly dressed, interior. When they are shown outdoors, it is wearing a mask.<sup>25</sup> I will develop this phenomenon further below.

Participation in this emergent public sphere was still not completely transparent, democratic, or open. The original families, composed of wealthy, white Venetian men, still essentially ruled Venice. While it was clearly a time of reform, the reforms proposed were not always implemented.<sup>26</sup> There were cracks but not yet a revolution. Two of Lodoli's students, Angelo Quirini and Andrea Memmo, exemplified this state of affairs. Both attempted to invoke reform but in very different ways. In the end, Quirini spent many years in jail and then in exile, Memmo many years as an Ambassador. Marriage laws, as well as others, were still quite strict. For example, Andrea



**figure 33**  
*La Famiglia Sagredo*  
Pietro Longhi, 1752

<sup>24</sup> For further discussion on the fashion trends of eighteenth century Venice, see Pompeo Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, vol. 3 (Bergamo: Istituto italiano di artigianche, 1908): 175.

<sup>25</sup> For further discussion, see Ronald Paulson, "Living Space in Eighteenth Century Venetian Art: Longhi and the view painters," *Eighteenth Century Studies*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (Summer 1971): 458-70.

<sup>26</sup> See especially Franco Venturi, *Settecento Riformati* (Turin, Einaudi, 1969). Many other writers supplement Venturi's main line of argument.

Memmo was not able to marry Giustiniana Wynne, by all accounts his true love, because she was an English woman of illegitimate birth. Marriage to a non-noble would not only have cost Memmo his patrician standing but, more importantly, he would not have been able to pass his nobility on to his two children. This would have been devastating, as both of his children were female.<sup>27</sup>

Though still not considered equal to men, women did hold a higher status in Venetian society than in other Italian cities. For example, women were allowed to act on the stage. There was an annual women-only regatta that was taken as seriously as the all-male races. Venice was famous, or perhaps infamous, for the culture of the courtesans—highly educated women who would act as companions to foreign and Venetian men. In addition, many Venetian women of the eighteenth century had a *cicisbeo*, essentially a male escort. An ongoing debate regarding the difference between men and women at this time influenced the possibility of education for women outside of the monastery. Some women were indeed highly educated within the university system, though it was still not the norm.<sup>28</sup> Notably, Lodoli's classes were open to women. Giustiniana Wynne and at least one of the Sagredo daughters (SEE FIGURE THIRTY-THREE) were present for Lodoli's conversations.

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<sup>27</sup> This story is recounted by Andrea di Robilant in *A Venetian Affair* (London: Fourth Estate, 2003). On the occasion of Memmo's daughter Lucietta's wedding, Wynne dedicated, to Andrea, a small poem for the couple. Robilant claims that the poem was intended for Memmo. See Giustiniana Wynne, *À Andre Memmo Chevalier de l'Etoile d'Or et procureur de Saint Marc, à l'occasion du mariage de sa fille ainée avec Louis Mocenigo* (Venice: Rosa, 1787).

<sup>28</sup> See Rebecca Messbarger, *The Century of Women: Representations of Women in Eighteenth-Century Italian Public Discourse* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002). Antonio Conti's attitude toward the "woman question" was that since women are more humid and less fibrous than men, they were an inherently inferior species. He explained in a 1726 letter to Antonio Vallisneri: "In una lettera io provo fisicamente che le donne hanno men disposizione che gli uomini dello stesso temperamento e che hanno avuto la stessa educazione, non già per le scienze e per le arti in generale, ma per le scienze troppo astratte e che dimandano grande profondità, grande sottigliezza e grande complessione di mente." This attitude was not without exception. For a specific case study, see Paula Findlen, "Science as a Career in Enlightenment Italy: The Strategies of Laura Bassi," *Isis*, Vol. 84, No. 3 (Sep., 1993): 441-69. Laura Bassi not only received a degree, but also lectured at the University in Bologna. Algarotti was one of the most well known supporters. Within the first dialogue of his *Newtonianesimo per le Dame* (1737) Algarotti recites his poem celebrating the accomplishments of Bassi.

A few women were also well respected in the arts. Rosalba Carriera, the well-known portrait painter, is a good example.<sup>29</sup> However, most unmarried women from noble and non-noble families alike were often placed in nunneries. Social hierarchies existent in public life, however, were still quite apparent behind cloister walls. Life in the nunneries, though, was infamously lax. It was recognised that if the women had been born as men, they would have ruled the Republic. In many cases, these women still proved influential in governmental machinations.<sup>30</sup> In terms of public life, the best-case scenario for a woman was to be a *vedova*—a widow with a title. This afforded her options similar, though still not entirely the same, as a male patrician.

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<sup>29</sup> She was famous enough to be repeatedly caricatured by Anton Maria Zanetti. See *Caricature di Anton Maria Zanetti*, Ed. Alessandro Bettagno (Venice: Neri Pozzi Editore, 1969).

<sup>30</sup> See Mary Laven, *Virgins of Venice* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2003), for specific examples.

## *Role of the Theatre*

The issue of the self and its emergence into the public realm is most interesting when viewed against the backdrop of the debates around the theatre in eighteenth century Venice. If nothing else, the theatre was popular. In the eighteenth century, there were at least nine theatres operating in Venice, and at least half of those had been constructed within the same century.<sup>31</sup> This is an unprecedented growth of building type, especially for a city that was supposedly in dire financial straits due to costly and repeated wars. The theatre itself was a place both to see and be seen. The buildings were not dark, and there was a boisterous interaction between the players and the audience.<sup>32</sup> Wealthier patrons would rent a box for the season to entertain friends and lovers, often ignoring the performance. The public was able to buy tickets for the floor. Through the century, the theatre as building changed dramatically following reforms made within the performances themselves.<sup>33</sup> These changes also corresponded in some ways to changes concerning the performers, as well as the reception of the works. The emergent public sphere and its relationship to social identity is perhaps most clearly seen in the clash between the two main characters debating theatre reforms at this time, Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806) and Carlo Goldoni (1707-1793).

Essential to the debate is an understanding of reform to the tradition of the *Commedia dell'Arte*. Allardyce Nicoll claims that the first commedia troupe was formed in 1545 when a

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<sup>31</sup> These included *Teatro La Fenice* (1792-today), *Teatro Tron a San Cassano* (1580-1804), *Teatro Vendramin a San Luca*, *Teatro Grimani a San Samuele*, *Teatro di Sant'Angelo* (1677-1803), *Teatro Grimani a San Giovanni Grisostomo*, *Teatro di San Moisè* (1613-1810), *Teatro di San Beneto* (1755-1951), and the *Teatro di San Fantin* (1699-1720).

<sup>32</sup> Goldoni often reprimanded his actors to clear the stage of spectators who had moved on to the stage to get clear of the spit that would shower down upon them from the boxes above.

<sup>33</sup> See Mark Anthony Ceolin, "Francesco Algarotti and Francesco Milizia: Architectural and Dramatic Theorists of the Italian Enlightenment" (Ph.D. Diss. Univ. of Toronto, 1999), and Grazia Distaso, "Francesco Milizia e la riforma del teatro ne Settecento," in *Francesco Milizia e la cultura del Settecento*. Edited by Mariella Basile and Grazia Distaso (Bari: Congedo Editore, 1999): 33-51, for a review of the reform to theatre building in the latter half of the century in Venice. It is a vast topic that warrants further inquiry.

group of eight actors drew up an agreement to work and travel together.<sup>34</sup> By the beginning of the seventeenth century, troupes such as the *Gelosi*, under the direction of Francesco and Isabelle Andreini, and the *Fedele*, directed by Francesco and Isabelle's son Giambattista Andreini, became well known by traveling throughout Europe. This time is often regarded as the height of the commedia tradition in Italy.

The three fundamental characteristics of the commedia were improvisation, the roles, and the masks worn by the players.

There was very little written script for the original commedia. Rather, there was a director, called the *corago*, *concertatore*, or *guida*, who would read aloud the events leading up to the situation named as the *argomento*. There was no such thing as rehearsal. Once the *argomento* was given, the players would improvise the action within their given roles. Sets were not specific to the performance. They served merely as a backdrop to the action and typically represented a small collection of houses. The action occurred in the piazza framed by the houses. There were openings in the windows and doors so that the players could pop in and out during the performance, adding to the comedic effect. It is important to note that the commedia originally relied mostly on witty language and interaction within the troupe; it was not solely based on pantomime or buffoonery.

The performances were not acted out by a series of original characters, but rather by a tightly knit group of established roles. These roles differed from typical theatre characters in that they were repeated from performance to performance. It was the situation (*argomento*) that changed. Although the roles did differ slightly from place to place, they generally included two men and their servants. The well-known Pantalone, Dottore, Harlequin, and Scapin formed the

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<sup>34</sup> See Allardyce Nicoll. *The World of Harlequin: A Critical Study of the Commedia dell'Arte* (Cambridge: 1963).

basis of the roles. Once a player chose a role, they typically performed that role for life.<sup>35</sup> A modern example would be Sir Arthur Conan Doyle's Sherlock Holmes, Ian Fleming's James Bond or even Mickey Spillane's Mike Hammer. Each is a role that exists within specific situations and stories, but also carries over through others.<sup>36</sup> Similar to the commedia tradition we get to know Sean Connery as James Bond.

It was typical that the player who performed as Pantalone or Pulcinella played that specific role while also improvising a character in a given situation. For instance, Pantalone was at times a banker and at other times an innkeeper, and so forth. The players did not need to explain who they were. The costumes told the audience what role each of the players was playing. In essence, the "nature" of Pantalone was set, with the player of Pantalone adjusting the role to the situation given. For example, the *corago* might have set forth the *argomento* as follows: Pantalone, a Venetian banker living in Rome is in love with his mistress, who happens to be the wife of his best friend. However, his best friend is also sleeping with Pantalone's wife. Pantalone attempts to seduce his lover while avoiding to be cuckolded. The player would then play "Pantalone" within this given situation, offering lines and witticisms appropriate to the nature of Pantalone. Commedia players kept books that contained witty quotes, stock replies, and references that were suitable to their roles.<sup>37</sup>

Each role was recognizable by the clothing that the player wore, the objects carried and, of course, the player's mask. One could compare these accoutrements to Holmes's pipe and deerstalker hat; Bond's martini, shaken and not stirred, tuxedo, and Aston Martin; or Mike Hammer's black fedora and Colt .45. Pantalone, a constant in the commedia, was known by his

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<sup>35</sup> The most well-known is probably the player Antonio Sacchi who performed the role of Truffaldino throughout his long life.

<sup>36</sup> It is interesting to note that today's actors have themselves become roles. A new movie is often promoted with this in mind: Salma Hayek as Frida Kahlo, Tom Cruise as fighter pilot.

<sup>37</sup> These were known as *generici*, *repertorio*, *doni*, *doti*, *squarci*, or *zibaldone*. Interestingly, Tommaso Temanza, not a commedia player but an architect and historian, kept a *zibaldone* that contained notes regarding his views on architecture and various contemporaries. See the reprinted *Zibaldone*, ed. Nicola Ivanoff (Venezia: Istituto per la collaborazione culturale, 1963).

red tights and vest, dagger or handkerchief carried in his belt, a round black hat on his head, a dark brown mask with a hooked nose on his face, and a pointed beard or moustache. He was Venetian and often played serious roles with comic asides. The loquacious Dottore, a Bolognese, was a comic foil to the more serious Pantalone. He was recognisable by his black jacket, striped trousers, stiff collar, and a furled umbrella that he carried. Perhaps the best known role was that of Harlequin, whose costume changed over time from a series of irregular patches to a more geometric pattern of triangles and diamonds. He excelled in agility and acrobatics and often played a bit of the fool, though just enough to wiggle himself out of a bad situation. Many servants and companions to Harlequin existed and were played along similar lines. One such role was Pulcinella, a Neapolitan. Known by his humpback, hooked nose, wart, and tall white hat, Pulcinella was depicted in many paintings by Tiepolo (SEE FIGURE THIRTY-FOUR).

*figure 34*  
*Pulcinella*  
*Tiepolo*



The mid-seventeenth century saw the commedia peak in popularity. So much so, in fact, that the *Théâtre Italien* was established in Paris at this time. The commedia was enormously popular in France, although, as one might expect, the French did not understand the subtleties of the Italian language and as a result the emphasis in the commedia inevitably changed to a more visual and less linguistic production. Many players relied increasingly on pantomime and even included some French lines intermixed with the Italian dialogue. As well, the performances

began to include somewhat aggressive public commentary. Possibly as a result of these changes, the *Théâtre* closed in 1697.

In 1716 Luigi Riccoboni (1675-1753) went to Paris to re-establish the *Théâtre Italien*. His troupe included his famous wife, the actress Elena Belletti, as Flamina. Riccoboni, known for his role as Leilo, was simultaneously the director of his troupe, a writer of *scenari*, and a well-recognized literary historian.<sup>38</sup> His efforts in Paris encountered similar difficulties as the *Théâtre* before him: he wished to speak French so the audience would understand, but he did not want to ruin the commedia by speaking anything but Italian. Riccoboni, however, was intent on a reform of the theatre with a different emphasis than the earlier commedia. He believed that the recent demise of the theatre was due not to defects in the genre of the comedy but in those who made and performed in the work.<sup>39</sup> He blamed both the inexperience of the players and also the expectations of the spectators. Riccoboni wistfully referenced the first comedies, improvised fables (*favole*) that were able to delight audiences. That said, his purpose in looking back was not to copy or to imitate. He stated:

Per fartelo comprendere non vale l'altrui discorsco, o la ragione è duopo orecchio aver che scerna il ben dal male. S'io fossi più filosofo d'Esopo non saprei dirlo: ascolta altrui, o pensa ed il vero, ed il grave sian tuo scopo. Il naturale ogn'ora ci dispense quell chiaro lume, che buon senso ha nome, che è buono in casa, in Piazza, in Scena, a Mensa.<sup>40</sup>

For Riccoboni the reality (*il vero*) that is present in the house and piazza should be the same as found on the stage. Though still using some of the emblematic commedia figures, Riccoboni introduced bourgeois characters and sensibility.<sup>41</sup> In 1729 Riccoboni left France to

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<sup>38</sup> See Salvatore Cappelletti's *Luigi Riccoboni e la riforma del teatro: Dalla commedia dell'arte alla commedia borghese* (Ravenna: Longo, 1986) for a complete list of Riccoboni's diverse publications.

<sup>39</sup> See Luigi Riccoboni, *Dell'arte rappresentativa* (London: 1728): unpaginated preface. I quote: "Non è difetto dell'Arte, ma ben si dell'Artifice."

<sup>40</sup> *Dell'arte rappresentativa* (London: 1728): 46.

<sup>41</sup> See Salvatore Cappelletti, *Luigi Riccoboni e la riforma del teatro: Dalla commedia dell'arte alla commedia borghese*. (Ravenna: Longo, 1986).



return to Italy though his company remained and continued. I would concur with what is written on Riccoboni's statue in Modena: "Luigi Riccoboni introduced the Italian theatre to the age of Maffei and Goldoni."<sup>42</sup>

Scipione Maffei, the ever-present reformer of educational ideals, was also very interested in the reform of the theatre.<sup>43</sup> As discussed earlier, his intentions were focused on recovering the Italian people's glorious past. As with educational endeavours, reform was necessary to overcome what he perceived as decadence in the theatre. One critique came in the form of the play *Cerimonie*, which was viewed as a parody of the excessive manners of the Spanish.<sup>44</sup> Maffei also wrote *Teatro Italiano, o sia scelta di tradgedie per uso della scena* (1723), a collection of twelve sixteenth century plays that included a history of the Italian Theatre. Maffei met with Riccoboni and persuaded him to perform these Italian dramas. Maffei encouraged reform not simply to honour his Italian past, but also to promote the theatre as a moral guide. Looking back, like Riccoboni, he believed that the first theatre was not simply about entertainment. Theatre, Maffei believed, should be educational as well.

Carlo Goldoni indeed continued what Maffei had begun. They only met later in life, though Goldoni did go to Verona at the end of August in 1732 to seek Maffei's opinion on a piece he had written. He missed Maffei by three days. Goldoni, the son of a physician, was trained as a lawyer. An unexpected return to Venice prompted a similarly unexpected change of profession: he decided to give up his lucrative position and role as lawyer to pursue a life in the theatre. He was closely linked to the more famous troupes in Venice and wrote for the *Teatro*

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<sup>42</sup> This is quoted in Allardyce Nicoll, *The World of Harlequin: a Critical Study of the Commedia dell'Arte* (Cambridge: Cambridge UPress, 1963): 214.

<sup>43</sup> Maffei earned much success as a playwright with his own *Merope* (1713), which inspired plays by Voltaire and also John Hume. He also wrote *Raguet*, a parody of Italians wishing to import French words into Italian. His interest was not only literary. He wrote extensively on the physical theatre and amphitheatre. For other references to Maffei's books on the theatre, see Giuseppe Silvestri, *Un Europeo del Settecento: Scipione Maffei* (Treviso: Neri Pozza, 1968).

<sup>44</sup> Scipione Maffei, *La Cerimonie* (Venice: per Bonifacio Viezzeri, 1728). This was very similar in intention to Lodoli's own story about unnecessary custom, "The Hermitage." See *Apologhi*: 46. See Appendix I for complete translation.

*S Angelo* (1746-1752) and then the *Teatro S Luca* (1752-1761). In all, Goldoni wrote more than one hundred and fifty pieces for the theatre. His individual characters were drawn from Venetian life as well as the emblematic commedia roles.

His first written piece, *Amalasantu*, was rejected. Upon hearing of its reception, he thanked his critic, returned to his hotel, made a fire, and then threw the work into the fire to be “sacrificed.”<sup>45</sup> He then ordered his dinner, ate well, and slept peacefully through the night. His later works met with much different results. He wrote extensively but left Venice in 1761—apparently still disgusted with the state of Italian theatre—for Paris where he continued to write. He died there, poor and almost blind, in 1793.

Goldoni did not exaggerate when he claimed that his life was taken from two books: the book of the world and the book of the theatre. The book of the world offered Goldoni a look into the natural character of man, including his habits, vices, and virtues. The book of the theatre contained ways of representing the passions of man so as to delight with wonder and laughter.<sup>46</sup> I would argue that, for Goldoni, these books were often written on the same pages. The Pasquali edition of Goldoni’s *Delle commedie* (1761-1778) included a series of frontispieces that chronologically depicted Goldoni’s own life from an early age (SEE FIGURE THIRTY-FIVE).

In the preface he explained:

Ciascun frontispizio, come dissi istoriato, rappresenterà un qualche pezzo della mia vita, principiando dall’età d’anni otto, in cui il genio comico principiava in me a svilupparsi, composta avendo in sì tenera età una commedia, di quell valore, che aspettar si potea da un bambino.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Goldoni actually uses this term, “sacrifice.” He then goes on to rail against the theatre: “Maudites regles! Ma Piece est bonne, j’en suis sûr, elle est bonne; mais le Théâtre est mauvais, mais les Acteurs, les Actrices, les Compositeurs, les Décorateurs...” Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 130.

<sup>46</sup> See Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 769-70.

<sup>47</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 623.

Goldoni continued: “Ho pensato di dare ne’frontispizi un sommario della mia vita, sparsa già da gran tempo in varie lettere, e prefazioni, e in qualche scena ancora delle opere mie fin’ora stampate.”<sup>48</sup> Indeed, many plays by Goldoni were based upon autobiographical experience, including at least the following: *L’avvocato Veneziano*, *L’impostore*, and *L’avventuriere onorato*.

Goldoni also looked to other “characters” around him as inspiration for his plays. For example, various actresses in the Medebach Company at the *Teatro S Angelo*, with which Goldoni worked, found their way into his productions. His sixteen-play season of 1750 included at least two that caricatured the situation of his actors: *La Finta Ammalata* was based on the hypochondriac wife of the troupe leader, Teodora Medebach. Another, *La Donna Volubile*, mocked one of the more capricious actresses in the company. *De’Pettegolezzi delle donne* was based on an old Armenian man whom he had found in the *Piazza S Marco* and whose haggard appearance was the object of much teasing and gossip amongst unmarried Venetian women.<sup>49</sup> The seventeen-volume edition of Goldoni’s



*At age nine*



*Studying*



*At University*



*With Friends*



*His Marriage*



*As a lawyer*



*At a Commedia*



*Giving Advice*

*figure 35*  
*Goldoni's auto-ritratti*

<sup>48</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 628.

<sup>49</sup> Maria Zanetti was caricaturing many actresses, singers, and other creatures of the theatre at this time. There are many examples and descriptions in *Caricature di Anton Maria Zanetti*, Ed. Alessandro Bettagno (Venice: Neri Pozzi Editore, 1969).

works concluded with the writer in Paris and the 1787 publication of his *Mémoires de M. Goldoni, pour servir à l'histoire de sa vie, et à celle de son theatre*. The subtitle confirms the collapse of his life and the life of the theatre. In fact he often referred to his life in such terms.<sup>50</sup>

This collapse between the world and the theatre, and between Goldoni's life and his characters', is most clearly seen in *il Teatro Comico*, first performed in 1750. It is a critique of the commedia tradition as well as a proposal for a new type of theatre. The play itself is the rehearsal of a play. Actors perform characters that are playing roles from the *Commedia dell'Arte*. For example, the famous Venetian actor Antonio Mattiuzzi Collalto performed as "Tonino" who plays Pantalone in the production.<sup>51</sup> To add to this, various Venetian personalities were represented by the characters. Goldoni, for instance, was represented by the character "Orazio," described as an author who has written sixteen plays in one year, as did Goldoni in 1750.<sup>52</sup> The actors are discussing the need for reform of the *Commedia dell'Arte* and the relative merits of Goldoni's character plays (*commedia de carattere*) when they are interrupted by the Poet Lelio—a role representative of the commedia tradition and of the critique against Goldoni by Carlo Gozzi.

The reform Goldoni called for had a weak nationalistic bent. The argument may have had roots in Maffei's and Muratori's own agendas, but Goldoni's position seems to be more in

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<sup>50</sup> For example: "nella Commedia della mia vita si cambia scena" and "Non può negarsi, ch'io non sia nato sotto gl'influssi di stella comica, poichè la mia vita medesima è una commedia..." Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 655, 634. Goldoni was also a member of the Arcadian colony in Parma and often signed his plays with the name of his character within Arcadia: Polisseno Fegejo.

<sup>51</sup> "Tonino" is not the only one. "Orazio" plays Ottavio, "Placida" plays Rosaura, "Eugenio" plays Florino, "Anselemo" plays the role of Brighella, "Gianni" plays Harlequin, and "Vittoria" plays Columbina. The characters speak in a Venetian dialect when they are in the roles of the commedia. For the complete list of actors, and the roles their characters played in the original production, see Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 1329.

<sup>52</sup> See Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 1053, 1051. There is a continual play between the real, the performance, and the commedia within the performance. An example of this is in scene thirteen when Vittoria is asked to answer the door and responds by saying: "Eh, io son la serva da burla, la farò anche davvero." The "real" here refers to the world of the performance. Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 1083.

opposition to the French than for any specific assertion of an “Italian” theatre. Lelio asks Orazio why he doesn’t like French Theatre.

Goldoni explains:

Non le disprezzo; le lodo, le stimo, le venero, ma non solo al caso per me. I Francesi hanno trionfato nell’arte delle commedie per un secolo intero; sarebbe ormai tempo che l’Italia facesse conoscere non essere in essa spento il seme dei buoni autori, i quali dopo i Greci ed i Latini sono stati i primi ad arricchire e ad illustrare il teatro.

He berates the French and then concludes:

I nostri Italiani vogliono molto più. Vogliono che il carattere principale sia forte, originale e conosciuto; che quasi tutte le persone, che formano gli episodi, siano altrettanto caratteri; che l’intreccio sia medio cremente fecondo d’accidente e di novità. Vogliono la morale mescolata coi Sali e colle facezie. Vogliono il fine inaspettato, ma bene originato dalla condotta della commedia. Vogliano tante infinite cose, che troppo lungo sarebbe il dirle, e solamente coll’uso, colla pratica e col tempo si può arrivar a conoscerla e ad eseguirle.<sup>53</sup>

Like the young nun who returned to her mother for advice on making *ciambelle* or Riccoboni who looked to the ancient fables before him, Goldoni too looked back to the origins of the theatre but, of course, not to imitate. Orazio explains:

Prima di parlare sopra i precetti degli antichi, conviene considerare due cose: la prima, *il vero senso* con cui hanno scritto; la seconda, se a’nostri tempi convenga quel che hanno scritto; mentre, siccome si è variato il modo di vestire, di mangiare, e di conversare, così è anche cangiato il gusto e l’ordine delle commedie.<sup>54</sup>

Goldoni’s motivation is strikingly similar to Lodoli’s own position on grounding present work, he even uses the analogy of clothing. To correct vice and understand truth, one must look back to look forward. Goldoni explained the origins of the commedia through the character of Anselemo:

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<sup>53</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 1070.

<sup>54</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 1100.

La commedia l'è stata inventada per corregger i vizi e metter in ridicolo i cattivi costumi; e quando le commedie dai antighi se faceva così, tutto el popolo decideva, perchè vedendo la copia d'un carattere in scena, ognuno trovava o in se stesso, o in qualche un altro, l'original. Quando le commedie son diventade meramente ridicole, nissun ghe abbadava più, perche col pretesto de far rider, se ammetteva i più alti, i pionori spropositi. Adesso, che se torna a pescar le commedie nel *mare magnum* della natura, i omeni se sente a bisegar in tel cor, e investindose della passion o del carattere che se rappresenta, i sa discernen se la passion sia ben sostegnuda, se el carattere sia ben condotto e osservà.<sup>55</sup>

This relationship between the two books, of the theatre and the world, was essentially moral, though for Goldoni, it was more of a social morality than a deeply felt religious ethics. Simply put, one should act appropriately in public and treat others well, with kindness. This sort of action, and not the buffoonery of the *Commedia dell'Arte*, should be demonstrated by the performers and performances. Again, Orazio explains:

Per nostra consolazione, non solo è sbandito qualunque reo costume nelle persone, ma ogni scandalo della scena. Più non si sentono parole oscene, equivoci sporchi, dialoghi disonesti. Più non si vedono lazzi pericolosi, gesti scoretti, scene lubriche, di mal esempio. Vi possono andar le fanciulle senza timor d'apprendere cose immodeste o maliziose.<sup>56</sup>

Goldoni was not without his critics. Carlo Gozzi (1720-1806) was one of the most vociferous opponents of Goldoni's reform. Gozzi is often characterized as the defender of the commedia tradition against the reforms proposed by Goldoni. However, Gozzi's attack was not as much a defence of the *Commedia dell'Arte* tradition as against Goldoni personally.<sup>57</sup> In his *Memorie Inutile*, Gozzi explained:

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<sup>55</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 1066.

<sup>56</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 1100.

<sup>57</sup> There is much debate about what exactly the *Commedia dell'Arte* was after it had been translated into and out of French. See Allardyce Nicoll, *The World of Harlequin: A Critical Study of the Commedia dell'Arte* (Cambridge: Cambridge UPress, 1963).

E perchè que'due poeti [Goldoni and Pietro Chiari], col pretesto di riformare il teatro s'erano proposti di voler strozzata la innocente commedia materiale italiana alla sprovvista, sostenuta dalle valenti maschere meritamente dal publico, Sacchi, Fiorilli, Zannoni e Derbes, che divertivano i Grandi ed i popolo e che danneggiavano la ricolta alla poetica spettabilità, considerai che niente più potess castigare la petulanza letteraria de'due sognati Menandri, che il prendere in protezione le amenità, i Sali, i lazzi, delle farse all'improvviso de'nostri Truffaldini, de'nostri Tartaglia, de'nostri Brighella, de nostri Pantaloni, delle nostre Smeraldine.<sup>58</sup>

Almost in response to the characterization of the dim-witted poet Lelio in the *Teatro Comico*, Gozzi mocked Goldoni in a story of his own. In the *Memorie Inutile*, Gozzi described the scene. One day during carnival, Gozzi and a few other members of the *Accademia dei Granelleschi* were in *del Pellegrino*, a fictional osteria that overlooked the *Piazza S Marco*.<sup>59</sup> They saw a truly monstrous mask enter into the osteria and, intrigued, asked it to come over to their table. The great mask had four faces and four mouths. Gozzi named the monster as “*il Teatro Comico del Goldoni*.” Each side revealed each of the four faces of Goldoni’s supposed reform. The first was representative of the plays that Goldoni wrote by simply adding a few parts to existing comedies. The second was symbolic of new romantic pieces, such as *La Pamela*. The third was of the plays that dealt with common Venetians like *de’Pettegolezzi delle Donne* and *de’Rusteghi*. The final face represented Goldoni’s performances set in faraway places, for example *la Sposa Persiana*. Though the mask tried valiantly to defend itself, Gozzi critiqued *il Teatro’s* smug and shallow morality. In the end the monster opened his pants to reveal yet another mouth, which, weeping indecently upon itself, begged for grace.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> Carlo Gozzi, *Memorie Inutile*, Ed. Giuseppe Prezzolini (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1934): 221. Pietro Chiari, the other playwright referred to by Gozzi, was also mocked by Goldoni and Gozzi separately.

<sup>59</sup> Literally the Academy of the Testicles. In common English: nuts, balls.

<sup>60</sup> “...piangendo sconciatamente s’arrendeva e chiedeva grazia.” For the complete story, see Carlo Gozzi, *Memorie Inutile*, Ed. Giuseppe Prezzolini (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1934): 212-15.

Clearly Gozzi was not above caustic satire and was surely less uptight than the more self-righteous Goldoni. The title of his autobiography—*Memorie Inutile*—was appropriate to his character. He seemed to be much more bitter than Goldoni, and much less intent on a moralized reform of the theatre. He introduced himself: “Il mio nome è Carlo, e fui il sesto parto della mia madre, non so se mi deva dire uscito alla luce o alle tenebre di questo mondo.”<sup>61</sup> Gozzi claimed that his *Memoire* were useless for two reasons: firstly, he deemed them unnecessary owing to his humility, and secondly, he believed that he had not really done or said anything in his life beyond that which had already been done and said in his printed works.<sup>62</sup> Though not a patrician, he was of the merchant class (*cittadini*). He did not receive the best education, however he did take his schooling seriously and performed better than his fellow students whom he would see in the theatre hawking apples and chestnuts.

Both Gozzi and Goldoni claimed the crowds that came to their performances as proof of their success, confirming the superiority of each writer over the other.<sup>63</sup> Arguably, both were quite popular then and now. Goldoni used the crowded houses at his performances as evidence that his more realistic character plays were better than the less-realistic *Commedia dell'Arte*. In reaction to this, Gozzi remade a series of fairy tales (*fiabe*) for the theatre. These were drawn from established fairy tale collections.<sup>64</sup> For example, his *Turanadot*, which takes place in mythical Persia, was taken directly from *Arabian Nights* and was later made famous in an opera by Puccini. The play included characters from the original: the princess Turandot, the prince Calaf and also roles from the commedia, such as Brighella and Pantalone. Turandot is the vindictive princess who, because of her ancestry, hates men. Her father wishes her to be married and she agrees on the condition that she will only marry the man who successfully answers three

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<sup>61</sup> Carlo Gozzi, *Memorie Inutile*, Ed. Giuseppe Prezzolini (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1934): 27.

<sup>62</sup> Carlo Gozzi, *Memorie Inutile*, Ed. Giuseppe Prezzolini (Bari: Giuseppe Laterza & Figli, 1934): 243.

<sup>63</sup> Neither was above cheap promotion. For his own *La Putta Onoratta* (1748), a play whose main character was a *gondoliere*, Goldoni let all of the *gondolieri* in for free. See Joseph Spencer Kennard, *Goldoni and the Venice of his Time* (New York: Macmillan, 1920): 143.

<sup>64</sup> These included *Il Corvo* (1761), *Il re cervo* (1762), *Turandot* (1762), *I pitocchi fortunate* (1763), and *L'augellino Belvedere* (1765).



riddles. Failure to do so results in the suitor losing his head. Many try, and just as many lose their heads. One day, an unknown prince arrives to the kingdom. He successfully answers the series of riddles and then, seeing the princess's fear at their impending marriage, offers her a riddle of his own: if she can discover his name by daybreak, he will willingly die. Turandot finds a servant girl who is in love with the prince and knows his name. She questions the young girl who laments: if she gives her love's name to Turandot she will lose the prince to death, but if she remains silent she will lose him to the Princess. The servant kills herself. In the end, moved by the display of love, Turandot gives in and declares that she had always loved and feared the Prince. The play was a huge success, leading Gozzi to claim that the popularity of a play did not depend upon the "realism" or "morality" of Goldoni but rather on the fantastic.

As in many of Goldoni's plays, masks and characters mix. Though Brighella plays a character, the executioner, Pantalone's role is to comment to the audience directly. He adds a running commentary of critical and ironic lines to the action of the play. He mocks the situation and claims no one in Venice would believe this story if he were to retell it. The role of Pantalone has changed from the original commedia tradition. Pantalone has become the intermediary between the world of the theatre and the lived world of Venice. The mask was no longer simply a role on the stage. He has left the piazza of the commedia set and entered into the campo of the city.

## *Le Maschere*

As Goldoni's career developed, he became more and more critical of the masks within the commedia tradition. He felt that the mask showed only a general, and not specific, emotion. Espousing reasoning similar to that offered by Riccoboni, Goldoni explained that a comedy without masks was more natural:

Le masque doit toujours faire beaucoup de tort à l'action de l'Acteur, soit dans la joie, soit dans le chagrin; qu'il soit amoureux, farouche ou plaisant, c'est toujours le même *cuir* qui se montre; et il a beau gesticuler et changer de ton, il ne fera jamais connoître, par les traits du visage qui sont les interpretes du cœur, les différentes passions dont son ame est agitée.<sup>65</sup>

Goldoni understood that the custom of the masks was derived from Greek theatre, but this was not a sufficient reason for their continued use. After all, the Greeks's reason for employing masks was inherently different. Further in the *Mémoires*, he explained:

Les masques chez les Grecs et les Romains étoient des epees de porte-voix qui avoient été imagines pour faire entendre les personages dans la vaste étendue des Amphithéâtres. Les passions et les sentimens n'é pas portés dans ce tems là au point de délicatesse que l'on exige actuellement; on veut aujourd'hui que l'Acteur ait de l'ame, *et l'ame sous le masque est comme le feu sous les cendres*.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 349.

<sup>66</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 1 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 349 (emphasis added).

In contrast to this ancient use of the mask, those worn in public throughout the six-month season of the carnival had a different effect on these diverse passions.<sup>67</sup> The *bauta*, which consisted of a tri-corn hat, white half-mask, and black cape (*tabarro*), actually increased anonymity (SEE FIGURE THIRTY-SIX). The *moretta*, a smaller, round mask had no straps and was secured to one's face by a small button on the reverse side of the mouth that the wearer held between the teeth. It was often worn with a shawl (*nizioletto*). This had an interesting effect: the wearer was unable to speak. Masks were typically worn during the day and night in public: the theatres, the cafés, the *ridotti*, the *casini*, etc. In fact, a mask was required for entry into the *Ridotto*. Only those who handled the house money did not wear a mask; they were forbidden to do so. In the theatre of the public sphere, masks dissolved



**figure 36**

*Il Ridotto, Longhi (1757)*

The *bauta* is in worn by the figures in the front, the *moretta* by those in the back. Note that both women and men wore the *bauta*.

identity; gender, class, and race could be hidden. Whereas Pantalone, and all of his traits, was *recognisable* by virtue of his mask, so to speak, the *bauta* masked even the wearer's public costume.<sup>68</sup> This allowed for activity that might not happen if the person's identity was known. It was just this possibility of licentiousness that made Venice such a popular destination for

<sup>67</sup> Carnivale, in the Venetian eighteenth century, ran from October through Christmas and then from Twelfth Night through Lent. The other season was known as the *Villeggiatura*, the summer season, when anyone with the means to do so escaped the heat and stench of the city in the summer for the "country houses" along the Brenta Canal and elsewhere on the mainland.

<sup>68</sup> Casanova, however, used to wear a mask with a small rose painted under the left eye. Faces themselves were also a means of making identity and intentions known. The location of beauty marks told something about the intention of one wearing it. Examples included *appassionata* (corner of the eye), *coquette* (above the lip), *galante* (on the chin), and the dangerously named *assassina* (corner of the mouth). See Pompeo Molmenti, *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata*, vol. 3 (Bergamo: Istituto italiano di artigianiche, 1908): 175. These could be seen with the half white mask of the *bauta*.

Europeans, and it was this transgressive masking that allowed for participation in the public sphere.

For both Goldoni and Gozzi, the mask itself had become a character. For Goldoni, the actor should be able to relate, through a character in a situation, a way of action or a morality. For Gozzi, the theatre need not be so demonstrative. The character of Pantalone, for example, was not there to instruct the audience, but to speak directly to the audience and to make sardonic commentary intended to entertain. With Goldoni, there is a similar collapse to that which was depicted in the apotheoses of the newly ennobled Venetian families. I propose that the collapse seen with Goldoni opens up a new understanding of the commedia role, as character specific to a plot, as well as manifests an emergence of a new public realm within the performances. Interestingly, however, as the public become characters within Goldoni's commedia and Longhi's paintings, the actual public of Venice puts on a mask of its own.

### *Lodoli's Re-dressing*

Masks are present within Lodoli's fables. In the story of "Common Sense and the Flagpoles" the main character, Common Sense, dons a mask to go sightseeing in the *Piazza S Marco*. Once he has pointed out the lack of common sense found in the *Bucintoro*, the captain storms off, tearing off his own *bauta* and ripping it up. Another story includes the commedia role of Pulcinella. In the "Mechanical Pulcinella," Lodoli explained that in Venice there was a Blacksmith's shop.<sup>69</sup> On the exterior was a nobly dressed Pulcinella that seemed to operate a small machine sitting next to it. A child walked by and was filled with marvel at how the Pulcinella worked the machine. His father brought him around to the side to show him the hidden mechanisms. These actually revealed that the machine was operating the Pulcinella and not the reverse. Lodoli concluded that ignorant and vulgar people, who believe in appearances and do not know of the secret forces that move them, often admire an idiot without knowing who that person may be. This apologue can be seen as a veiled critique of the obviously oblique governmental procedures of Venice. The analogy is that Pulcinella is like the idiot in charge, moved by a hidden force or mechanism. The child is analogous to the ignorant who cannot see that the masked figure does not operate by its own will.

In the final story of the *Apologhi*, "the Platonic Citizen" feels a bit uncomfortable wearing a mask.<sup>70</sup> He soon realises, however, that it allows him a sense of freedom while walking through crowds. It also allows him to enter into the *Ridotto*, something his guide is not able to do. In eighteenth century Venice the mask hid one's identity, but it was exactly that distance between oneself and the mask, which allowed for participation in the theatre of the public realm.

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<sup>69</sup> *Apologhi*: 31. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>70</sup> *Apologhi*: 80-91. See Appendix I for complete translation.

Lodoli's lessons were indeed masked. Ephraim Chambers explained in his *Dizionario* that there were at least three characteristics of a fable (*favole*): the truth was masked to reveal an ingenious invention; it was the most antique way to teach; and the language, simple but precise, originated in poetic speech and came from the Gods. Chambers referred to Aristotle who claimed that fables contained two components: the truth, and that which covers or masks the truth.<sup>71</sup> These definitions align with the more modern description by McKenzie who claimed that "fables have been historically used in at least four ways: as rhetorical exercises in education, for ethical instruction, as a vehicle for satire, whether social or political, or as a form of literary composition for its own sake."<sup>72</sup>

For sure, the "clothed" words of the apologues allowed for criticism. The introductory quote of the *Apologhi* referred to this:

Verba togæ sequeris, junctura callidus acri,  
Ore teres modico: pallentes radere mores  
Doctus, & ingenuo culpam defigure ludo.<sup>73</sup>

For Lodoli, the masking of the fables was not, however, only for reasons of public participation, popular enjoyment, or protection from the Inquisition.<sup>74</sup>

It is clear that fables are not necessarily about mules and geese. Rather, there is an allegoric relationship that is being proposed. One listens to the story and may or may not act

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<sup>71</sup> Ephraim Chambers, *Dizionario Universale delle Arti e delle Scienze* (Venezia, 1748): vol. 4, p. 34.

<sup>72</sup> Kenneth McKenzie, "Italian Fables of the Eighteenth Century" *Italica*. Vol. 12, No. 2 (Jun., 1935): 39.

<sup>73</sup> *You pursue toga'd words, skilled at the sharp connection, rounding a modest mouth, adept at trimming pallid habits, and nailing every fault with a freeborn humour.* See Persius. Satire V, 14. Tr. Guy Lee. The reference to "toga" is interesting as this is what the patricians would wear while voting in the various councils.

<sup>74</sup> Though Algarotti thought that this dressing was done to make the lessons more popular. He said: "...che mercè la conferenze da esso lui frequentemente tenute, mercè i suoi ragionamento ed apologhi, con che li sa rivestire e rendere popolari, è da sperare che l'architettura si verrà purgando da parecchi errori che vi ha introdotti una cieca pratica." See *Elementi* II: 42. Lodoli was more infamous than famous. Memmo constantly used the analogy of the blind as ignorant. Maffei also used the same analogy when discussing the translations of Vitruvius with respect to amphitheatres. See *A compleat history of the ancient amphitheatres. More peculiarly regarding the architecture of those buildings, and in particular that of Verona / by the Marquis Scipio Maffei; made English from the Italian original, by Alexander Gordon.* (London, 1755): bk. 2, ch. 1.

according to the performance of the animals: one may act eagle-like, or mule-like, for example. There are more than just animals who inhabit Lodoli's apologues. There are three types of characters: animal, mytho-historical, and professional. Animals display certain physical traits that sometimes refer to the animal's archetypal character. Eagles soar and are noble; donkeys dawdle and are dim-witted. The Philosophers and Gods are representative of certain historical decisions within historic or mythic events. These include Roman conspiracies, Jove's daily routine, and Socrates' wife berating the philosopher. The various Professionals are representative of the diverse characters of the Venetian public: *gondolieri*, nuns, hunters, and dancers, for example. These combinations of characters help to collapse the world of the mythic characters onto the world of Venice and are similar to the characters that inhabit the paintings of Longhi and the performances of Goldoni. There are also references to contemporary Venetians within the stories. Somewhat unique to Lodoli's fables is the intermixing of animals with historical and contemporary characters. In other words, Socrates can talk to a snail and the seeds of a pomegranate can reveal the conspiracy against Catiline.

Common to the apologues is a fool, either as mule, youthful turkey, or pig. These are all enduring symbols of ignorance in traditional fables and indeed the rhetorical tradition. However, the tradition of the mule as fool is not only representative of ignorance. Nuccio Ordine has shown that across many cultures there is a combination of opposites (*coincidentia oppositorum*) found in the archetype of the mule.<sup>75</sup> He classifies these combinations as benefic/demonic, powerful/humble, and wise/arrogant. The mule can be seen as a symbol of idleness, but also of working hard and toiling without complaint. The ears of the mule are symbolic of ignorance, but have also represented the wise, as in their ability to hear over long distances.<sup>76</sup> *The Golden Ass* is

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<sup>75</sup> See Nuccio Ordine, *Giordano Bruno and the Philosophy of the Ass* (New Haven: Yale UPress, 1996): 9-16.

<sup>76</sup> Ordine finds this across many cultures. He notes: "Buddha has large ears; in China, the statues of emperors are often given big ears; in Africa, the God Leza has big ears; among the Incas and in Babylon, the people of the highest ranks have large ears." Nuccio Ordine, *Giordano Bruno and the Philosophy of the Ass* (New Haven: Yale UPress, 1996): 213, n. 54.

an example. Lucius was excited to become endowed, not only with large genitalia, but also with long ears and a correspondingly amplified sense of hearing. As a teaching device the fool educates through *inversion*. There is an “a-ha” moment when the fool realises the mistake or error in judgement. The listener to the apologue recognises that although the mule may be ignorant, there is the latent possibility to overcome and act wisely. Lodoli refutes the position offered by the student, but did not directly name a way of action.

Lodoli was not completely alone in his use of fables. By the eighteenth century, there was a rich tradition of oral fable telling within the peninsula to draw from.<sup>77</sup> Fables in the eighteenth century were considered to be a serious literary genre; they were not for kids. Publications could be roughly divided between reprints of existing compilations and original fables. The latter, of which Lodoli’s apologues should be included, were more rare.<sup>78</sup> Most often, collections of fables were republished versions of previous compilations with the addition of often-elaborate illustrations. For example, Giorgio Fossati, architect and engraver, illustrated a collection of fables entitled *Raccolta Di Varie Favole Delineate, ed incise in Rame Da Giorgio Fossati Architetto* (Venice, 1746). This four-volume collection was composed of previously known fables. Fossati is interesting for this study in that he was trained as an architect under Domenico Rossi. He worked on a proposal for the facades of the *scuola* and church of *S Rocco* in Venice. Fossati also made engravings for the Pasinelli bilingual edition of Palladio in 1769.<sup>79</sup> Though tempting, there seems to be little evidence that his architectural and fabulist interests intertwined beyond providing for his income.

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<sup>77</sup> The introduction to Italo Calvino, *Italian Folktales*, Tr. George Martin (New York: Harvest/HBJ, 1980). Offers a concise history.

<sup>78</sup> Original collections include Giambattista Roberti’s (1719-1786) *Favole Esopiane* (1773, 1782), Aurelio de Giorgi Bertòla’s (1753-1798) *Favole* (Pavia, 1779) and *Saggio Sopra la Favola* (Pavia, 1788), Lorenzo Pignotti’s (1739-1812) *Favole e Novelle* (Florence, 1782), Giovanni Gherardo de Rossi’s (1754-1827) *Favole* (Rome, 1788), and Luigi Fiacchi’s (Clasio) (1754-1825) *Favole* (Florence, 1795). There are too many collections to name.

<sup>79</sup> *I quattro libri di architettura di Andrea Palladio Vicentino: di nuovo ristampati con figure in rame diligentemente intagliate, corretti e accresciuti di moltissime ed utilissime osservazioni dell' architetto N. N.* (Venice: Angelo Pasinelli, 1769). Fossati also made a painting, *La corsa dei fantini in Prato della Valle* (1767), now in the Museo Civico in Padua. The painting shows the Prato before Andrea Memmo’s project.



Within the genre of the fable (*favole*) one could also include the folk tale or fairy tale (*fiabe*). As I have described, Gozzi's *Fiabe*, written and performed between 1760-65, were quite popular. A few characteristics separate folk and fairy tales from fables. The stories of *fiabe* take place in a special world and different time, removed from everyday reality: "once upon a time in faraway land," and so forth.<sup>80</sup> Fairy tales typically contain talismanic objects—the glass slipper, or magic beans. In Gozzi's *L'Amore Delle Tre Melarance* (1761), Tartaglia goes in search of enchanted oranges. There is usually some sense of mystical enchantment—a kiss that will transform the frog to a prince. Here Calaf enchants Turandot, the beautiful man-hating princess, in Gozzi's *Turandot*. There is also a singular purpose to the actions of the hero. He is the one who has been chosen and must not divert from the predestined path. Calaf never questions why he must continue; an irresistible force urges him on.

All of this leads to a suspension of disbelief that "subverts the moral response that would be demanded in tragedy or realism."<sup>81</sup> For example, in *Turandot* one understands as believable that death awaits those suitors who fail to answer the princess's riddles. However extreme it may seem, it is the law of the land, and having pronounced it, the King now must keep to it. Later, when it suits the story, he finds it easy to change the law. There is a more mystical sense of morality that is drawn from the characters or the action and which seems to be intended more for general entertainment than morality or education. The only lesson learned from *Cinderella* or *Turandot* is that "love conquers all." Turandot is transformed by, or simply submits to, the greater force of love, and accordingly, all ends well. While the possibility of a moral to the fairy tale exists, Gozzi's productions, according to Goldoni, tended towards buffoonery and were not particularly directed towards promoting any moral or ethical position.

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<sup>80</sup> This also includes known lands that are too foreign to be understood as real, Persia, for example.

<sup>81</sup> See David Nicholson. "Gozzi's 'Turandot': A Tragicomic Fairy Tale." *Theatre Journal*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Dec., 1979): 471. Much of my reading of the fairy tale genre comes from Nicholson and Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairy Tales* (New York: Penguin, 1976).

The mid-eighteenth century also witnessed the rise in popularity of the utopic novel, which was popular for many of the same reasons as the *fiabe*. For many writers of utopic novels, the journeys to the moon, the centre of the earth, and to lands beyond the edge of the world offered a way to propose ideals for, and critique the realities of, Enlightenment society.<sup>82</sup> There were differences, however. The utopian novels published in Venice, often prefaced as a translation from English, usually described a lost narrator, removed from his familiar environment. This isolation of place and gap in translation between languages implied a distance that allowed the author, as traveller, the opportunity for a critical recreation of the author's world.

Zaccaria Seriman's *I Viaggi di Enrico Wanton* was a well-known example. The 1772 edition was published with an additional allegorical poem entitled "The Looking-Glass: A Fable." This poem specifically outlined Seriman's satiric intent.<sup>83</sup> The *Viaggi* tells the story of two Englishmen, Enrico and Roberto, who upon being shipwrecked at the end of the world, find two lands. The first, the Land of the Monkey-People (*Paese degli Scimie*) offers an ironic view of the eighteenth century Veneto. Seriman's wit focused on the capricious irrationality of fashion and arranged marriages, and the fear of a society that blindly accepted an attitude of conformity.<sup>84</sup> This attitude is exemplified by an episode in which the Englishmen witness the custom of *la toaletta*. It seems that in this land, there are no mirrors. In order to apply make-up, a servant sitting directly in front of her lady would imitate each movement. At the conclusion of observing this episode, Enrico offers the lady a mirror. Upon seeing her *true* self in the mirror for the first time, she faints.

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<sup>82</sup> Bronislaw Baczko claims that over eighty texts regarding imaginary voyages in France were published from 1679-1789. See his *L'Utopia, immaginazione sociale e rappresentazioni utopiche nell'età dell'illuminismo* (Turin, 1979) and also Barbara Maria Stafford, *Voyage into Substance* (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1984), for various travel accounts.

<sup>83</sup> See Suzanne Kiernan, "The Exotic and the Normative in *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle Terre Australi Incognite* by Zaccaria Seriman," *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Fall, 2002): 58-77, for references to the publication history. The allegorical introduction was only included in the 1772 edition, published in England but based on an earlier Italian edition.

<sup>84</sup> Lodoli also mocked this sense of conformity to custom. See Apologue 39, "the Hermitage."

The second half of the *Viaggi* is set in the Kingdom of the Dogfaced Men (*Regno dei Cinocefali*), ruled wisely by a just philosopher-king. Enrico begins to travel and becomes lost again only to find himself in the capital of this strange land, the Prisons of Passion (*Prigione delle Passioni*). He spends most of his time, after he has learned the language, within the city's great library reading only fables. At the end of his visit he meets with three of the most distinguished members of the community. These philosophers, thinly veiled caricatures of Carlo Lodoli, Antonio Conti, and Gottfried Leibniz, act as guides through further journeys.

The places then visited by Enrico offer cynical views towards most every topic of Enlightenment culture. In one such place, the Fortress of the Winds (*Fortezza de'venti*), all effort is focused on the abstract, universal categories of the mind, and not the particulars of the body. The inhabitants, absorbed in the problems of "being" and "essence," are unapproachable due to their obscure and subtle habits. At the end of Enrico's stay, he is invited to dine with a nobleman of great learning. The man conveys to Enrico the thought upon which all other thoughts are based, a cynical interpretation of the famous Cartesian dictum: I walk, therefore I am.<sup>85</sup>

Enrico also travels to the Fields of Misery (*Campi della Miseria*), a land where the wealth of people comes not from the physical labour but from the strength of their fantasy. Enrico explains that memory is the mother of imagination (*fantasia*) and as such this section was written from memory, using his imagination.<sup>86</sup> The fields are dry and there is little food, but the inhabitants believe that they are the most wealthy and powerful in the world and do not see the extreme poverty. The fields' order and abundance is described as the ideal of a stage set whose architecture reveals nothing decorous or lacking. Each of the citizens is a proponent of a certain aspect of geometry, including physics, music, and ethics. For these *Cinocefali*, education begins with the reading of fables that describe and distinguish virtues, vices, and passions by their

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<sup>85</sup> "Io cammino, dunque sono vivo." Zaccaria Seriman, *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton*, 4 Vol. (Bassano, 1764): Vol. III, p. 379.

<sup>86</sup> This seems to be taken directly from Vico: "Hence memory is the same as imagination, which for that reason is called *memoria* in Latin." *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): § 819

comparison or opposition. The educational programme for the youth was outlined by a *cynocephalus*. Enrico described a meeting with a youth:

With judiciousness superior to his age this child urged me to talk of Europe; then he begged me to follow him into the little room set aside as his study. There he showed me his books. Moral fables, ancient Myths, the principles of Mathematicks, Geometry and Geography, along with some books of Languages, constituted his entire Library. “Every day,” he said “I commit a moral fable to memory, which I must then explain in diverse ways; they assure me that by this Method I shall learn the Virtues and Prudence too.”<sup>87</sup>

He continued to discuss the other topics and then Enrico observed:

The boy warmed me to his account, reciting several fables to me, and making judicious use of them to boot. He explained several Geometric propositions; he spoke of the terrestrial Globe, and of Geography, all with...judiciousness...I admired in that slight frame not so much the assortment of knowledge that adorned it, as the open and manly mien with which he undertook his exposition: a sure sign that knowledge was no mere superficial Ornament, such as we see for the most part in our European youth...Such lively curiosity and detailed habit of enquiry in one so young, moreover, I had not encountered in any venerable adult in the Province of the Philosophers.<sup>88</sup>

The use of fables in the education of the youth is very similar to Lodoli’s own use of apologues. That this utopic education was prescribed by the *cynocephalus*, a dogfaced man, is even more revealing.<sup>89</sup> Memmo explained that Lodoli’s use of the apologue as a manner of teaching came after he had read that Socrates, just before dying, had regretted not using the Pythagorean style—that is by speaking in enigmas and images (*per via d’immagini o d’enigmi*).

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<sup>87</sup> This is quoted in Suzanne Kiernan, “The Exotic and the Normative in *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle Terre Australi Incognite* by Zaccaria Seriman,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Fall, 2002): 70.

<sup>88</sup> Suzanne Kiernan, “The Exotic and the Normative in *Viaggi di Enrico Wanton alle Terre Australi Incognite* by Zaccaria Seriman,” *Eighteenth-Century Life*, Vol. 26, No. 3 (Fall, 2002): 70-71. Kiernan notes the similarity to Lodoli’s own approach to education but does not develop the relation. The interest in educational reform can also be traced back to Henry Wotton, the seventeenth century English writer who lived for many years in Venice. He wrote on architecture and education. With his name Italianised as Enrico Wanton, he is the main character of the Seriman’s novel.

<sup>89</sup> See note 39 in chapter 1 of the present work for the relation between Lodoli and the cynics as well as the etymology of the cynics.

Therefore, Lodoli began to read Phaedrus. Pythagoras, and possibly Lodoli, spoke in this veiled fashion so as to not be maliciously judged by those ignorant of his new and perhaps dangerous truth.<sup>90</sup>

According to Chambers's *Dizionario*, an apologue was a type of fable that contained a moral. He defined it as follows:

APOLOGO\* Favole morale, o relazione finta, indirizzata a istruire, e riformare i costumi. Vedi Favola. Tali sono le Favole di Esopo; onde le Favole morali ordinariamente disconsi Esopiche. Il Padre de Colonia vuole che sia essenziale all'Apologo l'apportare ciò che passa tra i Brutti, o l'introdurre animale a parlare; e lo distingue dalla parabola in ciò, che questa, qualunque anche sia finta, potrebbe nondimeno esser vera; lo che ni si può dire dell'Apologo, atteso che le bestie non possono proferire parole.

\*Guido Scaligero fa venire il termine ἀπολογου perchè l'Apologo dinota più di quello che sembra d'esprimere a prima vista.<sup>91</sup>

The apologues were inherently ethical and given in such a way as to speak to the imaginative mind of the youth. This understanding was shared and developed by Giambattista Vico. He explained that it is during youth that “imagination (*fantasia*) is more robust in proportion as reasoning power is weak.”<sup>92</sup> For Vico, this is a part of the nature of the childhood of both man and nations, when language was sacred and hieroglyphic. He continued, “In children memory is most vigorous, and imagination is therefore excessively vivid, for imagination is nothing but extended or compounded memory.”<sup>93</sup> For Vico, memory has three expressions. The first, when one remembers things, is *memoria*, the ability to bring the not-here, here, and the not-

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<sup>90</sup> See *Apologhi*: 6. Memmo thought that Lodoli had read this in Diogenes Laertius but was not completely sure.

<sup>91</sup> Chambers, Ephraim. *Dizionario Universale delle Arti e delle Scienze*. 4 volumes. (Venice, 1748). Giustiniana Wynne, *Altichiero* (Padua, 1787): I, 123-27, gives a very similar definition.

<sup>92</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): § 185.

<sup>93</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): § 211.

now, now. The second, when it alters or imitates things, is *fantasia*. Vico defined the third, *ingenium*, as “the faculty that connects disparate and diverse things.”<sup>94</sup> This is similar to Aristotle’s definition of metaphor. Aristotle claimed that “metaphor is the one thing that cannot be learned from others; and it is also a sign of genius, since a good metaphor implies an intuitive perception of the similarities in dissimilar.”<sup>95</sup>

It is through metaphor that one may recognise the latent potential in language to be both/and. It is just this surplus of meaning that allows for the creation of fables. It is logical then that Vico could make the claim that “every metaphor so formed is a fable in brief.”<sup>96</sup> This is just one of the four tropes. The others are metonymy, in which a word is substituted for another, thereby assuming another meaning (“Houston” for NASA control centre as in “Houston, we have a problem”); synecdoche, in which a part is used for a whole (“hand” for sailor as in “all hands on deck”); and irony, the use of words to contrast intended and apparent meaning. Each manifests the depth and richness of language, though it is only through metaphor that new meaning may come about. The others are culturally bound.<sup>97</sup>

For Vico the first men, the children of a nation, understood the world through fables and not by abstract thoughts. Myth was the first history. Within a nation’s “childhood,” as well as that of a person, one remakes the world through fables. Therefore, we can understand metaphor as a basis of thought—as a possibility of knowing as well as a basis of perception. Metaphor, then, is that by which identity is originally understood. Lodoli described a similar mode of understanding in his introduction to the *Apologhi*.

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<sup>94</sup> *On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians*, Tr. L.M. Palmer (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1988): 96.

<sup>95</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, Edited and Translated by Stephen Halliwell (Cambridge: Harvard UPress, 1995): 1459a.

<sup>96</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): § 404. Vico also explains that metaphor has a bodily component. Most languages contain words that name inanimate things with words that are also used for the body: the head of pin, the mouth of an opening, the hands of a clock, etc. Many of these work across languages.

<sup>97</sup> This explains, for example, why it is so hard to be ironic or funny in another language. Puns and other jokes requiring wordplay are difficult for a foreign speaker.

The *Apologhi*'s first story, "The Story of the Story," begins with the description of a time when reigning Saturn had flown from Earth, and the father of men and of Gods wished to return them to the gentle manner of good custom (SEE FIGURE THIRTY-SEVEN). To do this he named a subordinate deity, called the Apologue, who was needed to heal the nauseating wounds of corruption. This subordinate deity needed help, however. Thus, the Apologue was given Metaphor (*analogia*) as a guide and companion. He told the Apologue that Metaphor, acting like a veil, would assist him as needed. They both then descended into the world alongside the solar rays.

The Apologue, who resembled a hermaphrodite though neither human nor animal, acted as an auctioneer. Each of the self-propelling animals was to pass in front of him to assure that he understood each of their qualities. Only the mule did not conform, walking four paces forward and then three backwards. Though he was late, the Apologue did not want to discourage him, saying, "You believe that I do not recognize you even from afar, and that I do not know your innumerable merits? I know that you are connected to the generous war-horses. As we know from Roman history, when some lascivious Empress travelled great distances she would be accompanied by a vast number of your nourishing females to be able to dive each morning into their milk. Your patience exceeds that of the most illuminate philosophers; you are content with little and you are obedient to your owner." The Apologue wished to continue, but the mule did not trust what he was hearing. Lodoli concluded by telling us that:

La evidenza stessa delle cose pronunziate pur con desterità e con dolcezza non bastando ad illuminar coloro, che agli Asini assomigliano sappiasi da bel principio, che non s'intende di perdere il tempo per essi, i quali abbisognano di grossi bastoni, o di ritorti capestri, piuttosto che de' casti Apologhi per esser condotti alla ragione.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup> *Apologhi*: 14.

The Apologue was a hermaphrodite, the result of a union of two opposites. This same description could be made of Chiron, Diogenes, and also of Lodoli. In a sense they were all metaphors—the bringing together of intuitively similar, dissimiliars. This placing together of two distinct natures, as in the story of Crates and Diogenes described in the first part of this paper, was understood by the Ancients as an important recognition of both virtue and vice. Even within the mule, there is the possibility of both sloth and faithful service. The mule’s error is not in being a mule; it is in not recognising and revealing his own inner self and potential. The mule did not know his *indole*.



*figure 37*  
*The Apologue of the First Apologue*



## *Contradiction Explained*

Throughout the *Elementi*, the analogy of architecture as being clothed is used quite often.<sup>99</sup> Lodoli berated architects and architecture for wearing a costume.<sup>100</sup> For example, the man who wore his wife's hat to the Rialto is analogous to stone wearing the costume of wood. Lodoli's critique is based on appropriate representation. Memmo explained:

Facciamo, perorava il Lodoli, alfine risaltare con abiti adattati e leggeri quella verità, che conosciuta piace sempre al genere umano; e se non vogliamo esporla tutta nuda o troppo rozza, permettiamo all'immaginazione d'inventare degli ornate che non falsifichino la natura, e che l'intelletto gusti del piacere d'indovinar facilmente ciò che deve star coperto, e ch'è come il nudo all'abito che lo copre.<sup>101</sup>

Lodoli's hermeneutic is described as an "undressing" to find the "nude" reason of things.

Memmo explained that his intention was "...d'investigar le ragioni prime e nude delle cose, non sarà meraviglia se siamo per ispogliare Vitruvio di quella tanta autorità."<sup>102</sup> He did the same to the Greeks: "Spogliando dunque i due gran tempj, e il preteso portico delle loro sculture quali siensi del solo ornamento."<sup>103</sup>

There is an inherent contradiction within Lodoli's search for a true architecture: the desire for "nude reason" on one hand and, on the other, Lodoli's teaching to this end through fables, themselves "masked" and "clothed." This apparent contradiction can be more clearly understood by reading Memmo's explanation of the intention of the apologues:

di contribuire anch'io all'utile ammaestramento della Gioventù, che da tali emblematici racconti potrebbe trarne lumi, e direzioni, apprendendo particolarmente la Morale spogliata del sopracciglio filosofico, e in un modo che

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<sup>99</sup> For example, see *Elementi* I: 195, 200, 269, and II: 126, 150.

<sup>100</sup> We should remember that Lodoli refused to wear the *bauta* over his habit.

<sup>101</sup> *Elementi* II: 127.

<sup>102</sup> *Elementi* I: 133.

<sup>103</sup> *Elementi* I: 189.

miglio suol parlare alla fantasia, la quale poi è una più pronta, ed universale della raziocinante.<sup>104</sup>

Lodoli did not simply dress or mask the apologues. Rather, he placed the veil of metaphor over the existing tradition and re-dressed them. This re-dressing happened in a number of ways. Lodoli was clearly aware of the tradition that came before him. The introduction and first story of the *Apologhi* acknowledges other introductions to fables. Giambattista Basile, Alberti, and Marsilio Ficino all introduce their collections with a “story of the story.”<sup>105</sup> Lodoli used the typical characters of fables: mules, flies, eagles and geese. While he recognised the tradition, he did not imitate or blindly copy. Rather he made his own, more appropriate, statement. Lodoli’s apologues contain classical accounts, reworked within the genre of the apologue. One example is “The Dangerous Citizen,” in which Lodoli retold the events surrounding the conspiracy of Catiline.<sup>106</sup> The story is not told for its historical facticity—the talking pomegranate removes any sense of historical realism. Rather, the story is told for its educational value: one could imagine Lodoli telling it to a petulant young Andrea Quirini.<sup>107</sup> Other stories come from Platonic dialogues, but again, are not simply repeated. I have already mentioned similarity between “the Graceful Hunter” and *Laches*. This re-telling was dissimilar to the characters of the commedia tradition in that *indole* is interior, while the “character” could be recognised due the exterior appearance. The interiority of the story, the lesson or moral, was privileged over the exterior dressings that one might use in the re-telling. In this way one might be tempted to equate Gozzi’s *fiabe* with Lodoli’s *apologhi*. I would argue that the two are similar

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<sup>104</sup> *Apologhi*: 10.

<sup>105</sup> See Basile *Pentamerone*. “lo cunto de lo cunti.” Ficino too wrote an *Apologus de apologo* (1576) that included *indole* in the description of *Apologus*, a young boy whose salubrious charms (*forma et indole mirifice delicati*) were meant to benefit mankind. Here *Apologus* is named as the counterpoint to his brother Cupid (*Eros*) whose actions have harmed mankind. See the introduction to David Marsh *Renaissance Fables: Aesopic Prose by Leon Battista Alberti, Bartolomeo Scala, Leonardo da Vinci, Berardino Baldi* (Arizona: MRTS, 2004).

<sup>106</sup> *Apologhi*: 69-73. See Appendix for complete translation.

<sup>107</sup> Andrea Quirini spent time in jail and then was forced to leave Venice due to his attempts to conspire against the authority of the Major Council.

only in the re-telling of known fictions. Lodoli's agenda had an ethical component that is clearly lacking in Gozzi. Lodoli's apologues were also given orally.

Lodoli indeed recognised the tradition, but re-dressed the stories according to the situation. This was a major reason why his *Apologues* were so difficult to finally publish. Not only had it had been over twenty-five years since Lodoli's death, but there had never been only one version of the apologues. Each time they were spoken, they were different. Memmo explained:

Con questo nuovo metodo, mentre tentavasi libero nella maniera di esporre i suoi Apologhi, onde meglio adattarne il frasario ancora alla diversa capacità degli ascoltatori, od alle varie loro inclinazioni, nasceva, che lo stessissimo Apologo, a chi in separata società l'aveva un'altra volta udito, paresse un altro. Un sì fatto cambiamento di stile potrebbe ancora far prendere in sospetto chi scrive per quanto fosse esatto, di non esserne fedel espositore.<sup>108</sup>

Lodoli adjusted the stories to correspond more closely with his students' *indole*, so much so in fact that the same apologue might sound different to those who had already heard it, but in a different situation or social context. Memmo explained another of his disadvantages:

In altro discapito in di lui confronto avrebbe agnuno che scrivesse in luogo di parlare, cioè il non poter come il P. Lodoli rendersi così proporzionato alla varia intelligenza de lettori, uso facendo com'egli di variate maniere.<sup>109</sup>

This ability to speak to the level of one's audience was not a matter of ignorance. Lodoli defended himself in the story of "the Presumptuous Mule."<sup>110</sup> Anton-Maria Salvini, an esteemed member of the *Accademia della Crusca* was in Livorno for a visit. While walking one day, he came across a young African-Jew selling his wares. Salvini wanted to buy a few items. So as to make himself better understood by the young foreigner, Salvini spoke in a slang that he knew would be more clearly understood. He said things to him like "*voleva dieci piastre,*" "*egli*

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<sup>108</sup> *Apologhi*: 7.

<sup>109</sup> *Apologhi*: 7.

<sup>110</sup> *Apologhi*: 37. See Appendix I for complete translation.

*comprara*,” and “*dara*.” An ignorant man from Siena, to whom Salvini himself had been addressed to as the *Principe de’ Cruscantì*, was nearby and dumbfounded at Salvini’s language. The Sienese, who presumed himself to be quite fluent in Tuscan, gaped at him: “Is this,” he said, smiling towards everyone who might be able to hear him, “he who passes as the *Principe de’ Cruscantì*? Besides the fact that I will never believe this, I pity the poor man, since he does not possess even the first grammatical rudiments of the fine and pure Tuscan language.” He continued, “Listen to him! *Dara, comprara* instead of *darei, comprerei*?<sup>111</sup> I have never heard such ridiculous blunders even amongst country women.” Lodoli concluded:

Così gl’Idioti, che, non si accorgendo quando i Sapianti si adattano virtuosamente all’altrui goffagine, gli mentono in derisione, e tentano in oltre di farli decader dalla fama di quell raro, e distinto merito, di cui non hanno essi nemmeno l’idea.

The *Accademia della Crusca* was founded in Florence in 1582 and was the first Academy in Europe to produce a “national” dictionary in an attempt to create a more modern language.<sup>112</sup> The Tuscan dialect was the basis for the dictionary, as it is for modern Italian. Someone from Siena, outside of Tuscany, would have been considered a less sophisticated person from the country. He is the “Mule” of the title. Lodoli compares himself to Salvini whose ingenuity allows him to speak, literally, in the language of others.

Memmo was critical of his own writing, firstly because it “fixed” the apologues in text and secondly because with their publication, they were removed from their situation. He explained:

Ben potrei porger preghiere a qualche entusiasta Lodoliano restato ancor in vita, perchè rifletter volesse per un momento, che scrivendo lungi dalle circostanze, e

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<sup>111</sup> The difference is in the use of the more formal conditional (*condizionale presente*): in English, “I would give” or “I would like to buy.” “*Comprara*” and “*dara*,” though still not proper might be understood as “I give” or “I buy.”

<sup>112</sup> *Crusca* translates to bran, the outer layer of the wheat stalk removed during milling. Indeed, the members wished to separate the good from the bad. The bread-making analogy was constant throughout the Academy. A founder, Leonardo Salviati, was called “l’Infarinato,” the Floured One.

per molti lungi dal luogo, devono le immagini da me enunciate perdere assai del loro più significato, ad espressiva energia, e tanto più ch'io non posso alle idea congiungere la felicissima azione, che assai le rendeva animate, nè il gesto, nè la sonora, e tal volta altitonante voce, che Il Lodoli possedeva, nè il singular suo dono d'imitazione, nè la sua figura, nè lo stesso abito quasi cinico, che pur davano gran risalto al suo dire filosofico a segno che, com'esprimevasi il celebre Fiorentino amico suo Vincenzo Martinelli, talvolta lo rendeva immune dall'altrui vendetta.<sup>113</sup>

The apologues were given orally, and this too was a factor allowing adjustment to the way they were told.<sup>114</sup> The title of the publication makes this clear: *Apologhi Immaginati, e sol estemporaneamente in voce esposti agli amici suoi*. Memmo was indeed critical of his own publication of the *Apologhi* for this very reason. He apologised to the readers, acknowledging his recognition of the difference between speaking and writing the apologues. He did, however, learn from Lodoli. Instead of re-telling the stories in the Venetian dialect, he used the more proper Tuscan so that a larger audience could understand them.

Notwithstanding his oral presentation of the apologues, Lodoli did in fact write. Memmo claimed, in the introduction to the *Apologhi*, that he wrote poetry. Writing, however, seemed to hold an uncertain glory. Lodoli explained this in the story of “the Eagle and the Goose.”<sup>115</sup> One day a noble Eagle was soaring about, as he typically did, and noticed a small white dot on the water. He swooped down towards the animal, which he had seen from above. The Goose, frightened by the Eagle, let out a high-pitched and hoarse cry. “Who are you who descends from above?” Shrieked the Goose. “I am the Eagle, the favourite bird of Jove, without doubt the most noble and famous since I can raise myself as far as the Heavens. And with my sharp and penetrating eye I can discern the smallest of objects from far away. With this beak given by

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<sup>113</sup> *Apologhi*: 8-9.

<sup>114</sup> In the *Elementi*, the apologues are set off by quote marks along the entire length of the text as if they were spoken. Other citations were not treated similarly as they reference written material.

<sup>115</sup> *Apologhi*: 21. See Appendix I for complete translation.

nature, anything can be torn and broken. With the force of these claws I can grasp and hold everything, no matter its weight, and furthermore, I lead a long and blessed life. Now tell me what is your name and what do you do down here?" "I am a Goose," she answered, "a peaceful amphibious animal. I possess a serious temperament; I walk and swim slowly; and if I do not have the fortune which you say you have, that is to live a long time, I at least I have a meat that people like for its taste and tenderness when I am fattened up. Therefore everyone looks to feed me with good food and so while I live I can desire nothing better."

The Eagle, laughing to himself at the Goose's self-gratification, asked her to open her wings; upon observing their minute size, he remarked with wonder: "You call those wings? They are pretty small for that body of yours. Now I see why they could not lift you into the air when you tried to flee from me." "But I do not need them to be bigger," the Goose responded. "Given that I do not care to raise myself in the air as that is useless to me, all I need is that they aid me to run when I must move a little faster. Please do not believe that the quality of these feathers lacks in merit from what you can see and by how they are made. With these feathers, certain marks are made, allowing for agreement between men. They are able to communicate their ideas even from a distance and by consequence sustain commerce. By means of my feathers man may ratify any pact. For those sighing young lovers who cannot freely deal with each other, could these feathers not be more of a comfort? The world is filled, because of them, with works of all kinds which allow many printers to make a living..."

The Goose wanted to continue, but the Eagle soon became bored of these boastful facts, and having his own feathers, with one gesture he suddenly leaped into the air, leaving for the Goose that much-too-uncertain glory of writing. Clearly, Lodoli preferred the penetrating and discerning nature of criticism to the act of writing.

There are differences in the contexts of the theatre and of Lodoli's lessons, but I think it is interesting to compare the two to help define the ramifications of Lodoli's improvisational re-dressings. Both Goldoni and Gozzi were critical of improvisation in the theatre, and both took pride in their witty written dialogue. Echoing Riccoboni's call for a more "real" theatre, Goldoni believed that the conversation of the theatre should be natural (*naturale*). The critique was not that improvisation was inherently unnatural, but rather that the players, if left alone in their roles, might speak in an antiquated and unrealistic way.<sup>116</sup> Goldoni believed that by writing in the language of common people, mixing Venetian and other dialects, the language would remain natural. In *il Teatro Comico*, Orazio (Goldoni) scolds Lelio (Gozzi):

*Orazio:* Qui vi voleva. E non vedete, che col popolo non si parla? Che il comico deve immaginarsi, quando è solo, che nessuno lo senta e che nessuno lo veda? Quello di parlare col popolo è un vizio intollerabile, e non si deve permettere in verun conto.

*Lelio:* Ma se quasi tutti quelli che recitano all'improvviso, fanno così! Quasi tutti, quando escono soli, vengono a raccontare al popolo dove sono stati, o dove vogliono andare.

*Orazio:* Fanno male, malissimo, e non si devono seguire.

*Lelio:* Dunque non si faranno mai soliloqui.

*Orazio:* Signor, sì, i soliloqui sono necessari per ispiegare gli interni sentimenti del cuore, dar cognizione al popolo del proprio carattere, mostrar gli effetti e i cambiamenti delle passioni.

*Lelio:* Ma come si fanno i soliloqui senza parlare al popolo?

*Orazio:* Con una somma facilità. Sentite il vostro discorso regolato e naturale. Invece di dire; *Sono stato della mia bella, e non l'ho ritrovata; voglio andarla a ricercare ecc.; si dice così: Fortuna ingrata, tu che mi vietasti il contento di rivedere nella propria casa il mio bene, concedemi che possa rinvenirla...*

*Lelio:* Al Mercato.<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> This refers to the stock quotes found in the *zibaldone* that each player kept. Gozzi, for instance, actually gave to each player a prepared notebook full of quotes appropriate to their roles.

<sup>117</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 1089-90.

This more natural language mirrors the language used everyday. Though each player could alter their language and still be appropriate to their masks and situation, Goldoni is critical of the preconceived quips that came from the players' mouths. Indeed, Placida complains that "Il mondo è annoiato di veder sempre le cose stesse, di sentir sempre le parole medesime, e gli uditori sanno cosa deve dir l'Arlecchino, prima ch'egli apra la bocca."<sup>118</sup>

Lodoli's re-dressing of the apologues is obviously different from Gozzi's buffoonery. Lodoli was not simply attempting to entertain. In fact, he was critical of employing the apologues as casual entertainment. He explained in "The Story of the Poultice, or Another Introduction."<sup>119</sup> There was a great Prussian maker of poultices. One day, while he was not at home, a young servant used one of the prized remedies to help fill a draughty hole in the wall. The Poultice-Maker returned and scolded the servant for using one of the bandages in such a crude way. The servant was scolded, not for using the poultice incorrectly, but simply carelessly and for her own comfort. Lodoli concluded by reprimanding those empiricists and fools who listen to the apologues casually and do not attempt to heal the sores for which they were intended. The stories were not meant simply to be read, but rather as a way to form judgment, just as the poultice was not meant to be used simply to fill a hole and keep out a draught. The fault of the maid is that she did not use good judgment when she used the poultice.

Lodoli's intentions were perhaps more similar to Goldoni's. For Goldoni, the theatre should not simply entertain, but could be instructive as well. To this end, he presented scenes that involved characters inhabiting a world similar to that of his own. The scenes were set in the city: the café, the inn, the gaming house, etc. The space of performance itself, though bound to the same natural rules as reality, was similar though explicitly separate. Goldoni asked for the stage to be clear, and that the actors not speak with the audience but rather pay attention to one another.

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<sup>118</sup> Carlo Goldoni, *Tutte le Opere*, Ed. Giuseppe Ortolani, vol. 2 (Milan: Mondadori, 1936): 1052.

<sup>119</sup> *Apologhi*: 15. See Appendix I for complete translation.



Both Lodoli and Goldoni had the intention that dialogue should be, at least, natural, educational, and have moral or ethical import. Goldoni, however, wrote his plays; there was little or no improvisation. The same performance would yield a similar, if not the same, production. As I have described, Lodoli's improvisational re-telling of the apologues were spoken differently each time they were told; they were specific to the situation presented.

This quality of orality made Lodoli's lessons more like a conversation and less like a lecture or soliloquy. The truth and merit of a conversation cannot be measured by logical rigour. A different logic takes over within the temporality of the conversation. The discussion is bound by those rules, often unnamed, which are present within a discussion. It is defined by, and grounded within, the specific situation. It is important to note that Lodoli's school was named as the *scuola di conversazione*.

The orality of Lodoli's lessons also poses a challenge to the role of tradition and the belief in a divine Truth. His oral re-dressings opened up the possibilities of many truths but were nevertheless still grounded in tradition and situation. Of course, this is explained in another apologue. Lodoli explained in "The Prisms," that a crowd had gathered to hear a politician speak.<sup>120</sup> The politician, who truly was a politician, and, as such spoke too much, was trying to persuade a reticent philosopher to address the people. The politician explained that there is no greater pleasure than hearing oneself applauded. "As a politician, people will follow you," he said. The philosopher thought to himself: woe is the situation when one follows blindly. Though it is worse to follow and know that you are blindly following. Realising that the majority of the audience thought like this politician, he asked himself, was it possible to think that those thousands should be the leaders of our nation?

The philosopher, without repeating even one word, led the politician into his laboratory where he had a collection of lenses. There he took some pieces of glass in various figures and laid them out into a circle, placing one piece in the middle. He then asked the politician to think

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<sup>120</sup> *Elementi* I: 21-23. See Appendix I for complete translation.

about the different reflections produced by the many faces of the pieces. After waiting for a bit, he took some of the prisms and arranged them in different ways, yet always such that one would stay in the middle. “Look,” said the philosopher, “how much the reflection varies just from that little bit of glass. However, the glass has not changed, only the little lines, which diverge, one from another, some one way and others another way from the centre.”

The philosopher continued, “Listeners would make similarly diverse interpretations of you, even though there is only one of you in front of them. In fact, you are lucky that they never have. However, you assume that they all have the same intelligence, a very similar education, they live in a very similar time, and they are all of the same temperament as one another. What if some amongst them had not digested their food well, or drank water instead of wine, or wine in place of water, or had just heard some bad news, or have a melancholic temperament, or would be envious of another’s honour or comfort, etc? In sum, there are those pieces that differ from you, some with a directly opposite inclination. Do you believe you would receive an equal and favourable judgement?” Seeing the politician embarrassed, the philosopher ended by telling him to go to the people then and say whatever he wished, what he really thought.

Lodoli was convinced by the brilliant consideration of the philosopher, even more so than by anything he could have said himself. Lodoli ended by saying this: “I will explain to my friends this topic as best I can but from me you cannot expect either writing or printing based on any one universal. The only universal being that I will never oblige to make one!”

The lessons were given not only as theoretical or ethical platitudes. Rather, they were intentionally open works, awaiting interpretation and action. Lodoli did not propose an education full of empty words. The “Newly Invented Alembic” explained (SEE FIGURE THIRTY-EIGHT).<sup>121</sup> There was a scientist who was able to distil all of moral philosophy into two ‘u’s. He could not, however, figure out what this meant. By chance he met a rather pedantic Academic who told him that the letters were not both vowels, but rather, one was a vowel and the other a consonant.

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<sup>121</sup> *Apologhi*: 55. See Appendix I for complete translation.

From this the scientist was able to determine that all of moral philosophy could be understood through the phrase *Ut Valeas* (may you be well): the Roman words corresponding to that golden rule of *Mens sana in corpore sano* (In a sound body is a sound mind). Lodoli concluded that without this understanding, moral philosophy is of no use, specially if one considers nothing but the individual intellect which has no value except to make totally empty words brilliant with a dazzling veneer.

The apologues were given for use, for a practical life. I quote from the introduction to the *Apologhi*:

...nè mi fermerò a far paragoni tra gli antichi, ed i moderni Favoleggiatori, giacchè altri in questi ultimi tempi l'hanno lodevolmente fatto, e nemmen tra essi moderni è'l mio, il quale a poi a differenza di chi s'attene quasi sempre alla sola morale, volle crearnes per l'uso di tutte professioni, come s'è potuto vedere, dove trattai della civile architettura, e come meglio vedrassi nella seconda parte d'esso mio libro già compiuta, e che non tarderà molto ad uscire.<sup>122</sup>



figure 38  
The Inventor of a New Alembic

I will relate one more story, “Midnight,” which told of a certain Venetian Lawyer who had become a bit bored by his work.<sup>123</sup> He could still live quite comfortably from the inheritance he had been left by his father. He had no children or relatives and quite a few women who

<sup>122</sup> *Apologhi*: 6.

<sup>123</sup> *Apologhi*: 51. See Appendix I for complete translation.

enjoyed his company and gifts. One day, during *carnivale*, he decided to go back to his study to read his Breviary—he was a good Christian at least. While in his study he began to reflect on the usefulness of reading glasses. He pitied the poor Romans and Greeks who had been unable to continue reading after their eyesight had diminished. Without his glasses, he opined, he may have even fallen into sin that very day by not being able to return to his home to pray. His thoughts continued: Who was the inventor of this wonderful invention? He looked to Chambers' *Dizionario* and was referred to other volumes of the same work and still other volumes of other works. Many of the next hours were spent in his search, until, at the stroke of midnight, the lawyer died.

Lodoli lamented the fate of the lawyer. He asked: how often does the theoretical Philosopher or Doctor delude themselves into believing that the minutiae of history that they focus their life's work upon is an end in itself. Too often those same thinkers die before realising the potential benefit for themselves and others of their comparative studies into the ideas and actions of previous cultures. Rather, one should look to history to fully live in the present.

## *Eighteenth Century Uses*

The word *indole*, not very common in modern Italian, was just as uncommon in the eighteenth century. Francesco Algarotti did not use *indole* to describe materials or people, but rather in reference to the movements of the planets. Algarotti understood *indole* in a similar way as Lodoli: as an inherent characteristic specific to each planet; each moves, but differently and in its own specific way. Algarotti said this:

Se i pianeti non facessero altro che girare, o danzare a tondo, non ci saria che dire. Il male si è che il fanno con certe particolarità, con certe tali leggi, le quali non ci è verso, per quanti tentativi sieno stati fatti, di aggiustarle con quello che vorrebbe la propria natura e l'indole del vortice; e guastano ogni cosa.<sup>124</sup>

Giuseppe Baretti, a scholar of the Italian language prior to its standardization, used the word *indole* with reference to translation between two languages. He apologized in this way:

“Io non vo poi estendermi in apologie della mia Traduzione, che, considerate la differente indole delle due Lingue, ho fatta ad verbum quanto m'è stato possibile. Una traduzione libera non fu mia intenzione di fare, perchè non avrebbe quadrato col mio Disegno che è d'insegnare l'Italiano e non l'Inglese.”<sup>125</sup>

Simply put, languages have different natures. It is not possible to make a direct translation.

Pietro Verri, antagonist to Cesare Beccaria and founder of the Milanese *Società dei Pugni*, wrote extensively on applied economics and was an important figure in the Italian Enlightenment. In his essay *Discorso sull'indole del piacere e del dolore* (1773), Verri distinguished between the physical and the moral in both pleasure and pain. The title of the essay

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<sup>124</sup> See Francesco Algarotti, *Il Newtonismo per le dame* (Napoli, 1737): 17.

<sup>125</sup> See Arthur Sherbo, “Samuel Johnson and Giuseppe Baretti: A Question of Translation.” *The Review of English Studies*. Vol. 19, no. 76 (Nov., 1968): 407. Sherbo referenced Baretti's *Introduction to the Italian Language* (1755). It is interesting to note that Baretti does not find the same potential in language that Cesarotti, writing before him, was able to find. The gap in translation is seen as a problem to be overcome. Baretti does say later on in the introduction that “Stando attaccata a' miei originali quanto dovetti qui stare. Mi fu impossibile conservare alcuna delle loro bellezze.”

explains that both were contained in the *indole* of each. Further, Verri explained that nations derive their specific nature from at least two sources: from the physical situation, climate, landscape, etc., and also from the laws and legislation that govern the nation.<sup>126</sup> The *indole* of a nation and of a man are given by both physical circumstance and also moral institutions. Interestingly, Verri also discusses indolence (*indolenza*). It is only pain and need, defined by Verri as a lack of natural resources, that will arouse a man or a nation from a state of indolence.<sup>127</sup> Verri's definition is interesting in that the agent of change is pain. The characterization does not include the latent potential inherent in the etymology of which Lodoli exploited and I will explain further in a moment.

As with his reference to materials, Lodoli is original in his characterization of an *indole* of the self. The definition was not ever given directly, but can be gleaned from the apologues: to whom he told them, what they said, and how they were given. The first part of a possible definition is that there is an *indole* which corresponds to an age in life, such as youth. Lodoli used the word *indole* to describe the diverse natures found in a group of young turkeys in the story of "The Turkey Ambassador."<sup>128</sup> A chicken coop of a well-to-do man of the country had grown to the point that the Turkeys and the Geese, being larger than the others, demanded more space. There were often fights over space and also over the available food. One of the more mature Turkeys, considering all of these inconveniences and also thinking of ways to deal with the *indole* of the young Turkeys decided to propose a sub-division of the yard. In this way, each of the Turkeys and other animals would have assigned areas. He worked out a proposal and decided to

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<sup>126</sup> "Due pensatori del primo ordine hanno stabiliti opposti sistemi sull'indole delle nazioni; l'uno deriva tutto dal clima, l'altro deriva tutto dalla legislazione: il primo fa emanare tutto immediatamente dalla fisica; il secondo tutto dalle istituzioni morali." *Discorso sull'indole del piacere e del dolore* (1773): 19.

<sup>127</sup> "Infatti le nazioni che abitano un clima dolce, ove la terra facilmente somministra l'alimento, sono la sede dell'indolenza; e ne' climi più aspri, e ne' terreni più avari veggiamo gli uomini spinti ad un'attività abituale che forma nell'uomo quasi un bisogno di agire." *Discorso sull'indole del piacere e del dolore* (1773): 19.

<sup>128</sup> *Apologhi*: 48-50. See Appendix I for complete translation.

send it to the head of all the Geese. She wished to discuss the proposal further and therefore called for a turkey ambassador to be sent. The young, and very attractive, son of one of the leaders was proposed for the role. Though inexperienced in such matters, and not the most confident, he was chosen by the Turkeys to represent them in the conference with the Geese. The Turkey performed his duty as ambassador well and the Geese agreed overwhelmingly to the proposal. The young Turkey returned to his roost to report the good news.

Upon his return, he was asked to present his account of the meeting to the Major Council of the Turkeys. Being a bit nervous in front of all the leaders, his speech trembled and he was unable to speak. His friends and relatives tried to encourage him by telling him that he had nothing to fear and that soon everyone would be applauding him. He was speaking to other Turkeys, animals just like him. He tried again, but couldn't continue. The master of the farm who was enjoying the stupidity of the spectacle, ordered the young Turkey ambassador to the kitchen where he would become a good roast. Lodoli concluded by saying that to conquer this phobia that overcomes us upon meeting Princes and other important individuals, it would help to reflect that they, in the end, are people just like us who are similarly subject to the human condition.

It is a typical, somewhat modern, lesson: underneath our clothes we are all the same. What interests me in particular is Lodoli's focus on youth. He was teaching young Venetian patricians who would become the leaders of the Republic and recognized that youth perceive the world differently. Giambattista Vico shared this view of youth, as demonstrated by his tripartite organisation of the Ages of Man, each with its own nature. He believed that "in children memory is most vigorous, and imagination is therefore excessively vivid, for imagination is nothing but extended or compounded memory."<sup>129</sup> This aligns with Lodoli's attitude towards teaching. He specifically taught to the youth of the Republic because he felt that their opinions were not yet

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<sup>129</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. by. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin, (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): § 211.

determined and their perception of the world was based on imaginative play. Lodoli explained this view further in a series of apologues.

Memmo related the following story, “A Lodolian Apologue,” at the beginning of the *Elementi*.<sup>130</sup> In the dining room of a great hospital, many disfigured people were sitting alongside one another with napkins around their necks. They were hungry for the food that would soon be brought to them but was late to arrive. One of them remembered that it was Saturday and that a disgusting soup would be served instead of the typical rice, pasta, or orzo. He knew that when this dish was not made with good bread and with a little bit of cinnamon, it was absolutely terrible. Close to him was another disfigured person, who completely hated butter. Thinking that the dish must be made with this, he exclaimed that it would be undoubtedly rancid. It should be noted that the superintendents of the hospital were in the habit of recording the price of the food in their record books as if it were of the best quality; in reality, however, they served that which was less expensive and therefore disgusting, even rotten. They would then keep the difference in price and make themselves a tidy profit. A third person, who also hated oil and who feared that the superintendents would feed this to them again, rose up and complained. He reiterated some of the complaints made previously by others.

The difference in opinion amongst these last two divided the others. One side of the room hated the oil; the other side hated the butter. Both sides were getting riled up, even to the point of rising from the bench and starting to kick one another. The guardians rushed in to find out what all the commotion was. The cook entered as well and, upon hearing the subject of the great quarrel, said, “Hey, wait a minute all of you! Wait until you put in your mouth that which was already prepared and which I have made ready. Once you have tasted the flavour, see if it tastes good or bad. Only then can you say it is the worst you have ever tasted.” The disfigured are analogous to those with fixed preconceptions of the truth. Memmo used the story as a somewhat defensive introduction to the *Elementi*. It can be seen as mediation of the Quarrel

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<sup>130</sup> *Elementi* I: 1-2. See Appendix I for complete translation.



between supporters of the Ancients and those of the Moderns. Lodoli is not picking sides. Like the cook, he expects the reader to keep an open mind when reading the text.

“Acoustics,” another apologue describes the discoveries of an instrument maker concerning the use of fabrics.<sup>131</sup> The craftsman determines that sound passes more easily through thick, coarse material than a more tightly woven silk. Lodoli concluded that it was easier for the truth to resonate in those minds, which are coarser than in those full of tightly woven preconceptions. The analogs are as follows: Open-minded youth are like the more coarse fabric; Narrow-minded people are like the more tightly woven silks; Truth is the clarity of sound that can flow more easily through a less tightly woven material.

Lodoli equated this openness to new thought and experience with youth. He believed that youthful minds were not yet set in their ways and as such he was given to teach the youth. He explained this in another fable, “Aeolus.”<sup>132</sup> “Truth,” a character that resembled a flame and wished to penetrate everything, decided to enter into the cavern of the winds. A fire was lit and the torch of light arrived into the reign of Aeolus where he had never before been seen clearly. The flame had no idea what was in store for him. As soon as Aeolus was able to see it, even though it was still one hundred miles away, he expelled the flame with one of his strongest breaths but without even working up a sweat. Having found such a terrible reception in Aeolus’s kingdom, truth (the flame) withdrew. He tried to enter the caverns of the other most respectable winds: the north wind (*aquiline*), south wind (*libeccio*), and the southeast wind (*euro*). They too repelled him with little effort.

Steadfast in his plan to illuminate those dark caves, he thought to go to the place where there were young winds (*zeffiretti*). These young winds, surprised by the arrival of the torch, blew out just enough air to push away the flame, but then sucked their breaths back in to bring it

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<sup>131</sup> *Apologhi*: 14. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>132</sup> *Elementi* I: 77-78. See Appendix I for complete translation.

back. Thus, they began to exhale the air, only then to tighten their lips so that no more could leave. Lodoli concluded:

Eccovi, signori ([Lodoli] diceva), il perchè mi rivolgo più volentieri a' giovani ben disposti, i quali da principio prendendo la verità or per un giuoco o come una cosa nuova, trattengonsi di buon grado con essa e quasi ingoiandone qualche parte e gustando del suo lume, a poco a poco lor diventa familiare. Laddove i vecchi abituati al buio non soffrono di ricevere nelle cavernose loro menti uno splendore tutto eterogeneo [colour of the flame] per essi.<sup>133</sup>

Rather than fighting over which soup is worse before tasting it, or blowing out the flame before it can even begin to glow, a youthful mind tries the soup, and plays with the flame, as though a game. Again, Vico recognised this ability of children to imaginatively perceive, as though playing a game. He explained:

We see it in children whose nature is more integral and less corrupted by convictions and prejudices, that the first faculty to emerge is that of seeing similarities. For example, they call all men fathers and all women mothers and they make likeness: “they build huts, hitch mice to little wagons, play odds and evens, and ride on a great hobby horse of a stick.”<sup>134</sup>

All is a game, all is making.

The mind of the youth should be allowed, however, to develop at its own pace. In another story, “the Irrationally Affectionate Parents,” a young boy full of health and happiness was learning how to speak.<sup>135</sup> His rather proud parents were embarrassed to realize that the boy seemed to have trouble pronouncing a few letters. The mother noticed a delay in the “R” sound and the father detected the same in the child’s ability to pronounce an “S.” Fearing that they might be the cause of the defect, they searched for an instructor of language who might be able to help their young son. After a long search, they finally found a most-renowned doctor from Pisa. The doctor listened to the young boy and found that he was able to pronounce labial words (*papa*,

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<sup>133</sup> *Elementi* I: 78.

<sup>134</sup> Giambattista Vico, *On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians*, translated by L.M. Palmer (Ithaca: Cornell Upress, 1988): 102. Vico is quoting Horace, *Satires*. 3, II, 247-48.

<sup>135</sup> *Apologhi*: 26. See Appendix I for complete translation.

*mamma, matto, pappà*) quite well. He could not find any hindrance in the internal construction of the mouth, and therefore he said to parents: “Dear sirs, I am useless. You have nothing to do other than to wait for him to grow a bit, and the “R” and the “S”, will come out perfectly.” Lodoli concluded by claiming that those parents, extremely anxious to want their children to learn certain doctrines, though useful, are not in the least proportionate to the potential of the children’s abilities. Rather, parents should simply allow their children’s minds to develop. He went on to scold the ignorant teachers of young children who disingenuously earn their monthly assignments, teaching inappropriate nonsense and over-burdening their pupils’ developing intelligence for no reason.<sup>136</sup>

Lodoli’s philosophy corresponds to Vico’s perception of education in the development of youth. He explained:

...we may here add an observation in regard to young people at an age when memory is tenacious, imagination vivid, and invention quick. At this age they may profitably occupy themselves with languages and plane geometry, without thereby subduing that acerbity of minds still bound to the body which may be called the Barbarism of the intellect. But if they pass on while yet in this immature stage to the highly subtle studies of metaphysical criticism or algebra, they become overfine for life in there way of thinking and are rendered incapable of any great work.<sup>137</sup>

*Indole* referred not only to the nature inherent in various ages of man, in one’s development. Lodoli also used it to refer to the specific nature of individuals.

Memmo described how Lodoli would be introduced to new students. Lodoli wished to keep the school small and did not teach the same curriculum to everyone at the same time.

Therefore, he would start by chatting with students in order to find where their interests lay and

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<sup>136</sup> Apologue 13, “Hercules and the Flies” describes a similar situation. Hercules is overcome by a swarm of flies just as a passionate youth may be overcome by the minutiae of a non-philosophic education given too early.

<sup>137</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico*, Tr. by Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): § 159.

what their abilities were. Students would receive a curriculum specific to their interests and abilities. Echoing his critique of the canon of architectural meaning—Vitruvius, Greeks, Romans—he did not teach the conventional topics to his young students. Lodoli presented various texts and pressed that they were to be read in their original language. If Lodoli did not know of something, he would send the student to someone who did. Memmo reported that the lessons were often supplemented by conversations with public figures and other friends of Lodoli. Remember, the printer Giovanni-Alberto Tumermani remarked “che pareva ch’egli fosse molti e non solo uno.”<sup>138</sup>

As discussed previously, the first use of the word *indole* was by Leon Battista Alberti in his own retelling of Aesop’s fables, *Centum Apologi* (1437).<sup>139</sup> Alberti used the word in the ninety-fourth apologue, which tells the story of a cricket and frog who mock a snake. As the snake has no legs, the two animals believe that he must not be capable of movement. They are amazed when the snake leaves quickly and with much agility. The two then scold themselves for judging others by their own personal *indole*.<sup>140</sup> The comparison is physical, however the physical traits are analogous to characteristics that define one’s nature. One can easily think of the tortoise and the hare: the turtle’s slow and steady movement is an analog to one’s own slow and steady progress towards a goal.

Lodoli described a similar situation in the story of “The Hermit Crab and the Cuttlefish.”<sup>141</sup> The two animals had come together without speaking to each other and without knowledge of what the other was. The Cuttlefish, deeming the other creature to not be dangerous, stretched out one of her arms. Thinking to find something soft, the Cuttlefish was

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<sup>138</sup> *Elementi* I: 52.

<sup>139</sup> The original version of the *Centum Apologi* was written in Latin and composed over nine days in December of 1437. The Italian appeared in a 1568 anthology by Cosimo Bartoli. See the introduction to David Marsh, *Renaissance Fables: Aesopic Prose by Leon Battista Alberti, Bartolomeo Scala, Leonardo da Vinci, Bernardino Baldi* (Arizona, 2004).

<sup>140</sup> “O dei, veramente valutiamo l’attitudine e l’indole degli altri in conformità ai nostri sensi e alle nostre forze!” See David Marsh, *Renaissance Fables: Aesopic Prose by Leon Battista Alberti, Bartolomeo Scala, Leonardo da Vinci, Bernardino Baldi* (Arizona, 2004).

<sup>141</sup> *Apologi*: 40. See Appendix I for complete translation.

surprised and said, “they are so hard!?” The Crab did not respond but rather stretched out one of his arms, thinking in turn that he would come upon something crustaceous and hard. But feeling the Cuttlefish’s flabby body, he responded quickly, “Your legs are so flexible!” Lodoli concluded that to the Cuttlefish, all is tentacles; to the Crab all is claws. In another apologue, “the Shopkeeper and the Devout,” a group of Venetians are crossing over the Rialto Bridge.<sup>142</sup> Seeing them, a priest described the group as very devout citizens, while a shopkeeper reasoned that there must be some serious business to discuss. Lodoli concluded that there is nothing more common than to interpret another’s actions by one’s own ideas. By extension, one could say that nothing is more common than to interpret another’s self as one’s own. The “Turkey Ambassador” ends with an appeal from Lodoli:

... gioverebbe forse il far essi riflettere, che quelli, ai quali si addrizzano, sono finalmente Uomini, com’essi, i quali poi, soggetti pure alle umane vicende, tutt’altro amar dovrebbero fuorchè disanimar imponendo con gravi supercili la ben disposta Gioventù, attiva per se tessa da un lato, e vereconda per l’altro.<sup>143</sup>

An essential characteristic of *indole* is that it is given, innate. Lodoli understood this as destiny (*destino*) and described it in at least two apologies. The first, entitled “Socrates’ Horoscope” describes a time when various Haruspices ruled with limitless authority over all of ignorant humanity.<sup>144</sup> Everyone respected the Haruspices’ dogmas even where they contradicted evident axioms of reason. One such law claimed that everyone, even Supreme Jove Father of all the Gods that existed in heaven and author of everyone’s life, would also have to submit to Destiny. This would be decided and then passed down to the relentless Fates, who plotted the course of each life.

One day Jove was in an unusually sad mood. He had already pronounced horrible edicts that would define the lives of various poor mortals, such as: always foreseeing, but never believed

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<sup>142</sup> *Apologhi*: 18. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>143</sup> *Apologhi*: 49.

<sup>144</sup> *Apologhi*: 45. See Appendix I for complete translation.

[Cassandra]...great heart in misery...having such unbearable tedium in every instant that even a simple gaze would provoke happiness. Other edicts, more laconic still, were taken from animal archetypes: you will be thorny, like a donkey; noble, like an ox; you will be sheep, goat, horse, Ass, etc. Jove was so miserable that it seemed contradictory to the Fates that he was indeed the God in whose honour the act of helping was named.<sup>145</sup> It was on this very day that Jove was presented the life of Socrates. Troubled by such a horrible and singular horoscope that had been passed down by Destiny that day, the Fates trembled at the thought of presenting Socrates' life to Jove. Since the preordained order directing both human and divine affairs could not be changed, they did what they must. The result was certainly the most ruinous of horoscopes: "You are condemned to think better than all the rest." It was because of this horoscope that so much unmerited persecution was inflicted upon the great Philosopher and I would add, on Lodoli himself.

One's self is given—that one will think better than the rest, or that one is thorny like the donkey, or noble like the ox. One should recognise that this self is set: we are who we are. Another apologue, entitled "The Pig Couple and the Horse" explained further.<sup>146</sup> There was once a male Pig who, being sick of giving up his piglets to the slaughter each year, decided to stop having children. His wife, younger and less radical than he, did not understand this new position. She still wanted to have children. Yet, each of her advances was met with the same cold reply. Her husband simply could not bear to make any more children only to see them reduced to sausage. She was almost to the point of infidelity when she met an old Donkey who told her of a place known as Palestine, which was not so far away. There, for various reasons, the citizens refused to eat pork. She told her husband of the good news and they quickly packed up their belongings to begin their move to this paradise.

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<sup>145</sup> *Giovare* means 'to help,' and is related etymologically to Jove (*Giove*).

<sup>146</sup> *Apologhi*: 50. See Appendix I for complete translation.

On the road to Palestine, the Pig Couple met a Horse who, curious of the Pig Couple's hurriedness, asked where it was that they were going. The Pig Couple explained that they were going to Palestine to be able to procreate at will and have a large family without the fear of losing their youth to the slaughter. The Horse, which had been to Palestine many times, was moved to pity. He replied to them, "Oh what bad advice you were given! Didn't you think before leaving that since they don't eat pork in that place you are going, no one would have reason to feed you? Go back, you run the risk to die of hunger sooner than that fate you wished to avoid." Lodoli concluded by saying that one should face one's own natural destiny with courage, deeply grateful that one was not fated to be slaughtered during youth as happened to the majority of one's peers. This can be read as a gloss on the situation of the *patria* in Venice—protected, but not exactly free.

Although *indole* is deemed to be given or inborn, one's self is not determined solely by one's heritage, good or bad. "The Young Goat and the Old Donkey" makes this clear.<sup>147</sup> There was once a Young Goat from Cyprus who was admiring his reflection in a small lake. He was happy to see horns growing from his head. A Donkey who had been jealously observing the situation, remarked: "what a nice headpiece (*tuppè*)."  
"Thank you," replied the Goat, "it is as beautiful as it is my own."  
"Oh yours?" answered the Donkey, laughing heartily. "Yes, mine," the other replied and moving closer to him said, "Look, I beg you to examine if it grows from my head or not, and then you will have no doubt whatsoever." The Donkey would not be convinced and turned away. "Well then, if this is not my headpiece, whose is it?" asked the Young Goat. "It is your father's, he who made you," the Donkey inconsiderately blurted out. At that moment, the good little Goat, who despite his young age did not lack any goat-like nerve, responded, "and if my father were here, then you would say that it was my grandfather's, and if my grandfather were here, then you would say it was great-grandfather's, or my great-great-grandfather's, and

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<sup>147</sup> *Apologhi*: 39. See Appendix I for complete translation.  
*Indole of the Self*

always attribute merit to a farther ancestor whom you wouldn't see, only to take it away from me now." A poem concludes the apologue:

*Ascoltava queste cose  
Con maligno  
Viso arcigno  
Uno sciocco Detrattor  
Vi conobbe il suo ritratto,  
E via ratto  
Fuggì allora  
Ricoperto di rossor.<sup>148</sup>*

The young, foreign Goat need not rely on his ancestry to prove his value. The apologue is an attack against those who believe that their identity is evidenced simply by their heritage. This is an especially interesting critique given that Lodoli's patrician students and surely aware of their inheritance.

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<sup>148</sup> *Apologhi*: 40.  
*Indole of the Self*



### ***Potential Periautografia***

Lodoli's interest in the *potential* of youth reflects the other aspect of the etymology of *indole*—the ability to change or grow.<sup>149</sup> Youth are not yet stuck in their ways; thus, their natures can be developed without the constraints of existing biases. In our youth, we each retain the possibility of fulfilling the potential latent in our natural dispositions. The apologue of “The New Tightrope Walker” explains further.<sup>150</sup> There was once an elegant young actor in the theatre who was pondering his lot in life one day. He saw that tightrope walkers were able to make much more money and achieve more fame than he as an actor ever could. Therefore, he decided to train his body so that he would be able to achieve the same fortune. He set out, diligently studying his body's equilibrium and studying how far he could go before needing to catch himself in order to prevent a fall. Many nights he would return to his home exhausted and full of bruises. His friends mocked him as relentlessly as he trained. Nevertheless, by dint of training sometimes on the floor and other times on the rope, he became more confident. Those who mocked him were miserable by comparison. Lodoli concluded that there is great reward in persevering relentlessly to fulfill one's natural dispositions.

However, one should not attempt to change simply to appear better than another. “The Unlucky Little Prince” demonstrates this lesson.<sup>151</sup> There was once a father who could not have been happier with his son, who had been blessed with the most desirable qualities. The boy, however, was reduced to looking like a monster by rickets. The bones of his legs grew curved, the muscles of his neck shrunk, and he looked more ball than human. Having tried all known remedies, the desperate father visited a famous Ascetic (*Ginnosofista*) who, beyond being unusually wise, was also well versed in the Art of Alchemy. After visiting with the boy for only a few minutes, the Priest assured him of a perfect recovery.

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<sup>149</sup> See p. 83-84 of the present work for the full etymology of *indole* and reference.

<sup>150</sup> *Apologhi*: 25. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>151</sup> *Apologhi*: 61. See Appendix I for complete translation.

The Priest prepared the boy's room with steam to the perfect temperature. A large sack was filled with down feathers to make the patient more comfortable. He then began to rub a precious balm over the young boy's back and, after many hours, moved on to his disfigured legs. He continued this for six hours after which the youth had improved so much he actually appeared normal again. The Ascetic left, showered in gifts by the delighted father. The young boy, now obliged to eat simple foods and to follow a certain regimen, was happy to be standing upright. Unsatisfied, however, he now wished also to be taller and able to jump higher than the others. The healer had left behind a small amount of the miraculous balm for the benefit of some other subjects in the kingdom. The boy thought that if he could get a hold of just a little more, he would soon be taller and able to jump higher than all the rest. A few weeks later he was able to obtain some more ointment and rubbed it all over his legs. To his surprise, he quickly became giant, monstrous to the opposite extreme. The father, again desperate, called once again for the healer. The Priest returned, but sadly remarked that he only knew how to extend the limbs, not shorten them. He did have a small vial containing a different balm that would strengthen the boy's knees—now necessary as he would be bending down to hear others while they spoke with him. Lodoli concluded:

Quante volte non si peggiora immaginando di migliorare! Ah contentiamoci di seguire il giusto corso delle naturali nostre disposizioni, nè sien queste contrariate mai da quella lusinghevole compiacenza di divenir agli altri superiori mentre dovendo d'affetti, e di pensieri commerciar per lo più con genj ordinarj, ci converrebbe in tal caso a grave nostro stento rannicchiarsi, ed esinanirci, e spingendoci fuori dell'orizzonte del comun vivere, tardi si appresterebbe il salutar balsamo di quella maestra filosofia, che sola può abilitarci a rimaner per qualche tempo dimessi, e pieghevoli senza soffrine scomodo, fralezza, od avvilimento di sorte alcuna.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>152</sup> *Apologhi*: 62.  
*Indole of the Self*

This limited overcoming could be accomplished through education. An education, however, intended for action. The story of “The First Lice” explains.<sup>153</sup> The Supreme King of the Gods was upset by a certain casual indifference that had arisen in men towards their Creator. He wished to again have his divine nostrils tickled by the agreeable smoke of sacrificial virgins and animals. Therefore, he decided to remind them that there was a Jove in the sky. He did not, however, wish to use his well-known tactic of the thunderbolt, but rather preferred something that would not destroy his most pleasing work. Being a bit unsure of which course he should take, he decided to call a meeting of all the lesser Gods. Each was asked to offer an opinion. There were those who remembered using the gout, others ring worm; some even mentioned dysentery. All of these were unsatisfactory options, however, because they might not have reached everyone, especially those in the habit of maintaining themselves.

During the discussion, Silenus was called upon to suggest his idea for a punishment. He opined that Jove must unleash Lice on Mankind. Jove was intrigued. Permission was given for the first time to allow Lice to enter into the world. Small, yes, minute, yes, but these lice are very insolent insects; little by little, penetrating even the skin, they almost invaded the very region of the intellect, and to many, they brought about very irritable skin infections like pityriasis and pediculosis. It was done.

At first, man was inexperienced with these creatures that bit everywhere and induced an irresistible itching. The number of Lice grew disproportionately and over time they became more adept in finding ways to hide and to nest and to penetrate any dense forest of hair, where there was a higher concentration of oily skin. Yet man did not turn to their supreme Jove to seek solace from the insects. Rather, the insistent pricking of these insects invited the affected to put their hands on to their heads with the nails of all five fingers slightly bent. This, in fact, is the origin of the comb. Thus, through man’s art of ingenuity came about the first combs of horn, or boxwood, ivory, tortoise shell, steel, silver, and gold. The first combs had teeth numbering in four, then in

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<sup>153</sup> *Apologhi*: 54. See Appendix I for complete translation.

eight, then in twelve, and then in twenty-four. In the end, the combs became so luxurious that even those people with pediculosis would call upon another simply to admire their collection of combs.

Lodoli made the analogy that books are just like these combs, created by man to overcome the lack of a universal truth. The prejudices inherent in our minds could be uprooted with the reflective reading of good books. Yet many people fill their libraries with beautiful books without reading them for enlightenment. Instead, they think there is nothing better than to sing the praises of a rare edition they have purchased, for the large format of the paper, for its high cost, for its refined binding, for the fringes, for the wood of their bookcases or some similar external ornament, only to remain as ignorant as ever.<sup>154</sup>

The limits to our nature and possibilities of overcoming our situation are best understood in the apologue of “The Ass Who Wanted to Become a Butterfly.”<sup>155</sup> There was once an Ass who was sick of being an Ass. He was tired of always being at the service of others and having to carry their loads. His dissatisfaction was futile, however, as he was unable, as much as he searched, to find another way of life. The final straw came one day when he had to carry a load of lead and then saw that the loads for the next day were even bigger.

The next morning, the Ass lay down on the ground in protest and refused to carry anything else. His master thought that his beloved beast, the most spirited of all those like him, could rise to the occasion even when he believed that he was unable to carry anything more. Accordingly, the master asked him to at least try to carry the two baskets, which he claimed were actually extremely light. If not, he would be beaten. Hearing how little it weighed, the Ass thought it would be better to give a bit of an effort than to end his life under the stick. He therefore rose and started towards his destination. The load was indeed quite light. He thought

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<sup>154</sup> Lodoli names the house of the Lice as *Pidocchiera*. In Italian, “lice” is *pidocchi*. *Pondichéra* (Pondicherry), is a city on the southern coast of India, had, in the eighteenth century, a large Jesuit population. Lodoli may be making a veiled critique of the Jesuit educational project.

<sup>155</sup> *Elementi* II: 166-77. See Appendix I for complete translation.

his life would be bearable if he always had this light of a load to carry. The Ass wanted to ask what exactly he was carrying, but he did not have the courage to ask his master lest he be hit. But as his yearning to know grew throughout the journey, he finally asked what it was that he was carrying—if it were always the same material he would be happy. His master, an overly proud man, responded, “Just carry the load and keep quiet!”

The Ass said nothing more, hoping that in the evening, after he would be well fed and rested, his master would deal with him in a gentler manner. In fact, at dusk that night his master returned, much calmer, emboldening the Ass to then inquire about the content of his load. Seduced by his good manner, his master told him that he was carrying the cocoons of silkworms (*galletta*). “But what is a cocoon? What is a silkworm?” asked the Ass. The master knew already that it was useless to tell him. But the Ass persisted: “humour me,” he said, “I have always served you with much love.” The master agreed and began to tell him that the silkworm (*bigatto*) was a worm that was tired of being a worm and therefore became an insect—one that could fly even. Incredulous, the Ass said, “But how, for heaven’s sake, is this possible! How does one make such a transformation!?” “I will tell it to you as I know, having some practice as my wife has had these worms at home. From the smallest eggs come little worms that become bigger, little by little. They are off-white or green and then they turn yellow. They are a bit long, round, and are full of arms with which they attach themselves to the leaves of the mulberry tree to nourish themselves. After becoming a bit older they begin to emit the thinnest line of viscera that is derived from the sugar of the leaves that they have eaten. From this they form around themselves a type of small sack, which is known as a chrysalis. After ten days this is woven very tightly around them so much so that they can no longer see outside of the small room that they have formed around themselves. Then, at a point which one is not able to see, a small hole is opened and emerging from it is a butterfly, the worm having changed according to its nature. And there you are my dear Ass, the most beautiful description I have made in my life. Are you satisfied? Will you now serve me well?” “Slow down, dear master,” replied the Ass who then

continued to ask various questions to a point at which the good Ass believed he had learned how to become a bird. He was especially happy because he had also learned how to tell the difference between mulberry leaves and other varieties. Having carried them many times, he also knew where to find a grove of mulberry trees. For many days and nights he thought about it. Believing that it was not an impossible transformation, he reasoned to himself that the worm who is tired of being a worm becomes an insect, a butterfly, and me, who is extremely tired of being a Ass, why can't I eat this leaf, produce some gooey stuff, sleep for a while, and then turn into an animal that doesn't have to carry anything? Believing in all of his thoughts, and tired of being inconvenienced by having to carry others' loads, he decided that he would make an escape from his stall just before dawn the next day.

The Ass ran to the place where there were many mulberry trees. Hidden amongst the trees, he began to eat the leaves and even the branches. He ate and ate and then he slept, and what a surprise it was when he began to emit a strange slimy twine, which wrapped around him and began to obscure the day. He lay down on top of a dung heap and, between being asleep and awake, began to tremble. He bawled out loud to himself, "Ass, look what you have done now! You are really now an idiot, who is it that you want to become? Perhaps this is the time now to die, but the insect did not die. Better still the worm changed into a butterfly. Why, therefore, am I afraid to die, or to turn into something worse? Anything can happen ..." He grew calmer even though his entire room was becoming dark, repeating to himself that no matter what happened, it would be better if he were no longer a Ass. He opined that it was even better to die in the cocoon that he had made with his own slimy twine than to be beat by his master's stick or crushed by the weight of his load.

Meanwhile, the master desperately looked for his animal. Coming across a group of countrymen, he asked them if they had seen anything. They said that they had seen growing day by day a large mound, which had been formed by a large Ass after he had ruined many of the master's trees. The master knew that this must be his animal, both because he was missing and

also because he had shown interest in the phenomenon produced from the mulberry tree and silkworm. Angered, he wanted to break the mound and give the Ass a good beating. He was curious, however. He saw that at the base of the chrysalis there was a beak breaking open the cocoon. With much excitement, finally, a bird did emerge...

It was a turkey! Who, with its little arms that seemed to be too short, did actually make a small flight. Memmo concluded:

Col mezzo di tale immagine facendo riflettere a quel giovane, che se dopo di essersi nudrito di buoni principii, e di aver anche portato dell'altrui autorità sino allora, volesse alfine scuoterla, e concentrarsi in sè stesso a proporzione della *sua natura e del suo ingegno*, non avrebbe potuto più disperare di fare un libero volo, se non da aquila, almeno da fagiano o da pernice.

Though this is not simple and not for everyone, he continued, “poichè rottosi il bozzolo dai circostanti, che non poterono aver più pazienza d’attendere il fine, non si trovò in esso che pura pelle ed ossa.”<sup>156</sup>

The analogy here is that the Ass is like the young student and the worm. The worm overcomes its situation of the cocoon to become a butterfly, as did the Ass to become a turkey. Through *ingenuity* and an understanding of one’s own nature or *indole*, young students may be able to overcome their situations, but not themselves. They may be able to become, if not an eagle, than maybe a pheasant or partridge.<sup>157</sup> This corresponds with Vico’s claim that “in every other pursuit men without natural aptitude succeed by obstinate study of technique, but he who is not a poet by nature, can never become one by art.”<sup>158</sup> This lesson refers to the development and education of youth as much as it does to the potential of *indole*. This limited overcoming was dependent on an understanding of the self and such an understanding allows for one to indeed make their identity.

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<sup>156</sup> *Elementi* II: 171 (emphasis added).

<sup>157</sup> In another apologue, “The Eagle and the Goose,” Lodoli related his own character to the eagle, the bird of Jove.

<sup>158</sup> *The New Science of Giambattista Vico* Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin, (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): § 213.

This very possibility to make oneself was named by Lodoli as *periautografia*. Within the first issue of the *Raccolta di Opuscoli Scientifici e Filologici*, Count Gian Artico di Porcà made a request for “Progetto ai letterati d’Italia per scrivere le loro Vite.”<sup>159</sup> In the introduction to the edition, Angelo Calogerà attributed the idea of a text of one’s own life to Lodoli. Verene has explained that this was much more than a simple re-telling of one’s deeds:

Calogerà in his editorial preface to the first issue of the *Raccolta*, attributes the idea of such a text on one’s own life to Lodoli, who coined from Greek the term *periautografia*, using *peri-* (around, what surrounds or encloses) rather than *bios* as the term to connect *autos* and *graphē*. *Peri-* is a life-term, often used as a prefix to anatomical terms to characterize what surrounds a designated organ.<sup>160</sup>

Historians have made many claims as to the first autobiography: Augustine’s *Confessions* (397), Benvenuto Cellini’s *Vita scritta da lui medesimo* (1558, 1728), and Rousseau’s *Confessions* (1782) to name only a few. Rousseau even made the declaration himself:

I have resolved on an enterprise, which has no precedent, and which, once complete, will have no imitator. My purpose is to display to my kind a portrait in every way true to nature, and the man I shall portray will be myself.<sup>161</sup>

The Oxford English Dictionary, however, dates the first usage of the English term “autobiography” to 1797 and defines it as “the writing of one’s own history; the story of one’s life written by himself.”<sup>162</sup> Though by this date there had already appeared many autobiographical texts from characters in and around the Veneto. Angelo Calogerà published a series of autobiographical sketches in the *giornale* that he was editing; Muratori published an account of

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<sup>159</sup> Count Gian Artico di Porcà, “Progetto ai letterati d’Italia per scrivere le loro Vite,” *Raccolta di Opuscoli scientifici e filologici* (Venice: Cristoforo Zane, 1728): 131.

<sup>160</sup> Donald Phillip Verene, *The New Art of Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991): 66.

<sup>161</sup> Jean-Jacques Rousseau, *Confessions*. Tr. J.M. Cohen (London: Penguin, 1953):17.

<sup>162</sup> *Oxford English Dictionary*, online version, s.v. “autobiography.” Larousse claimed that the French *autobiographie* was a derivation of the English. Herder is cited as the originator of the German *Seilbstbiographie*. See Michael Sprinkler, “The End of Autobiography,” in *Autobiography: Essays theoretical and critical*. Ed. by James Olney, (Princeton: Princeton UPress, 1980): 121.



his own life in response to Calogerà.<sup>163</sup> Casanova, rather infamously wrote his own history, itself a far cry from Rousseau's confession. Gozzi was defending the futile nature of his *Memoire* while Goldoni was busy becoming a character in the script of his own life. What makes Lodoli's term distinct from other autobiographical terms is that it conceives of the writing of one's life as dependant not only on the nature of the self (*autos*) but also of the context (*-peri*). One is always defined by their actions within a context.

Though Fisch and Bergin claim that Lodoli had even worked on his own *periautografia*, anything that Lodoli may have written has not been discovered.<sup>164</sup> I have already discussed Lodoli's identification with Diogenes' cynical but educational nature. There are also many autobiographical references in his apologues. "The Vigil" relates to Lodoli's health and public perception.<sup>165</sup> The malodorous Lodoli clearly did not pay much attention to his own detractors.<sup>166</sup> Lodoli's recognition of self was often framed as a matter of others ignorance. "The Bear and the Little Monkey"<sup>167</sup> and "The Frog and the Little Sparrow"<sup>168</sup> both explain. Lodoli concluded that the ignorant, wishing to demonstrate their wit by challenging those more knowledgeable always end up being foolish. The only apologue given in the first person singular was "the Mullet-fish that Could Fly," which describes a mullet fish that wished to jump out of and fly away from the muddy puddle in which he lived.<sup>169</sup> He died having accomplished neither. The muddy puddle is clearly analogous to Venice and the mullet that wishes to jump out of the water can be read as Lodoli. "The Two Spanish Horses," describes Lodoli's view of himself within the often-ignorant

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<sup>163</sup> Calogerà explained his intentions for the project in the *Raccolta di Opuscoli scientifici e filologici*. (Venice: Cristoforo Zane, 1728). Muratori responded in the *Lettera all'Illustrissimo Signore Giovanni Antico Conte di Porcia intorno al Metodo seguito ne'suoi Studi*

<sup>164</sup> "Father Carlo Lodoli, censor of publications, for instance, had given much thought to the art of writing one's own life, and had coined a Greek name for it. He called it *periautography*, and its practitioners *periautographers*. He had collected materials for a treatise expounding and illustrating the art, and had addressed an outline to Count Porcia." *The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin, (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): 4.

<sup>165</sup> *Apologhi*: 29. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>166</sup> Indeed, Longhi and Baffo both mocked Lodoli in image and in print.

<sup>167</sup> *Apologhi*: 28. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>168</sup> *Apologhi*: 19. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>169</sup> *Apologhi*: 32. See Appendix I for complete translation.

patrician population of Venice.<sup>170</sup> The story tells of two noble Spanish horses that must hide themselves in a den of Asses. One of the horses covers himself with the skin of a Ass; the other does not. The latter is beaten, the former survives, though only by covering his true self with the hide of an Ass. Lodoli advised that those who are forced to live amongst an uncivil gang should keep this example in mind learning how indispensable it is to avoid appearing better than others. One should not lower oneself to fit in to the crowd, but nor should one appear boastful within the same crowd.<sup>171</sup>

That Memmo named Lodoli's lessons, as *Apologhi*, is not so strange especially considering the connection between the words "apologue" (*apologo*) and "apology" (*apologia*). The latter term was used, most famously perhaps, by Plato who named Socrates' final testament before being put to death with the same title. Ephraim Chambers cross-referenced the two words in *Dizionario*, claiming that the two words came from the same Greek root. The definition of *apologia* is as follows:

APOLOGIA\*, *Difesa*, discorso, o Scrittura in difesa di chicchessia.

\*Viene dal Greco ἀπολογία, rifiutare, o rispignere con parole.<sup>172</sup>

Chambers continued to state that the root of *apologue* (*apologo*) is named as ἀπολογου because it denotes that which is not seen at first glance.

A fable by Phaedrus connects Vico back to Socrates as well. Phaedrus tells us that Socrates was laying the foundation for his house, a very small foundation. Someone walked by and asked why it was that someone as famous as he would build a house so small. He replied that he only wished that he could fill it with real friends. Vico ended his own autobiography with a

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<sup>170</sup> *Apologhi*: 34. See Appendix I for complete translation.

<sup>171</sup> The story uses elements similar to those found in Perrault's *Peau d'âne*. There the skin of a donkey hides the beauty of the main character from her father who wishes to marry her. In Lodoli's re-telling, however, one should not cover one's true self with a veil only to ward off the attacks of others. Rather, one's own skin should reveal a true self.

<sup>172</sup> See Ephraim Chambers, *Dizionario Universale delle Arti e delle Scienze*. Vol. 1 (Venice, 1748): 264 for both *apologia* and *apologo*.

quote from this very same fable, linking his identity to Socrates: “If I were consigned his fame, I would not shun to die as he, and because I would be acquitted when I became ashes, I would endure the inequity of the sentence.”<sup>173</sup> It can easily be argued that neither Vico, Lodoli, or Socrates found himself with much public support; their peers condemned them all and each adhered to the Socratic maxim: to know thyself (*gnothi seauton*).

The proposal, found in the *Raccolta d’Opuscoli Scientifici e Filologici* (Venice, 1728), offered the *periautographia* of Giambattista Vico as a model for other scholars. In many ways, Vico was the ideal candidate. Thirty years earlier he had offered a series of inaugural orations as a part of his duties as professor of rhetoric at the university in Naples. Held on the feast day of St. Luke each year between 1699 and 1707, the lectures discussed the nature of learning and education. Not surprisingly, the theme of first Oration is the Delphic quote.<sup>174</sup> The inaugural lectures were not published in Vico’s lifetime, but a synopsis of each can be found in his autobiography, which was available. Vico did not set out to propose a pedagogic system, but rather referenced the Platonic dialogue *Charmides* to advise the students in a way of understanding their true nature.<sup>175</sup> The intention of the orations was to reconcile the educational program of antiquity with Vico’s time. He did not make a comparison to argue that one was better, but rather attempted a fusion of the two.<sup>176</sup> The original Proposal from Lodoli, Calogerà, and di Porcìa was for the Scholars of Italy “to write their autobiographies for the edification of young students and with a view to the reform of school curricula and methods.”<sup>177</sup> Vico not only

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<sup>173</sup> For the entire reference and further discussion see Donald Phillip Verene, *The New Art of Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991): 30-33.

<sup>174</sup> Vico used the Latin translation of *gnothi seauton*: *temet nosce*.

<sup>175</sup> Vico uses the word *anima* to describe one’s nature. See Giambattista Vico, *Opere*. Ed. Mario dal Pra, Alberto del Monte, Guido Guazza, Maurizio Vitale, (Naples: Fulvio Rossi, 1972): 368-73.

<sup>176</sup> See Levine, Joseph M. “Giambattista vico and the Quarrel between the Ancients and the Moderns.” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, Vol. 52, No. 1 (Jan.-Mar., 1991): 64-5.

<sup>177</sup> *The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): 2.

explained his position through the summations of his orations on pedagogy years earlier; he demonstrated his understanding through the text itself.

The first page of Vico's *periautografia* begins with a description of his parents' dispositions—his father cheerful and his mother melancholic—which contributed to his own character. At the age of seven, he fell from a ladder in his father's bookshop breaking his skull. There was a large tumour and the young Vico lost quite a lot of blood. Vico continued: "The surgeon, indeed, observing the broken cranium and considering the long period of unconsciousness, predicted that he would either die or grow up an idiot." He did neither. "But, as a result of this mischance he grew up with a melancholy and irritable temperament such as belongs to men of ingenuity and depth, who, thanks to one are quick as lightening in perception, and thanks to the other, take no pleasure in verbal cleverness or falsehood."<sup>178</sup>

Vico's *periautografia* exemplifies an archetypal situation found even in the most general forms of fiction: a crisis is introduced, the main character must make a decision, and from this decision the character is reborn. Typical to many autobiographies is a moment of transformation that leads to a newly found recognition. For St. Augustine and others, this conversion leads to the discovery of their true self with relation to God. This anagogic collapse with the scriptures occurs in a different world-view than that of the eighteenth century. For others, maybe more modern, this moment marks the break from a predestined self. It is a shock into self-awareness that leads to a created self.<sup>179</sup> Vico inherited the two natures of his parents: cheerful and morose. From this union of opposites, and after the fall, he became ingenious.

This overcoming helps to reveal one's own story, one's self. It is a moment of such drastic differences that nothing after it can be the same. Each accident helps to form the myth surrounding the person, in the sense that the event allows their true self to be revealed. As Bogel

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<sup>178</sup> *The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1962): 111.

<sup>179</sup> One could think of Vico's fall, but also of Casanova's childhood bleeding, of Kahn's burning ember, or of Aldo Rossi's automobile accident. Each plays a significant role in their identity and life actions.

puts it, “it is a change that takes place in a single moment whose mystery, fullness, and significance, mark it as of a different order of time than that of everyday life, a moment of *kairos* rather than *chronos*.”<sup>180</sup> This is distinct from Rousseau’s *Confessions*, which suggests that there is not one defining moment but rather there are many crises and turning points. These moments leads to a life that is a series of fateful decisions based upon a predetermined plan. In a sense Rousseau characterizes himself as the object of a minor conspiracy. The sheer number of crisis moments in Rousseau’s life shifts the focus from any one particular moment to the entire collection of moments. Crisis is no longer a moment of higher consciousness to bring about a catharsis.

Verene has claimed that Vico’s autobiography was in fact a “Fable of Himself,” not in the sense that it was untrue, but in the sense that it was mythic.<sup>181</sup> He however, does not believe it is possible for a modern character like Vico to produce fables in the true sense of the first people. I like the characterization but would say rather that Vico’s *periautografia* was indeed an apologue of himself. The *periautografia* acts as an apologue in at least three ways: there is a divine structure, it uses characters to veil a truth, and the intention is educational in an inherently ethical way.

Vico thought that the reader should narrate the *New Science* to himself as he read it so as to make it for himself. The frontispiece was given as an aid. I believe the same is true for his *periautografia*. As with most fables, the situation is given and then the main character is forced to make a decision. There is a building up, tearing down, and then a rebirth in the form of a moral. Vico’s own life followed this pattern, though he termed the process as *corso e ricorso*. Vico’s fall from the ladder, really a fall into history, forced him to overcome, thereby establishing his identity. His failure to obtain an academic chair in 1723 led to the publication of his *New Science* in 1725. Vico’s life was not described to mark off the events that happened, but rather

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<sup>180</sup> See Fredric V. Bogel “Crisis and Character in Autobiography: The Later Eighteenth Century” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, Vol. 21, No. 3 (Summer, 1981): 499-512.

<sup>181</sup> Donald Phillip Verene, *The New Art of Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991): 161-207.

the moments that, literally, defined his self. The events of his life are less important than the response made. If we recall the “Story of the Ass Who Wanted to Become a Butterfly,” it is less important that the Ass must carry a heavy load than is his building of a cocoon to overcome his situation. One can read Vico’s *periautografia* and understand Vico as a character: as one would understand Jove or an eagle. The tale is open, we can learn from Vico, or not.

Vico masked the character of himself through the use of the third person, often referring to himself in his autobiography by name. Scholars often explain this either as a response to Descartes’ use of the more authoritative first person or as a continuation of an established tradition of third-person memoirs.<sup>182</sup> For sure this is a partial explanation. The third person allows a distance from Vico’s self to the character of Vico in his own apologue. From this distance Vico can assume the spoken language of the Gods.

Finally, Vico’s *periautografia* was intended for the education of youth. The call for proposals by Porcìa intended to include the educational development of each of the scholars. Vico was proud that he taught himself, though there is evidence that he matriculated at the University in Naples.<sup>183</sup> That said, it is less important where he went, whether it was the library in Vatolla or in a lecture hall at the University, than what he followed. As Verene noted in the introduction to the translation of Vico’s orations:

Vico makes clear that the effect of the achievement of self-knowledge, of proper education and study, is the ability to conduct oneself in accord with one’s own human nature, which is the divine element in human beings. As the divine wisdom is a kind of prudence or providence in the world in general, so the realization of true education in the individual will result in a prudence of action and affairs.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup> Verene explains that other Roman and Humanist autobiographies were given in the third person as well. See Donald Phillip Verene, *The New Art of Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991): 68-69.

<sup>183</sup> Donald Phillip Verene, *The New Art of Autobiography* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991): 191.

<sup>184</sup> Giambattista Vico, *On Humanistic Education* Tr. G. Pinton and A. Shippee, Introduction by Donald Philip Verene, (Ithaca, Cornell UPress, 1993): 8.

In the end, the interest in Vico's, and I would add Lodoli's, *periautographic* expressions has less to do with an objective explanation of life events than it does with the ability of the author, as teacher, to convey meaning within their own mythic tale.

I will conclude this section with one more apologue concerning the two mastiffs.”<sup>185</sup>

Two dogs were sitting next to each other one day. One looked to the other and asked how it was that he was able to be so fit and happy and have others marvel at him even though his chain was shorter. The first dog, wanting to be sure that he was not mistaken asked the other dog to walk with him away from the wall to see which chain was longer. Not only was the first dog's chain longer, it was actually twice the length of the more placid mastiff. The first dog again asked the second to explain. He replied: “I never strain myself much dear friend, trying to exceed the length of my chain, neither do I suffer the effects of longing, and of resentment which you so strongly feel for not being able to catch all of those who pass in front of you. I do my job, barking on time so that the master would be alerted that someone is entering into the house. However, it does not bother me that I am not able to bite them. I always stay two fingers from the end of my chain rather than needlessly attempting to go beyond that. This is all there is to my great, and very useful indeed, secret. Do the same thing and you will become beautiful and fat as well.”

Lodoli concludes:

L'adattarsi tranquilmente alla propria condizione anche ristretta ci rende infelice meno di quello, che il possederne altra d'assai piú comoda, o estesa, quando non siam atti ad arrestarci un passo indietro, né di superare interna stizzosa intolleranza di voler tutti oltrepassare.<sup>186</sup>

Happiness is found in the awareness and understanding of our self within the context and situation that we live. In this way we may act appropriately, meaningfully.

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<sup>185</sup> *Apologhi*: 33. See Appendix I for complete translation. In Seriman's *Viaggi* Henry and his partner are given ministerial appointments by the *Re Mastino* – the King Mastiff.

<sup>186</sup> *Apologhi*: 33.

**4. Conclusion**  
***Apologia for the Art of Architectural Education***

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To be free is continuing to dream, knowing that one is dreaming.

Nietzsche, *The Gay Science*



We are still in Lodoli's dark forest. The questions raised by Lodoli regarding the truth of materials and the possibility of meaning in architecture continue to be relevant. The potential of architecture to be understood in a truly meaningful way is obvious to both educators and students. In spite of this, the realisation of such architecture has been obfuscated within the immense amount of building activity. It is folly to believe that the blame rests solely on the gap between architectural education and practice. It is ironic that while we live in a world where the most mundane action, like voting in an election or recycling paper, implies a global relevance, the possibility that one's actions may actually effect change often seems unlikely. In spite of this seeming contradiction I still make the wager that meaningful architecture is both possible and even essential. And so we must then ask: what is the responsibility of a professional architect? Is it ethical to rely on the belief that an architect is the keeper of some sort of technical expertise, or is an intuitive and artistic genius? Is she simply the conductor within the symphony of building trades? What other modes of action might be possible? Essential to these questions is consideration of the role of education in the development of a professional architect.

There is no direct methodological application that can be taken from Lodoli's apologies. This would be contrary to the nature of the lessons. I venture to say, however, that the lessons still offer insight into architectural education today. The dialectic between the practical and the theoretical in architecture often frames the discussion of architectural education and professional practice. This characterization oversimplifies the situation. Architectural education, when understood as a list of requirements to be fulfilled, risks the commodification of students into a workforce and the danger of stripping from the educational experience, a very rich potential. The alternate view seems to hold in contempt those who practice in a professional model. It is important to remain critical but not to the point of inaction. One must act. It is my wager that the way of being architect is not simply to make buildings. It is to make. I will conclude with a sketch along these two general axes: making architecture as understood through the Greek word *technē* and speaking architecture as described by the Greek *logos*.

## *Technē*

Lodoli questioned the essential nature of architecture and responded with a radical but grounded pedagogy. Meaning in architecture was not yet spatial—architecture was not conceived in such terms. Rather, it was about making in a truthful manner. Lodoli’s critique was aimed towards the Orders as representative *in nuce* of architectural meaning. He argued that the Orders were not truthful because they did not represent the material from which they were constructed. The Orders were a series of architectural elements made in stone that represented the construction of wooden pieces. Further, that architecture may have descended from an original hut did not mean that its form should simply be imitated. Rather, one should follow the way of the first constructions—remaining truthful to materials—and not simply attempt to imitate their forms. For Lodoli, architecture was essentially about making, understood through the inherent nature of materials. It is in this way that a truthful way of action may be revealed, based on common sense and appropriateness to place. Though I do not claim to prove a direct influence of Lodoli’s thoughts onto modernity, one can follow a thread through the history and theory of modern architecture that finds meaning to be dependent upon an understanding, or the intention, of truth to materials.

Lou Kahn had a similar conversation with a brick. He demonstrated his understanding of nature to a group of students:

The realization is realization in form, which means a nature. You realize that something has a certain nature. When you think of the making of a school, the school has a certain nature. In making it you must consult the laws of nature, and the consultation and approval of nature are absolutely necessary. There you will find, discover the Order of water, the Order of wind, the Order of Light, the Order of certain materials. If you think of a brick, and you are consulting the orders, you consider the nature of brick. You say to brick, ‘What do you want, brick?’ Brick says to you, ‘I like an arch.’ If you say to a brick, ‘Arches are

expensive, and I can use a concrete lintel over an opening. What do you think of that, brick?’ Brick says, ‘I like an arch.’

It is important that you honor the material you use. You don’t bandy it about as though to say, ‘Well, we have lots of material, we can do it one way we can do it another way.’ *It’s not true.* You must honor and glorify the brick instead of shortchanging it and giving it an inferior job to do in which it loses its character, as, for example, when you use it as an infill material, which you have done and I have done. Using brick so makes it feel as though it is a servant, and brick is a beautiful material.

You can have the same conversation with concrete, with paper or papier-mâché, or with plastic, or with marble, or any material. The beauty of what you create comes if you honor the material for what it really is. Never use it in a subsidiary way so as to make the material wait for the next person to come along and honor its character.<sup>1</sup>

This reverence of the nature of materials is seen in many of Kahn’s buildings. The Exeter Library in New Hampshire is one such example. An arcade of shallow arches surrounds the entrance level of the building. Similar arches also support the openings in the façade. The masonry piers narrow as they rise in accordance with the nature of such construction: there is less weight for the upper portion of the wall to support and as such the windows may be larger. Kahn remarked on his respect for the context of the older buildings at Phillips Exeter and that the “weight” of the bricks be understood. The building, however, is not a masonry structure but a steel building clad with a veneer of brick.

Much of modern construction, even at varying scales, is understood by this analogy of structure and skin. The internal structure is hidden by, but supports, an exterior skin. This is as true for balloon frame residential construction as it is for larger scale projects. It is rare that the materials on the exterior of buildings are not literally hung, sprayed, glued, or simply attached to, an interior structural system that is hidden. This is not unlike many buildings built in North

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<sup>1</sup> *Louis I. Kahn: Writings, Lectures, Interviews.* Ed. Alessandra Latour (New York: Rizzoli, 1991): 323. The lecture was improvised to a group of architecture students at Pratt University in Brooklyn.

America today. Given this situation, can one make truthfully? Or can we only hope, maybe as Kahn did, to lie well? Do we remain tied to a nostalgic understanding of materials? If the exterior of a building is essentially a skin, what is the identity of such material? How is a hung brick façade more truthful than a curtain wall construction?

Lodoli understood that the truth claim of a material was related to making. What does this mean for materials so radically altered by various means of production? Wood is an interesting example. The post-war construction boom of residential housing was in part made possible by technological advances in the production of wood and glues, enabling, for instance, raw material to be turned into two-by-four sticks, and sheets of plywood to sheathe and solidify the frames of such sticks. This created a space between the interior and exterior that was not simply the depth of a structural wall, but a thickness that contained various services hidden from view. The exterior coating of the frame has been understood and rationalised in various ways, ranging from aesthetic tastes to utilitarian protection from exterior elements. Again, how does one determine criterion for form making? Is it simply an issue of taste?

There is clearly a potential in new technologies and new materials. It seems to me, however, that a radical shift in the means of production, including the powerful steel and wood industry lobbyists, must occur before this potential may be realised. I am specifically referring to the relationships between the contractor, architect, and slew of consultants, as well as the process by which projects are financed and the liability architects must assume. The ability to render each of the components of a building at a one-to-one scale implies an amazing potential, yet it also means that many decisions have already been made for the architect by virtue of standard construction units. More often than not, these are proportioned, not to any classical body, nor to the *indole* of material, but rather to a means of production.<sup>2</sup> Simply put, architects today specify products and not materials.

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<sup>2</sup> For further discussion see the essay by Sheila Kennedy, "Material Presence." *KVA: Material Misuse. Architecture Landscape Urbanism* Vol. 4, (2001): 4-21.

There are technical skills that must be learned for one to be called architect. Indeed it is just this ability to know how an arch or beam works and how to represent and communicate this that makes one an architect and not a doctor, for example. The thoughtful architect understands and works through this knowledge. Architecture is not simply a technical endeavour, but rather one that requires *technē*. As one of the four forms of knowledge known to the Greeks, *technē* was not something specific only to builders but was understood to be a way of making, for builders, poets, doctors, and politicians alike. It was a quality of making that required an understanding inherent within and expressed through the specifics of each craft. Those doctors, poets, politicians, and builders who understood their craft through *technē* could make well. It is my position that this understanding of architecture as *technē* avoids the argument between theory and practice. Theory is found through making well.

Hans-Georg Gadamer discussed *technē* along similar terms. He describes the Greek understanding of *technē* in the “Apologia for the Art of Healing,”<sup>3</sup> which differentiated, for the first time, the doctor who understood how to apply a universal knowledge to achieve a specific result, from the Medicine Man who held mysterious powers. Although Gadamer was discussing physicians and health, the analogy could easily be applied to architects and the well-being, or truth, of a building. He explains:

Greek concept of *technē* on the other hand does not signify the practical application of theoretical knowing, but rather a special form of practical knowing. *Technē* is that knowledge which constitutes a specific and tried ability in the context of producing things. It is related from the very beginning to the sphere of production, and it is from this sphere that it first arose. But it represents a unique ability to produce, one which knows what it is doing, and knows on the basis of grounds.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Hans-Georg Gadamer. *The Enigma of Health*. (Stanford: Stanford UPress, 1996): 31-44.

<sup>4</sup> Hans-Georg Gadamer. *The Enigma of Health*. (Stanford: Stanford UPress, 1996): 32.

Gadamer's "practical knowing" is found through making. He continues to states that, "The true art of healing, which involves authentic knowing and doing, thus requires the capacity to distinguish between the particular constitution of the organism in question and what is actually compatible with that constitution."<sup>5</sup> This echoes Lodoli's proposal for substitutions, understood to be meaningful through the situated-ness of circumstance.

Lodoli did not impose a method. I believe, however, that his critique, as based on the specificity of the *indole* of materials, understood within a situation and revealed through making, implied the potential for an authentic and meaningful architecture. This attitude towards making was implied, dependent upon, and revealed through his teaching.

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<sup>5</sup> Hans-Georg Gadamer. *The Enigma of Health*. (Stanford: Stanford UPress, 1996): 41.

## *Logos*

Lodoli's architectural pedagogy was given in dialogue and not as a treatise. The apologies were educational and not only for entertainment; they were satiric, but not simply malicious. Lodoli's way of teaching was referred to, by Memmo and others, as his "Socratic method." The "Socratic method" is characterised as a way of pedagogy by means of question and answer, distinguished from lecture-based instruction. While I do not claim that the Socratic dialogues are a mirror image of Lodoli's apologies, I do believe they perform a similar function. Both Socrates' and Lodoli's lessons were written down for posterity some years after the conversations took place. Both were teachers who attempted to educate the youth through dialogue. Neither, however, were simply telling stories or only making conversation with students.

Early Socratic dialogues follow a standard pattern: an interlocutor claims knowledge of something, which is then refuted by Socrates.<sup>6</sup> Gregory Vlastos has outlined a typical interaction:

1. The interlocutor, "saying what he believes," asserts  $p$ , which Socrates considers false, and targets for refutation.
2. Socrates obtains agreement to further premises, say  $q$  and  $r$ , which are logically independent of  $p$ . The agreement is ad hoc: Socrates does not argue for  $q$  or  $r$ .
3. Socrates argues, and the interlocutor agrees, that  $q$  and  $r$  entail not- $p$ .
4. Thereupon Socrates claims that  $p$  has been proved false, not- $p$  true.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>6</sup> Vlastos claimed that this pattern of investigation occurred in all of Plato's earlier dialogues with the exception of the *Lysis*, *Euthydemus*, and *Hippias Major*. See Gregory Vlastos, "The Socratic Elenchus," *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*. Ed. Julia Annas. (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 27. There has been debate surrounding the chronology of the dialogues. I am following Vlastos's classification.

<sup>7</sup> Vlastos, Gregory, "The Socratic Elenchus," *Journal of Philosophy*. Vol. 79 (Nov., 1982): 712. Vlastos goes on to demonstrate the non-validity of Socrates' argument in a later article. See Gregory Vlastos, "The Socratic Elenchus." *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*. Ed. Julia Annas (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 27-74. The Socratic method is well known and still used in other fields of education, law stands out as an example. I am not aware of any studies that specifically relate Socrates' *elenctic* method to architectural education.

Plato referred to this refutive way of discussion as *elenchus*. I will conclude by comparing Socrates' and Lodoli's *elenctic* methods.

In the case of *Charmides*, an early Platonic dialogue, the conversation revolves around the understanding of temperance (*sōphrosunē*).<sup>8</sup> The discussion begins with Socrates returning to Athens after years of service in the army. Upon his arrival, he asks about the state of Athens and if there are any youths particularly wise or beautiful. Charmides, one such beautiful and wise youth, arrives just as Socrates is asking this question. Socrates is overwhelmed by Charmides's presence and begins to fawn over the lad. As Charmides is described as being temperate, Socrates presses him to define the term. Socrates compliments Charmides ancestry in an attempt to indulge his pride. Charmides cannot agree, however, as it would reveal pride, nor could he lie and be untrue to himself. Therefore he does the only thing he can do, he blushes. Charmides then explains that temperance is a good quality similar to "quietness" and "modesty." Socrates quickly shows both definitions to be fallacious: quietness is not good in wrestling after all; modesty is bad when one is needy. Charmides then attempts to define temperance with a borrowed definition: "doing one's own business." Socrates refutes this as well, giving the example of a craftsman who may be temperate though he often makes things for others.

It is revealed that this second definition belongs to Critias, the future tyrant and uncle to Charmides. Critias defends his position by making a distinction between the doing, making, and working of one's own craft. Socrates refers back to the first part of the definition—that temperance is a good quality—and then challenges Critias's position by claiming that oftentimes people do not know if their temperate actions will indeed be beneficial. Socrates expands this proposition to involve doing good both for others and for oneself, but quickly shows that people often do not know which of their actions will be beneficial in these ways. Thus, it seems possible

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<sup>8</sup> Vico, in his first Oration, referred to Charmides. See Giambattista Vico, *On the Study Methods of Our Time*. Tr. Elio Gianturco (Ithaca: Cornell UPress, 1990).



to be temperate without self-knowledge. Critias objects to the suggestion that one may be temperate without knowing temperance. In support of his position, Critias quotes the Delphic Oracle and then makes self-knowledge the definition of temperance. Critias further defines temperance as the “science of man’s self,” which is also refuted by Socrates as lacking any product or effect. Socrates criticizes this as a “knowledge of knowledge” which produces nothing. Socrates does however promote self-knowledge, but not as defined as a science, like Critias would prefer.

Critias then accuses Socrates of simply refuting everything that is said. Socrates claims that this is the way of discussion and has nothing to do with Critias in particular. The two argue a bit more and then consider the conversation dead. Neither, it seems, has been able to arrive at a suitable definition for temperance. Charmides, however, has not been dissuaded by the argument and has decided that he will continue to see Socrates and pursue the true meaning of temperance.

Socrates’ inquiries should not be judged for their logical rigor. He does not assert a logical method to conclusion; rather it is through refutation that the initial assertion by the interlocutor is put into question. As nothing is determined with any certainty, what is the point of the *elenchus*? Leonard Nelson believed the discussion was not simply for instruction or content, but to instill a way of investigation.<sup>9</sup> Vlastos has argued that the dialogues helped to develop an objective thought, not an objective truth.<sup>10</sup> Others have maintained that the intention of the discussion was self-knowledge.<sup>11</sup> Each position has consequences for Lodoli’s apologies.

Lodoli and Socrates both privilege the *topic* of discussion. The question was essential, though the questions were not simply technical, but essentially moral. Both were searching for

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<sup>9</sup> See Leonard Nelson, *Socratic Method and Critical Philosophy, Selected Essays*. Tr. Thomas K. Brown III (New Haven: Yale UPress, 1949).

<sup>10</sup> See Gregory Vlastos, “The Socratic Elenchus.” *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*. Ed. Julia Annas (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 27-74.

<sup>11</sup> See Sara Rappe, “Socrates and Self-Knowledge.” *Aperion* Vol. 28 (1995): 1-24 and also Julia Annas, “Self-Knowledge in Early Plato.” *Studies in Philosophy and the History of Philosophy* Vol. 13 Ed. Dominic J O’Meara (1985): 111-38.

truth, certainly, but not any form of truth. The conversation begins only when the interlocutor has stated a personal belief. Without this beginning, both Socrates and Lodoli would simply be preaching. This creates a personal stake for the interlocutors who must take moral responsibility for their actions. Lodoli makes this point in the first apologue by chastising the Ass who wished not to be interviewed by Analogy. Socrates referred to Charmides as “a wretch” for choosing to examine Critias’ definition over the potentially more difficult but rewarding possibility of thinking on his own.<sup>12</sup> Yet even when Charmides takes on the view of another, he is expected to defend it as his own. Similarly, Giorgio Massari, the architect of a proposal for the *Ospedale della Pietà* mocked by Lodoli, must defend his position on architecture even though it is based on Palladian ideals. The apologues were indeed situational and changed according to the circumstances presented. They were given in response to a stated opinion.

Neither Lodoli nor Socrates searched for a universal truth; rather, the truth is revealed in the conversation. Many apologues describe Lodoli’s radically undogmatic understanding of the many reflections of truth. From this can we assume it is the questioning that is given importance over the actual answer to “what is ‘x’”? The knowledge gained is neither unreflective intuition (Charmides’s knowledge of temperance), nor knowledge of propositions (Critias’s sophistic position). Ironically it is for this reason that some scholars have claimed that Socrates does not teach virtue. Schmid has argued that “Socrates can refute his ‘patient’ and expose his ‘patient’s’ ignorance, but he cannot force him to prefer the good of truth to his desire for safety and comfort or his will to support his own superiority. The *Charmides* teaches that this preference, this choice, depends upon the interlocutor himself and that this volitional dimension of self-knowledge cannot be eliminated but is inherent in the process of the *elenctic* inquiry.”<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> *Charmides* (161b8).

<sup>13</sup> W. Thomas Schmid, “Socratic Dialectic in the *Charmides*.” *Does Socrates Have a Method? Rethinking the Elenchus in Plato’s Dialogues and Beyond*. Ed. Gary Allen Scott (University Park: Pennsylvania State UPress, 2002): 248.

In doing so, neither Lodoli's nor Socrates' position is itself fully revealed. We are not given a definition of temperance. Nor does Socrates ever expressly articulate his method as *elenctic*—Plato does so. Similarly, we have to wait for Memmo to know Lodoli's theories of architecture. The conclusions drawn are done so in a veiled way. There is a sense, though, that both Socrates and Lodoli are leading the discussion. Vlastos explains that "It is Socrates who draws it [the conclusion]: the opponent has to be carried to it kicking and screaming."<sup>14</sup> In Lodoli's case, one knows it is better to act like an Eagle than like an Ass. That said, there is not the potential for any conclusion to be drawn.

Both Socrates and Lodoli imply the importance of self-knowledge through conversations. Socrates *elenctic* search for quiddity, was essentially focused on self-understanding. Lodoli also looked to the essential identity of things—the *indole* of the self and of materials. At the end of the *Charmides*, Socrates does not blush, as Charmides did when first asked to define *sōphrosunē*; instead he claims ignorance. I contend that self-knowledge is understood in the way one inquires. Socrates exhibits the nature of the good in his willingness and ability to inquire into himself. Socrates' "knowledge of knowledge" has content, but not as an answer or definition; the content, rather, is in the reflexivity of the dialogue. Temperance was not *defined*, but was *demonstrated* in the dialogue. This knowledge is neither wholly subjective nor objective: true knowledge is not to be revealed in personal introspection, or as an objectified result to be reported; rather it is given in the character of the inquiry carried out. As Schmid has pointed out, "The Socratic dialect challenges him (the interlocutor) not only to acquire the correct moral opinions but to *question himself* and *think for himself* and develop his own moral rationality."<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> Gregory Vlastos, "The Socratic Elenchus." *Oxford Studies in Ancient Philosophy*. Ed. Julia Annas (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 29.

<sup>15</sup> W. Thomas Schmid, "Socratic Dialectic in the *Charmides*." *Does Socrates Have a Method? Rethinking the Elenchus in Plato's Dialogues and Beyond*. Ed. Gary Allen Scott (University Park: Pennsylvania State UPress, 2002): 240.

There are critiques. Neither Lodoli's or Socrates' *elenctic* method proves that the statement by the interlocutor is false, only not-true in the given premises-set. Further, the interlocutor is not able to offer a counterargument to Socrates' or Lodoli's statement. One cannot further the debate or offer a counterpoint to Lodoli's morals. One can only understand. The moral of the story ends the discussion. Students are responsible to act on their own. Neither history nor previous arguments affect Socrates' questioning; there is no court of higher opinion to fall back upon. This is an important distinction between Lodoli and Socrates. For Lodoli it is clear that history is important. For Socrates, historical precedent is simply not discussed within the conversation.

Reading Memmo's *Elementi*, one can understand Lodoli's position to be, in fact, quite grounded in historical inquiry. This last point cannot be overlooked. It is obvious, since beginning what Gadamer terms "the birth of historical consciousness," that we live in a world that must recognize a fundamental distance between the present and our historical tradition. Lodoli is well aware of this and it is within this distance that his lessons find their grounding. It is within the dialogue between one's own questions and historical facticity that one may come to truly understand themselves.

I conclude with one final story, the "New College and the Pseudo-Professors."<sup>16</sup> In Venice there was talk of what measures might be adopted in order to boost the Public Treasury and the Nation. Many commendable Senators turned to economic studies and other topics to determine what steps were necessary to enact some form of change. A good citizen, who had been barred entrance to the Senate, was known to have been talking about a plan to begin a new school only for patricians that would rival those in other cities and would keep young Venetians from leaving the city. His plan was much discussed, but went nowhere as he was unable to fund

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<sup>16</sup> *Apologhi*: 57. See Appendix I for complete translation.

the project himself. Eventually, however, a wealthy Somascan cleric heard of his plan and recognised in it some financial and political gain.

The plan was set to make a college for the Patricians in Venice. It would be made so well that all of the Patricians would send their children there and, as a result, the cleric would win favour with the Patricians. Thus, he set out to make his new school. A building was found in a quiet campo and plans for renovation were begun. Recognising that it would most likely be the mothers who made the decisions, the cleric decided to include in the renovation small rooms adjacent to the students' quarters for when their mothers would visit. These were adorned with a German floral cloth bordered in yellow and red lace. Other rooms were included to accommodate custodians, servants, and washrooms. All were similarly well appointed.

Barely a few women had visited the new school when word began to spread. Due to the refinement and careful detail, it was thought that their children would be taught better in this than any other college. It became a topic of gossip and women would meet on the street: "Will you place your children in the new college?" asked one to another. "Oh I certainly will," responded one, with another replying, "I still need to convince my husband. This will be easy as we will spend less in the new school than what we would spend to send him out of the state, and in case of illness we would be able to assist, and to visit our children without any inconvenience, or any special arrangements to be made." The college was quickly filled with students and with praise.

Soon after, one mother and then another began to complain that their children were coming home dirty. Suspicions arose that the school was saving money by not giving the students soap to cleanse themselves. The accountant of the school offered his books to show that indeed the proper amount of soap had been bought. The parents' fears were assuaged for a few weeks and the students scolded for not washing well enough. After a few weeks, however, the students appeared to their parents, again, dirty.

Recognising that a more serious investigation was required, the head of the school decided to go to the washroom and witness the students washing themselves. There, he

discovered that the youngest students were making bubbles with the soap and some straws. The middle students were playing a game similar to bocce (*borelle*) and the older students were throwing soap at each other's heads.

Lodoli proposed that those who apply themselves to study and those who teach should observe. Young scholars do not rectify their own minds and purify their spirits by using the soap of good discipline to remove intellectual spots. Rather, they use this to make sonnets and songs, the true bubbles of youth. The middle scholars play with academic discourse, translating from one language to another, commenting on old work, and mixing old truths with new ones. The older scholars, amongst whom there are, unfortunately, many theologians, write with biting criticism and abuse, only to throw their heavy works at each other's heads.

We may ask; what is architecture? Architecture is fulfilled through language. Dialogue is the model of language for education. This comes from the Greek *dia*, meaning through or within, and *logos*, meaning speech. Dialogue is bounded by orality; by the rules, though often unnamed, set out within the conversation. The shape of a conversation is constantly in flux, though it is always defined by a particular temporality. This temporality is framed by students' questions and interests, which are embraced and grounded in an open dialogue with history. Within this playful *fusion of horizons*, history is seen as a guide to action and as a non-nostalgic way of living fully and in the present. Meaningful dialogue opens to questions that prevail over any one answer. A truth is revealed in the process of speaking, of *architecture-ing*. This process is reflexive in that it shows rather than proves; it manifests rather than simply describes. The answer cannot simply be given. Rather it is a non-propositional knowledge acquired through philosophical inquiry conducted by means of propositions. The response, however, is always personal and focused on a self-understanding. It is a way of architectural education that does not present a doctrine or an isolated meditation, rather one that can depict the very process of making in all of its complexity.

*La mia opera Lodoliana è già terminata, e sono contento d'averla fatta. Io non sarò un Platone, ma sono certo che il Socrate d'architettura sarà disotterato.*

*m.*

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*Appendix I*  
*Apologue Translations*

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*Apologhi Immaginati (1787)*

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Antonio Longhi painter

P. Vitale Sculptor

*Count Carlo Lodoli, Venetian.  
 Perhaps  
 the Socrates of Architecture*

# APOLOGUES

IMAGINED AND IMPROVISED ORALLY  
AND GIVEN TO HIS FRIENDS

BY

*FRA CARLO DE' CONTI LODOLI*

MIN OSSERVANTE DI S. FRANCESCO,

*Quite useful for honest Youth, and now for the  
first time published*

ON THE OCCASION OF THE SOLEMN ENTRANCE  
MADE

TO THE PROCURACY OF S. MARCO

THE MOST EXCELLENT SIR

**ANDREA MEMMO**

KNIGHT OF THE GOLDEN STOLE

BASSANO

1787.

## THE PRINTER.

I was not able to give assistance to the most excellent *SIGNOR CAVALIERE* and *PROCURATOR MEMMO* to print, even at his own expense, the praises that were addressed by people dear to him, neither when he was married, nor when he returned from the Government of Padua nor in the occasion when he gave his first daughter in marriage. Nevertheless, Memmo does not believe that he should leave without offering even a little gift to those noble fellow citizens who will accompany him in his solemn entrance. He has now asked me to print a new collection of stories that is, these Lodolian Apologues, which His Excellency hopes should please them [fellow citizens] far more than usual sonnets; even more if they took their time reading them and were content with one or two per time.

*You pursue toga'd words, skilled at the sharp connection  
rounding a modest mouth, adept at trimming pallid  
habits and nailing every fault with a freeborn humour.*

Persius Satyra V.ad Annæum Cornutum.

## *T O M Y F E L L O W R E A D E R S .*

If, while alive, Father Lodoli had compelled me to write his Apologhi and had also promised to assist me in editing them, even though I would have truly desired to please him, I would not have been able due to several reasons which will soon become clear.

Twenty-six years have passed since I first heard them. I'm determined at this time to publish them if only to not lose the original marks of his very imaginative mind. My courteous reader will surely understand the difficulty I face of not ever having tested myself in the experiment of prosaically dictating philosophic, picturesque, or poetic stories. This is exactly what the Lodolian Fables are.

I wish I could remember some of the more noble fables that represented all the various aspects of the same thing wrested, so to say, of some conclusions, to which the author [Lodoli] aimed, and that without needing any ornament they were able to support themselves. But as they were composed of many parts, they have since faded from my memory. I cannot therefore publish those that one would most admire or like best. I shall not waste any time to demonstrate what usefulness there is in imaginings [*imagini*], which are founded on a well understood analogy, and that are masterfully directed to practical use of life, and which by the same road of delight, make easier

intelligence, or purification of the heart. Neither will I stop to compare the Ancients, and modern Fable-tellers [*Favoleggiatori*], since others recently have done a very commendable job.

However, amongst these moderns is mine, who, unlike the others, almost always adheres to the morals.

He wanted to create some for use by all professionals, as one can see, where I discussed Civil Architecture, and like you will see better in the second part of my book already printed, and that will soon be published.

Nevertheless I cannot help to reflect, that sometimes making Gods, Philosophers, Princes, and Politicians speak heroically thus also symbolizing science, and art with an eloquence which seemed to rage down like a majestic flowing river, Lodoli was indeed able to invent a few fables so quickly that they resembled a flash of lightning.

This new method of philosophizing began in him purely by chance after he had read (if I'm not mistaken) Diogenes Laertius. He believed that Socrates, before dying, had regretted very much not having followed the Pythagorean style, which was that of speaking by using images, or enigmas in the Egyptian manner; (a cunning way that he employed to keep hidden, those new and perhaps dangerous truths, from the people which he had spread). If not, he would have been exposed to so much malice by those who accused him, and of also decisive ignorance by those who judged him.

Keeping this in mind Lodoli, an insatiable admirer of the Great Philosopher wanted to see for himself, and yearning to express his symbols in Latin he began to study and to imitate

the style of the golden verses of Phaedrus. The praises that he received proved an even greater obstacle to his career. Then perhaps noticing that adopting a dead language not understood by all, might not be useful to everyone, he thought to dictate them in Italian.

And still unhappy with his own words;  
 as he embarked then in the difficult profession  
 of the Poet, after he reached the age of sixty, either because he realised,  
 that his poetic locutions were not easily understood, or,  
 because he felt that he had understood the literature of all the best  
 Greek, Latin and Tuscan Poets with genius,  
 and not servile imitation, he decided  
 to adopt a more familiar style. With this new method,  
 while he maintained a free manner in telling his Apologues  
 to better adapt a phrase according to his  
 audience's inclinations and abilities, it happened that  
 the exact same story, would sound entirely different to those  
 who had previously heard it in a completely different social context.

Such a change of style, though justified, could still make  
 suspicion arise in this writer [Memmo], not to  
 be a faithful interpreter.

Another disadvantage one would have when  
 writing instead of speaking, is to not be able, like  
 P. Lodoli, to render things proportionately to the various intelligences  
 of the readers, using, like him, various styles.

Whatever will be, imploring grace,  
 in case I didn't reflect Lodoli's manner,  
 it is certain that after Padre Lodoli stopped writing

those imaginings, part meditated part extemporaneous,  
not to mention the craft and the style he used to render them more pleasing,  
would have begun to vanish more and more.

In reference to the few that I would want to preserve from oblivion  
after rejecting all those that were born during various daily events  
and which would be unpleasant to read without a long series of  
notes and relinquishing those others that would lend themselves to easy  
double meanings or misunderstandings which a malicious spirit would interpret as  
a lessening of his integrity and his religion, I will say that I can already  
foretell the destiny to be quite doomed for anyone who would venture to try  
and write them. I would sooner bear this bad reputation than  
the rectitude of the Censor who would praise me for being faithful to  
his original ideas, which I dragged from the bottom of my memory  
only to please others.

After this work, which I already admit to be lacking,  
others grasping the very essence of these ideas could perhaps be able  
to better express them, and nothing would please me more.  
So much so that I wouldn't ever have the conceit to pass for what  
I am not, that is as scientific, or erudite, or  
an elegant speaker.

I could well beg some Lodolian enthusiast still around  
to reflect for a moment, that writing,  
so far removed from the events, and for many of them  
far removed from the places that they occurred, the imaginings must have lost  
much of their finer points, and expressive energy.  
As I am not able to add to these ideas the happiest  
flair, that so strongly animated them, nor the gesture, nor



the sound, and the sometimes thundering voice, that Lodoli possessed, neither his singular gift of imitation, nor his presence, nor even his almost cynical way of thinking, all of which conferred to his style a clear philosophic marking which, like the one of his celebrated Florentine friend the Abate Vincenzo Martinelli used to say rendered him immune to the vendetta of others.

Father Candido Florio di Vercelli, his brother and friend, who to this theoretical doctrine paired the experience of the world, and a touch of pleasant literature, feared that these lovely yet useful Lodolian Lessons would be forever lost with the death of the only one who pronounced them. He followed Lodoli everywhere and to the best of his ability wrote the apologues in verse with a with variety of meter. But when these were believed to be safe for posterity, Father Florio died suddenly in Cattaro. Despite my search and the diligence of Senator Angelo Quirini, and his very worthy nephew Lauro, who was educated by Florio in his father's house, we never found one iota of all his entire work, which would have spared me completely or at least in a large part of this burden of mine. I asked others for help, but my calls were in vain. Some help was given, after much insistence, by one of my close brothers, a very attentive listener of his [Lodoli], who, just to please me, began to remind me of a few fables by sending letters to me.

I will finally consider, that if I, who never was a linguist, had been as ingenious as to introduce in the dictation of the fables in the gentle manner of the Tuscany tongue, which without doubt is able to confer to these

compositions more soul, and grace, this experiment I shouldn't be allowed to use, while it is certainly better to conserve the traits of the original which I would be happy to merely translate in proper Italian tongue that the Venetian dialect, in which the stories were all first heard. Without this they would not be recognized at all.

Let it also be known that nothing would make me happier than to have the good fortune of seeing the stories that I collected awaken more stories in others, and that they in turn would send them to me without deeming it best to print them, since I care nothing more than to contribute as well, to the useful education of the youth, that from such symbolic stories the youth may be able to draw some light, and learning directions, particularly learning the Moral stripped of the philosophical dressing and in a manner that speaks better to the imagination, which in turn becomes a better prepared and more universal quality than reason. [*raziocinante*]

In the first case, I will say that, when it is appropriate, I would mention those people, by name who have helped me, as I did in the stories of the Eagle and the Goose, of which I was reminded while in Naples by the most erudite, and very kind Sig. Marchese Abate Don Ferdinando Galiani.

If anyone else then wanted to attempt to dress with elegant verses these imaginings, I would also be happy, because it would seem to me to be a reward for my sacrifice, which I full heartedly know to be making to the friendship and no less than to the gratitude I continuously give to my wonderfully cynical Franciscan.

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*The Story of the Story, or an Introduction*

Little by little shedding that first innocence, after reigning Saturn flew from the earth, the Father of men and of Gods, desired to return to the gentle manner of good custom and therefore decided to incarnate a genius. This subordinate deity was to be called the Apologue.

“Your dexterity being equal to your acumen,” he told the Apologue, “I would like to make use of you in a great enterprise, namely to heal the nauseating wounds of corruption so that those corrupt souls will depart from my hands in health. I know what new instruments are most necessary to fulfil this honourable charge and all these will be given to you. The Kingdoms of the Vegetables, the Fossils, the Minerals—not that these are necessarily more suitable than the Animals and the Insects—all will be at your beck and call. To you, these become noteworthy at the moment when you have instilled with science the individual properties of each thing, and these may be used opportunely to your advantage. You will have as your indivisible guide, and companion she whom you love more than any other genius, Analogy [*Analogia*]. She will lend you the implements with which at times you must strike, and she will be like a veil, as if to motivate laughter, these same stabs by which they will endure the sting of your remedies.” This having been said, they descended at once to the terr-aqueous world following the solar rays. There, the celestial messenger chose a large plain divided by a river that flowed on the sea. At the mouth of this river was a deep valley on one side and a thick forest to the other. Here he raised a modest throne, to manifest his divine rank and from which he could best judge all of the animals.

The Apologue seemed to have the face of an owl, the eyes of a lynx; his body’ proportion resembled a hermaphrodite. The only parts that modesty wished to hide, were covered with a light sash. A helmet of parrot feathers decorated his head. No monkey was more adroit than he and no man more his twin.

Acting as auctioneer he made it understood that all the self-propelling animals, in pairs made up of a male and female, must pass before him one after another. In this way, he could be assured to see and understand the properties, qualities, and defects of each one.

Immediately passing by with no disorder, as best they could, were not only Man and Woman, but males and females of different ages and in various conditions, for these animals are very different from one another even though in general they are all called reasonable: each equally prepared as any other proud species of benign nature, whether both sanguine or lifeless, aquatic or terrestrial, univalve or bivalve, turbinate [those in shells], birds, serpents of all types, insects, and vermin, and even the slowest—slugs, snails and little snails. No one dared excuse himself from the most inquiring observations of the Divine Genius. Only the Ass appeared to be unbending as he slowly followed the long rank, taking four paces forward and three back, then three recoiling to two. Though late, eventually the donkey arrived, and the Celestial Censor, noticing his reluctance, encouraged him, saying “Come forward docile animal whose fatigue is of value. Do you believe that I do not recognize you even from afar, and that I do not know the innumerable merits of your noble progeny? That your heritage is connected to the generous war-horses from whence comes a race like the steed, but more vigorous. I know also that the milk of your own beloved companion cures disparate illnesses. Of what advantage is it not the cause? As we know from Roman history, some lascivious Empress travelled, accompanied by a vast number of your nourishing females, in order to dive each morning into their milk. Your patience exceeds that of the most illuminate philosophers. You are content with little, you are obedient to your owner, and you can still care for him and be faithful.”

The Apologue wished to say more, but the Donkey, who did not pride himself on civility, thought it acceptable to interrupt, shaking his head negatively and saying in a rough voice “it may be true what you say, yes sir, you are right...it appears that you have pointed out things of fact, but I feel that I cannot be persuaded as I fear that you have yet a hidden snare.”

Although discomfited somewhat by this first attempt, the Apologue did not interrupt his important studies, useful as they would be to future human generations. In execution of the divine command, given the Apologue’s dear and great knowledge, if the Ass remained stubborn in his ignorance and if his suspicions was not readily convinced, at any rate there remained the hope of gaining more with the other beasts.

The evidence itself of these things, pronounced with skill and sweetness, is yet not enough to enlighten those who resemble the Donkey. It is good to know from the beginning that it is not wise to waste one’s time with them because they need large sticks or a good rope rather than pure Apologues to be led to reason.

*The Poultice,  
or Another Introduction*

There was once a Prussian maker of a certain poultice, who had obtained some recognition as well as some good luck for remarkable reasons of which he was constantly boasted about.

One morning while he was outside of his house, his maidservant was resting alone when she was surprised by a cool wind, which seemed to enter from a crack in the glass window next to her work table. This had the effect of making her quite uncomfortable.

Looking here and there for how best to repair the whole. She saw a large amount of the poultice of which she knew the strength. She decided to take some pieces. With this she perfectly filled the all of the holes and stopped the draft.

When the Master returned to the house, seeing the usage she had made of such a prodigious chemical composite, he began to scold her with insults. He complained that after all of his research and having time spent to prepare the mix with the sole purpose of healing the gravest illness without the users feeling any pain, she used it ignorantly to merely keep out the cold Boreal Wind. His prize reduced, he told her, to a simple remedy? And me, the author, do you scorn me?

The dispute of the following stories will be greater than those that were pronounced by Empiricists against those fools who listen to them for simple enjoyment, and not to attempt to heal from the sores for which they had been intended.

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*This with many of the following brief stories have been dictated to you in Italian verse, good or bad and since they were not memorized by the fable teller [now Memmo] it is necessary that the reader who now them now would be content with his prose. Meanwhile he will give you two that he remembered.*

**III.***The Ace of Spades*

The ace of spade accustomed to the Empire of Shadows  
Proud, he does not settle for any another game.  
Randomly played in haste, and made enslaved  
By the two or by the three there in the game of *Tresette*  
It suffers and grumbling says:  
What bad manners in this crazy place!

The same things happen to the sublime pupils of Matesi  
And also to those pensive and grave  
engaged in the study of Politics  
while they sit talking around a table  
they answer every question by reasoning  
and they cannot stand he who is more sensible  
as if a valiant artist confuses them, and wins  
whereas if they were talking about art or anything else,  
they mix with pride, and arrogance,  
in order to not be contradicted by anyone.



*The Taming of the Metal*

Of heavy hammer under heavy strikes

If kept still every metal bends:

it moans, it shakes, and restrained it flees  
the strong hand which gives the blows.

Dragged again over the anvil

it can be tamed by strong hits, and takes  
conquered by art, that yearns for an object  
the forms conveyed by the work of the smith.

Likewise reason inside the human mind

even if upset and muddied by tyrannical sufferings

like a wave of the sea by the wind

[reason] uses the empire of the voice, and while

victorious, reveals its power

It makes so that man, willing or unwilling, will bow

his proud head on the mark of virtue on the footprint,

And its laws, and would adore its sceptre.

## V.

*The Young Nun and Her Mother*

A young nun was becoming rather annoying. Even though her family asked her to make something else, she continually demanded from her sweet mother flour, sugar, butter, oil, and almonds to make small ring shaped cookies (*ciambelle*). Each week the mother demanded and the young Nun returned with the same things. This invariably annoyed her mother who, with some dexterity, told her “I will give you for this last time what you need but on the condition however that you make different cakes than your usual ones, of which I have had enough.” Going out then the daughter attempted to make a new mix with different amounts. Although she also changed the way she prepared them. She went back to her mother after several tries because she constantly fell into her old ways.

He would be similarly tricked who, without genius, wanted to escape from his old habits.

## VI.

*The Shopkeeper and the Devout*

It was during the annual Indulgence known as Forgiveness (*il Perdono*), in the Church of S. Giacomo di Rialto in Venice, very nearby to this the Money Exchange (*Borsa de' Mercanti*). Therefore, on the first morning there was more than the usual crowd going over the famous bridge. Noticing this, the shopkeepers thought there had to be some business to discuss. The devout then said to themselves: how good and how religious are our Venetian People!

Nothing is more common than to interpret the actions of another with one's own ideas.

**VII.*****The New Governor of a Hospital***

A well cultivated and soft spoken gentleman was elected Governor of a Hospital and given responsibility to care for the patients there.

He went immediately to see them. Upon his arrival, he realised that dormitory stank terribly.

Fearing the consequences, he asked the patient who was closest to him if he could smell it. Hearing from him that it did not bother them, he reasoned that those poor unhappy souls had lost their senses. They must have been close to death and very saddened. Therefore he asked that the doctor be called, who, laughing to himself about the ill-conceived fears, answered him “it is clear that you were born and bred in luxury.” The Governor replied “If you sent out, for two or three nights any of these patients, upon returning here after a small break even he would smell this stench.” He who lives in it, does not smell it.

Thus, the Sophist in the Hospital of Sophists, very accustomed to the fault of his reason, doesn’t distinguish its fallacious consequences while staying amongst others like him.

**VIII.*****The Frog and the Little Sparrow***

A sparrow was walking to get a drink of water in a ditch when he met a most courteous Frog. They jumped together from here to there, and, finally having to go away the Sparrow invited the Frog to go along in flight. After only one jump, the Frog became bogged down in the mud and there she stayed.

If they put to the test some people, who play around sometimes with chivalrous little things, or sometimes in erudite conversation, when such people believe that they are able to advance, and to take flight with more serious arguments, one will then see them condemned to always remain sunk in the native mud of their mediocrity.

**IX.*****The Graceful Hunter***

A young Knight while hunting ran into a grand Prince. He was a foreigner, very beautiful and magnificently dressed and he carried a Spanish harquebus. The Prince wanted to show admiration to the young Knight and asked him to join a particular hunt they were engaged in.

The lead hunter, who had seen the nobly dressed Knight before, advised to his Prince in a deep voice, “It is true that he has some beautiful weapons, but your highness should know, he is not coordinated.”

Oh how many scholars who have a beautiful appearance overburden their memory with erudition and are quick to form mathematic equations, and Politicians too, when invited to act in the world of commerce don’t know where to begin. They remain humiliated quite often exactly when they make their biggest effort to show off!

**X.*****The Sharpshooter***

A certain marksman competing with others in a game of bulls-eye had spent much time to set up his equipment. He calculated the strength of the gun powder, weighed it many times, looked, aimed, adjusted, aimed again, and finally he fired. Despite many words of advice he didn’t ever hit the target. He studied the second shot even more carefully to correct his faults. It would seem impossible that he could err again.

The second shot failed as well. This angered him so much that, almost fainting, he fell into the arms of his faithful companion. Recovering a little he began to complain of his bad luck, when the others asked him if he calculated the crosswind that pushed the bullet astray.

Struck by this very important consideration, he sighed a little after he answered. “You are right. It was that damned crosswind that was the real cause of which I lost my prize.”

Direct your reasoning to the actions of those who may be well equipped to receive it, lest some moron who has some authority, or other bastards who have a certain knack for words, or who with gestures can provoke a lateral movement to your projects and thus steal from you the opportunity for a breakthrough.

It is necessary therefore to know and to calculate well these horizontal forces. Without this all of the previous applications will become useless.

## XI.

### *The Venetian and the Platonic Citizen*

Two friends, one a Venetian Citizen and the other a Platonic, were planning to meet. The Platonic wanted to proceed at all times using reason: when they encountered obstacles as they walked he would lose his patience. He believed that special treatment should be given to travellers, foreigners, or to people who appear to be of a higher rank; furthermore, he maintained that the straight line should never be crossed by anyone. The good Venetian, on the contrary, did not care whom he met or passed, and arrived first to that place where the two had agreed to meet, whereas his Platonic friend was still arguing.

How often when you go along with affairs, and abandon the narrow street of reason, do you finish quicker and better.

## XII.

### *The Eagle and the Goose*

An eagle, which for his own pleasure flew afar, noticed that in a certain low-flying place there was something white and shining

that moved on its own. Swooping above this thing, the eagle by his great size, and dark colouring, frightened what was revealed to be a goose.

Attempting to escape by the best way possible, the goose sent out a loud, high-pitched but hoarse cry. Reassured by the eagle, that he intended no harm, the fear gradually ceased, and after admiring that great bird with wonder the goose asked.

“Who are you who descends from above?” He replied “I am the eagle, the favourite bird of Jove, without a doubt the most noble and famous since I can raise myself as far as the Heavens. And with my sharp and penetrating eye I can discern the smallest of objects from far away, more than anyone else. One of these things was you. With this beak given by nature, as you can see, anything can be torn and broken, and with the force of these claws I can grasp and hold everything, no matter its weight. Further, I lead a long and blessed life. Now tell me what is your name and what do you do down here?” “I am a goose,” he answered “a peaceful amphibian animal. I possess a serious temperament. I walk and swim slowly, and if I do not have the fortune that you say you have, that is to live a long time, at least I have a meat that people like for its taste and tenderness when I am fattened up. Therefore everyone looks to feed me with good food and so while I live I can desire nothing better.”

The eagle, laughing to himself at the goose’s self gratification asked it to open his wings, and upon observing their minute size she remarked with wonder: “You call those wings? They are pretty small for that body of yours, and now I see why they could not sustain you in the air when you tried to flee from me.” “But I do not need them to be bigger.” The goose responded. “Given that I do not care to raise myself in the air as that is useless to me. All I need is that they aid me to run when I must move a little faster. Please do not believe that the quality of these feathers lacks in merit from what you can see and by how they are made. With these feathers are made certain marks, allowing agreement between men, communicating their ideas even from a distance, by consequence sustaining commerce (and just as full of merit) by means of my feathers man may ratify any pact. For those sighing young lovers who cannot freely deal with each other, could these feathers not be more of a comfort? The world is filled, because of them, with works of all kinds that allow many printers to make a living.” The goose wanted to continue,

but the Eagle soon became bored of these boastful facts, and, having his own feathers, with one gesture he suddenly leaped into the air, leaving for the goose that much too uncertain glory of writing everything. (a)

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### XIII.

#### *Hercules and the Flies*

Hercules arrived in Olympia with the intention to visit the grand Temple of Jove. Always burning with the spirit of Jove inside his chest, he vowed to make a solemn sacrifice to the highest Gods for his many victories, thanks to the Divinity of the Gods and according to Euripides, over monsters, wild beasts, giants, and even over death itself as.

Those who lived nearby raced to see and admire him but there was no more room in this city to be able to contain the immense multitude who gathered. When the moment arrived, with the naked demigod being lathered in precious balsam and excited by his divine furore to complete the sacrifice, he was attacked by great many flies gathered to bite him. While he surely could have tested himself as he did with tigers, and with lions, he was not able to free himself from these little insects despite his efforts.

But as he wanted to complete the sacrifice, he addressed new vows about this very problem to the same Jove, who, after freeing him from such nuisances Jove decided to honour him with the distinct name of Aponion, the fly hunter.

So too will become for the Philosopher those weaknesses and minutiae, which he brought about by a premature non philosophic education and which are far more difficult to overcome and subdue than a great passion that sometimes with the help of an eminent virtue, may diminish and cease.

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(a) I owe this story (*imagine*) to my most kind Master and friend *Sig. Marchese Abate Don Ferdinando Galiani, Consigliere di S. M. Siciliana*, most distinguished for his zeal and his superior talents in the exercise of his Ministry, no less than for his most praiseworthy and useful work, which sheds much light on various arguments.

While I was in Naples with him and we were speaking of the genius of Lodoli, he remembered having heard this same story 30 years earlier when we had the good fortune to meet for the first time.

**XIV.*****Acoustics***

By dint of many continued experiences with sounds, a certain celebrated instrument maker ascertained that a surface covered by two or three thick mats could render sound better than a surface covered by two or three layers of silk or cotton. In fact, in the fabric of woven textiles there remain cracks that allow sound to pass through and hit the smooth surface behind, whereas fabrics that are much thinner and tighter didn't allow through even the smallest amount of sound.

To make truth arrive and resonate in those minds full of very fine pre-judgements and ideas is far more thorny and difficult than in those minds that are more coarse.

**XV.*****The Two Pies***

A young cynic had a whim one day to send for some of his friends for a small dinner. He warned them in advance however, that he would have to be very sparing and only serve two Pies. He had them believe another friend had kindly sent them as a gift. But what happened? Having accepted the invitation and while sitting at the table it was discovered that the first pie was made of only lark beaks (*becchi di Lodole*) and nothing else. Each of them was mortified by this strange and unexpected trick. Showing the young cynic their disappointment said with disdain "let's see now what other cruel trick we shall find in the second pie."

The spiteful trick to the guests could not be more bitter, and even more so as, hoping to eat a good dinner, they had not eaten all day. The philosophizing host [young cynic] faked fear to uncover what might be, when at the end it was revealed to be liver. Having rushed to eat it they soon realised clearly that it was horse's liver. What miracles



will a big appetite perform! Bit by bit, though always yelling against the insolent donor, they swallowed everything.

“How often we are forced,” said the Philosopher, “either by need or by reason itself to prefer the lesser of two bad things to the useless part of something good!”

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## XVI.

### *The New Tightrope Walker*

An elegant and young dancer, who also performed in the theatre, after pondering over the big fortune that certain tightrope walkers could make. He decided, tried, and succeeded in enrolling with them, hoping, because of his courage, to soon share in their earnings.

He began to know the rule of the body’s equilibrium, that is the weight and balance, its opposites, and how much speed may be necessary in certain cases to prevent a possible fall. Having practiced a bit, he would often return home with a head contusion, or sometimes a bruised bone, or a sprained ligament. Because of this, his better trained friends would make fun of him, laughing wholeheartedly.

Nevertheless, by dint of training, some times on the floor, or on the rope, other times on the tightrope, and sometimes even in the air, he became confident, famous, and rich, and those who mocked him were miserable by comparison.

It is clear, therefore, that there is a great reward in attempting to fully understand one’s natural indispositions.

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## XVII.

### *The Young Girl at the Well*

A common Venetian lass of eleven or twelve years of age, feeling a certain and persistent itch to move and amuse herself, continually pestered

her mother to allow her to play with her little friends, innocent like her, in a nearby square. “Wait,” her mother responded “until midnight when we will be going together to draw water from the cistern. Don’t doubt me; behave.” When the time, and they had gone to the cistern, she asked the daughter to work the bucket and rope by herself. Letting it first fall into the well, the daughter then pulled it up, loosening the cord she let it fall again, repeating this several times for her amusement.

Needing finally to end this game, when the pail was levelled with water, she soon began to feel its weight, and having to use great force even to begin to raise the pail, she started to realise that one needed to use this force gradually more and more. Very surprised by all this, the inexperienced youth asked her mother what it meant that when the pail was completely full of water it seemed to weigh nothing, but now that it contained even less water, it weighed so much.

The mother replied as best she could in all her ignorance, but a philosopher, who by chance found himself there, happily observed to himself that one can believe that the inexperienced begin to emerge out of ignorance once they begin to feel its weight.

## XVIII.

### *The Irrationally Affectionate Parents*

A little boy of four or five years, the son of a wonderful citizen, beautiful and lively was the delight of his parents. Hearing him babble they were very pleased. Although he could pronounce many words perfectly well, it seemed to them that there was a delay in his ability to pronounce the ‘s’ and the ‘r’. The former seemed to be lacking to his father, and the latter to his mother.

Saddened and fearing themselves to be, although without guilt, the very cause of this defect. After some useless attempts, they began to search at all costs for someone from Tuscany or Lucca who spoke well and was instructed in the organic articulation of language and who would be most able to activate the mechanism of the tongue.

By coincidence a doctor from Pisa arrived after some time and upon hearing the youngster pronounce clearly the labial words of

papa, mother, joker, baby food (*papa, mamma, matto, pappà*), and also observing the internal construction of the mouth and the remaining parts, he knew that there was no hindrance that would one day impede the clear expression of the two so highly sought after letters. Therefore he said to them frankly: “Dear sirs, I am useless. You have nothing to do other than to wait for him to grow a bit and the ‘r’ and the ‘s’ will come out perfectly.”

Those parents, who so anxiously want their children to learn such doctrines, though useful, are not in the least proportionate to the feeble presence of their potential, should just wait for that happy event; while you ignorant masters who are the eternal pedagogues of first youth shall stop occupying them for so many hours merely to wrongfully earn a monthly assignment, selling inappropriate nonsense and over burdening their developing intelligence for no reason.

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## XIX.

### *The Fight Between Hercules and Antaeus*

When the famous thief Cacus knew that Hercules and Antaeus would soon come to fight each other, he thought to rob from them great cloaks of wild animal skin which they were in the habit of wrapping themselves up in the winter and which, he foresaw that they would necessarily have to put aside for better comfort at the moment of assault.

Once the fight between the two champions began and being too occupied with themselves, they were unable to pay attention to anything other than fame and the preservation of their own life. Cacus succeeded and then fled like a flash of lightning from under their eyes. He went straightaway to the nearby markets to sell the cloaks quickly. Because they were very large, and very long he was not able to find buyers. If he wanted to sell them, he needed to reduce them to a waistcoat, and to a biretta.

The innocent person therefore should not fear calumny that by far exceeds all likelihood. They will not be able to bear him any damage since, by themselves not believable, they will not be easily believed by others. On the contrary, one should fear the small and sprightly ones; although he who isn’t guilty can be certain that, even though they may be thrust upon him, they will nonetheless vanish as quickly as a cloud in the sky.

*The Bear and the Little Monkey*

A young man who did not know how to spend all of his money was looking for fun things of all kinds. Amongst those was one thing that gave him the most delight. This was to possess the most rare and elegant beasts of various races, some of which he would then have trained by the most experienced handlers. Amongst these, there was a nice little bear who had become popular in a very short time because he could bring his master a drink. To do so he would balance on top of his head a wooden salver covered with silver, with a solid silver chalice. If this exercise were carried out well then the bear would earn a few pieces of bread. Every day [*giorno* is missing in the original] he was very eager to learn new tricks. When he saw the house monkey playing badminton (*volante*), a strong desire arose in him to learn that new game, and with such fervour he begged his noble Master to teach him. However, his master believed that the young bear would never have succeeded, for his body structure (*costruzione di macchina*) lacked that natural and quick quality necessary to nimbly jump from here there. Further, his legs were too short and close together. The bear couldn't convince his master to let him play. The good man finally decided to appease the bear and, having initially tied a racquet to his paw, began to teach him how to hold it and what to do in order to hit the shuttlecock. As the bear played with the man, who would serve him the shuttlecock by playing it very close to him. The bear was able to return a few shots, jumping with joy with the first few attempts. The over confident animal then challenged the monkey to play with him. The monkey went along with him to make him happy, or maybe just to have fun. The bear's shots then began to fail consistently. They were crooked and always short.

The ignorant, who want to make witticisms putting himself to the test with one who knows more than he, always ends up being foolish, and his discourses will always come up short and crooked in comparison.

**XXI.*****The Vigil***

A few women of the county were spinning hemp together in a room, where various tables of silkworms were all around, and they were complaining of the stench that the silkworms emitted. Because of this they began to speak badly of the worms especially because they [the silkworms] were the cause, they said, of an insupportable and ruinous luxury to their families. They reflected that each poor woman, every popular man, every Priest, every clerk, and even every wall must now be covered with silk; all of this must have cost enormous and draining sums.

In the end, they reduced to praise only themselves: spinning hemp, as they provided clothing to husbands, Fathers, and brothers. By using cheaper thread, they were able to spend more on food. In this way, they occupied all of their time in a more useful and human way. Others would add to the discussion, competing amongst themselves to speak ill of an insect that is rightfully different and who is even celebrated in other contexts. And meanwhile?

*In the meanwhile the noble silkworm, attentive and calm,  
From his bowels keeps producing silk.*

Likewise the same behaviour should be adopted by those moved by the purest intentions towards healthy objects, who, as they design their useful objects for the county or general society, are constantly derided and affected by the words of envious and stupid people.

They should continue to finish the work they have begun, despising with superiority of spirit the groundless remarks. Because they are unaffected by the stings, trouble will stay away, their own merits, will finally be recognised, and in the end they will succeed.

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**XXII.*****The Nightingale and the Custodian***

An Athenian of great inclination had developed an amazing love for the rare and unheard melody of one of his singing nightingales. So

enamoured with the animal, the Athenian entrusted the care of the bird to his most loyal servants, so it would be continually watched over it and protected it from the cold, the heat, the bright light, the rats, and from all other types of maladies. In addition, he was to guide the nightingale from time to time to whistle various new harmonies with the most suitable accordion.

The new servant then became extremely happy. He loved very much the easy life, or indolence, and also that, for such a small job his Master had even increased his salary. Nothing was missing in this perfect picture. Even better, the wealthy Athenian never paid any attention to the expenses having to do with his dear little bird. Meanwhile, in the daily and long cohabitation, deep understandings between the servant and the bird began to develop to the point that while one spoke or sang the other seemed to respond like thunder follows lightning. This was seen with the utmost happiness by the master. Nevertheless, something happened soon after that was so extraordinary, it would have been truly difficult to believe or to even deem at all possible if this fact had not been corroborated by many similar accounts and by witnesses who were trustworthy. What happened was that the servant, little by little, stopped speaking, and from his chest would exit chirping whistles, which at times resembled the very acute chirps of the Nightingale. Mature philosophers, celebrated Doctors, what am I saying? The entire Academy the their sycophants were pursued to explain what the cause of this behaviour might be and what could have brought such extravagant metamorphoses. Even the Oracles were consulted, but always in vain. No trace of the voice of the servant could be heard. Surely those phenomena would not have been explained had the Accountant of the house not discovered that the expenses pertaining to the little animal had amounted to ten or twenty times more than what was needed. The gluttonous and stingy servant more than gladly would eat the food that was only to be served to the beloved nightingale. Hence the story travelled in those parts, and from there to all of the other counties, useful and sensible, namely that, it is better to always look at the food that the man eats before his demons take over and are given voice: the most obvious consequence of which derive from his previous teachings.

**XXIII.*****The Rooster***

There was once a great and fat oriental Rooster with multicoloured plumage which was owned by a common peasant. He constantly caused others to marvel and as such caused the peasant to dream of a great financial reward if he were to sell him to some fancy, though inexperienced, henhouse.

The peasant took pleasure in just seeing the Rooster move slowly and gracefully. To be honest though, the Rooster's high pitched song was annoying. It seemed as if it could pierce through the clouds.

Because of the high price that the master demanded the rooster would always return from the market unsold. Due to the many continued returns, the Rooster had learned the roads to the market. Often times, he would walk by himself and with full ostentatious splendour.

People would rush to see him as he passed and he became so arrogant that he did not cede even to the peacock. He even took special pleasure to flaunt in front of all the pretty girls. Many callow boys would seek him just to pluck one solitary feather each to adorn their hair or hat.

Dazzled by all of the attention and the most honourable requests for his feathers he explained to his master that he was not able to deny a feather to anyone. Having allowed, however, so many to be taken, he exhibited his bare ass to all and caused widespread laughter even in those who benefited. It was for this very reason that he became miserable and full of unbearable shame.

The same thing happens to those who imprudently allow others to undress them, whether bit by bit or all at once.

**XXIV.*****Mechanical Pulcinella***

Placed high outside of the Blacksmith's shop was an elegant spit, which slowly moved a nobly dressed Pulcinella. Lowering and raising it in such a way that it truly seemed

to have life and looked as well if he operated a machine which sat next to him. The heavy stone, which was well connected to the cord, was hung on the inside and in a way, that its effect could not be seen from the outside. An innocent child, who was passing by there while walking to school, looking here and there, became completely filled with marvel. He told his guardian to look how well that Pulcinella moves! “Oh dear little boy,” he replied, “it is not Pulcinella that moves, but on the contrary Pulcinella is the one being moved. Come along with me to see the mechanism and you will see that it is all a game. He is moving because of hidden springs, all of which are activated by a weight.”

Those who are vulgar, almost always ignorant and believing in appearances, when dealing with things of the ministry, without knowledge of the mechanisms of the secret forces (*molle*), often admire an idiot who does not allow them to see that his subordinates are kept secret.

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## XXV.

### *The Mullet that Could Fly*

An exceptionally spirited mullet was jumping over the surface of the water when he heard someone marvelling at the feat; this made him so happy that he attempted to jump still higher and received more praises until he heard himself compared to a bird.

He was beside himself with happiness; marvelling that the other mullets did not want to follow in his glorious example, he began to feel that he was better than all of the others. But owing to his strong desire to raise himself in the air, he ultimately died, and was neither a mullet nor a bird.

How? The Philosopher might say me: I, who eat and drink with the ignorant, I, who pays rent for the ignorant, I, who make love and am married to the ignorant, I, who drink coffee and play with the ignorant, etc... Would I not deign to live with the ignorant? Separating myself from them, would I persuade myself and would I boast that I am more illuminated than them?

Would this not bring me as many enemies, who, envious of me, would mock me in public, or talk behind my back? And how would I be able to enjoy from time to time various social pleasures if I let my own weakness bring me to scorn my fellow men or



bring me to raise my proud head above them even if I wanted? I wouldn't be so well in the dregs of Romulus. I couldn't live with myself.

Let's indulge in a few jumps out of the water, but like the dolphin does: that is let us stay within a tight curve, being content with calmly diving back into one's own muddy puddle, the most natural lodging for he who was born of man.

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## XXVI.

### *Two Mastiffs*

"How is it that you are successful," said one Mastiff to another, "in keeping so beautiful and so large that it is such a pleasure to see you and everyone marvels at you? And yet I think that the chain that binds you is much shorter than the one that binds me. Let's see if I am mistaken." And so it was that both, walking away from the wall to which they had been tied on that day realised that the chain of the thin dog was almost twice as long as that of the other. Astonishment grew in them, until the placidly fat one explained to the larger one:

"I never strain myself much, dear friend, trying to exceed the length of my chain; neither do I suffer the effects of longing and of resentment which you so strongly feel because you are unable to catch all of those who pass before you. I do my job. I bark on time so that the master, or he who he serves him, will be alerted that someone is entering the house; but does not bother me that I am not able to bite them. I always stay two fingers from the end of my chain rather than needlessly attempting with great inconvenience on my part to go beyond that. That's it. This is all there is to my great, and very useful indeed, secret. You do the same thing and you will too become beautiful and fat."

To adapt tranquilly to one's own condition with its limits and restraints makes us less unhappy than having a much more comfortable and ample condition in which we are not accustomed to stop short of surpassing our own irritable and intolerant desire to exceed the limit.

**XXVII.*****Two Spanish Horses***

Two most noble Spanish Horses were being brought to an Italian Prince to whom they had been ordered to be given as a gift by one of those Great Lords who wanted to show his gratitude for having received many favours. Being overcome by an enormous tempest on their journey, that the drivers (*Palafrenieri*) decided to seek shelter. Not finding any very close, they entered into a great stable filled with untied donkeys.

The calmer of the two Horses, seeing such a large number of these animals which, because of their envy are natural adversaries to those whose merit surpasses their own, prudently proposed that they (the two horses) put their tails between their legs and drop their heads. Having noticed the skin of a recently dead donkey—with skill, as it was already dark—he covered himself so as to not be distinct from the donkeys.

The other Horse, not wanting to offend with the same insulting behaviour that he felt would betray his generous race and native valour, began neighing and rising from time to time. In this way, he angered the mules so much that they repeatedly kicked him and assaulted him with poisonous bites of the worst kind. He was lucky to break free at dawn and escape from the stable with his life, beaten but still alive.

To others who are forced to live amongst an uncivil gang, keep this example in mind. If you wanted to avoid or escape acute bites and lethal hits, learn how indispensable it is to avoid appearing better than them.

**XXVIII.*****Chiomponia, or the Island of the Maimed***

A comfortable Dutch shopkeeper was looking to increase his wealth. He decided to exchange everything he had into precious merchandise and to move his family to the West Indies. En route, they were pushed off their course by a furious tempest lasting many days. He lost everything in the shipwreck that followed. He was not able to save anything except for

a little box which he always held tenaciously under his arm and which contained many jewels of various colours and sizes, tied together by as many rings as he could hold.

Luckily knowing how to swim he finally reached the beach of an unknown island. He recovered after a few days thanks to the courteous help of those who found him. After crying for his dear children and sweet spouse, he began to learn the customs of the country and found out that everything on the island had to be paid for with certain large coins, of which he couldn't understand the material, the shape, nor the face on the coin, let alone its value.

He thought, therefore, that there was no easy way out for him as long as he stayed there unless he began to sell some of his precious rings. Thus, he turned to the assistant of the Inn, in whom he thought he could confide: pulling out his precious, sparkling merchandise, he asked when, where, and how much he would be able to earn. The Innkeeper was struck dumb by such marvel and eventually asked him in what land did he believe to be in?

The Innkeeper asked, "Let me examine better your limbs." These seemed to be composed of several parts, some long, some limp and some flexible. "They are certainly not similar to ours which seem to be made of a single piece like the horn of a young calf. Yours seem, on the contrary, to be made like tender shrubs, pliable at the end, which naturally are quite suitable for ornaments at the end."

At that moment, the Dutchman interrupted exclaiming, "how can I ever live if I haven't got anything but rings in a country where there are no fingers and would have no use for them!"

Such a crude destiny is reserved for those who, equipped with exquisite common sense and extraordinary wisdom, find themselves dealing with ignorant, stupid, and prejudiced people.

## XXIX.

### *The Excessively Delicate Prince*

By a series of circumstances, a young son of one of the principal families in Europe suddenly became the absolute ruler of a small state.

To nothing did he give greater attention than to make his nation the most magnificent place imaginable. This was done to attract a large number of foreigners and make happier the very people who lived there.

Therefore he called forth the most celebrated artists: made the piazzas and streets more spacious, paved the streets as well. He raised palaces, temples, gambling halls, statues, and theatres. He also built wonderful public promenades covered and uncovered, alternating between them other amenities so that the citizens would easily benefit and hoping that the citizens, living happily in peace with the foreigners, would easily learn from them (the foreigners), kinder urban manners.

After all of these improvements, he began to think it necessary to avoid drains, rivulets, and trash receptacles, all of which offended not only his sight but also his nose. For the same reason he was nauseated by the fetid cesspool, and like the Venetians said, dumpsters (*le scoazere*). Therefore he resolved one day, without asking another's thoughts or advice, to publicise one of his most severe edicts, that both (cesspool and dumpster) become blocked, with only eight days to execute this plan under penalty of the most extreme punishment.

The edict caused a widespread anxiety. A certain thoughtful Minister who had been appointed by the King as an advisor to his new Government wished to give some advice to his young Excellency. However, the excessive Prince was so adamant towards extreme cleanliness that he would always turn his back to everyone.

As soon as people began to obey the law and rubbish was left either in the street or shut in their houses they began to scramble everywhere to escape from the fetid odour. Soon realising the new state of things and that his remedy was worse than those things he had previously deemed inconvenient, he soon withdrew his orders.

Although it is natural to keep separate from ourselves certain diseased humours, inevitable both in the government and in the spirit of men like the inevitable putrefaction of everything. We should actually allow such stench to vent out, even when it is unpleasant and sometimes inconvenient or very vile.

**XXX.*****The Presumptuous Mule***

The celebrated Anton-Maria Salvini, having already completed a fourth term in the Arch-Counsel in the *Accademia della Crusca*, went to Livorno on business.

He met, after lunch, a young African Jew, who carried his shop on his shoulders. Wanting to buy some handkerchiefs and few cotton hats from the young foreigner, Salviani spoke in the slang with which the foreigner was familiar with so as to make himself better understood saying things to him like  
*voleva dieci piastre, egli comprara, e dara.*

A stupid Siense was standing nearby, to whom Salvini himself had been addressed as the Prince of the Cruscanti [*Principe de'Cruscanti*]. The Siense presuming himself to be quite fluent in the Tuscan Idiom, gaped at Salvini... "Is this," he said, smiling towards everyone who wanted to hear him, "he who passes as the Prince of the Cruscanti? Besides the fact that I will never believe this, I pity the poor man, for he does not possess even the first grammatical rudiments of the fine and pure Tuscan language...What do you mean! Dara, comprara instead of darei, comprerei...Such monstrous blunders I have never heard even amongst country women."

In similar fashion, act those idiots who, not realising that erudite individuals can well adapt to others' ineptitudes, mock and deride them in attempt to strip them of their renown for a rare and distinct merit of which they have absolutely no idea.

**XXXI.*****The Countryman and the Pig***

A certain Procurator was counting an amount of money that had been collected on his behalf by a Official of the Land. A very malicious countryman, in whom the Official had rashly placed too much faith, was able to steal some money from the Procurator. Fearing however that he be discovered once the Procurator finished counting, the Master thought it better to hide the money. He left it in a small hill of beans that was in an adjoining room.

He left the legume storeroom where he was counting and didn't lock the door, as he would return there shortly. A pig, attracted to the place on account of the incredibly sweet smell, stuck his snout into the half-closed door then, enthusiastically eating the beans, dispersed the gold and silver buried therein.

The Procurator soon returned and quickly chased away the greedy animal with a stick. He also realised what had truly happened and discovered the fraud of the thieving servant.

When plagiarists steal good ideas from good authors no matter how much they try to hide their theft, concealing it under their own words, they are always discovered and mocked, even if only by chance.

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### XXXII.

#### *Socrates and the Snail*

Although Socrates was declared by the oracle to be the wisest of all men, he, doubted this more than anyone knowing well the countless trials he needed to pass to prove it. Fate was not ungenerous to him in this regard. Xanthippe was given to him as his wife. In her he had perpetual opportunities to exercise, as everyone knows, his almost infinite patience.

One reads in Ancient History that a few moments before he was to be sentenced to death, Socrates was in his garden and was observing, with great attention the judicious movement with which a snail was moving from one place to another. Xanthippe asked Socrates to go to the table at once to eat. After she had sent a servant to inform him twice, she began to scream from the window that the soup had become cold and it was about time that he stop dawdling, as always, in his crazy and ridiculous observations. Very occupied in his observations of the movement of the snail, Socrates felt no hunger nor did he hear his wife; or if he did, he cared neither to eat nor to drink. Nevertheless, Xanthippe in her fury ordered her manservant (*Cicisbeo*), and an apparent friend of her husband, to inform him immediately that if he did not come, dinner would be eaten without him.

“Look, my good friend,” Socrates said with his usual calm to the servant. “Look how prudent and wise this animal is, before going from this place to the next, and how cautiously and carefully she ponders her next move. She also sticks out one eye or the other which the ignorant and vulgar call her horns, in order to assure without doubt that she not meet obstacles along the way. Stay here for just an instant and you too will see how admirable is her effort and how sure her direction.”

Xanthippe, meanwhile, having lost all patience with Socrates, went down into the little garden and found her manservant intent in observing the movement of the snail. She hit them both across the shoulders with her stick that she had brought along. Then, indeed, they were quick to return to the house in order not to give the sweet little woman a chance to get more excited in matters relating to such convincing muscular eloquence. [*nerboruta*-a dried, twisted tendon of an animal, used as a whip in the *Palio*].

If we want to avoid an unjust fate, the likes of which were faced later on by this great philosopher for not being able or not knowing how to ever stop from saying everything he thought to be true despite all of the trouble he encountered, we should stick our eyes of intellect out very well, like the snail, thus reserving the celestial gift to be able to speak the truth or to express it only with trustworthy people, in order not to be subject to the base nastiness of our dearest Brothers.

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### XXXIII.

#### *The Young Goat and the Old Donkey*

A young goat from Cyprus who had four horns on his head and an extremely large tail was looking at his reflection one morning in a small lake. He was happy to his horns grow proudly from his head. An old donkey, jealous of the goat’s innocent pleasure, said to the young goat, “What a nice headpiece (tuppè).” “Sure,” replied the little goat, “and not only is beautiful, it is also mine.” “Oh, yours?!” answered the donkey, laughing heartily. “Yes, mine,” the other replied, moving closer said, “look, I beg you to examine if it grows from my head or not, and then you will have no doubt whatsoever.”

The donkey didn’t want to see exactly because he cared not to be convinced of his own injustice. Therefore, turning away and retreating, he continued to say,

“no, no, even if I examined diligently there could still be a hidden part of yours, be it a horn, or a skin; no, no, you would never convince me.”

“Well then, if this is not my headpiece, whose is it?” asked the young goat.

“Your father’s, he who made you.” the Donkey inconsiderately let out.

At that moment, the good little goat, who despite his young age did not lack any goat-like talent, responded, “and if my father were here, then you would say that it was my grandfather’s, and if my grandfather were here, then you would say it was my great grandfather’s, or my great-great grandfather’s, always attributing merit to a further ancestor whom you have never seen, only to take it away from me now.”

*Hearing these things  
with a malicious  
frowning face was  
a stupid detractor.*

*He saw his portrait,  
and quick away  
fled covered by  
rosy faced shame.*

#### XXXIV.

##### *The Hermit Crab and the Cuttlefish*

In an ancient historical manuscript of underwater animals what we will soon discuss was written and it surely merits a great degree of consideration.

One day a passionate naturalist was on a small boat one day having fun along the beach. Where the water was quite clear due to the sun, he saw a giant old hermit crab which was moving towards one of those aged cuttlefish that are so dear to the Greeks during their fasts. Curiosity compelled the naturalist to stop quietly so as not to frighten the two with the noise of the oars. In this way he was able to see and listen easily.

They came together without any salutations or words, each attempting to get a sense of the other. It seemed to the cuttlefish that the other could be trusted, strange as he might be; thus having remained rather silent, she extended one of her tentacles and, feeling with it the arms of the other in the belief that she would



find something soft, she said with surprise, “They are so hard!”

The crab without responding, extended one of his arms to her, thinking in turn that he would feel something crustaceous and hard. But feeling them flabby, he responded quickly, “Your legs are so flexible!”

To the cuttlefish, all is tentacles, to the sea-crab, all is claws.

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### XXXV.

#### *Balancing Socrates*

The beautiful and young Phaedra, wife to wise and faithful Leonidas, was as honest as one could be, by unanimous consent of those who knew her. Leonidas was free of notable defect and was not ever in search of other women.

That said, their irascible temperaments often prevented the two halves, though independently so extraordinary when separate, to make a perfect whole and a perfect harmony, which usually forms the base of a happy marriage.

Whenever one wanted something from the other, the other always had something to say about it. They were often in serious arguments which shocked their servants, never mind the others. It is true that neither acted on what each was saying; although they always seemed close to it.

They both kept Socrates, who was their relative, in high esteem. One day he went to visit them for lunch and found them arguing as usual. Once they saw him, they both ran towards him, each wanting to be the first to tell him about the fight even though neither of them really remembered the origin of it. At this point Socrates, pretending to be deaf or maybe just wanting to play, took a broom that was in the corner and stood it on his middle finger beginning to balance it. Noticing the great Philosopher to be indifferent to their argument they immediately stopped arguing. Once it became quiet, as he wanted, he said, “What could be more desirable than domestic peace? It is simultaneously both the cause and effect of great wealth and great and useful edification not only for the servants but most especially for one’s own children, who, witnessing the continual quarrelling, will feel permitted to do anything they wish because they see that their parents have fallen into their utmost disdain.”

He continued “Even though it isn’t mundane to be tranquil and though spirit follows the ways of the universe, with the very essence of nature being unchangeable only in that it is changing, and turning, if you can not help to argue sometimes, so long that this is done in modest confines, move away from each other’s presence. In so doing you may be able to satisfy the natural impulse to the original cause which is still raging; you will remove from yourselves the need to infuriate each other in such indecent and poisonous ways.” Afterwards taking back the broom, and balancing it again on his hand, merry and gay, he said to them “Observe: I beg you that it is not better to hold, still or motionless, the hand under the broom in order to sustain this weight in balance. Rather, using orderly movements it is better to counterpose its undulation based on what is needed in accordance to its inherent perpendicularity.” Who would believe it! As soon they heard the good man, not without mortification, they happily went on to eat on that day. A few more days passed without argument, and when bickering later, they remembered the Socratic Lesson, realising that small and moderate outbursts would make them immune to the necessity of greater ones so that everyone should truly believe:

That a sweet, and moderate movement  
keeps the house in balance.

### XXXVI.

#### *The Inexperienced Chick*

A man of the country was in love with a beautiful little chick, which had not yet become a chicken and which seemed most amusing. He took pleasure in training it by giving it small pieces of bread and some fresh grain. Little by little he managed to domesticate it to the point that he [the chick] would eat some grain from his palm. At first the chick gave more pecks to his hand than to the grain. As he grew, the misses diminished, eventually equalling the pecks for grain. Finally, once he became more used to eating from the palm he never missed again.

The Listener still too inexperienced while in his familiar circle of friends, before being able to distinguish well the essence of reasoning, must misunderstand a few times, and even test the patience of those of the speakers. As his ability increases in him while he abuses or offends the good

disposition of his teachers, he makes fewer mistakes.

At the end the patient Educator eventually harvests the fruits of his labour, when the student receives them well, and swallows the lessons which he presents. Endurance, oh dear Masters, and diligence! If you care to render your students able to do anything, which without exercise they are unable to perfect themselves other than improving little by little.

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### XXXVII.

#### *Plinian Anecdote*

A young Cistercian Monk, whose head was filled with ancient wisdom, was troubled because of the literary offences made against Italy, which he believed Fathers D. Bernardo Montfaucon, in his *Italian Diary*, and D. Giovanni Mabillon, in his museum, had made even more than other Frenchmen. He thought of nothing else than to avenge the honour of his nation, so much so, that his superiors, having noticed his noble plan, not to mention his abilities, conceded him permission to quickly go to France, as he wished. They provided him with appropriate means so that he would be able to satisfy his fervent desire, which everyone else agreed was important.

However many manuscripts he turned over in the most celebrated French Libraries and after many months of peregrinations, he unearthed nothing hidden or sublime that was not already clear to the Antiquarians: therefore, instead of staying in the capital, he decided to travel to the inhospitable and savage mountains, where some very old remnants of monks could some times be found, which were unknown on account of being quite remote. By dint of daily renewed investigation, he finally found a very strange construction situated in a most favourable location. He thought that it may have been erected before the time of the Masters of the House, or of the Clovises, or of the Merovignians. It was not far from illustrious cities, and also was known to have housed some Monks who possessed a lot of property, extremely luminous titles, and held very noble prerogatives. Yet, lured by the vanity of the world, they scattered in many diverse ways from the original intention of the large inheritances that had been willed to them by very credulous people living happily in sloth with luxury the very likes of which was often forbidden to the ignorant devout, because of the cloister.

Not caring about serious and tiring studies, these monks had neglected their ancient library.

These Monks received the Young Antiquarian courteously, who were still quite hospitable. In his research, he learned from an old lay person, that there were many scrolls and ancient books at another site of the Monastery that everyone had abandoned.

Everyone can very well imagine how much pleasure he felt as soon as he was able to step foot in this place. Looking at the lower pluteus [*pluteui*] and shelves and seeing that many volumes were stilled chained, and completely covered in dust, his heart widened. He smelled the rolls, the parchment, and the frontispiece of each kind, and finally stumbled by chance on to an ancient codex, which contained the history of the well-known Pliny the Naturalist. Moved by the forms of the characters, which seemed to be from the end of the sixth or of the seventh century, and not less moved by their sharpness, he soon unrolled it, hoping to find in it a certain passage, missing in other codices even in the beautiful and most praised edition of the French Jesuit P.

Giovanni Arduino. Oh if this could only be, he said to himself, this would be sufficient to avenge Italian Literary Fame! He then rushed immediately to a city close by to obtain the 1723 edition of the same commentator he had seen in Paris. Once he had it, he found, that it lacked entirely of a most interesting piece. The new text he had discovered, said that in Syracuse during the summer, at the hour when the day is most hot, a mad Mastiff entered into a certain hospital.

Passing by the beds of the sick, he gave them such deadly bites that they all died within a few hours; yet the custodians and a few others who were there were in perfect health, and who had also had been attacked, not only soon healed by means of the right balms but that after some time found themselves to be stronger than before.

For some words of the text, the young monk had reason to think that this passage was allegoric and that by such a great Naturalist and Philosopher cared to express nothing less with it than that vicious slander can afflict those who are infected already by either faults or vices, but never the healthy good ones, versed in a wise conduct.

## XXXVIII.

*Socrates' Horoscope*

There was a time when the Haruspices were ruling with limitless authority over ignorant humanity and everyone respected their dogmas, even those that contradicted evident axioms of reason.

Amongst the dogmas, there was one claimed that Supreme Jove, Father of all the Gods, existed in the heavens, but that even he himself would have to submit nevertheless to Destiny [*Destino*]. There were also the relentless Fates, who plotted the course of life; but the work they did however was not proclaimed, until a decree from the Thundering One was made because he was the superior author of everyone's existence.

On a fatal day, when he was in the most mournful mood, Jove was presented, along with the lives of others, the life of Socrates. He had already pronounced such horrible edicts against poor mortals that would be born thereafter that it seemed contrary even to the fates themselves, that he was indeed that God in whose honour the act of helping was [*Giovare* – to help, comes from *Giove*] named.

Such were the decrees, for example, on that day, that are still remembered by history: Always foreseeing, but never believed [Cassandra]...Great heart in Misery...Having unbearable tedium in every instant, that a simple gaze would provoke happiness. There were others more laconic still. Some taken from animal prototypes: You will be thorny, and Donkey: Noble, and ox: you will be Sheep, Goat, horse, mule, etc.

Troubled by such singularly horrible horoscopes, those courteous Goddesses, who just then had finished preparing Socrates' life, were trembling at the thought of having to present it to Him [*Giove*]. As the pre-ordained order with which human and divine affairs are directed, both above the sky and below, could not be changed, they did what they had to do.

The result therefore was certainly the most ruinous of horoscopes and that of which furious Jove would be the most proud, one which was preferred even over his most tame. It was this: *You are condemned to think better than all the rest.* And because of this, so much unmerited persecution was inflicted upon the great Philosopher.

**XXXIX.*****The Hermitage***

There was certain traveller, curious about every singular and remarkable oddity, who was wandering alone and by chance found himself at the summit of a steep mountain. He saw a singular shape that he could not distinguish whether it was natural or man-made. He impatiently asked his guide about it and was very surprised when the answer was that the construction, in the shape of a pine cone as it indeed appeared, was an ancient monastery. Moved by such an extraordinary feat, the following morning at dawn he began the exhausting journey towards it. Upon arriving at the top, the traveller was filled with even more wonder as he did not find a single door.

The lack of an entrance and the fact that he could not see any openings higher up on the exterior, like a Harem or of an Oriental Menagerie, was an inexplicable novelty to him and his guide. But at last, through searching he saw a section covered in wood and painted to look like bricks, which made him believe that this could be the entry to the Hermitage.

In the uncertainty of what to do, and the heightening desire to understand the cause of such a strange and fantastic invention, the traveller decided to knock softly with as much modesty as possible. Upon which, there appeared a grotesque figure who quickly gestured by placing his index finger to his mouth so that when speaking they would not raise their voices. The traveller, subdued as he was and in need of rest, asked permission to enter. After being seated the traveller expressed his desire to be informed of the history of the place, and wishing to appear courteous, he showed his purse readily at hand to offer recompense.

With that, the brother began to tell the traveller about the request for the foundation of that religious retreat and how it was contemporaneously inhabited by the *Mechanists* and the *Speculatavists*, the former staying in the lower floors and the latter in the higher. They had established a certain agreement between them as they each lacked in spirit what the other possessed.

In the middle of this discourse the traveller heard an almost inaudible ring of a bell. Prodded by his curiosity he asked the meaning of this faint sound. The gatekeeper responded that it was the signal for a sneeze. Excusing himself for a moment, he sneezed, while running on the tips of his feet... How is it possible without natural arousal (the traveller reflected in the meanwhile to himself) that everyone could sneeze at the same moment in time? Upon the gatekeeper's return he heard another faint bell. "And what is the significance of this?" He asked again. "This is the signal which permits believers to hiccup." Replied the monk. "But how could one sneeze and hiccup at a given instant and not neither before, or after?" And replying with an argument the other answered in the most firm manner that "when we gather together in the city to hear citizens defended, or in church following the sacred council of God, you all wait to cough in the moment in which the orator, sacred or profane, breathes? Tell me: in that case is the convulsion voluntary or involuntary? And the use of your noses, doesn't it prod you in the very moment when every other person is blowing theirs, expanding high in the Salons and Temples their sound as if they were trumpets and horns? But that which seems to me most singular amongst you is the need to eat, which you have at a specific hour despite the fact that each particular family is composed of children, young adults, already proven men, languid elders, and finally women of varying age and condition. Nonetheless, you all run willingly to eat at a certain given signal, which in turn tends to unite and make coherent all the parts of which a family is formed like those Cloistered by the strength of similar intelligence and respective exactitude.

Now, continuing to reflect, if this arrangement is not more convenient, given that, fatigued by too much work, the monks come here only to remove the distraction of exterior objects and thus abandon themselves to ascetic contemplation. When they lose heart because of this contemplation, they find reassurance in these actions?"

The amazement of the inquirer ceased, having reflected that much of etiquette and inveterate consuetude is at times annoying and at other moments ridiculous. These are the agreed-upon glue of civil societies, which can be considered extended families and therefore they exercise a decisive force by adapting us to the conventions of our fellow citizens. And they in turn conform to our habits which, we might say, together form a more tranquil life.

**XL.***The Turkey Ambassador (a).*

The chicken coop of a well-to-do man of the country had grown to the point that the Turkeys and the Geese, because they were larger than the others, demanded more space. They very often came to disagreement, and sometimes even fought to take food out of each other's mouths.

Thinking about these inconveniences, one of the most mature turkeys reminded the others that given the animals' various natures [*indole*] – especially in the young little turkeys, which is extremely vivacious – it would be a good idea to think about a sub-dividing the yard. In this way each different species would recognize as their own the area, that which was assigned to them and would then respect the area of the others with the exception of those friendly visits during their free time. Thusly, all would assume a perfect rapport.

The community of Turkeys most enjoyed this idea, which they themselves had devised in their talks. Furthermore, they thought to communicate these first to the Lady Goose, who in return, with a few solemn protocols to further ratify this convention, asked that an honourable Ambassador be sent to the geese.

Because this affair happened easily and quickly, the Turkeys concerned themselves only with selecting one who was blessed with a most conspicuous descent. It seemed to many of them that a meeting would be an opportune time to appeal to a wise father, to appoint his own first-born son, even though he wasn't amongst the most confident. This son was nevertheless very attractive, and as this would likely be appreciated by the Lady Goose, to whom he was being sent, he was unanimously preferred to the others.

Having received his orders, and having proceeded to his destiny, he was received with honour by the Lady Goose, while the rest of the geese stood at attention in a corner of the Yard, which they believed should be assigned to them. They approved the proposition with the fullest and most exulted chatter.

Upon his return, the happy young minister would have to render

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(a) In Venice turkeys are called *Dindiotti*; in Rome and other places, *Gallinacci*. *Pol-lanche* is how they are referred to in Tuscany. Young turkeys in Venice are called *Dindiottelli*.



the meeting by a detailed account at a public address [*uffizio*] (as they say in Venice) written by his speechwriter [*maestro*] and well memorized, of the success of his diplomatic effort. Accompanied by his closest relatives and a great number of family friends, he was walking towards the Turkey Council [*Sanhedria*] when he noticed the Head Turkeys. He saw that they were making very serious preparations, and he began to tremble. He saw them standing full breasted, with their purple gullets swollen, with radiant wings almost in a wheel like that of a peacock. He lost all of his courage, to such degree that he lost his breath and was unable to speak a word. His relatives and friends close to him, noticing that he was trembling like a leaf, tried to encourage him, telling him that, without any great effort, he would soon receive much applause, especially from those who, standing outside would not have heard anything, but as who they are, and always being more numerous, normally form a good or bad impression about someone who becomes a celebrity based on the word of others.

“Look,” they continued to tell him “look, that is your Uncle and the other younger one he is your Cousin? Those two you see a little closer to our Chief, though a little more distant are your relatives: one is your Tutor since you were born, the other is your good Mother’s valet, whom you know very well. Be brave!” He began, but quickly stopped and was unable to articulate a single word, no matter how much they would say to him that they were all Turkeys just like him.

Irritated, the Master of the Henhouse, who just happened to be present and enjoying the spectacle for all of its stupidity, ordered the ambassador to the kitchen, where he was waiting to eat a good roast.

To conquer this phobia, especially for those who are ignorant, that attacks us suddenly when we introduce ourselves to respectable people, Princes, and sometimes important individuals, it would help to reflect that they, in the end, are people like us who being subject to our same human condition. We should also encourage rather than deject with heavy eyebrows well disposed youth, who are active on one side and bashful on the other.

*The Pig Couple and the Horse*

A pig who had the most beautiful soul was unable to bear any longer seeing, every year under his own eyes, his children being butchered in this most cruel slaughter, being reduced to sausages for those gluttonous banquets. It took a noble revolution against his natural impulses to not to want to father any more children. His wife, younger than he, did not have such a delicate soul. Seeing that he would not perform his male duty, but not knowing from where this new behaviour originated, she tried to get close to him with gentle rubs and sweet manners that were above her normal ways. Finally, hearing her hero of carnality say, "Oh my dear wife...I am well aware...you are so right... but I have resolved not to want to father more children seeing that every autumn they face such a horrendous destiny." Given to such an unexpected reply and seeing that his inaction continued, she did not feel any better lamented some, here and there, a few times even coming close to being unfaithful. An old Donkey, who had known her since she was a baby, and who had stopped her from cheating, told her about a warm country where pork meat, believed to be something that is harmful to the stomach, was still prohibited by law. As a result no one would kill any animals of her race. Therefore going there would, without doubt, save the new offspring from that fate. Exulted by such incredible news but fearing that it would not be true, she went about asking everyone until she was assured that it was, and further that it was in the country called Palestine, which luckily was not too distant from where they lived. She said and did so much that in the end her husband was persuaded to embark upon the journey.

They escaped from their masters with due caution, and as they ran away, a grazing horse spotted them, and called to them aloud as he moved towards him, Asking them to stop for a little rest, the horse asked. "Where are you going, friends, in such a hurry? Catch your breath now, and tell me if there is anything I can do to ease your anxiety." It seemed to them that there were no hidden snares in his questions, they stopped; he asked again, and they answered naively, telling him of their cruel situation and that they believed that the only solution that they could find to continue procreating was to

go to a place where they could live longer amongst peers that had been born without any of the same afflictions.

The horse, who had been to Palestine many times, was moved to pity and replied to them, “oh what bad advice you were given! But didn’t you find anyone who made you consider before leaving that since they don’t eat pork in that place you are going, no one would have reason to feed you? Go back, you run the risk of dying of hunger sooner than that fate you wished to avoid. Face your own natural destiny with courage, thanking very much your fortune that you were not slaughtered in your own youth like the majority of your peers!”

Oh, how many false freedoms are boasted that are only children of one’s own interests! The truth is that if we are not in a position to contribute in some way to the pleasure, comfort, or use of others, we remain always exposed to the condition of being abandoned by everyone.

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## XLII.

### *Midnight*

There was a Venetian Lawyer, who had grown bored with his own profession. He was able to live comfortably without ever having to work due to an inheritance left to him by his father. Since he was himself nearly at old age, and after much reflection, he resolved to become a priest. He still enjoyed the good life, though. He did not have either children or relatives and he would often eat well and would always delight himself by buying, at any price, books and paintings, and took pleasure in often conversing with happy, though honest, women. He was always surrounded by various who could not pass up the seductive invites of lunches and dinners, afternoon snacks, box seats, gifts of various kinds, and pleasant holidays.

For Carnival, his lady friend [*Comare*] who seemed his most favourite wanted to accompany him, after he had a good lunch, to the *Ridotto*, the *Casotti*, and then after to the Opera.

Since he was a Good Christian, and had not finished reading his Breviary that day, he left the woman with her husband and a few others after the first dance and went back home.

He was distracted easily, and for this reason he was locked alone in his study reciting the remaining prayers. He began to reflect on the usefulness to the world of the recent invention of glasses. Poor Greeks and poor Romans, so industrious and so wise, he said to himself, certainly you did not have the great luxury to continue reading once your eyesight began to weaken. Without the help of these I wouldn't have been able to entertain myself all through the day; rather, I would have fallen into sin by not taking much time to read the psalms as I can do now. Who was the well-deserving inventor, he continued ask himself. I think I remember him to be a brother. Let's see in Chamber's Dictionary, which was recently published, if I can discover his name and the epoch so glorious for him, as it was happy for us. I will need but just a moment. He gets up, reaches for the volume that contains the complete letter 'O' where the article for glasses [*Occhiali*] was, and reviews the various facts about this brother inventor that he was able to find again. In the same article there was a brief note, which sent him looking for those articles on Telescopes, on Microscopes, Lenses, etc. He looked through many volumes and exactly at the stroke of midnight, dies. [literally, *cadde in conseguenza irremissibilmente in peccato* – he fell irremissibly into sin.]

Oh, how many times does death reach those theoretical Philosophizers, or men of the Table, who in reflecting upon the ways that man conceives, compares, connects ideas, resolves and acts, and what the ties are between his soul and body, and what constitutes the principle of existence, or who simply studies past things, live a useless life without any benefit to themselves, or to humanity to which they belong!

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### XLIII.

#### *Democratus and One of his Pupils*

Whether Democratus of old had good reason for laughing so much at everything he saw has not yet been decided by common consent among our philosophers. Perhaps it never will. Whether right or wrong in his own ideas on the subject, it is certain that if the happiness of our life really consists in being on good terms with ourselves. It seems that he was a man who spent his life better and more happily than others. There is reason to doubt, however—based on a passage by an ancient writer that was recently discovered among the

manuscripts of Cardinal Bessarione—there is reason to doubt that he laughed about everything as he was certainly not indifferent to the laughter of a certain Sophist who ventured to treat him [Democratus] as a fool. Moreover, we are informed that one of his best pupils, being heartily ashamed in seeing his Master fall prey to such weakness, thought of a plan to allow him to conduct himself like others, yet without offending them.

An occasion soon arose when Democratus directed his pupil to take precise measurements of the depth of one of his wells. This young student, having followed his orders, thought to speak out openly like an honest man. “Here is the exact measurement, which I took from the top to the bottom with a stone fastened to the end of this rope (since I could not manage the other way without a ladder)” “Ha ha,” cried aloud the laughing philosopher, “but it is not the same dimension when you measure from top to bottom as when you measure from bottom to top.” “Ha ha, you, idiot, you make me laugh.” This student, giving ample time to his laughter, replied with reverence. “I sure would have thought it to be the same [dimension] and I would have believed it if it weren’t you who made me doubt it—when you made me observe many times the bitter scorn you bore against the Sophist Theagenes, whenever he laughed at you. Isn’t there the same distance between you and him as there is between he and you? Why, therefore, do you expect to laugh with impunity at him and his peers when you are not willing that he should do the same to you?”

Democratus had hardly begun to apply his head to the solution of this somewhat novel, far-fetched, and knotty point, when he quickly became aware that the student was right, and embracing him said, “I thank you, my dear pupil, from the bottom of my heart, and let Theagenes in the future laugh at me as much as he pleases, for he has exactly the same right to laugh at me as I have to laugh at him.”

Now if, according to these principles of moral justice, we stopped claiming to be correct with everyone and everything, there would be much less pride in the world than at present exists, and we should enjoy much more peace and satisfaction.

## XLIV.

*The First Lice*

The Supreme King of the Gods began to be disquieted by a certain casual indifference arising amongst men towards their Creator, whose divine nostrils were no longer tickled with the agreeable smoke of sacrificial virgins and animals. He resolved to reawaken and remind them that there was a Jove in the sky. Though he was resolute in not wishing to use lightening bolts, which could destroy his own most pleasing work.

Wanting to hit all mankind at the same moment, he realized that it would not be very easy. For this reason, he called the Council of Gods of the major and minor people, to whom he proposed his needs and asked that each declare his own opinion freely.

There were those who remembered the gout, and others the ring-worm. But the former could not resolve the objection moved against them, that the disease would not reach some of those people who, being very athletic, keep their bodies, tendons and muscles continually in motion and therefore keep at bay the humours that run through them. There were those who suggested ring-worm it was noted that the wealthy, who can easily maintain themselves would have the means to protect themselves. There were some who suggested dysentery and others who suggested other illnesses. Given the consequences of these, the supreme God decided to think things over a bit longer.

In the diversity of all these views, Silenus was finally called upon to pronounce his own, to suggest his idea for a punishment. It was that Jove must unleash Lice on Mankind (a). [literally, *Pidoccheria*—the house of Lice, *Liceria*]

With Jove not finding this thought unpleasant, permission was given for the first time to allow Lice to enter into the world. Small, yes, minute, yes, but these lice are very insolent insects and, little by little penetrating even the skin, they almost invaded the very region of the intellect, and to many, they brought about those very irritable infections that are called pityriasis [*Ftiasi particolare*], sillano [*Sillano*], and pediculosis [*pedicolare*].

At first, man was yet inexperienced with these creatures that bit here and there, sucking blood, inducing an irresistible itching. But rather than remembering their supreme God and imploring him to liberate them from this new disease, mankind, with their old offerings,

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(a) This term in Venetian refers to the region of the Lice.

turned to brushes and other human tools to best free themselves.

In the meanwhile the number of lice grew disproportionately, and bit by bit over time they became more expert in finding ways to hide and to nest and to penetrate any dense forest of hair, where there was a higher concentration of oily skin. This place became the lice's favourite food.

The insistent pricking of these insects invited people to apply their hands on to their heads with the nails of all five fingers slightly bent. Applied with strength, these were the first combs, as suggested by nature.

Thus with this animating Art of ingenuity came about the first combs of Horn, similar to those that are now used to brush horses: they were worked in Boxwood, in ivory, in tortoise, in steel, in silver, and in gold with miniatures, with enamels in relief, their teeth numbering in four, in eight, in twelve, in twenty-four, in thirty-two, and in the end they, as well as the comb holders [*pettiniere*] which became so luxurious that no one cared any longer about the lice. In fact one infected with pediculosis would often call another to admire his collection of combs.

The prejudice of our minds could be uprooted with the reflective reading of good books, and yet many people who fill their libraries with many books instead do not read them to be enlightened, which is the primary reason that they were written. Rather, indifferent to this enlightenment they think there is nothing better than to sing the praises of a rare edition that they have purchased, of the large format of the paper, of its high cost, of its refined binding, of the fringes, of the wood of their bookcases and of some similar external ornament—only to remain as ignorant as ever.

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#### XLV.

##### *The Newly Invented Alembic*

As ridiculous as the attempts of the Alchemists may be, in various times and places, motivated for the most part by greed to find Gold in the pure decomposition of Metals, it is not possible to hold Chemistry in contempt. If anything, at least in this century, even when investigating other things, it has happily brought about many useful and decisive discoveries.

A certain Englishman amongst the class of men endowed with a fervid fantasy

realised one day that he could search for a Gold much more pure than metallic gold, which would bring new and solid profits to the human condition.

Reflecting upon the ease with which many idiots, incapable of working hard to acquire knowledge of science and other disciplines, gained enlightenment using Dictionaries, compendia and fashionable essays, he decided to show a very strange and inconceivable new discovery.

Raising his thoughts to nothing less than to transfuse, with very few words, the very essence of all Moral Philosophy, he began to test the the chemical Writings of the most illustrious ancient and modern authors by using certain globes made of a very pure, clear, and big crystal that he himself had invented [*alembico*]. By blowing opportunely, and being very careful this laborious operation of passing substances from one tube to another. He was surprised that he, once he had finished, had transfused two “u”s!

Sure that the quintessence of Moral Philosophy must be contained within these two letters, he remained rather anxious about not being able to understand their significance. Oh, what enchantment for others and what glory for me, he happily repeated to himself, will be precisely revealed in the genuine force of these two initials; by virtue of these two letters the ignorant and even the vulgar little women, as well as the hairless youth, will be rendered wise in just one moment.

But for all his labours to date to interpret the contents, he was never able to figure it out. Therefore he needed the assistance of others to whom he expressed his very high goals, his own trials, and the elixir from which he had distilled them. He put himself at the mercy of various professors who declared an unspeakable loyalty to him, explaining that the elucidation of this mystical new extract must have come, without a doubt, from true laws that would dictate the rules for a virtuous and happy life.

By chance, he found a dazed Academic in London whom, instead of providing comfort to him, irritated him greatly by observing in pedantic fashion that one of the two “u”s was a vowel and the other a consonant. Finally he turned to the greatest members of the most famous and most distinguished English Academies who, meeting amongst themselves, adopted nothing more suitable for the sense of the two letters than *Ut Valeas* [may you be well]; the Roman words corresponding to that golden rule of *Mens sana in corpore sano* [A sound mind is in a sound body], without these moral philosophy is of no use if, considering nothing but the individual intellect, it has no value except in making brilliant totally empty words with a dazzling veneer.



## XLVI.

*The New College and the Pseudo-Professors*

After the Ottomans gave a feast for some time to the Venetians who had been so inconvenienced by the cost of the last war, the most serious and commendable Senators turned to economic studies. They hoped to determine what decisive measures could be adopted so that together the Public Treasury and Nation would be boosted.

A good citizen who was barred entrance to the Senate worked off his zeal by reasoning in private circles. He maintained that it would be more useful to the Republic if some Colleges for Patricians only were established in Venice enabling them to be better than all of the others, Turin, Rome, Siena, Parma, Bologna, Modena, etc. His position was supported by many, especially because the Dominante had high expenditures in maintaining the Professors, Books, and Servants. They reached the ears of a Cleric of the Regular Order of the Somascans [*Somaschi*], a man very attached to his religion (and who, for his good fortune, also had a wealthy estate.

“If we were the first,” he said to his superior, “to establish a college, the way people want, wouldn’t the most excellent Men of Reform [*Signori Riformatori*] be quite excited to suggest another? Let’s think about it, and before drafting new plans, while as everyone sees, that Religion, which rivals all of the others, is in fashion, and obscuring the merits that ours has in the education of the youth, it [the one in fashion] would easily be preferred. Let’s not waste this wonderful opportunity to be the Master’s of the Patricians—which at once would bring us fame and power.”

They continued to plan. Amongst ourselves, if we used all our efforts (which is not too difficult) to save twenty *zecchini* per year for each of the boarders, the trick is done. I can already see all of the youngsters who are now abroad, serving their country, rushing back to board in our college. We will find for a good price old Instructors of Fencing, of Dance, of Riding and of other equestrian exercises, and also of music, of various instruments, of foreign languages. And we will have amongst our students the most intellectual and erudite. Perhaps all we need is the place and the furniture to realise this sublime project? Let’s look for a beautiful and comfortable building in a calm area, far from the piazzas

with a low rent, or let's rent even in Murano. They were both completely excited for their plans.

Agreeing unanimously, the congregation of brothers broke into applause and begged him to make a design, which was quickly done. Once it was approved, the right building was chosen and the needed teachers were appointed. Finally, once the approval from the *Reformatori degli Studi* easily came, they published advertisements.

The happy promoter, believing that the noble Mothers, some of whom he knew, would have an influence in the choice of place for educating their children, worked to better appeal to them. For example, he made changes that they would like, using his own money to purchase certain pieces of furniture that were in fashion and not used in other colleges.

First of all, he decided that close to the main entrance there would be many rooms, with adjacent little rooms, where these Ladies with more freedom would stay when visiting their children, and he adorned them with a German floral cloth bordered with yellow and red lace, which shined of pure gold. Then he thought to dedicate four rooms, which were over a portico to house the ill and in front of which were four others with separate stairs for visitors, for use by the Mothers in case of need. And Since they were all large he divided them, making rooms for Custodians, Servants, washrooms, and other uses, all dressed with gallant drapes, with vanity mirrors above their sinks and any other things.

They barely had two or three women to visit this place, but as word spread others came; and observing and seeing so much refinement and detail and cheerfulness in the decor, they deemed that in no other colleges would their children be taught so well as in that one, such that when they met each other on the street they would enthusiastically ask, "Will you place your children in the new college?" Said one. "Oh I certainly will!" Responded another, adding, "But I still need to convince my husband. We will spend here less than what we will spend to send him out of the state and if he is ever sick we would be able to assist and to visit our children without any inconvenience or any special arrangements to be made."

Perhaps for this, or for other reasons, the college was quickly filled with universal applause. But since there cannot be instruction in this world without some defects, first one Mother, and then another, began to complain when seeing the hands of their children often dirty, until a rumour was born that reached even the ears of the Father Economy [*Padre Economo*]. To justify himself he showed them the books of expenses, from where he could show

the money that was spent monthly for pieces of soap so that they could see exactly how much he spent in trying to keep his students clean. The boarders were scolded, and those left to look over them were asked to take better care. After a few weeks they randomly checked some boarders asking them to come down to the main office, where they showed their hands no less disgusting and dirty than before.

Believing that they needed, therefore, a much more rigorous process, Economo and the Prefect Fathers discovered that the youngest students, instead of washing their hands with soap, used it to make bubbles with straws, and were taken with other childish amusements. They discovered that the middle school students with the same pieces of soap played black horse [*morelle*], or as we call it *borelle*, and that the older students amongst them were throwing the soap at each other's heads.

What abuse we make of anything, despite how holy and useful it may be! Observe those who apply themselves to studies, or those who teach them, young scholars quite far from rectifying their own minds who purify their spirits by using the soap of good disciplines, which removes the intellectual spots. They use this to make sonnets and songs, the true bubbles of youth. The middle scholars play also with holding academic discourse, translating from another language, live or dead, or commenting on old work, or mixing old truths with some other new ones; and the older scholars then, amongst whom unfortunately are many theologians, write with biting criticism and abuse, only to throw their heavy works at each others' heads. And if you are in doubt, look at C., at Z. at T., and at S. etc.

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## XLVII.

### *The Little Barber*

A poor woman was left, after the death of her husband, with a son of twelve years and without a way to support herself. She wanted him to learn a craft in which he would soon progress and be able to earn some money to give her some relief. Moved to compassion, a friend, who was practiced in the art of being a Barber offered to teach the young boy to shave a beard so that he would more easily find time to serve others

by going to some areas in the country where, luckily for him, there wasn't a Barber closer than him. The widower very much liked his suggestion. The young boy went to the workshop and, after the boy had been working for fifteen days, she asked him what he had learned. He replied that the master made him observe the things that the other youngsters did. He prepared the towels and then dried them in the air when they were a little wet. He placed the water to boil and that he washed the basins and similar things. The Mother, being an adult, believed that he could have learned all of these things on the first day, and wondered to herself why he had not learned any new things. But still she was patient, and she wanted to respect the order held by her good friend. Another fifteen days passed and intolerant as she was before, and perhaps pressed by hunger, she asked the son again, who responded to this by saying that he had already learned to pass the razor on the leather strip. The mother bore more patience and remained silent. An entire month passed and she looked for him again. She heard he had already begun to lather beards. Oh well, in another month we may be able to hope that you can manage the razor. After another twenty or thirty days passed, she asked him with a sigh, "Are you done yet, dear child?" "I lather the beard," he answered. "But how, didn't you know how to do this before? Didn't you learn this in one moment? And you stay there like a donkey for one month just practicing such a great thing? Are you stupid?" The mother replied. "But dear Mother...the Master doesn't teach me more than this." The boy explained. Then growing suspicious in her wild imagination, "Ah ha!" she continued, "unfortunately I fear that the master doesn't want to teach you. Tomorrow morning I will go there myself and if what you say is the fruit of your scarce will to learn, rest assured that you will have from me the gift of a good beating." And so she went to ask her friend why her son was constantly learning how to lather a beard and was not yet proficient in shaving it because she would soon die of hunger alone with him having already spent her money to maintain her household.

The Barber explained. "But do you believe, Madame, that it takes little to lather a beard well, especially when it is hard and thick, even with agile and quick hands? You still need to a lot of practice to be able to succeed in such a difficult task. Do you deem it unimportant that the facial hair on a man be softened, and the skin of his chin properly primed? Don't you know that when a beard is well lathered, it is already half done?"

The elements of persuasion, like good credit, with those

with whom you deal, and the ability to adapt to various temperaments of people, facilitate a successful business, better than reason herself, which, like the razor that is applied without the skin being well prepared, often scrapes it.

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#### XLVIII.

##### *The Unlucky Little Prince*

No Father could have been happier in the entire world than a certain Indian Prince, if he had received from fate only one child blessed with the most desirable qualities and if it weren't that he [the boy] was bit by bit reduced to a Monster by rickets. The bone of his thigh and the leg were curved, the muscles of his neck were shrunk; in sum, he seemed to resemble a ball more than a human figure. Every known remedy had already been tried in vain when someone suggested that the father go to visit a famous Ascetic, who possessed, besides most exquisite knowledge, also the uncommon knowledge of Alchemy. Through his study he came to know the virtue of many plants and the true force of fire, which conferred upon them [herbs] a different efficacy than what was natural to them. He had performed many incredible feats. Having received permission by the Prince in whose state he lived, the great man finally arrived to comfort the affectionate father.

Having performed a few tests, and having examined the body of the young man, he did not hesitate to assure him of a perfect recovery. He then prepared the atmosphere of the room with the steam of very hot water, and with the help of the thermometer, he was able to keep the temperature constantly warm. He asked that a large sack be filled with down feathers so that his patient would be more comfortable, and then, placing a precious balm on the most fine cloth, he began to rub the spinal bones before any others, and then he covered them appropriately. Repeating the application of the unction for six hours, he passed from the vertebrae to the thighs, and then to the legs, and then to other disfigured bones, until little by little he masterfully decreased the amount of the remedy, and the youngster was seen with great admiration to be improved to a state in which he seemed to be almost back to normal. And so it was that the good man left, laden therefore with gifts, and with great thanks. Notwithstanding the remedy, the little prince was continually obligated to eat light foods and to purge himself from time to time, though he wished to free himself from such rules. Nor was he content to simply become upright; he was always anxious about not being able to jump, and not being taller than the others.

His healer had left his father some little vases of the miraculous balm for the benefit of some of his subjects. Thus the child proceeded to contemplate that if he managed to get a hold of just one of them, it would be enough for him to completely heal soon. Having managed to obtain one after a few days, he asked one of his servants to rub some on him. But what happened? Little by little he saw himself becoming giant, monstrously bigger and bigger of the opposite excess. Desperate, the father sent away for the celebrated healer, who upon returning guessed exactly the reason of the newly developed disorder, and feeling pity he said, “People, I knew well how to extend those limbs that nature compresses up to the perfect point, but unfortunately I do not possess the knowledge to shorten them.”

Seeing that his harsh sentence had thrown such a good parent and son into utmost desperation, he was touched, and added, “I have nothing more to suggest than the use of this other balm, which I also have with me, so that this dear young man may be able to level with those with whom he will have to converse on occasion. Thanks to this new balm he will be able to acquire more strength than normal in his knees; for in the long run by having to bend them frequently to hear others, and to have others hear him, his knees will be rendered tired and weak without the unction.”

How often one worsens when imagining to improve! Ah, let’s content ourselves to follow the just course of our natural dispositions, and let’s make it so that they aren’t ever interfered by the ridiculous will to become better than others. When we must deal in matters of soul and mind with people who are more or less ordinary, it would be better for us in this case, against our predisposition, to curl up, and to diminish ourselves; for pushing ourselves outside the horizon of daily life, the healthy balm of that Master—philosophy—would arrive late; it alone would allow us to remain humble and flexible for some time without suffering inconvenience, weakness, or any kind of humiliation.

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It occurred to me that this Imagining was enunciated in another way, but from Angelo Querini, one of the brothers, alive and well; having heard a different version of a Lodolian conversation, I chose this one.

## XLIX.

*The Old Ballet Dancer*

As Giorgio Puff, a famous dancer of the London Opera Theatre, got old, he was not able to bear the idea of giving up the first post to another. Yet his lack of strength convinced him that very soon he would have to leave.

In the sadness that followed, he often wondered whether by changing jobs, he might be helpful in some other arts and as a result become noticed again. But being a man of mature intelligence, he felt that it was still almost impossible; yet since he was old fate would have enabled him to shine in another profession different from the rest. Surely this was true as he had never arrived to the summit of the sublime, neither by that genius which explodes in an early burst, nor that which develops and blossoms out of a long and continued effort.

Nevertheless, being of generous spirit he didn't give up entirely, reflecting that there could be some area of Gymnastics, still not fully developed, that he could perfect, and that would assure him the continuation of a decent and comfortable existence. Whatever the case, his work would always nevertheless depend on balance, the gracefulness of his body, and the expression of certain initial signs of nature. He was filled with delight for he could understand with much less difficulty than others those steps and mysterious turns.

While such and other similar things were ruminating in his mind, he by chance saw a Man slip in a strange way and break his shinbone. At that moment a flash came to his quick-witted intellect which he did not fail to see: he could invent the art of sustaining one's balance when the human machine unexpectedly loses it.

He thought, therefore, to become the Author of this new art, considering that, after accurate tests, he would be able to establish principles, and forces behind them. He thought of giving practical lessons, since he himself had great experience, in training the body to keep its balance with ease in every instance of unbalance.

As a result he prepared a series of inclined pavements made of various materials—some were covered in dust, others dampened by water, and others with grease—already

convinced that he had discovered those laws by which nature herself protected, or saved men from fatally falling.

After making theoretical observations he began to put the experience to the test with some of whom he was most affectionate, and his ballet students, advancing little by little in his new study, he arrived to the point where he believed he was close to soon be able to begin to open his school with a bit of luck. To confer greater credibility upon his singular enterprise, he wanted to inform the public by providing a review of historical fatal falls that had occurred in Great Britain from the time of Queen Elisabeth until his days. He explained clearly that if the Duke of Pickworth, who broke his head, had understood how, with that flexibility of the body, that is not learned except with practice, he should quickly bow towards the west [*per greco*], he would have saved himself. There was also the Milord Perporre who drowned when he fell in the Thames. Perhaps he would still be alive if he could have bent for another quarter of wind, following the infallible gifts of his very simple compass, which he would have surely shown to all of his students.

Such preparations and promises produced a good effect in the curious British population and in fact he had hardly opened his school, when it was already well attended, and he was already receiving highest praise for having taught the youth to prevent those future perils that are not infrequent.

If parents were to reflect well upon the necessity of leaving their inexperienced children of either sex exposed to the slippery aspects of pleasure, instead of basically shielded them from bad experiences that could affect both the body and mind, they wouldn't defend them from so many weaknesses, so many false steps, and essentially from so many potentially fatal slips!

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## L.

### *The Doctor and the Donkey*

A certain Sanmarinista, a professor of law and a doctor by birth, a privilege enjoyed by the Malvasia family, was leaving the city to go examine a criminal case. As he approached to pass the river at the low water point, he saw two arguing in a strange way.

Tizio had carried Sempronio on his shoulders as they crossed over,



and now the latter, as they were returning, didn't want to exchange the favour. Once the Doctor understood the cause of the crisis, and having ascertained their equal physical condition, as they both appeared to be of equal strength, the Doctor gave his opinion and tried to persuade nicely he who had been first carried to now carry the other.

Sempronio was still obstinate in his refusal after the quarrel the Lawyer believed that, because the most simple and demonstrative arguments didn't bring about the desired resolution, he should employ with him the magic strength of obscure words and so he told him, "Oh, perjured villain, will you wait until the great Hugo Grotius pulls off your shoes, till the Lord Baron Puffendorf sets you on my shoulders and the Duke of Cumberland gives you a Royal kick in the ass to push you into the water?" To these solemn and appalling words he didn't know how to respond. He took Tizio upon his shoulders as the happy Doctor continued on his way.

Having finished his business, he returned and arrived again to the low water point. His donkey, which clearly was one of those from an ancient time when all animals were able to speak and still had such privilege, stopped. "What is the matter?" said the doctor. "If you care to drink, then drink your fill!" "No," replied the beast, "I don't need to". "Then keep moving." Replied the doctor, "Why do you want, without reflecting, that he who brought you over this same water as you yourself allowed earlier now must be carried across? Now get down from my back, and give me the courtesy, after so many years of being brought by me, to bring me across for the first time."

As the serious man never would have imagined to hear such a demand that he burst into laughter at first, but then was forced by the obstinate donkey to make use of his stick. They came to more animated words, without it helping that the doctor screamed about the difference existing between a doctor and a Donkey. Quite daringly the donkey replied that in his very old lineage there was a great number of Doctors who were perhaps even more famous than him, and other similar things. But as time passed and the evening was approaching, the doctor began to feel uncomfortable at being left alone on the road after dark. He determined that it was time to make a decision. Looking around, to be sure no one saw him, he got off as he was ordered and in the end, appalled with himself, he decided to remove his socks and to put his feet in the water, whereupon he said with disdain, "come here, give me your front legs so that I can get better used to your weight." The donkey raised his front legs but being more lengthy than his master, it wasn't possible for the doctor to carry him in that fashion. So he attempted to position the donkey sideways so that his ribs were around him. But this didn't work either, finally, after tying his four legs together like a lamb in vain. In the end he took the donkey's front legs and asked him to raise his back legs, bringing the front legs forward in front of his chest, he barely managed four steps into the water when the weight made them both fall.

Unfortunately it is true. As long as man sits upon his Donkey, all goes well for both, but when the donkey insists upon sitting upon man, it is bad for the donkey, and worse for his master. Hence it is easy to understand that if a fool is in command of a family, the dependants will suffer as much as the leader, who very often is overtaken by the excessive weight, not to mention profound embarrassment.

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## LI.

### *The Ambassadors and their Gondolieri*

A prime minister, who was an exceptionally good man, knew how to treat people in wonderful ways with all of the dexterity of his wit and with his vast experience of the great world, he was not able to tame the envy of some. Nevertheless, faithful to his charitable Sovereign, he studied everyday to connect the interest of his Sovereign with his subjects, thereby engendering happiness throughout the kingdom, and the consideration or fear of his neighbours.

But he had a defect in that he could no longer endure, even the slightest criticism to his noble thoughts. This fuelled a secret hatred of those incapable and inept people who, despite having many titles and orders, were still subordinate to him. In their heart, they wished that he [the Sovereign] would ask them for their counsel before having to carry out his orders. But seeing that he didn't bother with them, they would turn against his good initiatives, which in turn, upset the Sovereign in every way. Growing tired of the situation, he decided to please one, who in the end was amongst the aristocrats of state, by naming him as the Ambassador to the Republic of Venice, thinking to save by those means the honour of the same Minister. Once he arrived to this noble seat of government he found that amongst the aristocratic government he was actually prevented to approach those who didn't have a role in the government. He thought it would be wise to give entirely to the most innocent pleasures of the private life. He knew that he was a puppet figure and he was going to enjoy himself.

Loving, therefore, to have at his table a selected company of men

well educated in every profession. He returned to his residence one day with three or four of these men thinking to relieve his *gondolieri* of the burden, they left and walked the rest of the way, for the water in the canal had lowered its level.

While he was walking, he observed the two rowers as they tried to reach the bottom with the end of the oar. They were able to propel the gondola with a slight push and would then leave the gondola to glide by itself, careful only to maintain their right course. It was then, that he sighed to his companions, “Ah, why did I not do the same as the *gondolieri*, when I was at the Court! Look how happily they make the Gondola glide forward, pushing it, and then leaving it to go by itself. If I had adopted a similar approach, maybe I could have stayed in that sublime place where I was.”

Prudent men, therefore, had better do like the *Gondolieri* in Venice: initiating their affairs, they should steer them straight as long as it is possible for them, and then let them go the way they want, so that they will be much happier in the end.

## LII.

### *The Flying Pamphlet*

At one time, as everyone knows, Truth reigned over the earth. But fatally, over the course of centuries, its vestiges were lost and we now have but a bare hint of it. Some, to tell the truth, went to great lengths during each period to unearth its most solid traces, but the greatest majority covered it insensibly even more. There were those who reached the point of crying when they considered that all men would have been friends in the Kingdom of Truth. Having always virtue as a guide, instead of giving their consideration to the most ambitious or able trickster, they placed it on those demonstrating a pure and good soul. On the coattails of the example of those few, the number of those who went after truth with greater efforts grew bigger and bigger. Moved by this, Jove was lenient towards them and was about to resolve as he had done in other times (and for less important causes than this one), namely to descend in human form onto earth, and to go and remedy where the need was greatest.

The thundering one was dissuaded from this by the quantity of concerns awaiting needful resolution in the Empyream itself. So he resolved instead to lower a large and thick parchment from the sky, upon which were indelibly etched the elements of a primitive truth.

This was said and done.

With this great news having been diffused in every country by his orders, all eyes began to look towards the sky, some driven by faith and others by fear. Still many, without much thought, were moved by a curiosity or a desire to be the first to discover the characters of Truth, and since the art of concave and convex lenses, through which distant objects became closer and bigger, was already much advanced, all the observatories were completely filled by mathematicians and lovers of astronomy. After some time, from these places of observation they began to see something fluttering in the Sky though they were unable to distinguish a specific figure. In accordance with its descending approach, each adapted their eye to a telescope, but as the observatories were placed in different locations, some later claimed the parchment to be square, others a parallelogram. Those who were between the east and the south made out a rhombus, and those between the west and the north maintained that it was a rhomboid. In the meantime the world became filled with astronomic-mathematical writings, each contradicting the other and each Author claiming to have the evidence as a guide.

The great pamphlet then descended to a position so as to be conveniently seen by those who were lower—the agnostics, the Gnostics, and the grammarians, who soon began to speculate while the parchment turned according to various gusts of air: one saw a ‘u’ and one an ‘e’ as part of the component letters that make the characters of Truth. Each desired that the other not see their own even if only the one or two letters that each had respectively viewed.

The parchment then descended yet again, but after each one had gained the hope of combining all the characters, an unexpected and violent breath arose from the deep grottoes and subterranean entrails of the globe, sending away the craved pamphlet. It is still going up in the air and it has not come down within reach of the eyes of man.

Oh, how many Classes of Men are content to see Truth in their figures and calculations by means of superficial and non-existent observations. And how many differences are borne before knowing the truth, which, seen only obliquely through so many

obstacles, can satisfy very few! And besides, it hasn't yet been proven that our own internal passions interfere with our very understanding of the true; as we are reminded by the grand dramatist old Aminta who warns us:

... *There are diverse follies,  
but everyone is mad, and weaves as he pleases  
Hate, Love, Greed, or Wrath  
We are ships to the algid waves  
Left in abandon;  
Impetuous winds  
Are Our affections  
Every delight is a reef,  
All of life a sea.  
Good which helmsman in us  
Looks over reason, but then  
Even (also) by wavering pride  
Lets himself be swept away.*

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### LIII.

#### *Crates and Diogenes, a Greek Anecdote*

The young man Crates, son of Ascondo, a decent and wealthy Thebian noble, having fallen in love with the Philosophy of Diogenes after having frequented his school for some time, began to believe, as everyone does, that his own wealth was an obstacle to his well-being. Crates knew already that he could not live without a crowd of low and ingenious flatterers around—his money managers, his Lawyers—all of whom disturbed him greatly. He realised, furthermore, that his effeminate demeanour came from his extremely comfortable life. Frequently he was pressed to give presents, or to assist those with some talent in beginning their career; quite often still, as was pressed by requests to lend money; and his relatives, and friends of the family, always were around to pull from him some advantage. He was constantly receiving offers from people who wanted to sell him the most beautiful estates, the most wonderful residences, or the most exquisite works of art. Considering, therefore, that everyone was trying to get something from him either covertly, or more obviously, he

was quite disturbed, and so much the more where even if it were good for his spirit, he saw that amongst those he had helped were some who spoke ill of him, because he would let himself be so easily charmed, avoided him, because they felt shame for having received good from him, or would avoid him lest they be asked to return what he had given them. He found, furthermore, that everyone was clearly ungrateful, and that even doing good to others would elicit in his own fellow citizens hate and envy. His reflections upon all of these facts and thoughts bothered him greatly and finally pushed him in the end to reach to the strong conclusion that an excess of wealth, instead of being an instrument of happiness, or an archetype, or a primordial principle of true well-being, was instead nothing other than a spectre, or cause of distraction and great discomfort. Convinced, therefore, more and more of the Stoic way of Philosophizing he vowed to prefer over anything else to know a few things, but very well, and to possess with certainty one or two true friends, to be agile of spirit, to eat sensibly, and to conserve the strength of one's own body with sensible movement. Immersed in this way of thinking, it happened one day that he resolved to renounce all of his possessions in one or the other of the various ways (reported to us by the Greek writers); and having done so, he ran to his master to tell him what he had just done, in order to free himself from the causes that prevented him from fully giving himself to a virtuous life. He hoped that he would forever gain the affection of his Master, and that he would want to guide him to that sweet tranquillity of the spirit, which alone could promote a sweet beatitude in the brief course of this human life.

Diogenes, taken aback for such an admirable and unexpected action, was very surprised, even though he knew him to be the kind of person who would be able to despise what constituted the delight of other wealthy people. Fearing, nevertheless, that regret would have been likely in such a young individual Diogenes refrained from congratulating Crates, as he was doing enough of it on his own. Mortified, Crates began to say that he was offended by Diogenes's doubting, which contradicted at the same time not only his valuable lessons but also his way of life [*costume*], because poor as he was, he would always lead a happy and peaceful life.

"Oh dear child," Diogenes replied, "pardon me, but you cannot be strong and knowledgeable simply because you see in me the philosophical principles to which I ascribe. Though they may seem to you to be natural, they are the result of many years of study and application. One must also consider that I have always been poor, while you owned, and had within reach, all the ways to facilitate your wealth. Make it a necessary habit to make such large and repeated observations so that you can stay anchored in all foreseen and unforeseen situations and I have reason to fear, speaking to you from

the heart, I fear your own youth.”

Crates, maintaining that he had not decided to renounce his wealth other than after the most serious thoughts, having pondered the possible turns of his own life, begged him to rest assured that even though he recognised the possibility of being influenced at a young age by that heat of fantasy, it had not contributed to his decision in the least.

Moved by such words, the good old man caught a glimpse of how much Crates had earned his affections after such sacrifice; wanting to continue to teach him well, he thought to give him tests on the matter of scorn/contempt given that he already knew a great deal about judgment.

Aiming, in consequence, to guide him well in the practice in order to make him strong against derisions above all, he also wanted to verify that Crates would not be motivated by a sentiment of vanity in being so singular of which he was unaware to have. He began, therefore, trying to make him leave behind, as we would say, his headpiece, his dress sword, his toga; thusly, he then led them covered in a large cloth bag with a leather belt, and with a small sauce pan at his side, to the most frequented and elegant piazzas in all of Athens. Everyone mocked him here and there; many, believing as well that he had become insane, and clearly showing it, took some compassion. He faced the strongest internal struggles in the beginning, and even if he overcame them, Diogenes still suspected that he was trying hard to outdo himself only in the hope of gaining his respect. He then determined to give him another test, far more cruel, as it was intended to make Crates believe that Diogenes truly scorned him.

Thus, he pretended to be quite tired after a long lesson to his disciples, and that he would therefore need to refresh himself. He quickly turned to Crates and ordered him to fill his pot with some barley or lentil soup. Straightaway he ran, returning with it under the colonnade, where Diogenes held his classes, but it was so full that it was overflowing. Diogenes went close to him and suddenly kicked the bowl out of his hands; tossing it in the air left the youngster covered in broth and burned as well.

As Crates had not yet become an imperturbable Cynic and was not accustomed to such public mockery, he ran away from the shame. The old man yelled in a loud voice, “why do you run?!” The more he yelled, the more quickly Crates ran away. Turning to the bystanders, Diogenes said, “Poor child, he believed that he could learn philosophical tenacity only from the lessons, and tests over a few months, and he erroneously inferred

in his imaginings, that pleasure and poverty are sisters.

Oh! How greatly he was deceived! He had the courage to renounce that which most dazzles all others, and well deserves my assistance, as well as that of every other decent Man. Alas, look for him, and bring him to me.”

At that, some of his friends went to look for him, and having found him curled up in a small shelter convinced him to return to the Master telling him that Diogenes had publicly said that, he had intended by those tricks to make of him a simple example, which he would have later explained.

Comforted a little, Crates returned to Diogenes. Having given the old man a great hug, they began to talk and never stopped until they reached the palace of Aristodemus which was truly adorned with many selected and erudite furnishings. All of the rooms were already opened to Signor Diogenes. These rooms were all dressed to the exact orders of the Masters, and a few attendants [*guardrobbe*] were now ready to attend to them as freely as they did the rooms. “Open the room and go in.” Diogenes said to Crates. He then asked, “Do you see what is represented there? Achilles, the Principle of the Youth, the glorious hope of all Greece. Observe who was given as his master and guide: Chiron, a Centaur! You think that this happened for no good reason? Oh no. Our Ancients knew to place together the two natures—reasoning animal and mechanical animal—and that consequently there had to exist in Chiron a great knowledge of both contemplative virtue and of brutal vices, the ability to distinguish the good from the bad, and the false from the true. And he was also the most knowledgeable in all of Greece in matters of Music, then understood as the mother of Wisdom. He was also very knowledgeable of medicinal herbs, so much so that he taught medicine to Aesculapius, and Astronomy to Hercules. With all of this great knowledge, some would consider him like a man, and almost a God; others said he was a beast, since it wasn’t possible—as we are driven by various principles, from different intelligences, from educations, effects, and from diverse passions—it is not possible to judge uniformly, and especially because we are talking about a superior genius, which cannot be distinguished from the universal with ease or haste. Now decide to which of these two sides you would prefer to ascribe: to the opinion of a few men who are wise, or to that of the multitude who isn’t, for it is necessary that you decide once and for all the guiding principle of the career, which you have undertaken against the common opinion. If you are about to choose the first, then rest assured you will never blush in shame in response to tricks similar to those that I played on you recently,



and also you will have less trouble and more tranquillity.

Otherwise, negotiate with your own intellect in a clear way, if at all possible, and desire nothing more than to fill your mouth and chest with philosophy as you seem to desire.”

The philosopher would have reasoned further if the abundant tears of the moved youngster moved by such a nourishing lesson, hadn't convinced him that it was preferable to be on the side of those few enlightened, fair, and discreet men, as opposed to the large number of the stupid, the envious, and the prejudiced.

#### LIV.

#### *The Dangerous Citizen*

##### *Historical Fact*

##### *Recently Unearthed in a Latin Codex*

It has always been and still continues to be a natural thing that a great majority of people believes that each themselves is a whole [they are the world]; Wherefore the very first Legislators devised to contain them for their own good, redirecting them to want to be many parts of a whole.

In Roman History, which contains copious singular facts, you cannot read of another person who despised more the limitations of such wise regulations than the most celebrated Lucius Cornelius Catiline. Concealing his crimes even from himself, he paid careful attention to keep his goal of raising himself above his equals so it would not become apparent to them, in order to more easily attain his goal. He was reckless and cocky, and sometimes imprudent, believing that no one had been able to suspect him capable of that patience, of that concealment, and of all that dexterity of spirit, which were necessary to be the head of a conspiracy.

Having woven many threads in his plot, he thought that nothing would be more advantageous than if he could bring to his party some of those senators known for their illustrious qualities, amongst whom was the particularly wise Gaius Trebonius.

Having shared with his confidants such a scheme, Cetego applauding him, saying, “Catiline, do it in such a way that Trebonius is not able to refuse your invitation to dinner; it shouldn't be with too many people, but only

a handful of our most serious members. Then leave the rest to me. I have everything clear in my mind.”

Cataline had never before tried so hard to be courteous and dexterous with those whom he secretly hated than with Trebonius, who very seriously, and unassumingly, devoted himself fully to the Empire of Rome [*Patria*]. Looking for him, he found him by chance and told him that he had received as a gift an exceptional fish, which he wanted to share with some of his good friends who wanted to taste it. He named a few according to the scheme so that believing himself to be amongst the lucky ones to have been invited. Trebonius would go along with the good fortune that had brought this to him [the senator].

The Senator was perplexed. He couldn't decide if it was worse to create a scandal by going to the house of one of the most noted Epicureans or to insult him who was so influential and easy to irritate but also inviting him so courteously; He was flattered that the names Caitaline mentioned could justify it. He believed that accepting this unexpected offer was this lesser evil. He went Secretly, and the following evening he was asked to sit next to Cetego.

The huge fish was brought to the table, whereupon one of the guests, well-rehearsed, began to make an argument that the fish might not be worth much, though that was improbable, and he began to declaim about the inherent luxuries derived from the very victories of the Roman People, who, lovers of the things of foreign craftsmanship, precious and rare, were becoming to know and to admire them. The Roman people would send all of the money out of the capital, without ever thinking of their own arts, nor to the trading that would enable them to retain all of the gold and silver so necessary to sustain the immense expenditure of the state.

Lentulus, interrupting him with furious eloquence, observed that instead of being reserved to pay the expenses, all the wealth that remained in Rome was passing through the safes of usurers and food sellers. Nevertheless many, in the need to patronise one or the other, would label as sacrilegious that proposal to regulate such huge disorder. To all of this added a third conspirator that no good citizen, as he deemed all those present to be, could be surprised by the mortifying truth being spoken. Especially since this great disorder derived directly from the same Magistrates and Senators, because of their own hidden miserable reasons, who were at the same time witnesses of public ambition and accomplices to such disaster.

Poor people, how good would it be for you to win all the time only to be tyrannized in a thousand ways! Not even one of the conquered lands is left for you because they were taken away by the violence of the powerful, or because you lost them pawning them to the frauds.

Catiline pointed out other problems in this distorted situation and directly accused several of the most important citizens, both those immersed in the debauchery, and those in the splendour of their dignity, each being equally inept to bring about a common good; rather, they subjugate the true Republican Liberty, which they claimed to defend as well as he did.

In the middle of such tumultuous noise Trebonius heard a faint voice near him. Amongst the many fashions of this time, there was one to set the table with pomegranates. From one of these, which had its mouth open more than the others, and which seemed to be addressing him, he thought to hear from one of the kernels inside of it the following very sensible words, which must have come for sure by some God to protect him [Trebonius, this is the narrator speaking] from the ambush (a):

“And don’t you think we are a multitude in here? And the orderly group of many reduced to one unity, doesn’t it form a Republic? This is ours,” the seed continued to say, “made up of individuals like the Romans, and we are content in the place that is given to us, whatever the fortune, not causing any troubles. If a seed has three sides, while many others have four or five, and didn’t want to give in to the pressure of his neighbours, and began to think of becoming round, it would spell trouble for him as well as for all of us. That would mean then that an interstitial space would be present between his curve and the straight side of another kernel, and while you may say that through this opening we could gain the presence of air, this would be the fatal first cause of our corruption.” The seed said nothing more, but Trebonius, meditating over it, and suspicious of Catiline, and his partisans, murmured to himself, “I understand... this fellow wants to become round.”

Oh Citizens, save your countries from those putrid principles, be happy of all your sides, since by being united, with each other in defence, you will prevent the highest perils that come from the first desire to be round. For you don’t always have a guide [Cicerone] with his wonderful elegance, or a Petreius, with his unbeaten armies, to be able to save you from such dangerous comrades.

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(a) It sure doesn’t sound right to hear inanimate things reason, and perhaps this is the first Lodolian story where we hear a vegetable speak. I beg the reader, therefore whatever defect he may have found in this, to gracefully pardon him on the basis that many other examples are given from the most renowned Ancient, Modern, and very Modern Fable-tellers, who made to moralize, as everyone knows, the thorny bush, the sweet smelling grass, Anemone, the medlar tree, pineapples, the peach tree, also snow, hail, and the gardens themselves, and all other inanimate things.

*The Little Pipe Smokers,**A Florentine tale.*

In Great Tuscany, already many, many years ago, Fortune wanted—similar to the favours that the illustrious Medici Princes did for Science, Literature, Commerce, and Art—one extremely respectable Sovereign with her own example, and with her vigilance, to contribute to the most benevolent customs so that Florence became the centre of the beautiful life in Italy.

She used such ways as the women of Court loved to cultivate their own spirit and became capable of supporting a pleasant and happy conversation amongst locals and Foreigners. She also placed much thought in having her damsels be well educated, requesting, though, that this would correspond to the most severe virtue.

The intention could not have been more praiseworthy but nature is always aware of its own end—that is to infiltrate desire of one sex for the other—and sometimes took her back, and right back, to the first enthusiasm of youth. The danger was even greater for the single, unmarried young women, so one shouldn't be surprised if the very beautiful and charming Giulietta was the first amongst them to fall into the ambush of love.

Cesarino, one of the Ducal Pages, had been so successful in seeping into her heart by means of respectful, languid, and secret glances that she, understanding his own welcome sentiments, didn't disdain from time to time to show that she didn't entirely disapprove. He was also quite noble, although poor. When suddenly Giulietta became an heir to a substantial inheritance she became enthralled with the idea of being able to combine with her own happiness that of her lover.

At the same time, the Benign Sovereign, who held her dear, and who had been thinking for a long time to assure her good fate, decided to offer her in marriage to a young Marquis who was the only child of rich heritage. Indeed, he possessed praiseworthy qualities; however, as he always lived under the protection of his family inside their Estate, he still maintained his uncouth manner, which could not be pleasing to one educated in a court so brilliant and animated.

As soon as Giulia heard this too honourable choice, she was forced to respect it; she couldn't refrain for too long to lament in secret. Her love for Cesarino rendered her restless, so that often she

desired that things would turn around, so that without it appearing to be her decision, she wouldn't have to be subject to such fate. This desired event didn't make her wait too long to arrive in her favour. The young destined husband was very impressed by her virtues, but was respectful neither of the Madame, nor the place where he had found them.

He cut to the chase, first with stupid and coarse expressions, then, with greater imprudence to gain some favours, which he dismissed as a joke by saying that it was just a preview of things to come.

It was a fatal mistake for him, as Giulietta was already prejudiced against him because she was able to hold her own skill and decency, which many other wives-to-be adopt in similar cases, she was eager to put the Governor-esse [*Governatrice*] on her side, who for no reason could ever be the Marquis' friend after what he had done to her. The youngster had to say very little to have the matron turn against him. Better yet, she even put together a course of action and went to the Grand Duke, who, as soon as he heard what the matter was about, referred it to his Duchess, who had asked to be arbiter and Sovereign of similar matters.

Since this was a delicate and touchy matter she didn't want to formulate a sentence by herself: therefore she convened all of her women of the court and asked them, following the ornate expositions of the rulers, to explain their opinions. They decided then, that, the offence had a triple nature that he couldn't be left uncorrected, and that it was necessary to sentence him with a serious punishment.

The head of the council, who, because of rank and age had earned the right to speak first, and indulgent as she was for human weakness, observed that nothing had really happened, either thanks to the well-known virtue of the girl, or because he who was destined to her had simply not committed any violence; thus she said that it seemed sufficient to relegate him for a few months to the Maremma [swampland] of Sienna. But Dame Beatrice Orsole, Marte, and Apollonie, who spoke after her, and all of whom wanted the Grand Duchesse to know how important they thought immaculate chastity to be, now that they were old, were far from agreeing with the far too mild and aforementioned punishment; painting the crime with far graver tones than it actually had, luckily they weren't at all opposed to the nature of the punishment. All the voices shouted at once so that the stay was longer *Maremmette, Maremmette*, and not *Maremma*.

As so many people agreed, the Sovereign had to go along, and as soon as she had given her orders, the young man was banished with out even a word spoken on the term of his punishment.

The wedding contract was quickly dissolved, Giulietta was relieved for now... but who could actually envision that young man to be unhappy? He didn't have the faintest clue regarding the error he had committed and was seeing the dear object of so much love taken away forever at the most beautiful moment.

Informed little by little of his misfortune, he swore against fate, considering himself Innocent, and sometimes he swore against those severe old women, whose past conduct he believed to be suspect; but in the end, with his heart full of anguish, he fell unconscious.

Faint and always more depressed in the meanwhile, thinking of this horrible place to which he was banished, and where the air expelled a noxious odour, he feared that he would soon die. Seeing the pale and contorted faces of the few people whom he met on his way, with stomachs swollen and legs inflated, he was always horrified to imagine that he might soon become the same, when to his great surprise a robust athlete, by chance, suddenly appeared. He was attracted by his noble, graceful physiognomy and inquired about his adventures and as soon as the athlete found out who he was and how he got there, he took pity on him and began to say to him: "noble boy, you think to die from starvation? You don't see, perhaps, that I am still strong after a year has passed, though I am subject to the same kind of divine injustice? Do I not also perhaps swallow the same air that this place spews? Believe in my experience, that it is never a good thing to lose courage, and the worst of all evils is exactly to despair, and to imagine that the same evil may be without remedy. It is best to identify with your mind all the means that can be used in necessity. I am confident, therefore, that my same good fortune may also be yours, so listen."

Ever since Giovanni Nicot of Languedoc, French Ambassador in Portugal, brought from Lisbon to Paris last century the most famous balsamic Herb discovered in Tobago, in Northern America one of the Antilles or Caribbean Acovendez from Toledo, an herb which was first called Tobacco, then Nicotiana, then of the Grand Priore, then of the Queen because Nicot himself present first to the Great Prince of Lorraine and then to Caterina de' Medici, one mustn't fear any more the inconvenience of the unhealthy air. To this discovery someone added the invention of this marvellous little machine which looks to have been formed from a long and thin tube, which is named the Pipe. Crushing the dry leaf of tobacco, and pressing it into the little bowl or in the little burner, one lights it. Once it is lit, while inhaling from the other side, filtering the air through half-open soft lips, the smoke comes out from this narrow channel full of alkali and salts, which envelop

the corrupt fumes of air, which preventing the contaminated air from being inhaled.

Afterwards, they retired with small groups of trusted friends, into a room that was closed from all possible sides and with everyone smoking at the same time by dint of remaining there amongst many swirls of smoke. He said, “we are to some degree able to eat and chat without danger of contaminating our innards. If you are happy with this much, wouldn’t you be happy to spend your life amongst us until it has something better in store for you?” Feeding themselves with such liberal ideas, or rather liberally combining them, no one presumed any longer to be the only partisan of innocence or the chosen one of reason. Refinement can be abhorred as much as malicious gossip, luxury, and mystery. Why do we need to care about the poor fools who can’t or don’t wish to understand that expedient which alone would save them from illnesses! Oh, the smell to which they are not accustomed, the smoke that offends and often makes them cough or cry, blackens one’s teeth, the breath...A little more evil to persevere a lot of good; that which is our own survival is always a good deal. He who does not want to embrace it—it will be his loss.

There didn’t take much to induce that unlucky fellow to become very fond of the Compipotti. First he accepted it, now he gives. He left after one year, more robust from this place than when he arrived. Since it wasn’t by his own accord, he would not have taken well the news of his freedom if it wasn’t for him who first comforted him, and who at the same time, having obtained grace for him, agreed with a few others to live with him in his castle under the sworn condition of never again going to the court and never getting close to very delicate and virtuous women.

Well-disposed youth, learn that the Philosopher, who, instead of wasting his time in despair, employs it looking for more opportune remedies to the troubles of life, finds in the balsamic herb he uses to defend himself from malignant influences, and in the choice of a few friends who are in a similar situation, that peace, and that innocent way of life, which while not providing witty pleasures don’t expose him to the sinful reproaches of conscience, and useless regrets.

**LVI.*****The Platonic Citizen****Traveller through Europe,**A Philosophical-Political**Tale*

The love of much novelty so natural to men, who are in the habit of living well, arose in a citizen of the Platonic Republic. He desired for his brothers to be enlightened by the good laws or customs of other Governments. He was able to convince his council to support a fellow citizen and resolved to send one of the most mature so that he would consider, annotate, and report everything that he felt that could be useful to their own Republic in order to make its members happier, if at all possible, and to better organize various parts of the constitution.

But amongst the many there was one who, fearing that the observer might return too quickly owing to many unforeseeable causes that sometimes happen, alerted the Sovereign Council, so as to convince him not to return back home before ten years, and his suggestion was met with universal satisfaction. Another then suggested, that he should be obliged to write a book containing all that he deemed most notable, so that in the event of an unexpected death, one would not lose the fruit of the costly journey.

These suggestions were combined with other pertinent things and, as typically happens in such Republics, it was decided that this very arduous task would be destined to him who had been the first to suggest such an incredible feat as he was deemed by everyone to be the expert on the subject. He accepted the task willingly and began collecting information on the trip he would have to undertake, including how to make it prudent even with respect to expenses, since, parsimonious as Republics normally are, they hold the following very much as truth: that he who serves them should bear himself with dignity, and at times even do more than what he was assigned.

His things having been arranged for his departure with a companion, or rather with



an employee, he finally arrived at the end of Europe, entering through the States of the Great Lord. But as he knew in that mix of tyranny and popular violence, that they cut off people's heads without mercy, and strangled and often impaled people, leaving the established process of law aside. He soon had enough, and passed quickly through the States of the House of Austria.

Being the Head of this [Austria], and also the Emperor (a word that, as everyone saw derived from *imperare* [to rule over his kinsmen]), he was stricken by such fear that, quickly passing through these states, he rapidly arrived in the general states of Holland and Westphalia.

Entering there it seemed to him that he should relax. "Oh God!" he said, "I finally find myself in a place where the heads of state [*principali Cittadini*] and the generously spirited people were able to terminate their own subjection and become free at the price of much bloodshed. Oh, here without a doubt," he continued to speak to himself, "I will learn much." Dedicating himself, therefore, to closely examine their constitution and the customs they observed, he found that the Deputies of the Provinces—who still honouring their positions could only decide on issues by unanimous consent—depended on the counsel of their respective, separate parts, and even different Provincial Governments, which sometimes had very opposite interests: and sometimes also they didn't know the true circumstance, let alone all of them for every single community. He saw the trouble with delaying to make a decision, and he recognised the other problem with keeping secrets in both internal and in external affairs. He observed too many riches condensed in many particulars of every kind because of their fortunate business as compared to the public revenue and the inevitable abandonment of infinite materials. Finally he learned out about the past history and discovered the necessity always despised by many: they saw that the General States were forced to create their own Head, that he would join all the different parts of the Confederation, accumulating in himself to an almost supreme degree nearly all of the strength of everyone, in other words a government with the faculty to be above the king of the state, to be the head of all laws, to have the free disposition of many offices and in audience to the Ambassador, and to deal with all of the foreign Ministers of public affairs, the practical daily execution of the Orders, and the arbitration of differences that arise from time to time amongst the community. As if this wasn't enough, in order to remove confusion and discord, they believed that he was destined also to be the Commander of the Grand Army and Great Armada of the Sea, with the faculty to appoint anyone on whom these two important offices depended, including all of the subordinates who

pledged their faith to him. He learned that this Chief went by the name of Statouder, which meant “Governor General” and sounded barbarous to his ears, and also that all the preceding rulers had come from one single lineage, some by astute plotting, some moved by pride, some by simple manoeuvrings in the public offices, some by force, and some through scheming spirit: all, in other words, looking to usurp the very Sovereignty of their Country, careful promoters, furthermore, of foreign war campaigns as well as civil and religious ones, of popular movements, and of alliances or of peace.

Deficient, for all these reasons, Dutch Institutions still had some merit and could be of use even to a Platonist when compared to the huge decline of the supreme power of the Republican Body. But because of the dangers that he saw so clearly in relation to the potentially complete loss of whatever liberties remained in the country, he resolved to leave The Hague without trying to go any further into understanding the most minute parts of that Government.

Perhaps his own genius stimulated him to quickly hop from one country to another so that he could then spend much more time in London. He had heard everywhere, and was still reading, that the English were the only people who could truly be called free, and that all individuals, because of how their public constitutions worked, were able to think, say, and also print whatever they most wanted. He knew that the greatest passion of individuals was exactly that of their liberty, whose emblems hang over every entrance of their houses: it was still well known to him how much blood had been shed by the citizens to maintain it, and he knew as well that there existed parties always ready to defend it at any moment from even the smallest barely imagined attack.

He then set out with great joy for Great Britain, and, approaching the Capital, stopped for two days in the provinces, until his damaged calash could be repaired. In this place, a member of the Lower House was being elected, and so he gladly stayed, occupying every moment to learn the procedures employed in making a choice of such importance, for from the eminent, unquestionable qualities and well-known practical integrity of the elected, there could derive, in a few cases, nothing less than public health. He wanted so badly to take careful notice of everything based on solid visual accounts, that everyone could well imagine the surprise and horror that ran through his every bone when he heard, and later saw with his own eyes, in undeniable fashion, that the one chosen was only that one who offered the best banquet at his own table, sparing no food and no wine for his voters, and then giving them, without hesitation, more cash than his other competitors would. He wanted to go back immediately after the first

taste of this, reflecting that often, unfortunately, the accounts and appearances suggested by preconceptions, can be different than facts when compared to reality. But since he had already paid the agreed upon fare to his Coachman, and remaining still to satisfy some honest curiosity, he let himself be driven to the Great Capital. There he immediately tried to learn many useful things he saw that the majority of people appeared absorbed in thought and rather serious, and that Artisans of the poorest condition also read public pamphlets in which things of common interest were written, all these and other things didn't, at first glance, leave him indifferent. No one he ran into said hello to him, yet women offered themselves to him in public streets, even hugging him. The food was simple and quite flavourful, and it cost little to buy groceries except wine. All milk products were excellent. All these were things that, in addition to a few others, he liked. But when he began to examine the political system, and he realised the true objectives of the Whigs, and of the Tories, and their ways of rendering themselves most respectable, and that true liberty didn't exist outside of a purely pompous name, which more than anything else could arouse the multitude, he noticed that not few amongst those chiefs would have sacrificed it for only one of those lucrative internal and external offices that derived directly and only from the King. Some, at times, would oppose the Court exactly to advance their own position, while at the same time, they gained personal honours when they freed it from the threat of a powerful enemy. He learned that the members of the Lower House, since almost all needed to recover money for the lavish expenses they incurred during the political campaign, sacrificed without concern the good of the nation, selling for cash their own votes to the various Secretaries of the State, who, as someone—that is the illustrious Walpole—said of them, each had a price; and no one could even imagine to think to correct something so big. Consequently he began to believe that the English freedom to say and print was not a true freedom but something diametrically opposed to a free and calm life. When he found out the total amount of the national debt, despite the the heaviest taxes that they came up with from year to year in order to satisfy the ever increasing annual census, and of the true causes that the State claimed to increase the taxes, it seemed impossible to him, that this would last for a long time. Knowing, besides, that one such cause was that of the subsidies allocated for the King, who would have increased the total budget by a sum greater than the actual needs in order to secure a stronger position to purchase as many votes as possible in the two Houses, he deemed impossible such blindness in men who still possessed sublime

genius. Finally, hearing nothing but perpetual, insolent, malicious gossip by some compatriots against the others, and noticing that hatred amongst them reached extreme limits, he feared that a moment of economic and universal rift was near, and so he ran immediately in search of the first Captain of the Mercantile Ship that was to sail out of port, who was willing to take him to another place, where one couldn't buy, with money or the rewards wrested from offices, the most important patriotic opinion.

By chance he met with a certain Captain Anderson—a most gallant gentleman—who almost every year came to Venice with a load of herring, *saracche*, and salted cod. Having reached an agreement, they sailed the next day. Twenty days later, with fair travel conditions, they landed at the Port of Genoa, where the Captain had some business to expedite. The Platonic Citizen was well received in that city from the friends of the captain, some amongst whom informed him of the constitution of that respectable Republic, of the riches of its citizens, of the obvious fractures between the Nobles of the Old Port and those of the New Port, of the perpetual war sustained against the Corsicans which would not bring, if victorious, anything major to gain if not only to subjugate those People who detested them and wanted at every cost to be independent from the Republic. He also heard that the Republic left its citizens free to leave and go to Sovereigns and to pledge to them an oath of allegiance either as soldiers or politicians, thereby often losing those who were most apt to govern and defend it.

As the captain finished his affairs, it certainly was not difficult for the Platonic Citizen to leave too soon similar Aristocratic circles in which the beautiful residences of some specific families, and their precious furnishings, clearly demonstrated the enormous inequality amongst the same noble citizens.

Signor Anderson had much more business to conduct in Livorno, so he gladly granted to his honest passenger one month of time, or even more if he so desired, so that, since he had manifested an interest, he could also travel to see Tuscany and Lucca, though not before providing him with letters in order to introduce him to good and helpful people once he was in these lands.

In Florence he was not happy to see that the Foreign Minister of a Prince stood higher with supreme authority over all of the Counsels and Magistrates of the Republic, which barely kept the offices' ancient denominations. That was enough for him not to examine further a country that had become a Province of a Sovereign also too far away, happy to tour the fertile territory, to see the beautiful buildings and the pleasant views, and

to consider only the good effects of frequenting the Liberal Arts and the refined intellects.

He was much happier to be in Lucca, particularly for the legally recognized equality in how the nobility dressed and for the moderate lifestyle. Once he was led to the countryside for a day of leisure, he saw that these same citizens, while promulgating and supporting such praiseworthy sumptuary laws, went out of their way to disregard them outside the gates of the city thus he left and returned to Livorno much earlier than he had agreed upon.

From that port all the way to that of Venice the Captain never stopped, pressing to arrive two or three weeks prior to the first Sunday in Lent in order to be able to deliver his merchandise on time. Knowing this city very well, and known also as a good Englishman of Republican principles, he had described quite well most of the Venetian constitution in his friendly conversations, praising some of its customs. The Platonic Citizen liked to hear, amongst other things, that the Head of this Republic, who collectively represented the dignity of the Sovereign Body, did not possess the faculty to do as he alone pleased, and also that he had, though Head of all of the assemblies, the smallest amount of power, which was more than that already enjoyed by any other citizen who had or did not have entry to the Senate, that is to plead a case, and to voice his opinion and vote only during deliberation.

Hearing also that public authority was divided in to numerous assemblies of various natures, and that these were in turn made up by many members called Presidents, Magistrates, Superintendents, Deputies, Officials, etc... who, subject to inspections, not too frequent and not too rare either, but more or less annually easily were able to accomplish what they had been recommended or commissioned, filled him with joyous surprise, which became greater when he was better able to see in progress the ways, also prescribed by the same laws, of keeping good and very open communications amongst themselves, which are always necessary for the internal tranquility of the Republic.

He recognised great shrewdness when considering that the Sovereign Body, also known as the Supreme Major Council Master, had retained two parts of the republic that make up the same sovereignty, that is the Legislation and the Distribution of offices: because his Ministers had to be either Counsellors or Executives, it was only right, as observed the President of Montesquieu, that they be selected from the Sovereign Chief, in order to be able to trust them more.

He praised the aid offices established for the vigorous observance of public order, and even the extraordinary elections planned to prevent panic and bewilderment in the not

difficult yet sometimes stormy aristocratic affairs, which great level of maturity had also been praised by the Leader of the Italian Politicians.

He saw that since the most Ancient time, measures had been taken that were aimed at preventing easy seductions namely by prohibiting with much severity the acceptance of gifts, titles and even jobs from the Foreign Ministers, who for the same reason wouldn't want, without the permission of one who was in charge, to be approached by the Nobles, who refused as well any communication, in any which way, with their Ministers, whether they resided near them or far from Venice. On the whole he had been so incredibly impressed by all these things that he wasn't surprised any longer by the stunning duration of tranquillity of such a wise Republic superior to any other, past or present.

He also understood that because of the love of the People towards the Nobles and the winning ways of the Government and of its views towards the People, there never was an occasion to place the Military Guards here and there; a single Minister was enough to keep things in check, even during the biggest of assemblies. This made him fall in love with Venetian things, to the point that he would be disturbed by any little delay produced by any contrary wind.

When he finally arrived at the Port of Malamocco and descended with the Captain in a skiff, seeing the island of S. Giorgio Maggiore through a powerful telescope he had given him he was surprised by the most noble view of the city which looked so different from all the others in that most beautiful point, by the quantity of people standing in the so called Piazzetta, and by the people coming and going along the waterside walk named for the Schiavoni, from its water all the way to its land end, and by the great quantity of vessels and mercantile ships of every Nation that were anchored in the most interior Port of Venice. Lastly he was also quite won over by the wise precautions established by Department of Health before giving access to Foreigners who came by way of sea.

Mister Anderson had obtained to be his guide an honest and most knowledgeable sailor of Malomocco, who quickly led him to a hostess in S. Zaccharia, who rented him two rooms for a very good price, one for him and the other for his companion, in a good and comfortable situation. Once he had settled his things there, the Malamocchian, so that he wouldn't be either alone, or bored, took him to a coffee shop that was nearby, introducing him to a few of his Masters and friends, with whom, on that first night and perhaps the following ones, he was able to pass some free time. Luckily, he also found some who courteously filled him in as to all those details that the captain had not been able to tell him, and above other things informed him of the very singular costumes/customs [*costumi*] of the Venetians, which did not resemble

those of other countries, that were almost too ordinary, explaining them to him as best they knew.

He went to bed quite happy, and in the morning he impatiently went out early by himself returning to the road along the sea, over which he had come over the night before, leaving orders to his sailor to wait for him at the bridge, which they had learned was called "Of the Fight." The amount of fish he saw on show, its low cost, its sales by weight, the prices written above it on display, all contributed to make him think that there must have been the most upright fairness in the sales. The abundance of other food, which was sold in the same way, always confirmed to him the most uncorrupted justice and attention on the part of the Government. Approaching the grand Piazza of S. Marco, as it was the season of Carnival, he remained surprised to observe many people dressed in black, and with a piece of stiff, bright, white cloth on their faces, which, at first, had almost scared him. He looked for and found the Malamocchian sailor, and heard from him that the cloak, cape, hat, and mask [*bauta*], which together constituted an ensemble rendering everyone a perfect equal to his peer, had been invented precisely to place everyone in the most perfect degree of liberty, not to mention that it would save money for the majority of people, who were not able to spend as much as the most well-to-do. He liked the masquerade idea so much that he immediately wanted to buy from a nearby shop all that would be necessary to dress himself like all the others.

Everyone can now imagine how the Platonic Citizen must have looked in a masquerade costume, not having received any assistance, except from the sailor, in selecting it and wearing it. As he came across those who mocked him from behind he knew that the laughter came from a general sense of good cheer which he could see in the people was aided by the advantage of wearing a mask, and from a variety of things in the so-called *Casotti*, in the circles of many acrobats and tumblers of all sorts who, barely left him enough room to be able to pass, while they sang and played everywhere, masked while dancing with even more delightful costumes. Hearing the happy murmurs, and seeing that bumping others with impunity was met without quarrels, he interpreted both as signs of such happiness, true liberty and general friendship, that it was impossible for him to stay any longer in his skin, so to speak. "Let's go to the Ridotto," said the Malamocchian. "There you will have even more fun. I shall not be able to enter there because I do not have a mask, so for this morning you will have to be content in going by yourself, whereas I shall wait for you at the bottom of the stairs to explain to you everything you will have seen and not understood. When, with a little more time, you make friends with a few noblemen," he continued

to him, “and especially with some nice Ladies, then yes, I shall not doubt that you will really like this place, which is a sort of covered piazza where everyone, as long as they are masked somewhat appropriately, are able to go without having to pay a dime.”

He entered into the rooms of the Ridotto and seeing many tables covered with golden and silver coins, guarded by Patricians, as they told him, observing them still dressed with a toga, it seemed to him to be exactly like that place of his Republic, where the Platonists were able to go to get the money they needed.

He believed those illustrated cards to be the mark of good order, with which it had to be given or received that which was to be returned or brought to the Treasury. “Ah! What pleasure I feel,” he said to himself, “to finally have arrived at such Republic! The people are much happier than my own, despite the fact that for us one participates in the government, and people are freer than these. I hope that by discovering bit by bit all the causes and reasons responsible for this behaviour, I could at last be able to bring to my dear Country some useful discoveries and that consequently I shall not be criticized, as I have feared thus far, for my ardent zeal, with which I so excited it to send a citizen to tour around in order to deliver them.”

“Meanwhile let’s see better how these men proceed with the distribution of public money because, after all, I am still not fully convinced how it can be given indifferently to masked people, amongst whom, like myself for example, there could also be some who didn’t belong, or in bad faith, unless of course, with experience of doing this, these Patricians have not arrived to know everyone in advance, in such a way that allows them to recognise one simply by means of some signs that I, not knowing them, could never be able in any way to notice.”

The more he saw the less he understood. And with the surrounding masks making him uncomfortable, as he could not see too well, he began to retreat for fear of appearing improper to the Citizens if he insisted on staying amongst them as they were busy going on with their business, and also he didn’t want to arouse any suspicions. However, spotting an empty seat near a young Patrician who was courteously greeted by everyone, and whom he in turn most graciously acknowledged, and to whose table no one had yet unseated, he thought to get close to him to ask him to clarify to him this way, which he observed in Venice, of dispensing and collecting the money of the Republic, not having been able to comprehend the method as an inexperienced foreigner, since he had been able only to barely see in between the heads of the many people hording around the tables.

That young man believed at first that a similar individual, with a truly



most ridiculous appearance, had to have been a nut who had just escaped from a mental asylum for, to make such a request with seriousness, and perhaps fearing not to upset him, with potential risk to himself, he held himself from exploding with laughter. He begged him therefore, observing him carefully, to further explain himself in a better way.

“I beg your pardon,” he responded. “I am a citizen of the Platonic Republic who, following my orders, have been travelling through many foreign countries. Until now I have not found other places outside of Venice which could be held as examples and from which I might learn anything. You also circulate amongst private people those so much needed convenient symbols of exchange, which are called coins, reporting with accuracy to the Treasury everything that is collected from these private people as public gain. Hence, after having found so many other virtuous customs in this happy government similar to ours, it seems to me to recognize that this is the place where, as faithful Magistrates, as I believe all your peers to be a similar distribution or collection is made and at the same time by means of those symbols of various colour and numbers, and images, which they carry in their hands, both are made easier.”

Having recomposed himself from that initial fear, the young Gentleman explained to him, that the situation was quite a different affair, and that, not to the public, but rather that money was due only to those private Patrician individuals, who also held their cards in their hands, as he saw them sitting down; that like him, all the others would place their own sum at the mercy of another’s fortune, hence it was that to earn it others had to put theirs at risk to lose it in equal amount, and greater still if they persisted in this risk; that there was for those who held the cards in their hands, some convenient advantage, both because he was alone against everybody and because, most of the times, he could risk a lot in comparison to a few coins; and also because, often, those who risked their money were at a disadvantage for the delay of the payment in case of some more flexible loss on the part of gamblers, whereas those who held the the Bank, were aggravated from the expense of the cards, of the table and also because he had to compensate himself for the hard work, the patience, and for the danger of the poor air, having to remain, often uselessly, for entire days and entire nights, sitting always in such closed places in which so much foul air would collect.

As soon as the Platonist, by dint of those better explanations from that Gentleman, realised that it was nothing more than a game of pure chance and gamble, that could so easily become the source for many vices as well as the cause for some unexpected misery of those private citizens, and that the same Principality not only permitted it, but even controlled it with its own practices and didn’t really

allow for anyone, as it was believed, to really aim to keep with such practice, the money of those foreign hosts, he quickly jumped out of his chair, out of that house, and, found his Malamocchian friend, quickly requested to be taken away from that place where such a horrendous cause of evils was protected, (a) and where, consequently, others defects or, rather, other enormous vices had to be present which he may have not been able to see but that, after such an experience he loathed even tracking them down.

He left from Venice and saw other cities in Italy, but in no other place finding one from which to gain some useful teachings, he arrived to the Ecclesiastic Republic where, not having discovered any institutions which he could adapt to his own, he resolved, alas, not to travel any further, flattering himself that after he had proven to his Government the obvious waste of money for such assignment, and asking for pardon for having suggested it, he would obtain permission to repatriate. Meanwhile, so that he would not to feel too bad, since it was possible to have to wait for a rather late response, he entered the city and the republic of San Marino, and not wanting that those who got close to him would pass onto him some European vices he began to work as a chimney sweeper, so that being filthy, and black, with pointy hooks at the end of the brooms he would carry on his shoulders, every one had to keep far away.

He lived his life on top of the roofs, where no one dared to go to examine his work, or to disturb him; he earned a small pay but it was fixed, and such that it was enough then to sustain himself, allowed him to further weigh on the expenses he had caused his country to undertake without any useful return.

He who, in the dregs of Romulus, doesn't know how to endure those vices, that are inevitable and sometimes even useful, only looking for the impossible, in other words that one should not follow nothing other than the trails of the good in oneself, of the beautiful, of the harmonious, of the just, and of true, which all correspond to the same in a political context, he would find for this long story herein reported, that he would do nothing more than to become anxious

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(a) In 1774, on the 27th of November, with remarkable example of virtue by private Citizens, still Players, they prohibited in every place of the Dominante, and of those States subject to the Major Counsel, all the games of chance and gamble, by the number of 720 votes against only 21, and 22 undecided, that is not entirely persuaded by the form of the proposal: this order is upheld with utmost scruple and, consequently, the use of those houses is no longer allowed, but prohibited by the wise Government due to the sad consequences brought exactly by such games, even though they are supported elsewhere, without any apparent reasons.

himself, further ridiculing himself without being able to be useful to others.

It is better that the Platonic, or be he the Politician, be persuaded once and for all, that the perfection of things is never verified in their own mutability, therefore it would be much more reasonable to be satisfied with a lesser evil since, due to our human fragility, it is not amongst the possible things to eradicate all vices.

THE END.

*Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana (1833-4)*

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The following Apologues can be found in the second edition of the *Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana* (1833-4). All page numbers refer to this edition. The intention was not to translate the entire text of the *Elementi*, only the apologues found within it. All titles added are my own. Stories were typically given in quotes. Some that follow are more anecdote than apologue. I have included these as they were either given in quotes or related directly to Lodoli's pedagogy.

1.	<i>A Lodolian Apologue</i>	<i>Elementi I: 1-2</i>
2.	<i>Anecdote of Massari</i>	<i>Elementi I: 7-10</i>
3.	<i>Common Sense and the Flagpoles</i>	<i>Elementi I: 16-18</i>
4.	<i>The Prisms</i>	<i>Elementi I: 21-23</i>
5.	<i>Simone Grison</i>	<i>Elementi I: 35</i>
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7.	<i>The Barber</i>	<i>Elementi I: 87-88</i>
8.	<i>Bacchi, the painter</i>	<i>Elementi I: 88-90</i>
9.	<i>The Goat Who Couldn't Keep its Milk</i>	<i>Elementi I: 96-97</i>
10.	<i>An Annoying Neapolitan</i>	<i>Elementi I: 97-98</i>
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12.	<i>An Old Man who is Opposite of Reason</i>	<i>Elementi I: 100-01</i>
13.	<i>An Ill-proportioned Man from Brescia</i>	<i>Elementi I: 101</i>
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15.	<i>Two Pygmies</i>	<i>Elementi I: 127-28</i>
16.	<i>The Philosopher and the Flies</i>	<i>Elementi I: 366-6</i>
17.	<i>The Fritters</i>	<i>Elementi II: 43</i>
18.	<i>The Traveler to the Academy</i>	<i>Elementi II: 71-74</i>
19.	<i>The Sculpture's Penis</i>	<i>Elementi II: 95-97</i>
20.	<i>A Woman's Hat on Her husband</i>	<i>Elementi II: 97-100</i>
21.	<i>The Spanish on the Island</i>	<i>Elementi II: 126</i>
22.	<i>Stockings</i>	<i>Elementi II: 132</i>
23.	<i>Simone Stratico and the Soup</i>	<i>Elementi II: 132-35</i>
24.	<i>The Ass Who Wanted to Become a Butterfly</i>	<i>Elementi II: 166-77</i>
25.	<i>The Sadistic Sculptor</i>	<i>Elementi II: 173-6</i>

**I. *A Lodolian Apologue***

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*Elementi I: 1-2*

*In which the narrator addresses, not to the professionals and lovers of architecture, but only to those enemies of good logic, those devious and backwards thinkers who write things in their new books, often before having a clear and distinct idea.*

In a separate room of a great hospital, many disfigured people were sitting in a row one after another with napkins around their necks. They were hungry for some food that would soon be brought to them but was late to arrive. One of them remembered that it was Saturday and that a disgusting soup would be served instead of the typical rice, pasta, or orzo. He began to say that this was absolutely terrible when not made with good bread and with a little bit of cinnamon. Close to him was another disfigured person who completely hated butter. Thinking that the dish must be made with butter, he exclaimed that it would undoubtedly be the most rancid. It should be noted that the superintendents of the hospital were in the habit of recording the price of the food in their record books as if it were of the best quality. In reality they served food that was disgusting and even rancid and therefore was less expensive. They would then keep the difference in price and profit on the shoulders of the weak.

A third monk who also hated oil, and fearing that the superintendents would feed this to them again, rose up and complained. He made some of the same complaints that his companion had made. He refused to eat the wicks of the candles from which the oil must have come.

The difference born amongst these two divided the others between those who hated the oil and those who hated the butter. Both sides were getting riled up and even got up from the bench to fight with their feet. Much noise was made that guardians wanted to know what all the commotion was. The cook entered and upon hearing the subject of the great quarrel wasn't able to stop them from shouting and said, "Hey hold on a minute all of you! Wait until you put in your mouth that which was already prepared and which I have made ready. Once you have tasted the flavour, see if it tastes good or bad. Only then you say it is the worst you have ever tasted."

Some people offer judgement only on the proof of uncertain suppositions or even on positive facts. It is best to say only that which you have declared from your own taste.

## 2. *Anecdote of Massari*

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*Elementi I: 7-10*

The Governor of the pious *Ospedale della Pietà* asked Lodoli to comment on a model of the proposed *Ospedale* by the architect Giorgio Massari. He wanted Lodoli to feel free to say anything about the work, even though Massari was no longer able to make any alterations.

Lodoli's brief and free response was the following:

*“Let not the holy temple tower  
Above the humble hospital!”*

The onlookers were convinced that the professor (Massari) would correct his errors. He, however, was still quite sure of his work. Lodoli was then asked to explain his opinion for each part. He did, but Massari still refused to cede his position. “On the contrary,” Massari retorted impatiently but with great naiveté of the soul, “it so happens, my dear padre, one who wishes to reason with *geometria*, with *meccanica*, and with *statica alla mano*, would also want to drive me to be the perfect architect at every angle and throughout the entire whole...”

“And, like you Signore Giorgio, all would be able to reject the most esteemed opinions and to be above everyone?” Lodoli replied. “Only if men were to assume such. Still many others, rich and poor, whomever they may be, remain completely to your thinking and actions. Do you not remember the great duty of the architect from Vitruvius who wanted that the architect *res fabricates solertia atque ratione proportionis demonstrare atque explicare posit, or rather, debeat?*” Lodoli continued, “Oh, Vitruvius would have quite something to say if he were around today, in this our time with all of the things he expects from us. If I know anything it is that he taught the Romans—the same ones that with their genius conquered the rest of the world and

perfected all of the arts. Indeed, our most famous modern Italians understood architecture from those Romans.”

“Certainly,” replied Massari, for me to be able to defend my position against all of your attacks I can only put forward the most illustrious examples that have been impressed in my mind and that I can no longer ignore.” He then added, “Up to now, when has logic ever had anything to do with architecture?”

“Yes. As you can see, dear friend,” Lodoli continued to tell him, “in the buildings of your famous masters, there are cracks of the stones that dissolve little by little that stretch of wall most necessary to support the building, and in other examples there too we see cracks due to the pressing forces.” Lodoli then asked, “Would you also imitate the mistakes of these masters?”

“Oh God!” Massari replied, embarrassed. “One does not exist, my dear padre, of this profession who does not do what I do. To earn our daily bread, it helps that we gain some fame. One does not acquire this with mathematics but by imitating the best and the most highly esteemed works while avoiding with diligence the defects. If I were to present a completely new design, as reasonable as it may be, I am sure that every other architect who imitated the façade of Palladio or of Vignola would be preferred to mine. In the meanwhile, who would support my family? Excuse me if my needs do not permit me to diverge from that which you criticized last hour and if I am not able to reject thus far what you do and think. Shall I come to your lessons only to go to hell afterwards.”

Some of these circumstances brought about a laugh or similar response, but seeing that Lodoli could not convince him, he believed it better to part ways.

But in turning to leave he said to Massari: “Signor Giorgio, consider this, would you be able for example to show me a district full of prostitutes in any city, but in which there are women who still have honesty and decency.”



### 3. *Common Sense and the Flagpoles*

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*Elementi I: 16-18*

Common sense was on holiday. He ventured in want of naming good sense for the most cultivated areas of Europe. He thought that the best time for a foreigner to see Venice was in the month of May when there was not only the incredible wedding to the sea but also the theatres were open and there were many other things to do.

He arrived just at the eve of the festival and just barely in time to furnish himself with the necessary things to go masked to the first performance. He returned after the theatre to his hotel impatient to see the great Piazza of S Marco of which he knew the history. (Common sense enjoyed reading the history of art.) His guide arranged to be ready at sunrise, as common sense wanted to examine all of the buildings before the grand spectacle would begin. He considered each part of the buildings, bit by bit, and was content in finding in each different piece the most perfect architecture, each in relation to different epochs. "But if this piazza is magnificent," he asked with a somewhat loud voice towards his guide (common sense loving to listen to himself when enter into erudition or in other beautiful discourses) "why did it take no less than six centuries of Venetians to finish it? That is, if we consider, from the time that the Doge Domenico Morosini in 1154 laid the foundations of this grand tower without any pavement of stones." Reducing in this way the history of the city to a small group of layabouts, he intended to know the names of the architects of the church, the public palace, the library, and both the new and old procuratie.

Amongst the beautiful works in the piazza that he observed, beyond all other buildings, one was truly the standard by which to judge the others—the three grand poles that supported the banners of the Republic with dignity. He could not tire to praise the ability of the wonderful ship workers; those entitled to raise the flags from time to time. He then went to the *Molo* (the pier in the Palazzo Ducale), where the Golden Bucentaur (*l'aureo bucintoro*) was anchored along with the well-disposed array of boats, galleys, and cutty-sarks, which were needed to escort it to the

Lido. After many wonderful views, new and surprising, he arrived opposite two huge columns of oriental granite—which he noted was the gaol of the condemned. He observed with surprise, that the poles of the prow of the Bucintoro made a bowsprit. They were not planted upright, but rather at an angle. With a louder voice than before, he began to exclaim, “Can you imagine that these same ship workers with such skill had planted those three great poles, and now they could not even know how to plant these little poles straight?” He then began shouting with some amazement at other things nearby; “Oh this I do not want to see! Oh this I would never have imagined!” And a whole bunch of other crap...

Some sailors overheard common sense’s rants as they were bringing some things on board to the nearby ship of the famous Captain Bronza. Only that morning the Captain had been hoping for a smooth sea. He heard the noises and asked the deck hands who it was that was making such a ruckus. They responded that it was a ridiculous masked figure who had, what seemed to be, a foreign accent and certainly seemed not to have been born near the sea. The same figure was the one who had been raging against the bowsprit because it was at an angle. Then, with his fury escalating, he exclaimed, “I know it, I know it, it is common sense, now then, bring me to land.” Hours later he was still found grumbling. He tore with one hand his cloak and mask, and with the other he threw them to the ground. With vehemence he said:

“Do you enjoy standing upright? Then go to the flagpoles!”

#### 4. *The Prisms*

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*Elementi I: 21-23*

There was a crowd gathered to hear a politician speak. The politician, one who truly babbled, continued to speak. He hoped to persuade a reticent philosopher to speak to the people. By reasoning that it was well known that there is no greater pleasure than hearing oneself applauded. As a politician, people will follow you. Woe is the situation when one follows blindly these actions. Though it is worse to follow and know that you are blindly following.

Realising that the majority of the audience thought like this, would we believe these thousands should be the leaders of our nation?

The philosopher, without repeating even one word, led the politician into his laboratory where he had a collection of lenses. There he took some pieces of glass in various figures and laid them out into a circle, throwing one piece in the middle. He then asked the politician to reflect on the different reflections produced around the different faces of the many pieces. Then, waiting for a bit, he took some of all the prisms and arranged them in different ways, though in such a way that one would always stay in the middle. “Look,” the philosopher noted, “how much the impression varies just from that little bit of glass. However the glass has not changed, only the little lines, which diverge, one from another, some one way and others another way from the centre.”

The philosopher continued, “Listeners would make no less diverse interpretations of you, although they are all capable to understand you. You are lucky that they never have. You still assume that they all have the same intelligence, a very similar education, live in a very similar time, and they are all of the same temperament with an equal amount of force and fortune. If some amongst them had not digested their food well, or drank water instead of wine, or wine in place of water, or had bad results in some particular situation before hearing you, or would have a melancholic temperament, or would envy someone else’s deserved honour, or comfort. In sum, there are those pieces that differ from you, some with a directly opposite inclination. Do you believe you would receive an equal and favourable judgement?”

Seeing the politician embarrassed, he ended by telling him to go to the people then and say whatever he wished.

Unfortunately, Lodoli was convinced by the brilliant consideration [of the philosopher] more so than anything he could have said himself. Lodoli ended by saying this: “I will explain to my friends this topic as best I can but from me you cannot expect neither writing, nor printing based on any one universal. The only universal being that I will never oblige to make one.

5. *Simone Grison*

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*Elementi I: 35*

Simone Grison, an errand boy for a small bar, loved all music so much that even when the owner was about to pass in front of his store, he couldn't resist giving some money to the blind. He even voluntarily sacrificed part of his afternoon snack because he would sing and play things.

By chance, a master of music lived just opposite who had the same love of music and who was in agreement even of the beautiful voice he possessed. The master agreed to take him in for free music lessons. When Simone knew the theory and also had the experience, he was no longer able to put up with the music of blind people.

*His brother Anchise weighed on his shoulders*

*And an idiot Frigio was invited to dance*

*How can he dance with the old on his shoulders?*

*How do you reason with prejudice?*

*Of authority, of habit, of commoners,*

*At the height of self confidence*

*To support the strength of ignorance?*

6. *Aeolus*

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*Elementi I: 77-78*

This is a story about truth who wanted, in this our playful century, to penetrate everything. This capricious flame [truth] decided to enter into the cavern of the winds. The fire was lit and the torch of light exactly as painted arrived into the reign of *Aeolus* where he had never before been seen clearly. It was not well known that the light had something to fear. What is certain is that as soon as *Aeolus* was able to see it, thought to him self, what is this trickery.

Without even working up a sweat, he expelled the flame, which was still over one hundred miles away, with one of his strongest breaths.

Having found such a terrible reception in the kingdom, truth [the flame] withdrew his proposition. He tried to enter in the cavern of the other winds, the most respectable of which is the *aquilone* (north wind), *libeccio* (south-wind), *euro* (south-east wind). They too repelled him with little effort.

Steadfast in his plan to illuminate those dark caves, he thought to go to the place where there were young winds (*zeffiretti*). The young winds, surprised by the news of the torch, blew out just enough air to push away the flame, but then sucked their breaths back in to bring the flame back in. They began therefore to exhale the air, only then to tighten their lips so that no more could leave.

“Here you are sirs,” he [Lodoli] said, “the reason why I gladly turn to open-minded youth, those who take their principles from the truth as a game, having fun with it, almost swallowing and tasting the light, becoming, little by little, more familiar. Whereas the old people used to the dark don’t deign to receive in their big empty heads a heterogeneous (colour of the flame) splendour for all.”

## 7. *The Barber*

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### *Elementi I: 87-88*

Finding him on vacation with me [Memmo] and the family, he met by chance a young poor boy that had found work to support himself in a kitchen. Seeming to him [Lodoli] to be of good character (*indole*) and also energetic, he decided to help the young boy procure a better situation. After some discussion and hearing that he had not learned much outside of his recently deceased father’s profession, that is to work the land, and touched by his misery, having also an old mother to support, he suddenly said to him “Why don’t you shave my beard?”

Surprised, the young boy responded, “But father, I don’t know how to do it.” “It isn’t important” Lodoli replied, “go and wash your hands well, and get some hot water, you will find all the rest here.” He returned and made him take care as to not wound the poor patient; and so he soaped up the well the beard, then he began to slowly handle the razor, which he had never had in his hand nor used on himself. Lodoli got one hundred cuts the first day, eighty on the second day, and fifty on the third, but always less from then on, finally at the end of the holiday, he was able to shave the servants of the house without any injury.

He then asked of the good father for some assistance to the master and also to some foreigners who found themselves in the house to get what was necessary because he able to open a small shop. The shop was the first in the village and he stayed there always alone but made his living and this poor man was able to support himself and his family.

He also gave his, not beautiful but significant, face to another young lad with less danger (painting and not shaving), and perhaps a bit more boring.

## 8. *Bacchi, the painter*

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*Elementi I: 88-90*

A Jew from Turin, due to his natural gifts, could draw very well all that he saw; so much so that his master hoped he would become a great man. He took much care, and placed him under the tutelage of various painter friends. Not seeing him succeed in any genre, he resolved to put him to study under a respected miniaturist. He seemed to make more progress in this way of painting. Therefore he arranged first to copy some of his paintings reduced from large to small, and after many attempts he thought to make it happen naturally, in this way in the end, seeing something, he was able to work very well on his own.

How then to find a subject, above-all well known, who was able to combine idleness and patience, and who had a significant face that was known by many, and could also win some fame for the youngster? After he had searched in vain, Lodoli gave in. By doing all of this he reached

*Appendix I – Elementi dell’Architettura Lodoliana*

his goal and the youngster succeeded in his intention; and from this came that portrait that was then stolen from his friend [Querini] who had conserved it in that same unpretentious and oval snuffbox in ivory in which Lodoli had left it.

It was useful for him to show the box to many because someone, after seeing that example would want one of himself or herself. In order to succeed quickly, he chose no less than the *Anti-Collegio*, where (that morning) the many patricians were used to competing for their portraits. He gave the snuffbox to a young *savio* of the Orders of his friend, asking him to show it to his company and to others as well; and when he returned the well-made painting, which resembled him, and he asked the name of the artist, he divulged that it was from the Jew assisted from Lodoli. By passing what he had first made from one hand to another of the *Savii*, and of others which had made up that political meeting named as the College, everyone said: “Oh what a stupid Brother! Look there at the beautiful face he made in miniature, did he make a beautiful boy or a gallant woman?!” And other things like this. But then they added: “How much it resembles! Who was the painter? Well-done, etc.” A few days later Lodoli was sent for to beg the young painter to draw their portrait. Thus began his large fortune. Having enough patrons that the young painter came into some wealth, very indifferent to be the work of an idiot, as he had been told was his fortune.

This youngster was then the most-famous Raffaello Bachi, who died extremely wealthy in Paris, who many times told me this, his beginning, not without some tears of gratitude.

## **9.                    *The Goat Who Couldn't Keep its Milk***

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*Elementi I: 96-97*

There was a very annoying monk from Ragusa who had just come from Rome. This monk had the most irritating way of speaking with half of his nose closed and in a most boring manner of all he had read or heard. Lodoli told these stories.

There was once an unhealthy senator that bought a goat for the milk, thinking that the milk would be healthy. The goat was so full of milk that it spilt all of the milk out along the way. When the goat finally arrived the milk was no good. Therefore it is not good to scatter one's knowledge and to not have the ability to keep it in time and place. It is a grand symptom, added the philosopher that it is not healthy or nourishing.

**10.                    *An Annoying Neapolitan***

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*Elementi I: 97-98*

At one point Lodoli and another man were discussing some sort of metaphysical point while a Neapolitan continually interrupted. On the third interruption, Lodoli stopped and told this story:

A young and well-formed Mule with good manners and the most docile character (*indole*), was the most dear to his master, who would never call him with another name but *ciucciarello*. He noticed one day that the Mule was outside of his stall. Not having the courage to scold him, he ordered his workers that the beast remains at his trough. A few days later, seeing him already escaped from the stall, shouted; "You must go back into that marsh of your place." Finding him again, another day in a garden where he was eating salad and cabbage, now yelled at the top of his lungs, "Hit that Mule, drive him away..."

Restrain with your erudition, your wit, and your verses and do not enter where you do not belong because otherwise if that image is not enough, remember there was a professor of music who said something similar to you:

The lute from which two cords arise, must not interrupt the harmony of the harpsichord just being played, if it does not want to be insufferable to the circumstance.



**11. *A Young Priest from Corsica***

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*Elementi I: 98*

There was once a young Priest from Corsica who was in charge of educating young patricians in his school. One young patrician would sit in a corner waiting for a lesson to end always laughing at what the priest had to say. Sick of the continual interruption, the priest waited for him to stop laughing and then said this.

“Democritus had his well overflowing and revolting from bottom to top with crass ignorance. Only from the bottom was he able to catch sight of the truth—a tiny hole through which passed a thin ray of light. He often went to the edge and delighted in it. However, he also complained terribly as he was not able to avoid being immersed in the filth. I have another well, he added, that is no less interesting than this one, but on the contrary is full of the truth, standing at the base of ignorance. I would like to drag it outside, but unlike you it does not have eyes to see me with, nor ears to hear me with, nor a handle of a hole from which to hang a hook from where to raise it.”

The young priest then turned back to the young patrician. “You are without those elements, you do not want to listen to me—you are not even capable—the only way is to put it into these terms. You will only be able to associate with something that you have so strong an analogy with.”

**12. *An Old Man who is Opposite of Reason***

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*Elementi I: 100-01*

An old man who truly seemed the nemesis of reason, ran into Lodoli and asked him to tell him one of his stories. [literally he says “do you have any fresh eggs?”]

Lodoli responds that he doesn’t but he does say that he recently visited an old Jewish friend and his family. When he (Lodoli) was taking out a handkerchief out fell on to the ground

three or four little crosses that would be given to anyone who had done him a small service. The man responded, “Wait a minute, that’s it, that’s all you have to say? You pretend to be a philosopher?” Lodoli explained, “Your excellence does not know, that it is as imprudent to show the cross to a Jew as it is to show the truth to the ignorant.”

**13. *An Ill-proportioned Man from Brescia***

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*Elementi I: 101*

Lodoli was speaking of architecture in the house of an illustrious subject. A gentleman from Brescia who had also been invited for lunch to speak about architecture continually interrupted Lodoli. Without regard to the owner of the house, the man kept asking Lodoli when he was going to start speaking about architecture? He asked, “What did it matter if he built with or without the rules of architecture?” To him it was enough that the building stood up. Lodoli was struck by this strange and weak way of thinking. Looking to the man, who stood there cross-eyed and with a limp, Lodoli responded: “Would you agree with me, that he who does not have all of his members equal and in good proportion would not be the model of a beautiful man and should remain perfectly silent?!”

**14. *Making Noise on Your Wedding Night***

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*Elementi I: 102-03 [this story was not in the first edition of the *Elementi*]*

Lodoli was told one day that rumours had been circulating about him that accused him of defects that he perhaps did not have and reported things that he did not say. Meanwhile he had not made any remark or response. One of his more quiet friends reprimanded Lodoli’s silence. He responded with this story:

There was a marriage between two young Jews from very wealthy families in Rotterdam. According to the ancient customs of their nation, during the first night of their conjugal union

shells of walnuts and hazelnuts and various other dry fruit were scattered along the floor of their room. This symbolized the breaking of the hymen in the upcoming deed. The next morning the Master of the house passed by the rooms where the maids of honour were staying. They gestured to him and a low voice seemed to murmur to him. In a rush, he didn't pay attention. On the way back seeing that they continued to make the same gestures, he went to them. Bending at the knee to hear them better he asked what it was that they were saying to him. In much distress, they inquired in a low voice if he had not noticed the noise when passing nearby the room of the newlyweds. "They woke us all up with the noise of the breaking shells!"

Standing up, he responded. "I have ears, though very far from my heels, to be able to hear both these noises and your idle talk and it is on these heels that I will continue and walk away from both."

15. *Two Pygmies*

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*Elementi* I: 127-28 [This is an apologue from Memmo, relating his own intentions behind the publishing of the *Elementi*.]

There was parade for the mayor of Modena accompanied by musicians and much pomp. Along the street were two friends, one of whom was a pygmy. He asked the other what was happening. He replied that he didn't know but then told the pygmy, "You have good eyes, though you legs are a bit short, get up on the chair and have a look."

The youth to whom I address will surely be able to understand—they do not require a chair. However there may be some pygmy-like students amongst them and for those it will be necessary to think about things as I am not able to impress on their mind whatever object, be it straight or parallel lines nor am I able to add to the scope of their understanding.

I must declare that I am not daring, nor having the time or the will to make a treatise of architecture (which I believe not to be difficult to knead with new gluten which, as I previously mentioned many years ago, others have made) I don't have any other object in my mind than to

expose that which was considered to make an understanding of the Elements of Lodoli more clear.

**16.                    *The Philosopher and the Flies***

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*Elementi I: 366-6*

There was once a rather pleasant philosopher who used to spend his days always in the service of others. One day, as he was mediating over a book, a pack of flies came into his room and began buzzing all-around, at times biting and stinging him. They disturbed him greatly, but he realised that they too were distracted. Raising his eyes to see what was the cause of their troubles. He found that the flies and even some bees nearby were attracted to a great bowl of sweets covered in a very thin white veil which he had been given as a gift, though from who he could not remember. He got up to observe their effort more closely. He saw them uselessly stretching their noses only being able to smell what they wished to eat. He could not refrain from saying, as he removed the cloth, “Eat of your ambrosia, nutrify yourself, be happy.”

Returning to his book he no longer heard the annoying buzzing.

**17.                    *The Fritters***

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*Elementi II: 43 [This is Lodoli’s response to the Algarotti’s publication.]*

I was going to Castello to deliver a document to my nephew the Monsignor Patriarch, when I met by chance a good friend, a hunter, who had just come off of his boat and who gave to me a great pheasant to hold for him. I didn’t know what to do. I was on my way to deliver a letter, but could not do so with a freshly killed pheasant. All of the Baccaros were closed. Therefore I brought it to Balena—a famous maker of fritelles—to save it. Returning, I asked the cook for it. But as much as she looked for it, she was not able to find it. The hunter had wished to give it to a good friend who would have made a great reward, and for this he was quite upset

with me. Finally, after much noise and commotion, that the good chef made, it was discovered that one of the errand boys had plucked and gutted it and then had placed it in the great pan with all of the days fritters.

**18.                    *The Traveler to the Academy***

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*Elementi II: 71-74*

A famous scientist loved and appreciated by me as much as the noblest Signor Boscovich, was travelling to Italy to learn from the sciences and the sublime arts and above all to get to know the most elevated geniuses. Not far from arriving to a small city in Italy, the Academy of the Fiery-Ones (*Infuocati*) thought to honour him. But how could they do this if his time there was so limited? One of the member thought they could invite him to a meeting where they sing his praises, since he thought he was a great lover of Italian and Latin poetry. Others suggested that they offer to decorate a room very brightly for his use, or to have an amazing buffet that would make a great impression on him. Those who thought a bit more deeply about the matter believed that someone so famous would also want sonnets, songs, and dissertations and that their institute cultivated the humanities and not only the sciences which he professed.

While arguing about this, one of the members finally said, “Ah! We must convince our venerable old member, Aonio Pellonio, to come out of his house and read one or two of the cantos from his heroic poem named *Colombiade*, which he has been perfecting for many years and which by now must be a beautiful thing. If he is not able to come from his home, perhaps he could be persuaded to allow one of us to lend a beautiful voice to one of his cantos so that we will be able to carry out our aim!

The motion was approved by all of the members who resolved that the Prince and the Deputy would go publicly with the secretary to the old man’s house to praise him and to ask him to support the honour of their Academy and of their country by allowing them to hear a few cantos of his poem that they all had yearned to hear.

The modest Pellonio decided to follow to the common wish and give in to their demands, allowing them to read the first two cantos. Happy with their success, two Academy members immediately left to meet the traveler and to invite him. Finding him taking a rest only a few miles away, they made his acquaintance. He informed them that he was only going to be nearby until dinner of the next day and maybe not until the first hour at night as he was expected for dinner at an friend's in a village not far way from their own. However, he would do it. Returning in a great hurry with the good news all of the members offered to find damask and tapestries to cover the great hall and the rooms of the Academy. Each member searched quickly for a beautiful wig and well-done make-up and powder. Instantly all of the white gloves were sold. There were those to work to prepare the rooms, those to yell and to beat the mortar to turn ice into ice cream, and those to memorize the compliments to be given to the traveler.

Just as the traveler was at the gate leading to the academy and barely entering in to the room, fifes and tambourines began to play loudly. All of the Academy members fell over themselves to greet him and to tell him of the most sublime poetry of the highest merit that was distinguished even amongst the Arcadians of Rome, which had been prepared for his arrival.

After all of this clatter the room began to settle down. The young abate Lindetto, with the most beautiful voice, overcame his fears and began to speak:

*Of the arts of knowing, noble woman,  
You who inspires the most heroic profound genius,  
You whom always rekindles feats in them  
And donates such gifts to the good will accordingly;  
While I will say to him that Europe honours,  
And a new sea discovered and a new world too,  
Because to my prophets sound an ungrateful pair*

*Alas! Inspire, o Diva, breath into my lyre!*

Huh? Breath into lyre, he said, everyone quickly began to mumble. The noise increased, it was no longer possible to hear him. Lindetto raised his voice so that the traveler could hear. At this amazing oversight, the others went to the poet's house with the educated foreigner. Finally he ended the great meeting, which, with much zeal, was recounted.

Meanwhile Lodoli waiting to hear this narration, noticed very well the inconsistency to ask for a breath the lyre, he improvised with the following verse:

*Breath into lyre? Beam of Stone!*

Many were amazed that a poor poet fell into such an inconsistency for a simple mistake, but were none of you were amazed that he said that the wooden proportions and the representations of a material don't bend, but break?

## **19.                    *The Sculpture's Penis***

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*Elementi II: 95-97*

Lodoli was with a group of people of some distinction in a garden along the Brenta. One of who, by chance, wished to praise the entablature of a palazzo even though it was poorly situated and broken. Another one added that he also approved of it. Lodoli was not able to agree with them and pointed a finger of scorn at them.

“That Lodoli, he babbles on as he wishes and never stops!” one remarked. “I still know that it must be a bit taller, but the members [*membri*, slang for penis] who are formed must not be taken as an architrave, as a frieze, as a cornice, but only as pure ornament.” Since Lodoli was silent, others spurred him to speak. He believed that it was not the time to speak of architecture, and left, saying: “It just so happened that your Excellencies wished that I stop speaking with them. To be honest, I really don't care what you say or think. I ask you to be content and refer to you this letter which arrived to day from Verona.”

Each of them knew that illustrious family of count Giusti who owned a magnificent and antique garden in which he had renovated the earth, finding some very old antiques from various times. Some of these were added to the Count's collection and little by little he had begun a small museum just to the left of the entry way. At one point, as the Count was hollowing out the basement to build a small building, he found by chance a small statue of Parian marble perfectly in tact which represented the God of the gardens. Under his right arm he had a small door filled with *montulette* that all of the flowers seemed to jump out from. Above this rarely seen allusion, the count wanted to hear what the most learned antiquarians thought of it, therefore he washed the statue well and then placed it in his room. He then called on marchesi Maffei, Muselli, Count Saibante, Count Mascardi, Vallarsi, and other foreigners to get their opinion. While they were all examining it, the youngest and most innocent daughter returned from school and entered into the room saying, "Me too, I want to see this statue that you have retrieved from the garden, where is it?"

She kept talking and no one said anything until she saw the statue. Mortified, the most judicious men were unable to stop without causing a mishap to the young daughter, only to hear her ask such things as what was in the little door. "Beans" the father responded. Believing him, she then asked what was between his legs? "An ornament." Her father responded, but a doctor from Bologna, laughing, explained to her in a deep voice and said exactly what it was, which was not simply ornament.

## 20. *A Woman's Hat on Her husband*

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*Elementi II: 97-100*

A very fashionable woman, who was a great lover of the latest fashion (said he who praised a frontispiece put above the door of a room) commissioned to one of the finest shopkeepers in all of Venice to bring from Paris, without regard to price, the most beautiful bonnet in vogue at that time. Impatient to have it after many weeks had passed she not only sent

*Appendix I – Elementi dell'Architettura Lodoliana*



for news but also even went to the shop to inquire for herself. The young wife of the shopkeeper, somewhat jealously, wanted to know what was going on between the two of them. The good husband quickly made himself accountable. To do so, however, he had to make her believe that she would be the first to be seen in the newest fashions. He was never left in peace until he promised her that she would be happy. Meanwhile the gentlewoman left for the country leaving orders for when the much longed for hat arrived, he should send it express. After a long wait, it eventually arrived. The faithful shopkeeper sent news to his wife and she hurried to his shop. They closed themselves in a room and with much work opened up the little box and found the Parisian invention. "Oh what a beautiful thing!" she exclaimed. "What a pleasant medley of colours! What beautiful placement of the flowers! What a beautiful shape! Oh my dear husband, I can't restrain myself. I want one as well. I must be the first one to wear it." "What? No, certainly not." Said the gallant man. "I first need to make one for my client." But seeing his pleasant wife not only ashamed but also swelling with anger against him, he was convinced. And since his customer was quite far away he didn't think it would be a big deal to send her a copy. He immediately went out to ten stores to get all of the materials he needed.

His wife arrived to the Opera amidst all of the other women just before midnight in sweet comfort to see the work with her beautiful hat. She was received with great applause and was allowed to pass to all of the *casini* where she had entrance. He adapted that hat to the open air and to her face that praised her good taste (which was invented by the French) and it was surely the same French of whom it was said to be in that night usually the most beautiful. The husband was happy and thanked the heavens to have made her happy. What a beautiful moment!

Imagining all of the applause made for his wife the next morning the shopkeeper left a bit later than usual and brought the bonnet with him. As he was about to get out of the gondola to go to the market his wig was raised back a bit (*a groppi*). He then placed the bonnet onto his head. As he was leaving the *gondolieri* and others that saw him began to die with laughter. Those who didn't laugh were mortified, though some had compassion. Word spread quickly and everyone

ran to see him. One of his good friends coming close to him said, “This morning there is no real business to made at the Rialto, let’s go home.” The shopkeeper responded that it was too early to tell. A relative took over and said that the time was bad and it would be better to go back home. The shopkeeper responded however saying that there was time and that he first needed to finish a lucrative deal. The notary and then also some good friends tried to send him home but their attempts were all in vain. Finally, concerned that everyone was asking him to go home, he asked what was the reason. Confused, no one knew what to say to him. Finally one of the more courageous ones spoke up and told him that his hat was the object of everyone’s attention. “Oh is that all?” he responded. “Just last night my wife received many compliments for this very hat!” “Oh my God!” replied one of his cousins, “My dear relative...this hat on your young wife is beautiful. In and out of the casinos it is great. But on a serious man, at the Rialto, to make business, it is the worst! Let’s go home, go! Here is a wig.”

**21.                    *The Spanish on the Island***

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*Elementi II: 126*

When Lodoli wanted to talk about this [the orders], he remembered a story of a little Island and recalled most pleasingly the sweet and majestic sound of the language found there. The Spanish who landed there were most excited to learn it quickly. They began to learn the alphabet but were only able to understand the meaning of, and able to pronounce only the first three letters. The Spanish then left the island with the knowledge of only these letters and were not able to advance the language any further. Those content with the little that they knew, by force of industry and competition could produce the language in this way. As such it consisted in such words as *cabà, becà, cacabà, babac, becab*, and other similar words.

Why should we, being so poor, renounce the possible riches? Why, needing to derive all of perfection from the true costume traits of nature as we help ourselves after much time of stone, would we want to exclude those possibilities of wood?

22. *Stockings*

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*Elementi II: 132*

What? If I warn you in a most praiseworthy way that directly behind the calf you have a hole in your silk stockings and if I lend for you the material to mend, and then the stitch comes undone, do not ask me to buy you a new pair.

What an unjust demand!

23. *Simone Stratico and the Soup*

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*Elementi II: 132-35*

A respectable antiquarian and close friend of Lodoli was completely infuriated with him (Lodoli) to hear him condemn the Greeks who wanted to introduce the elegance of wood into stone. The discussion bounced back and forth regarding the error or elegance of the Greeks. A third friend entered and asked if they were interested to go to the Marshall of Schoulembourg's house the next evening where there will be a party full of interesting people.

The party was indeed a big mix...old and wise members of the *Consiglio* and their wives, a few Jesuits and one Franciscan (Lodoli), some military men, some celebrity artists, a musician, in sum amongst the Venetians and foreigners there were one or two, as had been intended, that were spies.

*I [Lodoli now speaks in the first person] wasn't enjoying myself much and so I left the room to make a bit of a walk. While I was thinking of some sort of excuse for my early exit I put on my hand a ring of the finest tombac that the Girolamo Cornaro had given to me upon his return to Venice from Spain. This metal was believed to have the ability to detect poison.*

*I then wandered into the room that was adjacent to the kitchen. At this point my ring began to turn white—the sign that arsenic was present. My heart raced and I ran into the*

*kitchen, demanding of the cook what sort of herb was in his soup. The obviously guilty cook claimed it was actually a very tasty dish but then took some of the poison himself and died.*

*I then ran to get the Marshall and to explain that there has been an accident. The Marshall, understandably upset, called for Stratico and his servant Lanspetter and ordered them to figure out what happened. After much uncertainty of what did occur, they said, “We blame the padre (Lodoli) and feel that he should pay for this food that was thrown out of the window.”*

*Lodoli’s response was this: “This is a sentence from a beast...is it not enough that after I have made you know the defects of civil architecture, and because you can no longer continue as such, and after you are able to study some remedies, you still insist that I suggest to you the substitutions?! It is the same—as if I am to pay for this soup, after I have saved your life? If the observations that I have made are false or irrelevant, than you may condemn me, but don’t expect from a simple thinker that which concerns professionals, genius creators, and those people who are able, above my rationale, to have the best taste.*

#### **24. *The Ass Who Wanted to Become a Butterfly***

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*Elementi II: 166-77*

There was once an Ass who was sick of being an Ass. He was tired of always being at the service of others and having to carry their loads. His dissatisfaction was futile, however, as he was unable, as much as he searched, to find another way of life. The final straw came one day when he had to carry a load of lead and then saw that the loads for the next day were even bigger.

The next morning, the Ass lay down on the ground in protest and refused to carry anything else. His master thought that his beloved beast, the most spirited of all those like him, could rise to the occasion even when he believed that he was unable to carry anything more. Accordingly, the master asked him to at least try to carry the two baskets, which he claimed were actually extremely light. If not, he would be beaten. Hearing how little it weighed, the Ass thought it would be better to give a bit of an effort than to end his life under the stick. He

therefore rose and started towards his destination. The load was indeed quite light. He thought his life would be bearable if he always had this light of a load to carry. The Ass wanted to ask what exactly he was carrying, but he did not have the courage to ask his master lest he be hit. But as his yearning to know grew throughout the journey, he finally asked what it was that he was carrying—if it were always the same material he would be happy. His master, an overly proud man, responded, “Just carry the load and keep quiet!”

The Ass said nothing more, hoping that in the evening, after he would be well fed and rested, his master would deal with him in a gentler manner. In fact, at dusk that night his master returned, much calmer, emboldening the Ass to then inquire about the content of his load. Seduced by his good manner, his master told him that he was carrying the cocoons of silkworms (*galletta*). “But what is a cocoon? What is a silkworm?” asked the Ass. The master knew already that it was useless to tell him. But the Ass persisted: “humor me,” he said, “I have always served you with much love.” The master agreed and began to tell him that the silkworm (*bigatto*) was a worm that was tired of being a worm and therefore became an insect—one that could fly even. Incredulous, the Ass said, “But how, for heaven’s sake, is this possible! How does one make such a transformation!?” “I will tell it to you as I know, having some practice as my wife has had these worms at home. From the smallest eggs come little worms that become bigger, little by little. They are off-white or green and then they turn yellow. They are a bit long, round, and are full of arms with which they attach themselves to the leaves of the mulberry tree to nourish themselves. After becoming a bit older they begin to emit the thinnest line of viscera that is derived from the sugar of the leaves that they have eaten. From this they form around themselves a type of small sack, which is known as a chrysalis. After ten days this is woven very tightly around them so much so that they can no longer see outside of the small room that they have formed around themselves. Then, at a point that one is not able to see, a small hole is opened and emerging from it is a butterfly, the worm having changed according to its nature. And there you are my dear Ass, the most beautiful description I have made in my life. Are you satisfied? Will

you now serve me well?” “Slow down, dear master,” replied the Ass who then continued to ask various questions to a point at which the good Ass believed he had learned how to become a bird. He was especially happy because had also learned how to tell the difference between mulberry leaves and other varieties. Having carried them many times, he also knew where to find a grove of mulberry trees. For many days and nights he thought about it. Believing that it was not an impossible transformation, he reasoned to himself that the worm who is tired of being a worm becomes an insect, a butterfly, and me, who is extremely tired of being a Ass, why can't I eat this leaf, produce some gooey stuff, sleep for a while, and then turn into an animal that doesn't have to carry anything? Believing in all of his thoughts, and tired of being inconvenienced by having to carry others' loads, he decided that he would make an escape from his stall just before dawn the next day.

The Ass ran to the place where there were many mulberry trees. Hidden amongst the trees, he began to eat the leaves and even the branches. He ate and ate and then he slept, and what a surprise it was when he began to emit a strange slimy twine, which wrapped around him and began to obscure the day. He lay down on top of a dung heap and, between being asleep and awake, began to tremble. He bawled out loud to himself, “Ass, look what you have done now! You are really now an idiot, who is it that you want to become? Perhaps this is the time now to die, but the insect did not die. Better still the worm changed into a butterfly. Why, therefore, am I afraid to die, or to turn into something worse? Anything can happen ...” He grew calmer even though his entire room was becoming dark, repeating to himself that no matter what happened, it would be better if he were no longer a Ass. He opined that it was even better to die in the cocoon that he had made with his own slimy twine than to be beat by his master's stick or crushed by the weight of his load.

Meanwhile, the master desperately looked for his animal. Coming across a group of countrymen, he asked them if they had seen anything. They said that they had seen growing day by day a large mound, which had been formed by a large Ass after he had ruined many of the

master's trees. The master knew that this must be his animal, both because he was missing and also because he had shown interest in the phenomenon produced from the mulberry tree and silkworm. Angered, he wanted to break the mound and give the Ass a good beating. He was curious, however. He saw that at the base of the chrysalis there was a beak breaking open the cocoon. With much excitement, finally, a bird did emerge...it was a turkey! Who then, with its little arms that seemed to be too short, did however make a small flight.

With such a story, reflecting upon those youths, who after being nourished of good principles and who have also carried the weight of other's authority until now, want to free themselves and concentrate on themselves and their own nature and ingenuity (*sua natura e del suo ingegno*) should not give up hope to make a free flight if not like an eagle (Lodoli), than at least a pheasant or a partridge.

25. *The Sadistic Sculptor*

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*Elementi II: 173-6*

A professor of sculpture, a lover of chaste design, after staying many years in Rome, being a sculptor of the highest rank, and also being known for his wisdom and extremely refined taste, was overcome, at the very moment that he was to make his great fortune in the world, with a violent and passionate love for a woman that he believed would be able to serve as his ideal model. Not being able to possess her, he killed her.

The singular merits of the subject (the artist) however weighed heavy on the mind of the sovereign who was a fervid promoter of the arts. He needed to find a sentence that was appropriate to the artist. Amongst his the criminals in his ministries there was one who came forward with a completely new punishment in mind. He reminded the Majesty of one of his possessions in the West Indies—an island completely inhabited by *Caramogi*, that is men and women whose members were completely deformed (*contrafatte*: connotation of imitation). He

said to confine one with such a passion for perfection in the arts would be the worst possible punishment—to continually find himself in the midst of the most abominable objects would be the equivalent to death. He accepted the suggestion and thus it was mandated that this would be the sculptor's destiny.

Barely leaving from the ship on to the island, which at first there was no one around, he saw a group of dwarfs—a few amongst them had huge legs while others were twisted and bent out of shape. Some of the women had heads that were similar to their bellies; others had breasts larger than their heads. If at first it was terrible to see such a vision, one can easily imagine that day after day the sculptor became more desperate to see a body of normal proportions. To be the only man of proportion on the island attracted the inhabitants, especially the women.

He was at the height of his delirium when the wife of his custodian, who was accustomed to spying on him while he undressed, let herself into his apartment. She caught him just as he was completely naked, and at that moment declared that she had always felt a passion for him. She was huge, and constantly drenched in sweat. She smelled so bad that when she approached the sculptor was not able breathe. Her nose was truly awesome. Her mouth was so large that three people could kiss her at the same time without knowing the others were there. Her hands were longer than her fingers and her feet longer than her legs, and she was completely lacking a neck. Her breaths were pestiferous winds. Her voice was a deep baritone. From her eyes flowed rivers of tears...

The sculptor could not flee without great risk of her accusing him of him of mistreating her. Therefore at his worst moment of his depression of spirit and thinking of nothing else but the disastrous beauty that was the cause of his misfortune, he decided to kill himself. Fearing that by always seeing revolting eyes, deformed physiognomies, and ridiculous figures, his memory of beauty would be cancelled—visions such as the gracefulness of the Apollo of Belvedere, of Antinoo, of the Venus of the Medici, of the Hermaphrodite of the Borghese, of Peto and Avra of



Piombino, of the Venis of Callipeda, of Gladiators, of Laocoonte, and many other sublime statues of the Greeks, the Romans, and the moderns as well.

“Oh yes!” He exclaimed, wetting his face, “oh, yes, I feel the idea of beauty abandoning me. These ghosts cancel it day by day. But wait, what is this?” In the moment of his most intimate pain, raising his eye to the face of a young girl, though monstrous, to see an eyebrow of the finest Oriental taste, just a bit arched. “And what is this?” Almost risen again he exclaimed. “Am I able,” he said to himself “in the center of all of this deformity to rejoice?” The sculptor then asked the girl if he could draw her eyebrow, but, of course, not the eye. After some days catching in his gaze another monster he recognized a round heel that was bony on the top but which he could not find more beautiful.

*Amongst the women of Paris*

*Or amongst those that are beautiful*

*They brighten the Thames*

In the hope to be able to conform to the archetype of beauty, which he had in mind for a man and a woman, he had looked with passion and found gold in the dung. He was then able to recover from the most diverse parts, what was beautiful for everyone, to create a whole that was harmonic and perfect.

*Appendix II*  
*Scholarship Review*

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*Understanding is but the sum of our misunderstandings.*

Haruki Murakami

## ***Introduction***

Though not completely obscure, Carlo Lodoli has not been the most fashionable topic over the past two hundred and fifty years. There is an inherent difficulty in writing about Lodoli, as very little of what he may have written still exists. As such, scholarship has typically explored Lodoli's influence on his students: their projects and various theoretical positions. Therefore, it may be argued that all scholarship concerning him should be considered secondary source material. This appendix shall not, however, address eighteenth century references at length. These were treated, when relevant to the discussion, within the body of the dissertation. It should be noted however that most eighteenth century references to Lodoli typically referred to his role as a teacher and always referred to his caustic character.

This appendix focuses specifically on existing modern scholarship surrounding Carlo Lodoli. It is not intended to provide a review of scholarship that deals with other issues developed within the dissertation such as pedagogy, autobiography, or scholarship pertaining to the other characters that have found their way into the dissertation. The review is organized by century and then chronologically within the century. Dissertations are treated separately and at the end of the appendix as they are focused specifically on Lodoli.

## *Eighteenth Century*

Though it may be interesting to imagine the idea of Carlo Lodoli as a historical construct, it is clear that he did in fact exist. Correspondence exists between Lodoli and Carlo Ruzzini concerning the history of Venice.<sup>1</sup> Various documents remain relating to the political offices that Lodoli held as well as his baptismal and other personal records.<sup>2</sup> Most famously, Lodoli communicated with Vico concerning the publication of Vico's *periautografia*.<sup>3</sup>

Eighteenth century accounts of Lodoli also exist. Andrea Memmo is typically seen as the source for most biographic information on Lodoli. The *Elementi d'Architettura Lodoliana* offers a full account of Lodoli's life and is most often cited within modern scholarship. Francesco Algarotti in *Saggio Sopra l'Architettura* (1756) referred to Lodoli as "the philosopher" in his attempt to promote a Lodolian theory of architecture. The *Luna d'Agosto*, an Arcadian tale regarding Lodoli, was published on the occasion of Andrea Memmo's appointment to the *Procuratorie di S Marco* by Melchiorre Cesarotti. It can also be found in his *Opere Completa* sandwiched between a series of texts concerning education. Casanova's *Memoirs* described Lodoli as the great teacher of Andrea Memmo. During his voyage in Italy, Montesquieu described Lodoli as a man of letters, though in the records of his travels, he misprinted Lodoli's name as "Soboli." A paragraph in the introduction to Poleni's massive *Exercitationes Vitruvianae* was given in praise of Lodoli's teaching ability. *I Viaggi di Enrico Wanton* (1764) contains a character described as Lodoli who acts as a guide to the young Enrico as he attempts to navigate the *Regno dei Cinocefali*. Tommaso Temmanza, in *Vite dei piú Celebri Architetti e Scultori Veneziani* (1748), described Lodoli's unappealing character and participation in a debate

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<sup>1</sup> These are in the *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana*, as reported by Memmo and various modern authors.

<sup>2</sup> These are reported to be in the *Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana* by Rebecca Boatwright-Williamson "Conversation in Fabric and Reason." (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> See *The Autobiography of Giambattista Vico*. Tr. Max Harold Fisch and Thomas Goddard Bergin, (Ithaca; Cornell UPress, 1962) for a discussion of the correspondence.

surrounding the *Torre del'Orologio* in *Piazza S Marco*. Giovanni Ziborghi dedicated his *L'architettura di Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola: ridotta a facile metodo per mezzo di osservazioni a profitto de' studenti* (1787) to Lodoli as “professore celeberrimo.” Upon Lodoli’s death, Giorgio Baffo was quick to pen a series of sarcastic poems attacking Lodoli’s character. There were at least two portraits, one by Alexander Longhi, the other by Bartolomeo Nazari, and a plaster cast made upon Lodoli’s death.<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Rykwert (1980) misprints this as Bartolommeo Lazari. For the correct reference see *Elementi* I: 84. I have no evidence, beyond textual sources, of Lodoli’s death masks.

## *Nineteenth Century*

Though Memmo's *Elementi* was republished in 1833-4, I have found little evidence of Lodoli's specific influence in the nineteenth century. Francesco Milizia's texts, though clearly influenced by Lodoli and others, were more widely read. This may be one reason Lodoli, via Memmo, did not have much of an influence in the nineteenth century. It could easily be argued that Memmo was simply writing about someone else's opinions. However syncretic one may consider Milizia, his work was read as an original voice.

Generally speaking, Lodoli was not well known within the nineteenth century beyond a few historians and guidebooks. Pietro Selvatico, somewhat bizarrely, rejected Lodoli's theories as based on Milizia; Lodoli was dead before Milizia had even printed a word. He also erroneously named Lodoli as the architect of the *Scuola di San Pasquale*. Gianfrancesco Napione privileged Algarotti over Lodoli. The art historian Giovanni Antonio Moschini superficially discussed Lodoli in his guidebook of Venice and mentioned him as the author of a new book. This was probably the second printing of the *Elementi*. Lodoli was described as a writer of fiction within Thomas Roscoe's collection of Italian stories published within the latter half of the nineteenth century. Effie Ruskin, wife of John, noted in her letters that she met with Lucia Mocenigo, Memmo's daughter and publisher of the second version of the *Elementi*, who gave her a copy of Memmo's *Elementi*. I was not able to find reference to Lodoli or Memmo in Ruskin.

Various twentieth century historians have made claims of Lodoli's influence on Nineteenth century architects. Edgar Kaufmann Jr. claimed Lodoli had influenced Horatio Greenough and Ralph Waldo Emerson. Manlio Brusatin connected John Ruskin and Lodoli with relation to the term "organic." Julius von Schlosser made the often-repeated claim of influence from Lodoli to Gottfried Semper. There seems to be a common thread of thinking between

Lodoli and various Nineteenth century architects, however, I was not able to find any concrete references in their writing.

## *Twentieth Century*

Interest in Lodoli was renewed in the twentieth century specifically with relation to modern architecture and various political movements. The first re-birth can be linked to the growing interest of the early part of the century, particularly in Italy, into rational architecture (*Mostra Architettura Razionale*). The second can be linked more specifically to the exhibit of eighteenth century Venice art and architecture and the various texts written around the show. Throughout the century, opinion of Lodoli has typically placed him as either a precursor to modern functionalism or as a leftover of humanistic opinion.

1930's

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**Michele de Benedetti** presented a very quick overview of Lodoli. The article is constantly referenced as one of the first sources to name Lodoli in the twentieth century. The article by Benedetti situated Lodoli directly within the modern tradition. Benedetti went so far as to say that Lodoli's theories could only be understood with a distance of two hundred years. The author quoted Memmo and named a few main points of a Lodolian approach to function, materiality, and the naming of an approach to design as organic. These ideas were not elaborated upon nor placed within the context of the eighteenth century.

**Julius Von Schlosser** offered a still relevant bibliography of texts printed in and around the Veneto. Lodoli was important for Schlosser as he anticipated modern concepts and modern architects—Schlosser named Rumhor and Semper.<sup>5</sup> Though Semper did travel through the

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<sup>5</sup> Karl Friedrich Rumhor the German Art historian (1785-1843) wrote extensively on his travels through Italy. I was not able to find his texts or possible references to Lodoli.



Veneto, there is no reference to Lodoli within his writings.<sup>6</sup> Schlosser also described the French sculptor Etienne Falconet as a similarly sceptical (as Lodoli) antiquarian.<sup>7</sup> He also proposed that Lodoli began a tradition, which was carried on by Ruskin and Rumhor. This exhibited an interest in the moral and cultural implications of materials, as well as distaste for the Greek transformation of wooden architecture into stone. He added that Lodoli could not remain immune from the contact of Cordemoy or Laugier.<sup>8</sup> Schlosser believed, though revolutionary, Lodoli did not act alone.

**Maria Luisa Gengaro** proposed that Lodoli, who emphasised the study of structure within an architectural system, should be considered the precursor to modern “functionalism” and “rationalism,” words directly lifted from Schlosser. Quoting from the art historian Pietro Selvatico, she declared that Lodoli invented architectural theory, which she defined as the search for concrete ideas of the science of architecture. These ideas are universal and rationally determined.

This review of Lodoli takes him completely out of the context of the eighteenth century. It is clear from eighteenth century accounts Lodoli was critical of his contemporaries’ ease with which they blindly imitated the past. Using the Romans as an example, he cited their critical reasoning (*ragionevoli critiche*) when making architecture.<sup>9</sup> This cannot be easily translated as rationalism in an early twentieth century context. It followed for Gengaro that this clarity of reasoning should lead to a universal style—clearly a misreading of Lodoli based upon a Twentieth century world view.

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<sup>6</sup> Rykwert notes that this relation to Semper and Greenough may more easily be explained by their connection to Georges Cuvier and his interest in the relationship between form and function, specifically with respect to the notion of the organic. See Joseph Rykwert “Lodoli on Function and Form.” *Architectural Review* vol. 16 (1976): 21-26.

<sup>7</sup> This may be Etienne Falconet (1716-1791), famous for the Monument to Peter the Great in St. Petersburg.  
<sup>8</sup> The connection of Laugier and Lodoli is a recurring theme since the eighteenth century. I have elaborated on this in the body of the dissertation.

<sup>9</sup> See *Elementi* I: 247 for further discussion.

**Pietro Maria Bardi** continually quoted an unnamed and un-noted source, though it is clearly Memmo, to support his description of Lodoli as a caustic and bombastic polemicist and his claim that Lodoli created rationalism and functionalism in architecture. These two *-isms* are not separable for the author. The masterpiece that defined Lodoli, for Bardi, was the chair built for Lodoli and described by Memmo. This represented what Bardi called a “natural architecture” (named by Lodoli as *organica*). This natural architecture is an expression of utility and thus a guarantor of beauty. Bardi’s Lodoli is truly a Modern, connected in spirit and character to Le Corbusier and opposed to the history that the author believes the eighteenth century to be so obsessed with.

Presented as part of a larger, more critical study of Lodoli that was not ever published, **Anna Maria Gabriella** offered a polemical position to Gengaro and Bardi, whom she saw as framing Lodoli as a modern functionalist with no regard for history. This position, she argued, belonged to Milizia, whose proposal for architecture, she argued, disclosed the philosophy of Descartes. Gabriella is more inclined to agree with Schlosser, who connected Lodoli to the nineteenth century through Semper and Rumhor. Gabriella did not consider these architects as modern as Le Corbusier.

She recognised that Lodoli’s relationship to history was one of critique; he attempted to know the successive epochs of architecture from antiquity until the current. In fact, far from ignoring history, Vitruvius’ authority is undisputed by Lodoli.<sup>10</sup> However, Lodoli believed direct

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<sup>10</sup> She claimed Lodoli knew Perrault’s Vitruvius. This could be through Poleni. The author does not specifically state which edition he Lodoli may have had.

imitation of the past made no sense—because monuments are made with a critical reason and are based upon scientific principles. We should at least do the same.

This critique can be traced to Lodoli's discussion on the idea of beauty. Gabriella pointed out that the word beauty is not part of Lodoli's fourth book in his outline, which deals with *solidità*. Thus, she distanced herself from Gengaro and others who place structural clarity as the priority (read: beauty) of architecture. Lodoli did not believe in a beauty, rather, he distinguished between an essential beauty and imitation. Imitation may be allowed in painting, but not in architecture. This essential beauty is dependent upon the precise proportion of the material that inevitably will vary with different materials and situations. Gabriella related this beauty to the science of construction. Here the author separated Lodoli from Algarotti. The understanding that architecture of wood is different than architecture of stone or metal was, to Gabriella's mind, the original contribution of Lodoli. She is most often referenced due to her claim of the existence of Memmo's manuscript for the *Elementi* in a library in Treviso.<sup>11</sup>

Lodoli is constantly compared to twentieth century architects in **Alberto Sartoris'** account of Modern Architecture.<sup>12</sup> No other eighteenth century character was significantly mentioned through the full chapter given to Lodoli. According to Sartoris, before Marcel Breuer, Walter Gropius, and Alvar Aalto, Lodoli proposed to make a revolution within architecture based upon a critique of the decorative and uninteresting style of his contemporaries. Sartoris again pointed out that two centuries before Frank Lloyd Wright, Lodoli used the term "organic architecture" speaking of the functional construction of furniture. Prior to Adolf Loos, Lodoli advocated for the total suppression of ornamentation in the arts and especially in architecture.

Sartoris believed Lodoli wanted to reduce architecture to a primordial and majestic simplicity. Within Sartoris's critique Lodoli is not only a functionalist he is also a modern

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<sup>11</sup> I have not been to Treviso to examine this text. Over fifty years of research has yet to discover this source. Most believe that it was destroyed in the Second World War.

<sup>12</sup> Alberto Sartoris *Gli Elementi dell'Architettura Funzionale* (Milan: Hoepli, 1935).

engineer. This Lodolian reform was based on the calculation and science of construction, even if it doesn't give limits to the architectonic creation. In a strange twist, Sartoris made the claim that Lodoli was a Cartesian, though a hopeful one.

1950's

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**Rudolf Wittkower** named Lodoli as a “prophet of rationalism,” who prepared the ground for Laugier and Milizia. Wittkower considered Memmo to be the main source of information. This is the first time Lodoli is seen as a major influence of Giambattista Piranesi.<sup>13</sup> Wittkower claimed Lodoli influenced Piranesi's *Parere su l'Architettura*, (1769) in which Piranesi discusses ornament, invention, and the supremacy of Roman architecture over the Greek model.<sup>14</sup> In the *Parere*, Didascalò, the master, mocks Protopiro, the novice whose argument hinges on a rigorist position based on a reductionist reading of Vitruvius. Didascalò pushes Protopiro's argument to absurdity—to architecture without walls, columns, ceilings, or anything else. Wittkower saw Lodoli as the patron of Piranesi's opinion. A series of interpretations of Lodoli's influence on the discussion has been developed in other scholarship. At times he is seen as the rigorist who is in opposition to Piranesi, other times he is seen as a proponent of Didascalò's inventive history.

**Emil Kaufmann** read Lodoli strictly as a modern functionalist. Although he recognised Lodoli's position as radical, he failed to understand the complexity of his thought. Kaufmann presented Lodoli in a series of articles and within the larger context of his landmark study, *Architecture in the Age of Reason* (1955). He proposed that theory and practice tell the same

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<sup>13</sup> Memmo does make reference to Piranesi as a student of Lodoli, though the influence is apparent. See *Elementi* I: 160.

<sup>14</sup> See Piranesi, Giovanni Battista. *Observations on the Letter of Monsieur Mariette*. Tr. Caroline Beamish and David Britt. (Los Angeles: Getty Publications, 2002).

story from the early Renaissance to the Late Baroque, as both advocated the same compositional ideals visualized in buildings. Suddenly, in the mid-eighteenth century a diametrically opposed theory of functionalism arose whose only postulate was a rigorous conformance to materiality and to practicality.

According to Kaufmann, as Francesco Colonna marked the beginning of the Renaissance/Baroque theory in the late fifteenth century, Lodoli was the first advocate, which led to the paradigmatic shift to functionalism. Kaufmann cited three sources for Lodoli's theory. Memmo, due to the *Elementi*, is described as a one sided partisan of Lodoli. Algarotti was a more conservative dilettante with brilliant taste who knew how to appreciate Lodoli's theories but not be taken over by them. The third, Milizia, was a critic with no conviction but one who was able to collate the major ideas of his time.

Kaufmann claimed Lodoli did not completely revolutionize architecture, but he did pose the questions that would lead to a new architecture. For Kaufmann's Lodoli, the problem of the era seemed to lie in the abolishment of form. Kaufmann believed, however, that Lodoli's mistake was in not proposing new forms to correspond to this new attitude.

Kaufmann viewed Lodoli through Algarotti's lens, simplifying the argument into a two-fold rally cry against all that had existed prior to him. The two great objectives—of being true to purpose, and true to matter—would allow this new architecture to overcome the past. Kaufmann believed that Algarotti understood Lodoli's position, but was not willing to share his views. This was contextualised within the discussion of materials. Algarotti was not displeased by an architecture of wood imitating an architecture of stone. Lodoli considered this imitation essentially a lie. However, for Algarotti, wood could be carved more easily than stone, therefore the architect would be justified in manipulating the material. From this position Algarotti

concluded that “che del vero piú bella é la menzogna.”<sup>15</sup> Kaufmann translated this, as “illusion is more beautiful than the truth.” Extending the argument Algarotti concluded that ornament is essential as structure and cannot be beautiful on its own.

The discussion continued to the legitimacy of the Ancients over the Moderns. Algarotti saw this as analogous to the debates between Italian versus French sensibilities and Roman versus Greek origins. Algarotti solved this in his typically diplomatic manner. He explained that he wished to live in a French House with a view of a Palladian structure!

In a very limited revision of history **Edward Robert De Zurko** attempted to outline all of architecture based on five types of function. They include practical, structural, psychological, social, and symbolic. By selectively quoting out of context, De Zurko collapsed a modern sensibility of use into three analogies; mechanic, beauty from mechanical clarity; organic, beauty from perfection in nature; and moral, that form should reflect the moral ideals of man and as such building should be an honest and true expression of the purpose and the age of man. He described all of history within these categories.

Influenced by Christian Wolff and understood through Memmo and Algarotti, Lodoli was described as putting forth a functional position. De Zurko agrees with Kaufmann’s reading that Algarotti understood the true voice of Lodoli but remained critical of Lodoli’s strict position. Lodoli is connected with Berardo Galiani and Francesco Milizia as they were both considered to be “functionalists.” De Zurko distinguished the two latter writers in their regard for architecture as an imitative art “whereas the rules of Lodoli were for an architecture of the future.”<sup>16</sup>

De Zurko’s study completely failed to recognize the possibility of a world-view other than a Twentieth century modern perspective. Buildings have always had the purpose of protecting people from the environment (rain, cold, heat etc.). It takes a serious leap of faith to

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<sup>15</sup> *Elementi* II: 41.

<sup>16</sup> Robert Edward De Zurko. *Origins of Functionalist Theory*. New York: Columbia UPress, 1957): 180.

believe this purpose was what made a particular building meaningful, beautiful, or essential throughout the entire history of architecture. Surprisingly, De Zurko did not recognise Lodoli's interest in the organic, a term that De Zurko uses within his analogical triad of history.

1960's

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**Manlio Brusatin** was the curator of the exhibition entitled *Illuminismo e Architettura del '700 Veneto*. The exhibition was accompanied by a text, which included images from the exhibit and biographic entries of the key eighteenth century characters. Within the general move to reform of the eighteenth century, Lodoli is seen as anti-classicist and proto-functionalist. Lodoli's attitude is distinct from those who were reviving Palladian ideals. Memmo is clearly the source for Brusatin—the ten page biographic entry is a reprint from the *Elementi* and is the longest entry in the text.

Brusatin published *Venezia nel Settecento: stato, architettura, territorio* (1980) in which, as the title indicates, he described an array of topics in the Venetian eighteenth century. This comprehensive study outlined an age seen by Brusatin as one of reform at all levels of society. It is an essential resource for the time period. According to Brusatin, Lodoli's knowledge and understanding was vast and connected to many important thinkers and issues ranging from education, society, truth of materials, debates within science, theatre reform. The *Prato della Valle* is seen by Brusatin as one the most important projects in the eighteenth century.

**Augusto Cavallari-Murat** recognised a separation between theory and practice within the eighteenth century, arguing that practice is subordinate to theory. Thus, the separation between what we would consider professions today is blurred dramatically. The author attempted to show the interrelation of broadly defined interests within the eighteenth century. For example,

the influence of sciences on architecture (Galileo, Poleni, Lodoli) led to the discussion of music and architecture based on proportions.

With Cavallari-Murat, Lodoli became more enigmatic. The author claimed the connection to Socrates implied a moral motivation. Lodoli's view to history was radical. According to Cavallari-Murat, he began with Vitruvius, integrated an understanding of the character of materials, but then concluded with a decidedly anti-Vitruvian position when describing the orders. The author related Lodoli's interest in Vitruvius to Poleni, but claimed Poleni did not want to discuss this with Lodoli. Cavallari-Murat offered a refreshing view of Lodoli—one that began to recognise the complexity of the early eighteenth century.

**Edgar Kaufmann** proposed, after a discussion of general tendencies, that Lodoli could be seen as the father of functionalism. He believed Algarotti's *Saggio sopra la Architettura* (1756) offered a more correct version of Lodoli. This is due, quite simply, to the fact that Lodoli was alive when Algarotti published while Memmo recounted the Friar's position from memory some twenty years later.<sup>17</sup> He also mentioned Zaccaria Sceriman and Girolamo Zanetti as other sources of Lodolian opinion.<sup>18</sup> He introduced Wolfgang Herrmann's study of Laugier, specifically to place Lodoli in opposition to the French Jesuit.

Kaufmann then published a second essay, part correction and part elaboration of his earlier essay, dependent upon research conducted by Prof. Antonio Foscari and his wife Dottoressa Barbara del Vicario. The research, not cited beyond personal correspondence, shifts the privileged viewpoint from Algarotti to Memmo and focused specifically on Memmo's *Elementi*. The earlier essay deals with textual evidence while the latter attempts to show how the

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<sup>17</sup> It is quite clear that Lodoli was not pleased with the final version of Algarotti's text. See *Elementi* II: 42.

<sup>18</sup> This is the first time since Comolli that Sceriman is mentioned as a source. Memmo did cite him, though negatively. For the Zanetti reference see *Elementi* I: 28



physical evidence (the window sill of the *S Francesco della Vigna*) gave fullness to Lodoli's theory.

Kaufmann explained that while Algarotti was initially encouraged by Lodoli to act as his voice, he went to great lengths to then discredit Algarotti's position as the most correct version of Lodoli and read Memmo as the truest rendition. Algarotti narrowed Lodoli's thought into a system, exactly what Lodoli would have opposed. Algarotti viewed Lodoli's thinking through his own academic prejudices, submitting architecture to rules and theories developed for literature and painting. Lodoli was aware of the role of intuition and inspiration in any science—an awareness excluded in Algarotti's version. Memmo recognised Lodoli was a judicious admirer of the past. Algarotti proposed that materials were limited to a restricted vocabulary. Though Lodoli felt each material could be used well to express its inherent nature. Lodoli did wish to exclude meaningless parts of architecture, though this does not mean he wished to exclude all useless parts and, by extension, ornament. Finally, Lodoli was simply not against ornament.

**Francis Haskell's** study of 1963 attempted to outline the most important Italian artistic developments within seventeenth century Rome and eighteenth century Venice. The focus was on the economic and historic influences that determined patronage. Most interesting for this study is the final third of the text that focused on the Venetian art and architecture scene of the early eighteenth century.

Haskell recognised that Venetian art patronage was closely tied to various economic and aristocratic pressures and shifts. He saw this time as one of serious decline, as newly established shipping routes altered Venice's prime position in trade, and delusion as the patrician class expanded simply as a matter of private wealth. However it is exactly this new wealth that Haskell attributed the continued support of artists—specifically with apotheosis of their families.

Haskell saw sarcastic and anti-conformist Padre Lodoli as a jester that no one actually took seriously. Haskell's biographical information comes directly from Memmo, but that's about

all Haskell felt was important enough to retain. Lodoli was connected to Antonio Conti by a sardonic letter in which they are accused of attempting to weigh the moon. Haskell distinguished Lodoli from Conti, however, as Lodoli was much too austere.

It is clear, for Haskell, that Francesco Algarotti is the hero of Haskell's eighteenth century Venice. Algarotti represented the pinnacle of taste and judgement within his commissions and support of artists, specifically Canaletto and Tiepolo. Algarotti's relations with August of Saxony and the development of his gallery remind Haskell of another collection, that of Carlo Lodoli. Both were organized historically and roughly according to school. Maffei's collection, an obvious precursor to both, was not mentioned.

Haskell presented history with a more modern perspective—to understand how and why of art through who commissioned the pieces as opposed to other sources. However rich the detail may at times seem, the entire study borders on gossip.

**Carol Meeks'** text is heavily dependent, ideologically speaking, on Kaufmann and Wittkower. Meeks understood history as a series of systems with shifting tendencies, based on a particular zeitgeist. Meeks recognized the disadvantages of the framework, but felt it allowed for a better understanding of the period. Lodoli marked a shift in an historical system, establishing the beginning of an austere neo-Classicism. This new style, essentially beginning around 1750 was seen as the happy conjunction between the following: a new intellectual view of the world, a new aesthetic doctrine, a new vocabulary of form, and a new structural system. This spirit continued into the nineteenth century and was seen as counterpoint to the Romanticist movement. **Lilliana Grassi** began her text with a description of the often-recurring letter from Le Corbusier to Alberto Sartoris concerning the naming of Sartoris's book.<sup>19</sup> Le Corbusier proposed that Sartoris should use 'functional' instead of 'rational' within the title. He did. This secured the

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<sup>19</sup> Alberto Sartoris *Gli Elementi dell'Architettura Funzionale* (Milan: Hoepli, 1935).

idea of function, and not rationalisms, as the central theme of modern architecture. As such, Grassi looked back to where this was introduced into modern lexicon. She saw a revolution, somewhere in the early to mid eighteenth century, represented by the trio of Lodoli, Cordemoy, and Laugier.

Lodoli was the most radical proponent of a functional architecture. She sourced Memmo, Sceriman (strangely for her argument), and a few more modern secondary sources. Specifically PM Bardi and the *Mostra di Architettura Razionale* (1931), which she believed, connected Lodoli's position with *Gruppo 7* and the Fascist movement in Italy.<sup>20</sup> She also noted the relation, with the analogy of the organic, to Frank Lloyd Wright and Henri Van de Velde.

1970's

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Within his chapter on the eighteenth century in his larger study of Venetian architecture **Ennio Concina** described the anti-baroque sentiment that finds architectural expression early in the century. He was most interested in built work and the political machinations and situations that allowed those projects to be realised. Concina claimed Lodoli was anti-Vitruvian and critical of other classical models including Palladio. Concina believed, rather, that Lodoli was more influenced by Galileo and Scipione Maffei. He related Andrea Mussalo's apparent interest in function to Lodoli's own opinion of construction and materials. This connection is often made through Temmanza, a student of Mussalo. Though it is strange recognising Temmanza's poor view of Lodoli. It was well known that they hated each other.

In a few smaller and more concise articles Concina described Lodoli's familial background, clarified from Memmo and with reference to Kaufmann. Concina recognised

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<sup>20</sup> Gruppo 7 was founded in 1926 by Giuseppe Terragni, Luigi Figini, Gino Pollini, Sebastian Larco, Adalberto Libera, Guido Frette, Carlo Enrico Rava.  
*Appendix II – Scholarship Review*

another Lodoli, the military engineer Giambattista Lodoli, as Carlo's brother. Essential to Lodoli's background is the connection on his mother's side to the Venetian Arsenal. Her lineage is importantly connected to naval and military architecture—noted for their talent in fact by Galileo. This was important for Concina as he attempted to make the connection between Galileo and Lodoli also noted by Memmo with reference to Lodoli's understanding of materials.

1980's

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**Guiliana Ericani** noted the influence of Lodoli on Domenico Cerato as expressed within the *Altichiero*, the palazzo of Angelo Querini located just north of Venice. Domenico Cerato and his successor Daniele Danieletti drew the plans and carried out the construction. This is one of many actual built works in the Veneto used by Cerato for his school projects. Ericani saw Cerato's school as the professional continuation of Lodoli's theories.

Within a series of articles and texts **Joseph Rykwert** described Carlo Lodoli as “idiosyncratic, but not a loner.”<sup>21</sup> Characteristic of Rykwert's writing the various texts contain an over abundance of detailed information.<sup>22</sup> *The First Moderns* is organized around ten topics. These are typically divided between national contexts: English, French, and Italian. Rykwert was dependent upon the Italian secondary sources (specifically Concina and Brusatin) for his reading of Lodoli, but should be seen as an essential resource for the European eighteenth century context.

By the time Rykwert began writing, Memmo had been clearly recognised as the most reliable source for Lodolian opinion. As such, Rykwert outlined a biography of Lodoli straight

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<sup>21</sup> Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980): 288.

<sup>22</sup> It may be noted, that Rykwert's *First Moderns* contains over 1300 footnotes that occupy at least 150 pages out of 500 pages of text.

from Memmo—early travel and familial disputes, Franciscan education, influential relation to Scipione Maffei, and lost papers and art collection. Rykwert set the context by naming projects that were built around Lodoli’s students, including the *Altichiero* (noted for its strange collection similar in method to Lodoli’s own collection), *Villa Algarotti* (without the Palladian view), and *Villa Farsetti*. He saved the more obvious *S Francesco della Vigna* and *Prato della Valle* for a more close inspection later in the text.

Lodoli was distinguished by Rykwert from Laugier, connected to Vico, Montesquieu, Leibniz, and represented in caricature by Voltaire’s Dr. Pangloss. Lodoli’s critique is sweeping, spanning Vitruvius through Laugier. Rykwert sourced Herrmann who explained the meeting in Venice between Lodoli and Laugier after the printing of Laugier’s *Essai sur l’Architecture* (1753) would have been impossible—Laugier was in Venice prior to writing his *History of the Republic* and not after.<sup>23</sup> What is quite clear to Rykwert is that each of the characters—Memmo, Lodoli, Algarotti, and Laugier—all had connections to Joseph Smith and the printer Giovanni Battista Pasquali.

The distinction from Laugier was based on the idea of imitation and is described in the *Elementi*.<sup>24</sup> Memmo referenced then-recent archaeological discoveries (of Paolo Antonio Paoli) that claimed the first architecture was made out of stone. Memmo concluded, and therefore separated Lodoli from Laugier, that the first invention was made of human intelligence and not nature. Lodoli faulted Vitruvius for never leaving his retreat. If Vitruvius had done so, he would have clearly seen that architecture is not an imitative art, much less that the original source could be a wooden hut.

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<sup>23</sup> Zaccaria Sceriman, famous for *I Viaggi di Enrico Wanton*, is less so as an acquaintance of Lodoli translated this text. Surprisingly, Rykwert omits this detail.

<sup>24</sup> *Elementi* I: 295.

Rykwert believes Lodoli's theories were expressed within the following architectural examples: the Hospice for the *S Francesco della Vigna*, the *Prato della Valle* in Padua (an interesting example of the social function of public building), the embassy building by Memmo in Constantinople, and Lodoli's infamous "organic" chair. Lodoli described this chair as being organic (*organica*) as it conformed not to the fashion of the day, but to the body. He also recognised topiary and curule architecture as also being necessarily organic.

In the discussion of function, Rykwert noted the distinction, within Vitruvius between *organon* (moved by one man, from the Greek, *ergon*) and *machinae* (moved by many, from Greek *machos*: a means, expedient, a remedy). He continued to explain that in late antiquity people who played *organa* were called *organici*, while those who made them were called *mechanici*.

Though clearly reform minded, Rykwert suggested that Lodoli did not look for another Wincklemann. Lodoli was not interested in a revolution of taste or a return to an ideal prototype in the past, and did not attempt to describe a-priori principles of architectural composition, as Laugier may have. He was interested in the reform of the moral climate in which architecture was conceived and to rethink the current ornamental organization to be based upon xilology and lithology—the essential building materials. Rykwert concluded, "Lodoli invoked reason as a matter of taste: this was a radical departure and very much against the majority opinion of his time."<sup>25</sup>

For Rykwert, Lodoli's reform was clearly based in history, but one must draw on what the past provides and correct it with reason. This was clearly presented by Memmo in the outline given to him by Lodoli. The outline prioritised integral parts of architecture, over the more arbitrary. Though Rykwert was quick to point out that this should not be read as "simple" form

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<sup>25</sup> Joseph Rykwert, *The First Moderns: Architects of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1980): 321.

against “ornate” form, both must be derived from truth. Thus in one move Lodoli dignified ornament and eliminated the value of authority derived from habit.

Rykwert related Lodoli’s interest in representation—a very specific understanding related to the geometrical-arithmetic-optical rules thus achieving the purpose intended—to scientific thinking of the day (read: Poleni). Rykwert clearly distinguished Lodoli’s listing of commodity from *bienséance*. Rykwert continued by explaining that function, which combines with representation as the final aim of architecture, should not be understood as mere utility. Rather it should be seen more in relation with the processes of the body (organic), or of the body politic (function). As such, Rykwert concluded that Lodoli’s function has more to do with the well being of the inhabitants and that it is useless to connect Lodoli with the modern functionalism understood in terms of utility.

As we have no proof of Lodoli’s architecture, Rykwert suggested we could only look to Memmo’s production. Lodoli recognised architecture as an essential component of society, specifically with regard to its reform. However, Lodoli did not build. Clearly Lodoli and his students presented modes of action. Rykwert, however, did not continue to this conclusion.

**Franco Bernabei** wrote about the connection between Vico and the Veneto. There is an obvious association with Lodoli through the solicitation and publication of Vico’s *Autobiography* (1725). Bernabei made the usual references to Memmo, Algarotti, and Milizia. He commented that Angelo Comolli made reference to another possible source in Sceriman’s *I Viaggi di Enrico Wanton*. According to Bernabei the first to open up to the possibility that Lodoli was interested in more than functionalism was GianFranco Torcellan who described Lodoli’s interest in cultural and also political issues. Even with all of this Lodoli’s thesis is tough to get at—especially through Memmo’s constant reference to the virtue of science and the insistence on the “fidelity” of materials.

Bernabei related Vico and Lodoli in their focus on education, particularly in their mutual distrust in Algebra and in their interest in the development of student's natural ability. For this, Bernabei referenced Memmo's discussion of Geometry within the development of one's ability to think. As such, truth is not only a product of rationalism, but is related to the imagination. Bernabei then extended the connection through an understanding of mimesis to the question of origins. This mimetic theory was related to the development of man in Vico. Lodoli did not negate the interest in origins as evidenced by his privileging of Vitruvius. However these origins were mythic and poetic. He was not simply a modern, though as he recognised, man is essentially poetic and not rational. Bernabei related this position to Lodoli's theory of substitution.

**Renata Targhetta** discussed the Masonic influence within the Venetian scene of the mid eighteenth century. Andrea Memmo's mother, in an attempt to separate her sons from the influence of Casanova delivered the infamous lover to the Inquisition. He was found guilty and imprisoned. There is seemingly accurate speculation that Quirini was at least aware of Masonic symbolism as it is used throughout the *Altichierro*. Lodoli was not specifically named as a Mason, though the author finds him guilty by association.

1990's

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For **Alina Payne**, Lodoli and Laugier represent the watershed of modern architecture—one based upon scientific investigation, expressed through engineering, and containing no self-referential ornament. In a very Cartesian light, the author proposed that Lodoli looked for clear principles and eternal truths. Architecture should be a science and not a simple and physical art. All sciences include precise knowledge of things based upon perceivable principles and on



demonstration. She believed that Laugier was influenced by Lodoli as is evidenced by differences in the first two printings of Laugier's *Essai*.

Though perceived as modern Lodoli was connected to older scientific treatises, Antonio Lubicini, Vittorio Zonca, Cosimo Bartoli, Cesi, Stelliola, and not architectural treatises such as Serlio, Barbaro, Scamozzi, Guarini, or Vittone. This seems misleading as Memmo clearly and repeatedly references the latter and not the former.

Most important for Payne was his connection to the seventeenth century physician Teofilo Gallacini. Payne places Gallacini with relation to Lodoli where other authors typically place Poleni to explain Lodoli's apparent connection to "modern science." His text *Sopra gli Errori degli Architetti* (1767) was published posthumously in Venice. Payne claimed that Gallacini's interest was in the mechanical truth of structural elements.<sup>26</sup> An interest that she believed preceded Fréart de Chambray's *Parallèle des Ancients et des Modernes* (1650). Payne recognised that Gallacini's interest in the sciences led to profound questions, though history has overlooked his comparatively less imaginative answers. This should guide one's reading of the *Errori* to be concerned with issues of real support and not representations through fictive systems of signs.

It is important to recognise whom finally reproduced Gallacini's work. It was not Lodoli, though he clearly had connections to the printing world of Venice. Rather, it was Antonio Visentini who seemed more interested, as evidenced by his participation in the *Accademi de Belli Arte* and relations with Canaletto, in the visual depiction and display of the city than more fundamentally architectural issues. Ironically, Payne ignored the more obvious connections between Lodoli and the scientific community in Padua. Rather she obliquely connected Lodoli to Gallacini via Galileo.

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<sup>26</sup> Though, as the author points out, he had many interests including: good architecture, travel, capitals and bases, temple design, perspective, mathematics, mechanics, ballistics, astronomy, hydraulics, gnomonic devices, medicine, and Euclid.

In a series of articles written in commemoration the three hundred year anniversary of Lodoli's birth, **Sergio Paolo Caligaris** offered a general overview of what might be considered the standard view of Lodoli. He offered a biography taken from Memmo: born in Venice, travels to Ragusa to enter into the Franciscan Order, on to Rome and then onto Verona to teach. There he met Scipione Maffei who helped him obtain a position in Venice. He stayed there until late in his life when he moves to Padua just before dying in 1764. Anything he wrote during his life is now lost. Andrea Memmo should be considered as the true voice of Lodoli's position.

In attempting to interpret Lodoli's position Calgaris pointed out that Lodoli was not after a *Teoria* that would imply a system. Rather, Calgaris noted that Memmo used the term *elementi* in his title. He continued, following a now familiar discussion to include: interest in the understanding of materials and thus the privileging of Roman over Greek structures, discussion of window sills, gondola design, and even a reference to Modern architecture. This time it was Nervi. Lodoli is related to Vico, in terms of history, and Poleni, in terms of scientific understanding of materials. Calgaris adds that if Lodoli is considered Socrates, and Memmo is Plato, then Algarotti's distorted version should be compared to Xenophon.

Calgaris then looked to a series of projects. He outlined the renovations to the *S Francesco della Vigna*: the repair of exterior window sills sloped in the middle, a new doorway, and a hallway addition to the exterior that leaned to the outside. Calgaris considered this as important for it's use of materials and medieval derivation. The hallway and doorway no longer exist. Calgaris noted that Memmo's house, near *S Marcuola* in Venice, has similar windows. Though he shows no images of the lone windowsill.

## Dissertations

In 1975 **Robert Holland** completed his dissertation for the department of Comparative Arts at Ohio State University, which focused on three texts written by Algarotti: *Saggio sopra l'opera in Musica*. (1752), *Saggio sopra l'architettura* (1756), *Saggio sopra la pittura* (1762). Algarotti, believed by Holland to be only slightly influenced by Lodoli, was seen as the true author a syncretic theory of the arts. The essay on the Opera outlines a possible reformation of the theatre. The essay on Painting offered a critique of the education of young painters. Holland argues that Algarotti's theory of architecture, based upon the truth of materials and the qualified use of each individual part, influenced Henri Labrouste, Emanuel Viollet-le-Duc, and Louis Sullivan. I have not found any further evidence to support this claim.

Within many articles, a book length study, and his dissertation from the University of Pennsylvania, **Marco Frascari** offers the most wide ranging and in-depth commentary on Lodoli. Essential to Frascari's position is that architecture must be seen as a form of critical knowledge. Within the dissertation Carlo Lodoli was seen as a case study to show this position. The articles written by Frascari support the central argument of the dissertation. I review the dissertation as it presented the most focused investigation.

The dissertation traced two horizons. The first outlined the lineage of a mode of productive thinking found within the construction industry of the Veneto beginning as early as the fifteenth century and continuing through Carlo Scarpa. The second followed the development of the scientific method at the University in Padua, focusing on the Janus-like quality inherent in the word technology. Frascari proposed that Lodoli foretells these two horizons in a motto inscribed around his portrait found within Memmo's *Elementi*. The motto states "Devonsi unire e fabrica e ragione, e sia funzion la rapresentaione."

The form of the dissertation is described as two interlocking circles, which form a chiasma. The two horizons occupy one circle each. After reading the dissertation I am reminded more of the double helix stair described in Palladio's *Quattro Libri*. Both horizons deal with essentially the same discussion. One gets the feeling when reading the text that you go up and down through the same space. Frascari followed a series of characters each of which add another step in the journey up or down the stairs.

Frascari outlined possible sources to determine Lodoli's theory. The usual names were present including: Algarotti, Memmo, Piranesi, and Milizia. For Frascari, Memmo was clearly the true voice of Lodoli though Sceriman is again offered as an alternative to the Algarotti and Memmo dualism. Frascari translated the two outlines, a correction he noted of the Kaufmann translation of a few years earlier, from Memmo and used them the basis for his case studies.<sup>27</sup> Within the first horizon, devoted to Construction and Reason, analogy is understood as a productive tool and is found within the detail as the practical place where meaning is construed. Construction therefore should be understood not as a means to an end, but as a profound way of thinking. The binomial of Construction and Reason can be seen as the main theme in the Venetian tradition of architectural production. Lodoli is essentially placed within this line. Frascari's privileging of Vico's imaginative understanding of knowledge over a Cartesian dualism is paramount.<sup>28</sup>

Alberti, who according to Frascari began the tradition, understood analogy in terms of the relation of body parts to one another. This is supported by Alberti's naming of architectural parts according to or in relation to body parts. Essential to this is the relationship of the parts to the whole. The parts do not imitate the whole rather they are analogous to the whole. Alberti named

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<sup>27</sup> Frascari notes that his version is different in intention than Kaufman's and therefore is less interpretive and rather literal.

<sup>28</sup> For Frascari this is reduced to the distinction between Vico's *verum ipsum factum* (the truth is convertible with the made), and Descartes' *cogito ergo sum* (I think therefore I am).

this *concinnitas*. This was contrasted to the Vitruvian tradition in which symmetry is based upon a more global harmony and proportion.

Simone Stratico and Tommaso Temmanza both discussed the strange *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499) with relation to Alberti. Important for Frascari is the harmony-congruity of the parts to the whole set within a dream-like world. Buildings are not given as whole, but rather as fragments to be construed. Also influenced by Alberti was Alvise Cornaro who discussed an appropriate architectural detailing for the Veneto. He praised the use of *cannavera* (reed grating with plaster). Giovanni Antonio Rusconi in *Dell'Architeturra Libri Dieci* (1590) gathered over 160 illustrations of building technologies advocated by Cornaro. He detailed the *cannavera*, which became influential in buildings in the Veneto. The drawings are composed anatomically reveal the process of construction. Vincenzo Scamozzi was not interested as much in the physical construction of architecture, but rather the mental, which he described as the *precondizione*. This operated on a mediation of past production to find non-coercive norm for present production. Lodoli is placed within this context.

The second horizon, named as Representation and Function, dealt with the construction of thinking. Here, technology is understood as both the logos of *technē* (construction / function) and the *technē* of logos (construing / representation). This both/and condition is found within the architectural unit of the joint. This unites the above binomials allowing for an imaginative approach to architectural profession. This binomial, as seen within Frascari's version of the Venetian tradition, must be understood not as the modern dictum "form follows function" but rather with its basis in the Vichian *verum ipsum factum*: verum is to Representation as factum is to Function.

The main influence within this second half is Antonio Conti. Lodoli and Conti were related as they both discussed "the organic." Conti discussed this with relation to clothing and Lodoli with relation to Lodoli's chair. In each use, the body performs within something. Most

interesting for Frascari was Conti's understanding of *fantasia*. This is an element common to all the sciences and the arts of which there are three forms: *sensific* (dreams and madness), *visific* (result of fixations, generator of visions), and the *verisimilar*. These three must be combined and used together to be productive. This production is named *particolareggiamento*, and is a process, which describes the fantastic relationship between part and whole.

Algarotti, while misunderstanding Lodoli's approach to materials, did understand the full potential of function. Much to Frascari's delight Algarotti substitutes *uffizio* for function, and stated that it is an integral part. Algarotti then gave four anecdotes relating to inappropriate uses of function: a dignifying pediment in an arid landscape, a coat of armour in a courtroom, and the training of *gondolieri* on the land and the raising of horses for racing in Venice.

Teofilo Gallacini wrote *Degli Errori degli Architetti* (1767) Pasquali published it, Visentini illustrated it, Smith owned the manuscript. It outlined mistakes made before, during, and after construction. Gallacini was interested in correct hierarchical relationships between parts, determined by use and intention of client. This medical analogy is appropriate as he was a physician.<sup>29</sup> Frascari reminded us; physicians who did not comply with the hierarchy of parts do in fact make mistakes in prescribing theories.

The next character described by Frascari was the physician was Giambattista Morgagni, a professor of anatomy at Padua. He published *De Sedibus et Causis Morborum Indagatis* (1761) in which he introduced the era of clinical/pathological correlation. Morgagni and Poleni worked on a study of the structure of the heart, the aim of which was to show, according to Frascari that analogical procedures were as good as analytical ones. At the base of this study is the catenary curve. The bending action of the left ventricle was described by the curve, as is the correction for

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<sup>29</sup> See Alina Payne, "Architectural Criticism, Science, and Visual Elegance." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* vol. 58, No. 2 (June 1999): 146-169 for a more full description of his published work. What is not fleshed out by either Frascari or Payne is the interest in Gallacini by mid eighteenth century architects.

the dome at St. Peter's. Poleni diagnosed the problem of the dome by first analyzing the site. Next, he reviewed materials published regarding dome construction in Europe. Finally, he made a study of materials including physical tests. This determined the stability of the dome. Frascari was interested in the clinical observation of the function of organs and the relationship to their anatomical description—construing and constructing.

The third half of Frascari's dissertation deals with the other motto from Lodoli's portrait: "Ut eruas et Destruas—ut plantes et aedifices." Within the second printing of Memmo's *Elementi* one finds a reprint of a lecture presented at the *Accademia di Belle Arti* in Venice by Pietro Zaguri condemning Lodoli's principle of substitution. Zaguri believed substitution destroys the cultural heritage. Frascari believed that this could be described, again using a medical analogy, as a metabolism: as a simultaneous tearing down and a building up.

Architecture, as a form of knowledge, is related to this substitution. As such, Frascari proposed the following. If shelter is the origin of architecture and the nature of this is in the composition of the parts and their relationship to the requirements of duration, maintenance, and use. Then one may assume, meaning shall not be derived from the replication of formal images, but rather through a constant substitution of parts. However this rationale could to support the declarative analogy of column as tree as meaningful, something Lodoli was clearly against. There needs to be some criterion for judgment.

Frascari discussed how architectural production was based on substitution in at least three ways: the rhetorical procedure of invention, the education of the architect, and the economic structure of the Veneto. Within the education of the architect Frascari outlined three ways of becoming an architect as exemplified by three educators: the architect/engineer (Poleni), the architect/craftsman (Cerato), and the architect/*vedutista* (Visentini). Each of these was directly influenced by Lodoli's identification of architectural function and representation. However the focus was on which texts were produced by specific people named as professors and not actual

lessons or coursework. Specific pedagogy was not discussed. Rather theoretical output was outlined with relation to references of Lodoli.

This last section of the dissertation seems to rely heavily, and I would venture uncritically, on readings by Motterle (1959) and Brusatin (1980) reading of Cerato's schools in Vicenza and Padua. Motterle proposed that Cerato's Palladian-based educational system was heavily reliant upon Lodolian principals. Frascari or Motterle did not mention Lodoli's criticism of Palladio, and Lodoli's position is combined with the general move towards a more sober architecture. The situation was obviously not this simple.

Frascari proposed that architecture is a form of critical knowledge resulting from attention devoted to the details in the constructing/construing of architecture. So what then is the appropriate mode of action as promoted by Frascari's reading of Lodoli? If we continue with Frascari to his text *Monsters* (1991), this is accomplished through the demonstration of monsters. Are these drawings? Buildings? Texts? The question remains open. These monsters are always in danger of being relative, of kitsch. Surely, Frascari would not equate the work of Scarpa to the *Piazza d'Italia* in New Orleans by Charles Moore. What is at the root of this is an understanding of metaphor and analogy, particularly with relation to history. Surely for Lodoli the issue was not imitation of historical form or material construction. With respect to the title of his dissertation—I still wonder what is the fate of architects?

**Diana Hibbard Bitz'** dissertation, completed within the Faculty of Liberal Arts at Emory University, attempted to reconstruct Lodoli's architectural theory, again, through students (Algarotti, Sceriman, Piranesi, and Memmo) and influences (Vico, Conti, Boscovich). Lodoli's position was seen within the context of Humanist thought beginning with Alberti. The final portion of the thesis is a brief examination of topical mathematics through three periods. Each is located by the work of a mathematician/philosopher and an architectural project. They include: Piero della Francesca and Bramante's *Tempietto*, Galileo and Guarini's *SS Sindone* chapel, and



Bacon or Vico and Lodoli's *Prato della Valle*. The obvious first critique is that Lodoli's involvement with the construction of the *Prato della Valle* was clearly different than the other examples given.

Memmo and now Piranesi were read as the true architectural voice of Lodoli. The author cited Scriman as an additional and quite fruitful interpretation. Algarotti and Milizia were compared and contrasted. Typically, Algarotti was faulted for the ease in which he would translate timber construction into stone. The author outlined Algarotti's *Saggio Sopra l'Architettura*, Milizia's *Vite degli Architetti piu Celebri*, Scriman's *I Viaggi di Enrico Wanton* and Memmo's *Elementi*. She referenced Piranesi's *Della Magnificenza ed architettura de' Romani*. This last author was most interesting to the author as representative of a heroic appeal to memory, imagination, and the senses, all achieved through an understanding of Lodolian architecture. Piranesi's interest in the truth of materials was related to Vico's own interest in the Etruscan and Egyptian cultures.

Etymological development found in Vico's *On the Most Ancient Wisdom of the Italians* and Joseph Boscovich's *Theoria Philisophiae Naturalis* (Venetian ed. 1761) were both claimed as influences on Lodoli's architectural theory.<sup>30</sup> Though his theory of natural sciences, as described by Bitz, Boscovich influenced Lodoli's theory of materials. "According to Boscovich, matter consists of unchangeable, identical, simple, indivisible, non-extended but separated points."<sup>31</sup> Bitz unfortunately does not verify the relation between Lodoli and Boscovich.

Lodoli and the humanists, maintained that architecture is a rhetorical exercise, related to wisdom in terms of dialectic, memory, divination, and the achievement of good fortune. For Bitz, "Carlo Lodoli stands at the end of the development of Italian Renaissance architectural

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<sup>30</sup> Although Memmo seems to name most every architect and philosopher in history Boscovich (1711-1787) is not mentioned in the *Elementi*.

<sup>31</sup> Bitz, Diana Hibbard. "Architettura Lodoliana: Topical mathematics as architecture." (Ph.D. Diss. Emory Univ., 1992): 132.

theory.”<sup>32</sup> Lodoli was presented as the last humanist. The dissertation follows Frascari’s reading quite closely, though it lacks the imaginative dimension one finds when reading Frascari. While the pairings could possibly prove to be quite fruitful, Lodoli seems out of place. I wonder if Cerato or even Memmo would have been a more appropriate choice? Also, there are inherent historical difficulties in connecting the author’s rhetorical references straight to Lodoli.

**Joanne Paul** traced a critique of our twentieth century condition to its roots in eighteenth century culture. The debate was then focused around the attempt to define an origin as the comprehensive point of departure for architecture. This debate developed around the following topics: the place or authority of history, the possibility of defining characteristics for beauty, taste and proportion, the attempt to give quantifiable values for developing technologies, and the defining foundation of building. Central to the author’s reading of this debate is the relationship between *physis* and *nomos*.

Vitruvius was seen as the most original source and was very much alive in the eighteenth century debate between the Ancients and the Moderns. The author traced a line from Perrault, through Cordemoy, to Laugier that established essential properties of the primitive hut from which man could regulate his place in the world. This connection would assure architectural meaning. Algarotti followed by claiming that architecture is an imitative art. Milizia shifted the focus from the artefact and imitation to the nature of man, understood as rational, to establish an archetype from which to build.

These searches for origins contrast with Lodoli’s (via Memmo) view towards history as a guide for making. Lodoli’s search was not for an artefact or the definition of human nature, rather the author claimed it is within *nomos* (loosely translated as culture). This is contrasted with *physis* (world of nature). Lodoli’s contribution is the recognition of both *nomos* and *physis*,

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<sup>32</sup> Bitz, Diana Hibbard. “Architettura Lodoliana: Topical mathematics as architecture.” (Ph.D. Diss. Emory Univ., 1992): 122.

not connected as within Greek worldview, but rather distinct and essentially ever evolving. It is the author's contention that only when one recognises this pairing of *nomos/physis* that one can understand Lodoli's binomial of Function and Representation. This may also allow for the recognition of scientific truth of materials and architecture's moral dimension. Lodoli didn't side with the Ancients, or the Moderns, or his contemporaries. He provided a critical analysis of Vitruvius as well as a critical survey of theory and practice.

The binomial of *physis/nomos* has an effect on the understanding of beauty, taste, and ornament. Essentially Paul asks which is normative: man or nature? Laugier revealed this essential problem. His rules, and aversion to pilasters was based on inherent sense, taste, and is based in Nature. Habit was connected to all that was mutable and uncertain. Laugier appealed to reason over custom. This is not yet evident in the seventeenth century when custom possessed a positive connotation. For example, Perrault's positive and convincing beauty was apparent to the senses. For Perrault, rules for proportions could be changed through use and custom.

This is in contrast to Lodoli who believed in an intrinsic material proportion essential to building with solidity, analogy, commodity, and beauty. However this did not preclude invention. Beauty could vary according to custom, but the static-physical-chemical properties of building could not be changed. Further, the rule of authority had given a borrowed beauty (imitation). Memmo cited Lodoli's example of the gondola that expressed inventiveness but still did not alter the intrinsic reason of the use of things. The author then made the connection to Vico, and the *New Science*, which she believed "made *nomos* legitimate by focusing upon man's inner nature as the guide to wisdom and truth."<sup>33</sup>

Perhaps the most interesting insight is the connection of Lodoli, and specifically the *Apologhi*, to the phenomena of the Utopic Journey. The author used the examples of *I Viaggi di*

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<sup>33</sup> Paul, Joanne. "Of Substantiating Nature." (M.Arch Thesis. McGill University, 1995): 46

*Enrico Wanton* by Sceriman and *Icosameron* by Casanova. These popular tales were interesting in their own right, but also important as they offered a vantage point from which to view back and critically observe his world. They offer an alternate version (to the clarity of science) to understand *nomos*. These are related, along with the idea of fantasy developed by Antonio Conti and Vico, as the reason why Lodoli used fables to discuss architecture. Unfortunately, there is no distinction made by the author between the *Elementi* and the *Apologhi*. There may be some fruitful differences. It would be unfortunate if not simply erroneous to believe the *Apologhi* are simply sugarcoated versions of the *Elementi*.

The paper begins with a translation of and ends with a reference to a Lodolian story given by Memmo in the *Elementi*—itself a re-telling of the story of Zeuxis. The story tells of an artist banished to an island of monsters as a punishment for the murder of a beautiful woman that refused to be his muse. Once on the island the artist begins to go mad until finally he is ready to commit suicide. At the last moment he recognizes a beautiful eyebrow of a hideous woman. Then he sees an ankle of incomparable beauty. From these details he creates his own ideal of beauty. Reading this thesis one has the feeling of piecing many disparate parts together. One gets a similar feeling when reading this thesis. Many connections are mentioned, but sadly too few are given enough time to simmer.

The dissertation written by **Rebecca Boatwright-Williamson** proposed a connection between architecture and politics within Lodoli's circle based upon conversation in the fullest sense. Echoing Rykwert's diagnosis, the author argues "members of the group embarked on architectural projects as an alternative to failed attempts at direct (political) reform."<sup>34</sup> These members included the usual suspects—Memmo, Algarotti, Piranesi, and Milizia—as well as Angelo Quirini and Giustiniana Wynne. The paper is divided into the following topics: an

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<sup>34</sup> Williamson, Rebecca Boatwright. "Conversation in Fabric and Reason." (Ph.D. diss. University of Pennsylvania, 1998): 6  
*Appendix II – Scholarship Review*

overview of architectural education within the Veneto, an outline of existing scholarship, architectural polemics in the mid eighteenth century, architecture and politics in the Veneto, and concludes with a description of built projects. This is all attempted in just over one hundred pages.

Based on the educational proposals of Vico and within the reform-minded culture of the early eighteenth century in Venice Lodoli began two schools—the *scuola di conversazione* and the *scuola di sistema*. The distinctions between the two, or definitions of, were not discussed in the dissertation. Williamson noted that while Lodoli was not specifically teaching his students to become architects, in fact none became professional architects, many did go on to become politicians. As such they were able to exercise their political influence on public building activities. Education was based on text (Cicero and Pufendorf) and walks within the city. Also noted is the inclusion of various female students within the school: Caterina Sagredo Barbarigio and Giustiniana Wynne. While it is understood that Lodoli taught through fable telling, it was not developed within the dissertation. Nor is the relationship between the *Elementi* and the *Apologhi* and his educational objectives.

Domenico Cerato, the first professor of *Architettura Civile Practica* was described as continuing the tradition that Lodoli had earlier set out. The ideological position of this portion of the text was taken from Frascari who was influenced specifically by Brusatin and Motterle. However, within Cerato's school the curriculum involved learning how to draw and students would learn this through demonstrations. This important distinction from Lodoli goes completely undeveloped in the dissertation. Lodoli and Cerato were teaching in very different ways. Also not included in the discussion on education is the important relationship of Poleni, Stratico, and Visentini—not only in terms of other opportunities for education, but also in terms of other ways of teaching.

The dissertation then changes directions to discuss the connections between Vico and Lodoli in terms of truth and certainty. This discussion was applied to the debate concerning the renovation of the clock tower in the *Piazza S Marco*. Memmo, Poleni, Temmanza, Massari, and Lodoli contribute their own critique of the project. It is unclear how this relates to the discussion of truth and certainty, specifically with reference to history. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the *Apologhi* described as veiled political speech.

The turn to politics sets up the next chapter that attempted to describe the political situation in the Veneto of the eighteenth century. Described as reform minded (the author relied heavily on Rykwert, Venturi, Hazard) at points and then as festive at others. One does wonder when reading the paper what real affect this political climate did in fact have. Clearly it did, though the author failed to make connections beyond the assertion that architecture was a substitution for institutional reform sought to avoid the inevitable collapse of the Republic.

The final two chapters considered Lodoli's legacy in the description of two architectural projects: the *Altichiero*, and the *Prato della Valle*. Both are presented as the architectural action of two very politically motivated persons, also influenced by Lodoli. Both are also presented as difficult to read, as there remains little primary source material.

The reading of *Altichiero* (specifically the garden) is given through Giustiniana Wynne's text of the same name. There is an incredible richness offered in the symbolism of the garden, and in the presentation by Wynne. Unfortunately, this is not elaborated upon beyond noting that Angelo Quirini was a Mason and was interested in Vico. Nor is the garden put into context within various other philosophical gardens of the eighteenth century either actual, literary (through real or imagined travel), or both.<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> As the author is citing literary sources the most obvious comparison might be found in Conti's *Globo di Venere* (with etchings by Visentini), or Sceriman's *I Viaggi di Enrico Wanton*.

The conclusion described Lodoli's indirect language of the *Apologhi*. This was understood, with feminist critique aside, by the author to be particularly feminine (as it seduces) antidote to encyclopaedic knowledge. Most interestingly she distinguishes the two by recognising they both do not provide the answer but the encyclopaedia claims to do so. Rather, it is with the apologue that we are required to participate. The author related this to design education and the use of computers (understood as a system and not as a tool). The second conclusion is that architecture and architecture education is essentially political. It is not a difficult conclusion to believe.

A far too ambitious project that opens many possibilities, the dissertation fails to take a stand to say something. It is unclear if the focus is on conversation (as an activity, a dialogue) or on built projects, or on an approach to education. The similarities and differences between the analysis of a conversation, or dialogue, or building, or text are not explored or understood. One may take the position that all action is political, but different modes of action imply different analysis. All distinctions are flattened within this dissertation hindering any possible insight.

**Mark Anthony Ceolin** completed his dissertation at the University of Toronto in the study of Drama. The appendix includes an English translation of Milizia's *Trattato Completo, Formeal e Materiale del Teatro* (1794). This most recent dissertation sets out to place Francesco Algarotti and Francesco Milizia's respective treatises on the theatre within a more general framework of Enlightenment theory. His interest was to understand the representational qualities of the theatre event as well as the theatre building to determine what role these qualities might play within the inherent well being of society. Ceolin believes that his study, as well as his version of Algarotti and Milizia, will return the theatre to its original function: pleasure and utility.

Lodoli was seen as a major influence on both authors. However, Ceolin makes no study into the distinct interpretations of Lodoli. Lodoli's position was stated as this; "beauty of

architecture is born solely of necessity and utility.”<sup>36</sup> Milizia, as a stated though unsubstantiated disciple of Lodoli, followed this as well as the more noble belief that theatre would allow the performance of moral values intended to instruct the audience.

Ceolin explained that Algarotti believed that a music building should be made of wood (like that of instruments) so that the interior may be sonorous. This is interesting and not entirely in contrast to Algarotti’s stated belief that wood is the most versatile of materials and therefore may be the most meaningful. The issue of the imitation of nature as a source of meaning is never quite resolved with either Ceolin’s dissertation, Algarotti, or Milizia.

For both authors, Lodoli is seen as grounding influence that also allows them both to appear more modern. In a retrospective reading of ancient amphitheatres (relying on Vitruvius and Diderot, though not Maffei) Milizia argued that the semi-circular form is best as it allows for all to hear and see the performance. Thus, he included in his treatise an ideal theatre that takes a similar, though in intention very different, geometry. He understood that everyone would not be allowed to see each other, however all will be able to see the stage. This utilitarian approach is seen as a direct influence of Lodoli.

Milizia believed theatres should be made of stone because wood burns faster than stone (solidity). They should be comfortable and welcoming to the spectator as well it should be centrally located within the city for greater access (convenience). The last requirement is that decoration should be appropriate to nature of the building (beauty).

It is clear that the role of theatre can be used as a fruitful lens with which to view the eighteenth century, however this paper fails flesh out the possibly interesting relationships between Lodoli and his students production. Or even other characters specifically connected to the Italian

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<sup>36</sup> Ceolin, Mark Anthony. “Francesco Algarotti and Francesco Milizia: Architectural and Dramatic Theorists of the Italian Enlightenment.” (Ph.D. diss. University of Toronto, 1999): 105.



Theatre including: Maffei, Memmo, Stratico, and especially Goldoni. The issue at hand is much more vital than the simply stated goals of utility and pleasure.

*Explicit hoc totum; Pro Christo da mihi potum.*