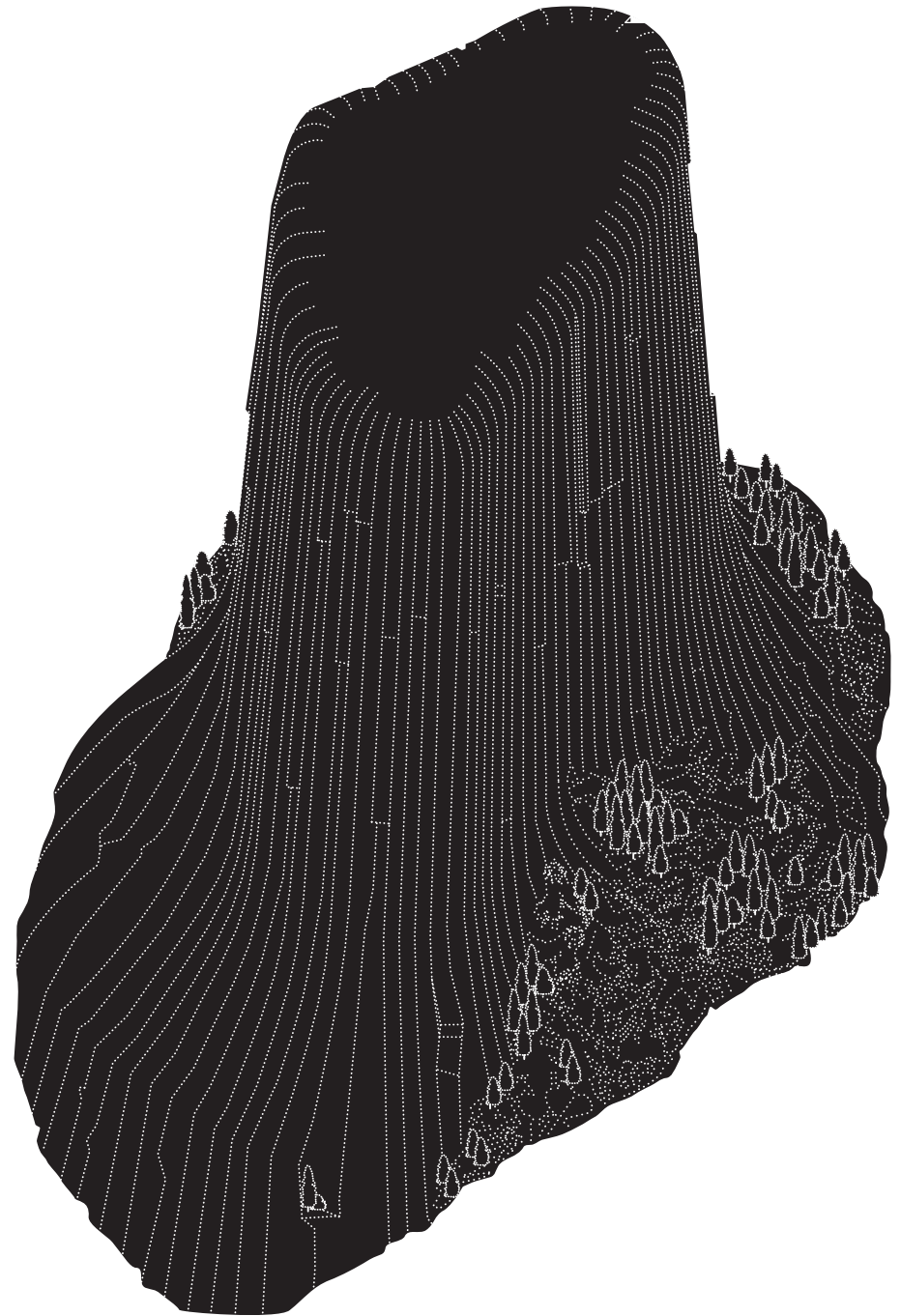


**SAN ROCCO - WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE PRIMITIVE HUT?**  
2A+P/A talks about Zeno \* Pedro Ignacio Alonso on Charles Eisen \* Tanguy Auffret-Postel and Tiago Borges on Jacques Hondelatte's Artiguebaille House \* Pep Avilés on the Caribbean hut \* Ido Avissar's *degré zéro* \* Marc Brabant on individualism and architecture \* Marc Britz on the Panthéon français \* Ivica Brnic on huts and temples \* Ludovico Centis on space oddities \* Steven Chodoriwsky on the duck \* Carly Dean explores the desert on Google Earth \* gall on a November weekend in 2011 at Slievemore, Dooagh, Keel East, Achill Co., Mayo \* Giovanni Galli on primaeval architecture in an edenic context \* Giorgio Grassi refuses to answer baukuh's questions \* Stefano Graziani goes to Devils Tower \* Nils Havelka and Sarah Nichols on the Malm whale \* Wonne Ickx on the well-tempered hut \* David Kohn on the return of the *Roi des Belges* \* Anders Krüger and Regin Schwaen on leftovers \* Eric Lapierre on primaeval building substance \* Annamaaria Prandi and Andrea Vescovini tells a straight story \* Isobel Lutz Smith on the demolition of Glasgow \* Nikos Magouliotis on the Three Little Pigs \* Daniel Martinez on wilderness \* Gabriele Mastrigli on *Delirious New York* \* Ariadna Perich Capdeferro on Toyo Ito's Sendai Mediatheque \* Philippe Rahm on the Olduvai Gorge \* Pier Paolo Tamburelli reads the *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* \* Neyran Turan on primitive flatness \* With photos by Stefano Graziani

SAN ROCCO - WHAT'S WRONG WITH THE PRIMITIVE HUT?

8 - WINTER 2013



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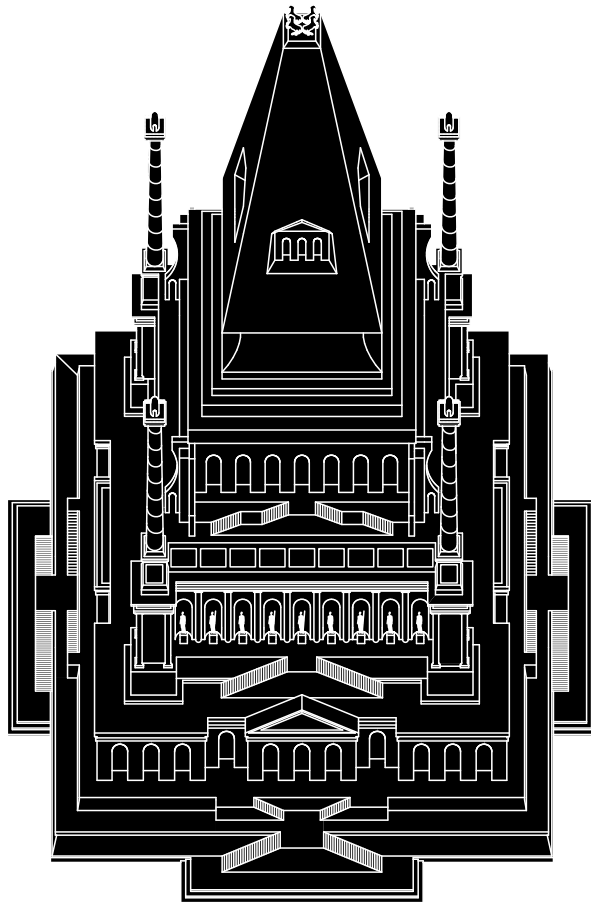
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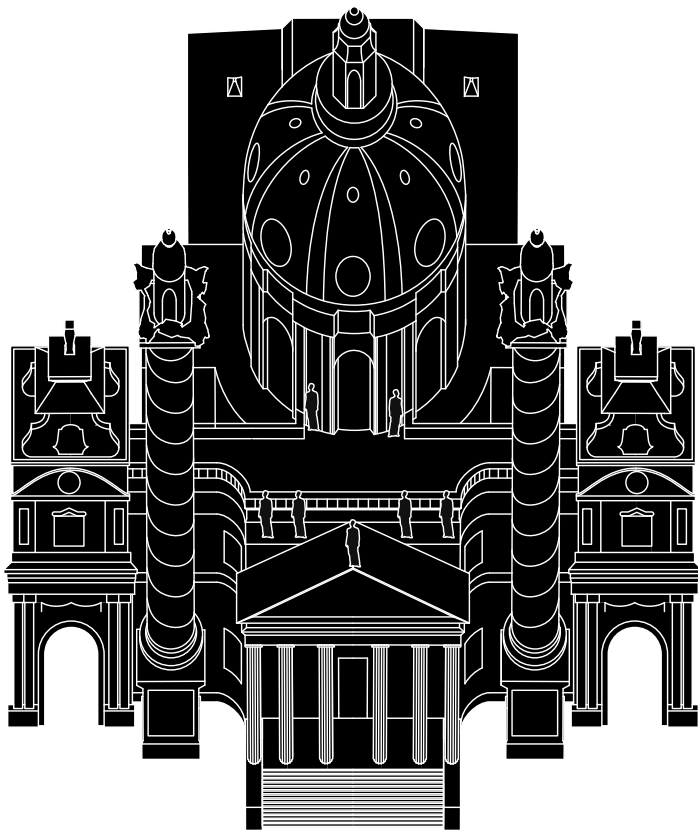
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# FISCHER AUF DER REISE NACH STONEHENGE

Pier Paolo Tamburelli





1

The book cost 30 Gulden (10 for a subscription, 20 for delivery). Without the subscription the cost was 40 Gulden; see Andreas Kreul, *Johann Fischer von Erlach: Regie der Relation*, (Salzburg and Munich: Anton Pustet, 2006).

2

Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur* (Vienna, 1721). A handy modern edition is *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur: Nachdruck der Erstausgabe von 1721* (Dortmund: Harenberg, 1978).

3

Fischer himself – with the collaboration of the erudite Carl Gustav Heraeus – translates the title into French as “Essai d’une architecture historique”. For an analysis of the title, see also Cundula Rakowitz, “Entwurf einer architectura vetera sed novissima”, in Andreas Kreul, *Barock als Ausgabe* (Wiesbaden: Herrassowitz, 2005), 213–36.

4

Hans Sedlmayr, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach*, 2nd ed. (Vienna: Herold, 1976), “Die erste monumentale Architekturgeschichte in Bildern”.

5

“Aus der Resignation der Wirklichkeit gegenüber ist diese Schau des ‘Historischen’ mit erzeugt. Anstelle der Wirklichkeit, die sich seiner Lieblichkeitsschöpfungen

### *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur*

On 26 July 1721, the *Wiener Diarium* informs its readers that a new book by the general surveyor of constructions, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, is ready and that the ones who had pre-ordered their copy could go and pick it up at the architect’s place.<sup>1</sup> The book is titled *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur*<sup>2</sup> and is a collection of eighty-six folios promising to illustrate the architecture of the Jews, Egyptians, Syrians, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks, Siamese, Chinese and Japanese together with some projects by the author.

The title of the book is curious. Literally translated into English, it would read “Project of a Historical Architecture”. The difficulty here is not only the interpretation of *Entwurff* – which can be understood as “project” but also as “essay”, “draft” or “sketch”<sup>3</sup> – but also the fact that the semantic realms of “architecture” and “history” are not combined the way we might expect. Fischer does not speak of *architectural history*; he speaks of *historical architecture*. If nouns and adjectives mean anything, then the book is not, as Hans Sedlmayr suggested, “the first ever monumental history of architecture in images”.<sup>4</sup> The title does not announce a “history of architecture”. Rather, the *Entwurff* is a book about “the architecture of history”.

In refusing to understand the *Entwurff* as a history book, it is also possible to reject the remainder of Sedlmayr’s interpretation as well: “This vision of ‘historicity’ is produced by a resignation before reality. In place of reality, which rejected his most beloved projects, Fischer has created a historic ‘utopia’ for himself.”<sup>5</sup>

The *Entwurff*, like any book on architecture ever produced by an architect, is written because Fischer found himself temporarily unemployed and with the not-very-hidden purpose of generating fresh employment. In Fischer’s case, the immediate goal of the book is to obtain his confirmation as the state architect of the new ruler. Indeed, the book is assembled in a hurry in order to be presented to the new emperor in 1712 and, once the main goal had been obtained – for Fischer does remain architect to the state – the book only gets published ten years later and without many corrections. Also, for this same pragmatic reason the *Entwurff* is not utopic; as the title clearly states, it is a *project*. It may have some of the naïvety that is typical of projects, but it presents neither a proposal for a new world nor any longing whatsoever for a lost Golden Age. Of course, there is a certain Baroque atmosphere, for the *Entwurff* does not lack an inclination toward solemnity, grandiloquence and farce, and there are a few too many triumphal columns

around not to suspect a shadow of disbelief (as in the case of Loos's very Viennese column for Chicago). Still, for all its triumphant bitterness and paradoxical erudition, Fischer's cultural project is proposed with a reasonable degree of optimism. Fischer is 100% serious (and *as a consequence*, of course, 100% non-serious). Fischer looks at things that would not be considered worthy of attention in the centuries that follow, and he looks at them from a point of view that might seem naïve but is actually, when considered from the perspective of our contemporary condition, very realistic and extremely productive.

Fischer's work is probably not precise enough. Fischer does not define the presuppositions for an anthropological approach to architecture, nor does he offer any argument about the relationship between gestures and spaces. He does not have a solid theory of monuments and memory, nor does he explicitly define a theory of architecture based on the shared as opposed to the individual. And yet in spite of all his imprecision and haste, all of the characteristics of a reasonable approach to architecture are contained in the *Entwurf*. Fischer may not have gone to see Stonehenge,<sup>6</sup> but his intellectual project did pave the way for the subsequent – unavoidable – journeys to Lourdes and to Mt. Rushmore, to “Burning Man” and to Maha Kumbh Mela.

The most interesting aspect of Fischer's book is the selection of elements included in the collection. The *Entwurf* is indeed purely an exercise in compilation, for there are no new archaeological findings and very few drawings resulting from first-hand observation.<sup>7</sup> The drawings in the *Entwurf* do not have the sharpness of personal experience; they all look a bit like they were redrawn from Google Maps. As a man of the Baroque, Fischer explores *not the universe but libraries*.<sup>8</sup> Fischer simply *selects* buildings and then gathers the available information and redraws them (using his sources with varying degrees of freedom). He does not follow a rigid method: sometimes he portrays ruins,<sup>9</sup> sometimes he reconstructs the original monuments.<sup>10</sup> Despite its vast scope, the *Entwurf* is realistic and accurate. Fischer carefully acknowledges the surveys, the literary sources, the travel books and the medals used to produce the images. He highlights the eventual internal contradictions of the texts he employs (as in the case of Pliny's account of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus) and reports the differences between the various sources (for instance, the different measurements of the great pyramids reported by Thevenot and Lucas). Fischer combines two apparently conflicting acts: he selects *only monuments* and he selects

versagt hat, hat Fischer sich ein historisches 'Utopia' geschaffen." *Ibid.*, 228.

6  
Sedlmayr has imagined that Fischer visited Stonehenge when he went to London in 1704 after visiting Friedrich I in Berlin. Sedlmayr also imagines a meeting there between Fischer and Christopher Wren. As much as I would like to believe this, his hypothesis has been rejected by of the subsequent scholarship.

7  
To my knowledge, Fischer only saw the Isola Bella (II, xv), the Hellbrunn rocks (II, xiv b) and the Roman ruins that supported his reconstruction of the Roman arches (II, v), Trajan's Forum (II, vii), Hadrian's Mausoleum (II, viii) and Diocletian's baths (II, ix).

8  
Walter Benjamin, *The Origin of German Tragic Drama* [1963], trans. John Osborne (London: NLB, 1977), 140.

9  
Such as, for instance, the aqueduct in Carthage (II, ii) and Palmyra (II, xiii).

10  
Such as, for instance, all of the Seven Wonders (I, iii–x), the Domus Aurea (II, iv) and Trajan's Forum (II, vii).



Above and in the following pages: Illustrations from *Entwurf einer historischen Architektur* (Vienna, 1721)

11

It might be noted that there are two engravings dedicated to Solomon's temple instead of the single one afforded to the majority of the monuments included in the *Entwurf*. Still, this is not the only case of this (Diocletian's palace in Split is also described by two engravings [II, x; II, xi] and Fischer does not give any special reason for this choice).

*only real buildings* (or at least buildings he believes to be or have been real): no houses, no warehouses, no fortresses, and no Eldorados, Atlantises or primaeval huts. Fischer's fantasy *applies only to the real*.

Fischer's realism is even more evident in some of his more paradoxical selections. Indeed, the *Entwurf* includes such things as the Nile Waterfalls (I, xii), which appear strange as part of a series of monuments. Yet the presence of the waterfalls in the *Entwurf* is absolutely a consequence of the conceptual framework of the book: the waterfalls are *real* and *monumental*. Also, their place in the collective memory had been precisely – and artificially – fixed, thereby turning this piece of nature into a *gigantic cultural artefact*, exactly the kind of thing that belongs in Fischer's collection. What in fact matters for Fischer is just scale and having a place in the collective memory.

The *Entwurf* is subdivided into five books. The first three are dedicated to the *historical architecture* suggested in the title, the fourth describes projects by the author and the last contains drawings of vases. I will not talk about Books IV and V. A detailed analysis of the elements included in the first three books and the sources Fischer used in their description is included in the table below on pages 160–65. The following summary of Book I exemplifies how Fischer brings the different elements together. Book I is dedicated to Jewish, Egyptian, Syrian, Persian and Greek architecture. It opens with two engravings dedicated to Solomon's temple and then describes the so-called Seven Wonders, portrays a supposed Temple of Nineveh (taken from a – probably fake – medal in the Bellori collection), then goes back to Egypt – with the Pyramids of Giza and the Lighthouse of Alexandria having already been described among the Seven Wonders – for five more engravings (including the Nile Waterfalls), and then shifts to Persian tombs only to return once again to Greece to describe the Labyrinth of Crete, several Athenian monuments and the colossal statue that was to be carved into Mount Athos (according to the tales of Vitruvius, Plutarch and Strabo), and then finally concludes with the relatively uninspiring obelisk of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus in Corinth. The order of the narration is quite complicated. Despite being placed at the beginning of the book, Solomon's temple is not presented as the origin of architecture. Its influence vanishes immediately after its appearance: no connection is made to the Seven Wonders that follow right away. Solomon's temple is just one of the many elements in the book – it plays no special role and it is described in exactly the

same way as the rest.<sup>11</sup> At a certain point, Fischer mentions the Jewish origin of the Corinthian order and speaks of its transmission to the Greeks through the Phoenicians, but this “theory” (which derives from Villalpando’s *Ezechielem Explanationes*) occupies barely seven lines of the *Entwurff*’s extremely skinny columns of text and it is never mentioned again afterward.<sup>12</sup> This bizarre theory remains an anecdote and does not have any influence on the structure of the book. In contrast, it would be difficult to exaggerate the importance of the Seven Wonders to the overall organization of the book. As a quintessentially plural group (the Seven Wonders are indeed *seven*), these monuments of the ancient world provide the basic sequence of precedents that regulates all possible expansions of the series. The Seven Wonders are a list, and consequently the *Entwurff* is a list, too. All elements are on the same level. The result is that the rule of the *Entwurff* is simply additive, entirely paratactic: Chinese pagodas are part of the collection because the Isola Bella is part of the collection, and the Isola Bella is part of the collection because the Hanging Gardens of Babylon are part of the collection, etc. The project’s “theory” is the sheer accumulation of buildings. Fischer avoids disturbing the perfectly a-hierarchical equilibrium of the *Entwurff* with the introduction of minor narrations. Even in the case of Book II, which is dedicated to Roman architecture, where the story could have been a bit less fragmented due to the relative abundance of source material, Fischer decides to avoid reproducing drawings of monuments already appearing in other books,<sup>13</sup> with the result of de-structuring the possible narration and reducing the Roman monuments to the same fragmentary condition of all the other elements included in the book.

The Seven Wonders define the atmosphere of the *Entwurff* in its entirety. The particular mixture of erudition, gigantism and exoticism implied by the “Wonders” sets the tone for all five of the books. Even if it clearly implies an ambition of universality, the *Entwurff* is not an encyclopaedia and it does not claim to be exhaustive or complete. The *Entwurff* thrives on the pleasure of the single element: curiosity is more important than any *esprit de système*. In this respect, Fischer’s work is like an architectural Wunderkammer, yet contrary to contemporary literary works like Kircher’s *Arca Noë* (1675) and *Turris Babel* (1679), in the *Entwurff* there are no giants nor any detailed logistics about how the animals were loaded onto Noah’s ark. In the *Entwurff* there is no encrypted secret, no conspiracy theory, no masonic wisdom. The book is what it looks like: complicated *and* sober, overflowing *and* boring, megalomaniacal *and* unentertaining.

12

The text differs a bit in the German and French versions. Here below both are reproduced in their entirety; in any case, the “theory” is not particularly long. The German text reads: “Angesehen leicht zu behaupten / daß die in denen letzten Seculis, samt andern abgestorbenen Künsten / gleichsam wieder lebendig gewordene Römische Bau-Kunst ihre Vollkommenheit / und die sogenannte Corinthische Ordnung zu erst nach dem Salomonischen Bau durch die Phoenicier von der Griechen entlehnet.” The French version reads: “[L]’on pourroit fort bien soutenir, que l’architecture Romaine doit ses perfections avec l’Ordre Corinthien à cette excellente structure; les Phoeniciens en ayant fait connoitre les beautés aux Grecs, & ceux-cy aux Romains.”

13

Book II is indeed dedicated to some *unknown* ancient Roman buildings (“einingen alten *unbekannten* Römischen Gebäuden”). Fischer explicitly declares his principle of economy in the introduction: “In solchen bereits herausgegebenen Zeichnungen, als etwan vom Palladio, Serlio, Donato, Ligorio &c. hat man lieber dieses Buch eines Zierrahts berauben wollen, als ohne Noth etwas machen, das schon mit gleichem Fleiß gemacht worden.” *Entwurff*, 4<sup>v</sup>.





## Time

The *Entwurff* is not organized in chronological order.

Fischer opens Book I with a map recording all the illustrated buildings, but there is no trace of an overall chronology. Dates rarely appear in the notes accompanying the engravings. Here and there Fischer mentions bizarre formulas (e.g., “Jahre der Welt 2860” for the Hanging Gardens of Babylon), but in general he avoids dating things as much as possible. In the *Entwurff* the time coordinate is missing. Here Fischer faces a difficulty that is not his own. At the beginning of the 18th century, there was no agreement on a general chronology – not even an approximate one – for natural and human history. The traditional time structure based on the Bible had begun to seem questionable and yet no real alternative was available. Fischer’s work indeed operates in the relatively short interregnum separating a world with a past of around six thousand years from a world with a past of a million years,<sup>14</sup> and he does not seem to be particularly keen on taking a position on this dangerous subject. Anyhow, even considering the lack of a reliable absolute chronology with which to work and imagining a separate chronology for each of the books, certain relative relations are already clear in the early 18th century, and in a “history” book it would be impossible to justify the random alternation of Egyptian and Greek monuments in Book I, the positioning of Stonehenge after imperial Roman buildings in Book II and giving precedence of Ottoman mosques in Istanbul over the sanctuaries of Mecca and Medina in Book III. The order of the monuments presented in the book is just *seemingly* historical; buildings are placed one next to the other in the most predictable way.

Fischer’s book becomes understandable only when one accepts what it claims to be: *a project of a historical architecture*, an enquiry into the possible ways in which architecture can relate to history. The *Entwurff* is not “a history”, not just in the sense that the book precedes the *scienza nuova*, but also because the *Entwurff* does not even have a “story”: there is no beginning or end. There is no direction; there is just a multitude of possibilities that are not aligned and do not define a clear track.

Contrary to a “history of architecture” wherein the link between architecture and history is presupposed and historical development immediately results in a corresponding architecture, in the *Entwurff* there are only historical events (*stories* and not *history*) and the project focuses its attention on how architecture relates to them. The “historical” is not given. Fischer’s real interest is what makes architecture

14

For a detailed discussion of the problem, see Paolo Rossi, *The Dark Abyss of Time: The History of the Earth and the History of Nations from Hooke to Vico* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1987). Fischer, whom Leibniz proposes as a candidate for the new “Imperial Academy of Learning” in 1713, was probably informed about this contemporary debate involving geological, historical and theological arguments.

historical. How does architecture react to the different circumstances in which it happens to be produced? The *Entwurff*'s latent comparativism is a consequence of its deliberate ahistoricism. Fischer explicitly writes that the scope of the book is to achieve, using the fantastic French formula, "une Idée generale de la diversité des batiments de l'antiquité et de toutes les Nations".<sup>15</sup> The heart of Fischer's work is this *diversité*. And this diversity, for Fischer, manifests itself both in time (*de l'antiquité*) and in space (*de toutes les Nations*). Fischer refuses the great modernist simplification, maintaining that space cannot be reduced to a dependent variable by being entirely subordinated to time.

If for Laugier the link between architecture and history is defined through the primaeval act of building the first hut and does not need to be redefined anymore (on the contrary, it is necessary to go back to the purity of that foundational relation in order to eradicate recent mistakes), for Fischer the way in which architecture relates to historical circumstances changes in the very different cultural contexts in which architecture is produced. If Laugier imagines a linear development of architecture as the necessary output of the evolution of human needs, for Fischer the relation between architecture and history is anything but continuous. There are breaks, gaps, catastrophes. Fischer's book is a collection of single moments, a polyptych comprising parallel immobilities mirroring casual constellations of desires. In all of these petrified instants a certain relation between body and space is fixed. Each building corresponds to specific gestures, to precise sets of values, to particular combinations of ambitions and fears. As much as these events are historical, lively and mutating, the corresponding architecture cannot avoid being inert, silent, immovable. In the *Entwurff*, historical architecture is *architecture*: it corresponds to historical processes just as crystals correspond to volcanic eruptions.

The monuments collected in the *Entwurff* are all absolute monuments, and yet they are *many*; they comprise an open set, a firmament in which each element rightly claims to embody the totality while at the same time recognizing its unexhaustible singularity. This explains the complete flatness of Fischer's work, the total lack of any narrative. In the *Entwurff* there is no overall time of narration, and so each fragment has its own time: the geological lifespan of the Nile Waterfalls is confronted with the archaic presentness of the pyramids, the eroded time of the Roman ruins and the very brief duration of the celebrations of the king of Siam. This multiplicity of times incorporated into the buildings survives in Fischer's work *in the form of architecture*. Architecture



15  
Fischer, *Entwurff*, 13': "Eine generale Idée von den Bau-Arten unterschiedener Zeiten und Wölker".



is *historical* precisely because – *in se* – architecture is always the same; architecture registers history because it cannot *become* history, it cannot *substitute* history. Architecture, for the *Entwurf*, is *historical* because it remains detached, because it has no ambition to correspond to the zeitgeist, because it has no desire to be modern or anti-modern, no desire to foster progress or to oppose progress.

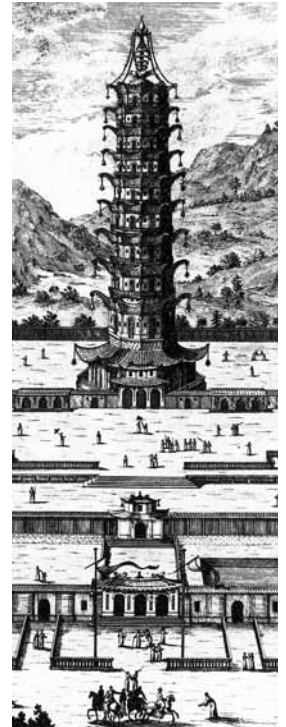
In Laugier's fable, primitive man produces architecture as a result of his solitary spiritual evolution; the *Essai* is a *Bildungsroman*, and primitive man is its undisputed protagonist. He grows together with the story, reaching maturity out of his own experiences. On the contrary, in the *Entwurf* there is not a single protagonist; the monuments are populated by an animated multitude from which no identifiable characters seem to emerge. In Laugier's fable, there are a story and a protagonist but no events, while in Fischer's *Entwurf* there are a multitude and events but no story. In the *Entwurf* things start *in medias res*, with the subject being the entire universe – the book even starts with an invocation of the muses. If Laugier writes the architectural treatise of the age of the novel – the equivalent of the *Wilhelm Meister* or *Le Rouge et le Noir* (or, even better, *Madame Bovary*) – Fischer's work lies somewhere between the epic poem and the Baroque *Trauerspiel*, between the *Orlando Furioso*, the *Gargantua* and *Catharina von Georgien*.

### Space

In the first three books of the *Entwurf* there are eighty-one drawings: sixty-eight perspectives and relatively few other types of drawings: seven plans, four elevations, one section, one perspectival section. Normally, there is a single plate for each building and a single drawing comprising each plate. In the *Entwurf*'s original large format (39.5 x 56 cm) the drawings are quite detailed. The engraving usually represents the monument at the centre, with an urban or landscape background. These backgrounds are neither precise nor totally generic, and they somehow manage to locate the object in a relatively appropriate context. The drawings always include space for people to move around the buildings; they describe not only the objects, but also the entire scene in which these gestures can take place: the architectural objects and the multitude of movements they make possible. The typical drawing of the *Entwurf*, the *pseudo-axonometric perspective*, is indeed the view that best describes the building's relationship with the landscape *and* the choreography of movement within it. Often the centre of the drawing is empty, entirely occupied by the void that constitutes the focus of

Fischer's attention. The model for these images is probably the drawing Fischer used to present his first proposal for Schönbrunn to Leopold I in 1688 (reproduced in Book IV). The drawing does not describe the royal residence in its entirety but rather concentrates on describing the spatial organization of the gardens and the movements of the crowds on the terraces. The majority of the engravings of the *Entwurf* again show objects inserted into landscapes (the pyramids, the Lighthouse of Alexandria, the Colossus of Rhodes, Hagia Sophia) or enclosures defining controlled processional paths (Trajan's Forum, the Isola Bella, Mecca, the Forbidden City) or a combination of the two (the Hanging Gardens, the Nanking pagoda). The *Entwurf* also incorporates more pictorial views, ones normally associated with larger portions of landscape, like those representing the Nile Waterfalls, Mount Athos and the aqueduct of Carthage. Even if these choices are obviously influenced by the original source materials, Fischer normally defines his own point of view and, if possible, corrects eventual mistakes he finds in his sources. Sometimes certain features move from one context to another: Chinese mountains surprisingly appear in the description of the Acrocorinth (I, xix).

Fischer's book is the first book on architecture to use this type of relatively relaxed, Pop drawings and associate them with an explicit theoretical ambition. By comparing the *Entwurf* with previous literature, it is possible to discern three traditions that converge in it. One is the "high" tradition of the architectural treatise, normally either not illustrated (e.g., Vitruvius's, at least as it was transmitted to us, or Alberti's) or filled with dry, abstract diagrams (e.g., Cesariano's or Palladio's). A second source is the Baroque, hyper-verbose, multifaceted, bizarrely inventive, visually compelling and philologically nonsensical commentary (e.g., Villalpando's or Kircher's works). A third element in the mix is the "low" tradition of the *vedute* produced by engravers such as Giovan Battista Falda and Alessandro Specchi, and Domenico Fontana's choreographic description of the *performance* of the transportation of the Vatican obelisk. From the first and second tradition Fischer takes the "high" subjects and the erudite themes (e.g., the Seven Wonders, Solomon's temple), and from the third he takes techniques of representation, a penchant for anecdote and a prevalence of the visual over the textual. From this popular tradition (that is, a tradition of illustration more than of architecture), Fischer maintains the Baroque attention to the relationship between gestures and spaces, for the development of the event in the urban scene. Fischer's interest in



16

If the amazing calculations by Jacopo Lamura, Francesca Pagliaro and Cecilia Tramontano are correct.

17

The “individuable Common” is an expression deriving from C  rard Sondag’s introduction to Duns Scotus’s *Ordinatio II*, which is referenced by Paolo Virno in his “Angels and the General Intellect”. See C  rard Sondag, introduction to Duns Scotus, *Le Principe d’Individuation (Ordinatio II, 3)* (Paris: Vrin, 1992). See also Paolo Virno, *E cos   via, all’infinito: Logica e antropologia* (Turin: Bollati Boringhieri, 2010); and idem, “Angels and the General Intellect: Individuation in Duns Scotus and Gilbert Simondon”, in *Parrhesia 7*, consulted online at [http://www.parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia07/parrhesia07\\_virno.pdf](http://www.parrhesiajournal.org/parrhesia07/parrhesia07_virno.pdf).

18

Virno opposes the “realism of the Common” and the “nominalism of the Universal”. This opposition is developed by confronting “the relation of the *inclusion* of the already constituted individual in the Universal and the preliminary *belonging* of the individual undergoing individuation in the Common.” Virno, “Angels and the General Intellect”, 61.

the logistics of ceremonies ends up multiplying the amount of stairs and entrances in the *Entwurf*, as can be seen in the surreal staircase added to the Temple of Artemis in Ephesus (I,vii), and introducing rituals even where they do not exist (at least in such a form), as in the case of the invented procession passing under the Chinese “triumphal” arch (III, xv a). This strictly Bernini-esque understanding of architecture, which Fischer learned during his time in Rome and to which he remained loyal his entire life, appears through these relatively popular drawings populated by people, carriages, horses, ships, smoke, fires, camels and a monkey.

### Architecture

In the *Entwurf* there are only monuments. Each element is finite, concluded, self-centred, separated from the others. The landscape of the book is made up of discrete elements lacking any connection to one another. But if what defines a monument is precisely the discontinuity that separates it from the background, then how can such an obsessive accumulation of exceptions not degenerate into the production of a new type of background? How does the *Entwurf* not end up like Piranesi’s *Campo Marzio*?

Contrary to the scanty population of the *Campo Marzio*, the *Entwurf* is crowded with 6,072<sup>16</sup> black figurines moving around the buildings. These figurines are always extremely tiny and faceless. They reveal few details about themselves: Turks have turbans, the Siamese and Chinese have paper umbrellas. It is possible to recognize their gestures, but it is not possible to recognize individuals. The figures create a hectic metropolitan background that can be subdivided into different groups with different rhythms: some are excited (like the wrestlers fighting next to the Temple of Zeus at Olympia or the knights riding their horses in the Meidan in Isfahan), some are quite bored (like the men sitting in front of Hagia Sophia or the man beating his dog next to the Nanking pagoda). This multitude links all of the different episodes in the *Entwurf*, providing a background against which the monuments can appear as “figures”. It is this “individuable Common”<sup>17</sup> that gives a sense to the monumental architecture of the *Entwurf*. The multitude is the real subject<sup>18</sup> operating in the book. Fischer does not say anything about this multitude, and from what one can understand by observing the gestures of the figures in the engravings, they look frantic but, in the end, also quite passive. The little people are always in movement, but this movement is extremely mechanical, and they look like choreographed

puppets. Anyhow, even if the reader always suspects the intervention of a grotesquely oppressive tyrant ordering North Korea–style mass exercises, the little people never compose a larger figure (as they do, for instance, on the frontispiece of Thomas Hobbes’s *Leviathan*): in the *Entwurf* the multitude remains formless before the monuments. The tension in the drawings is produced by the confrontation of the hyper-defined, normally symmetrical architectural form and the magmatic, vibrating crowd. Fischer plays the unpredictability of this multitude (which is always *the same multitude*, throughout the different drawings) against the fixity of the buildings. The multitude that moves through the engravings of the *Entwurf* seems to possess a creative power that systematically exceeds the limits of the architectural forms it has produced. At the same time, to Fischer it seems that this creative power can unfold only through discrete steps, via closed, stable, concluded forms (forms that clearly do not hide the hallmark of the violence of the states that produced them).<sup>19</sup> Even if it is not possible to say anything about Fischer’s philosophical and political attitudes, the *Entwurf* exhibits all the aspects of a realist theory of architecture: the multitude (the Common), the state (the Universal), the monuments (Architecture).<sup>20</sup>

It is interesting to confront Fischer’s project with the other cultural options available at the time. In Sedlmayr’s aforementioned book about Fischer, the author quotes a passage from an appendix to Charles Perrault’s *Memoires* in which the author proposes that Colbert realize a series of thematized rooms at the Louvre:

Je proposai à M. Colbert d’en faire à la manière de toutes les nations célèbres qui sont au monde, à l’italienne, à l’allemande, à la turque, à la persane, à la manière du Mogol, du Roi de Siam, de la Chine, etc. Non seulement à cause de la diversité que causerait cette diversité si curieuse et si étrange, mais afin que quand il viendrait des ambassadeurs de tous ces pays-là, il pussent dire que la France est comme l’abrégé du monde et qu’ils se retrouvassent en quelque façon chez eux, après s’en être éloignés de tant des lieux.<sup>21</sup>

Perrault’s idea is the exact opposite of Fischer’s. Nothing could be farther removed from the extremely ambitious and respectful “idée générale de la diversité” than a petty “diversité si curieuse et si étrange”. And of course the *Entwurf* really does not try to be “l’abrégé du monde”. Fischer does not want to reduce the complexity of *historical architecture* to the theme park proposed by Perrault. The *Entwurf* is an attempt to *expand* the architectural discipline, to imagine a form of knowledge capable of dealing with different traditions and

19

The dialectical relationship between form (defined, stable, silent) and subject (mutating, polymorphic, unstable) recalls Gehlen’s anthropology; see Arnold Gehlen, *Der Mensch: Seine Natur und seine Stellung in der Welt* (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt, 1940).

20

Fischer forgets only the *Individual*. Probably one of the biggest challenges in contemporary architecture is to think of the individual as *not hidden within the house*, or to liberate the individual trapped in the house, to save the individual from the private.

21

Sedlmayr quotes Louis Hautecourt, *Le Louvre et les Tuileries de Louis XIV* (Paris, 1927), 190–91. The original text is cited in Jacques-François Blondel, *Architecture française*, bk. IV (1756), 9.



understanding different cultures. Fischer wants to *expand classicism* while Perrault wants to *exhibit exoticism*. The *Entwurff*, somehow like Leibniz's *Characteristica universalis*, is a realistic cultural project when it is published. The fact that Fischer would indisputably lose to Laugier is not yet known. In his work, Fischer reacts to contemporary conditions and imagines how European classicism could relate to the different architectural traditions with which it is starting to be in contact, and this project involves a reconsideration of classicism that is totally different from the one successfully proposed by Perrault and later Laugier. For Fischer, the rigorous abstraction that the architects of the Italian Renaissance and of the High Baroque decoded from the Romans does not need any scientific/technological/functional refoundation. The classic repertoire has to remain what it is; what needs to change is the set of phenomena that defines contemporary architecture's focus of attention. Fischer does not want to reform the grammar; he does not care about its shaky foundations. He is content with expanding the set of problems that can be considered using that very same known grammar.

All of the different architectural traditions – for this is Fischer's project – can be understood *from a classical point of view*. In a way the *Entwurff* is an attempt to *design* (sometimes literally) all traditions according to the classical grammar, to show that these cases are not excluded. Fischer redraws Chinese bridges following the same logic he applies to redrawing Roman ones. He can complete missing information and correct his sources because he believes that the code he uses is universal. Fischer imagines a *universal* architecture that is the sum of all existing buildings (and that is based on an original *common* desire to leave traces in architecture). As such, classicism, for Fischer, *is not a tradition*. Classicism is the *Characteristica universalis*, the *language of a common language* – the language that does not escape the duty of being shared and, as such, has to be realistic about the differences that exist in the world as a matter of fact. Classicism becomes a way to observe all traditions “aus dem Gesichtspunkt der Totalität”.<sup>22</sup> And given that the classical grammar is universal, there is really no reason to reduce the number of different contexts in which the grammar can be applied. The universal tone of the *Entwurff* is – of course – also an imperial one. Fischer writes as the general surveyor of constructions of the Holy Roman Emperor, and it is not possible to forget the geopolitical role of imperial Austria when reading the *Entwurff* (also, its specific orientation toward the east can only be understood when considering

22  
Georg Lukács, *Geschichte  
und Klassenbewusstsein*  
(Berlin: Malik, 1923).

Fischer's geographic position). So for Fischer, *expanding classicism*, in a way, also means expanding the empire (and this is maybe not so innocent). Indeed, it is possible to argue that the defeat of Fischer by Perrault and Laugier is also the defeat of an archaic, unpractical institution – the Holy Roman Empire – by the modern nation-state. At the same time, the old, convoluted empire seems strangely familiar today, at least considering how similarly unpractical the European Union is. Seen from this point of view, the political perspective of the *Entwurff* seems both mediaeval (and thus quite similar to the one developed in Dante's *Monarchia*) and contemporary, at least when one considers the indisputable obsolescence of the nation-state. The complexity of the *Entwurff* seems necessary, and perhaps even clumsily promising. In the end, from a geopolitical point of view, wouldn't Vienna be a more reasonable option for the capital of the European Union? And wouldn't it be more fun?

The radical isolation of the different episodes of the *Entwurff* is resolved only in a theological dimension. The different episodes share only what is *ultimately common*; in the *Entwurff* there is no intermediate narration, no partial tradition that brings together a few disparate pieces. The brotherhood of all of the different episodes is not understood in terms of some sort of development, continuity or shared origin. For Fischer there is really no distinction between principal traditions and minor ones: they are all irrelevant *per se*. Even the Roman architectural tradition is meaningless in the *Entwurff*. The reason why all the different monuments come together in the same book is highly abstract: all buildings share the same basic relationship to humans, and that is enough; there is no need for minor affinities. What is *common* is simply the *absolutely common*. The *Entwurff* is really a catholic (in the sense of violently universal) book. Just like for St. Paul, being a Roman or a Jew, a slave or a king, does not make a difference. The generosity of the *Entwurff* is the cruel generosity of this extreme abstraction and of this extreme *terre-à-terre* truism: the common is the world, and this we all share.

The tables on the following pages tries to provide an overview of the themes and sources of the first three books of Fischer's *Entwurff einer historischen Architektur*. This task, which should have been carried out by much better philologists, was not particularly easy. Fischer's text is extremely careful in documenting its sources, but the way it notes them varies. The author's notes normally appear in a flanking column and are connected to the text by letters in parentheses. However, sometimes sources are reported only in the main text or are added to a sort of bibliography at the end. Sources also vary in the parallel German and French texts, which do not correspond to one another perfectly. In our chart we have reported the sources in the order in which they appear in the book, simply citing the name of the author (using the anglicized version when appropriate), followed by a literal transcription of Fischer's note. The variations apparent in the format of the citations are Fischer's. Quotes that are repeated in the original (normally Fischer uses the expression *loc. cit.*) have not been cited twice here. And when Fischer did not report anything more than the name of the author, we did the same. A rather clumsy and outdated attempt to trace the sources Fischer used in composing the *Entwurff* can be found in George Kunoth, *Die Historische Architektur Fischers von Erlach* (Düsseldorf: Verlag L. Schwann, 1956).



## BOOK I

| PLATE | SUBJECT                                     | NUMBER AND TYPE OF DRAWINGS           | CATEGORY                 | DATE (FROM WIKIPEDIA)   | DATE (ASSIGNED BY FISCHER)   |
|-------|---|---------------------------------------|--------------------------|---|--|
| I     | Temple of Solomon                           | 1 plan                                | building                 | 10th c. BC  | 3,000 years after the Creation of the Earth / 1,000 years BC   |
| II    | Temple of Solomon                           | 1 perspective                         | building                 | 10th c. BC  | 3,000 years after the Creation of the Earth / 1,000 years BC   |
| III   | Hanging Gardens of Babylon                  | 1 perspective                         | building                 | 590 BC  | Year of the Earth 2860   |
| IV    | Pyramids of Egypt                           | 1 perspective                         | buildings                | 26th c. BC  | –  |
| V     | Colossal Statue of Jupiter at Olympia       | 1 perspective                         | statue                   | 436 BC  | Olympic games instituted in 776 BC   |
| VI    | Mausoleum of Artemisia in Halicarnassus     | 1 perspective                         | building                 | 351 BC  | Year of the Earth 3651   |
| VII   | Temple of Diana in Ephesus                  | 1 perspective                         | building                 | 560 BC  | first temple burned by Herostratus in the Year of the Earth 3594 (397 years after the foundation of Rome and 354 BC)   |
| VIII  | Colossus of Rhodes                          | 1 perspective                         | statue                   | 3rd c. BC   | Year of the Earth 3686. The statue collapsed because of an earthquake in the Year of the Earth 3742, or 220 BC; the remnants remained until 560 AC, when Mauvia, the Sultan of Egypt and Persia, removed the bronze relics (note that 560 AC is <i>before</i> the birth of the Prophet Muhammad and consequently there could be no sultan) |
| IX    | Lighthouse of Alexandria                    | 1 perspective                         | building                 | 280 BC  | Year of the Earth 3670 (370 BC)  |
| X     | Temple of Nineveh                           | 1 perspective                         | building                 | –   | –  |
| XI    | Mausoleum of King Moeris of Egypt           | 1 perspective                         | building                 | 19th c. BC (death of Pharaoh Amenemhat III, also called Moeris) | –  |
| XII   | Nile Waterfalls                             | 1 perspective                         | waterfalls / ruins       | –   | –  |
| XIII  | Pyramid of Thebes                           | 1 perspective                         | building                 | –   | –  |
| XIV   | Tomb of Sotis in Heliopolis                 | 1 perspective                         | building                 | –   | –  |
| XV    | Tombs in Cairo                              | 1 perspective                         | building                 | –   | –  |
| XVI   | Persian tombs                               | 2 elevations                          | building                 | –   | –  |
| XVII  | Labyrinth of Crete                          | 1 perspective                         | building                 | –   | –  |
|       | Temple of Venus on Cyprus                   | 1 perspectives                        | building                 | –   | –  |
| XVIII | Mount Athos                                 | 1 perspective                         | statue / mountain / city | –   | –  |
| XIX   | Temple of Jupiter Olympius                  | 1 perspective                         | building                 | 6th c. BC   | –  |
|       | Theatre of Bacchus                          | 1 perspective                         | building / hill          | 6th c. BC   | –  |
|       | Temple of Minerva in Athens (Parthenon)     | 1 perspective                         | building                 | 5th c. BC   | –  |
|       | Acrocorinth                                 | 1 perspective                         | buildings / mountain     | since 16th c. BC  | –  |
| XX    | Obelisk of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus | 1 perspective                         | building / city          | –   | –  |
| TOTAL | 25 drawings (20 sheets)                     | 1 plan, 2 elevations, 22 perspectives |                          |   |  |

| DESCRIPTION | SOURCES  | CAST   |
|-------------|--|--|
| yes         | Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> , L. 20, C. 8; Matth. c. 24; Marc. c. 13, v. 1 & 2; Matth. c. 21; J. B. Villalpando, <i>Ezechielem explanationes</i> , c. 23, v. 24; Ammianus Marcellinus; Ezekiel, 3, Reg. 6: John Lightfoot; Doubdan, <i>Voyage de la Terre Sainte</i>  | –  |
| yes         | Flavius Josephus, <i>Antiquitates Judaicae</i> , L. 20, C. 8; Matth. c. 24; Marc. c. 13, v. 1 & 2; Matth. c. 21; J. B. Villalpando, <i>Ezechielem explanationes</i> , c. 23, v. 24; Ammianus Marcellinus; Ezekiel, 3, Reg. 6: John Lightfoot; Doubdan, <i>Voyage de la Terre Sainte</i>  | 374 people   |
| yes         | Curtius, L. 8, C. 1; Strabo, L. 16; Pliny, l. 6, c. 26; Solinus, c. 56; Martianus, l. 6 c. de Babyl.; Strabo, l. 16, init.; Pliny, l. 6, c. 26; Curtius, l. 5, c. 1; Diodorus, <i>Bibl. Hist.</i> , l. 2, c. 4; Ammianus, Lib. 23; Strabo, Lib. 1; Herodotus, lib. 1; Curtius, lib. cit; Herodotus, l. 1; Diodorus, L. 2 c. 4 & alii; Strabo & Pliny, l. 18; Curtius & alii; Strabo, l. c.; Pliny, l. 6, c. 26. H.; Pausanias, in Arcad. l.8; Herodotus, L. 1; Clio; Herodotus, l. c.  | 438 people, 24 ships, 5 carriages, 12 horses                         |
| yes         | Strabo, l. 17; Diodorus, <i>Bibl. Hist.</i> , L. 2, C. 2; Paul Lucas, <i>Reise nach der Levante</i> ; Diodorus, <i>Bibl. Hist.</i> , L. 2, C. 2; Relation des P. Elzear von Sanserre; Pliny L. 6, c. 12; Anthol. L. 4 C. 17; Jean de Thévenot, <i>Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant</i> ; Pliny, Herodotus; Diodorus; Ammianus; Plutarchus; Solinus; Thevenot; Lucas; Elzear   | 148 people, 6 camels, 18 horses                                      |
| yes         | Pliny; Pausanias; Strabo, l. 8; Pausanias l. 5; Strabo L. V.; Propertius L. 3  | 63 people, 13 horses   |
| yes         | Vitruvius, <i>Praefat.</i> L. 7; Pliny, L. 36 c & 13; Vitruvius, L. 2 c. 8; Martial; Aulus Gellius, L. 10 c. 18; Strabo, L. 14; Herodotus, L. 7; (medal of Valerius Bellus considered fake by Fischer)   | 25 people, 9 ships   |
| yes         | Pliny, L. 36. c. 9; Pliny, l. v. 1 c. 45; Pliny, L. 36 c. 14; Eustachius, <i>Coment. in Dyonis.</i> ; Pliny L. 36 c. 14; Strabo, L. 14; Vitruvius; Spon, <i>Voyage de Crece</i> ; medals of Hadrian, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius time in the Barberini collection; Daviler, <i>Cours de l'Architecture selon les ordres de Vignole</i> , p. 36; Vitruvius; Xenophon; Phylon Bizantii, de Septem Miraculiis ex versione Leonii Allatii; Valerius Maximus, L. 8, c. 15; Aulus Gellius, L. 7 c. 6; Strabo, L. 14; Spon & Wehler, <i>Voies</i> ; Tacitus, <i>Annal.</i> , L. 25; Pomponius Mela, L.; Plutarchus, <i>Vita Alexandrii</i> | 38 people  |
| yes         | Pliny, L. 2, C. 42; Sextus Empiricus, L. 6, <i>Adv. Mathem.</i> ; du Mont, <i>Nouveau Voyage du Levant</i> ; Simonide, <i>Antholog.</i> L. 4; Julius Caesar Scaliger, <i>Remarques sur la Chronique d'Eusebe</i> ; Cedrenus & Zonaras  | 47 people, 17 ships  |
| yes         | Strabo, L. 7; Pliny, L. 36 c. 15; Lucianus; Strabo L. 17; Pliny, L. 7 c. 38  | 10 people, 11 ships  |
| yes         | Medal in the collection of Giovan Pietro Bellori   | 211 people, 11 ships, 4 camels, 4 horses                             |
| yes         | Diodorus, L. 2 c. 1; Pliny, L. 5 c. 9, Herodotus, L. 2; Pomponius Mela, L. 1 c. 9; Pliny, L. 36 ch. 12   | 108 people, 25 ships   |
| yes         | Paul Lucas, <i>Voyage du Sieur Lucas au Levant</i> , pag. 70; Diodorus, L. 1, c. 17; Pliny, L. 5 c. 17; Pliny, L. 5 c. 9; Strabo L. 7; Chron. Euseb. A. 2. Olymp. 188; Tacitus, Lib. 2, <i>Annal.</i> , c. 19  | 7 people, 3 horses   |
| –           | –  | 36 people  |
| –           | –  | 20 people  |
| –           | –  | 7 people, 1 horse  |
| –           | Figueroa; Herber; de la Valle; Thevenot; Chardin   | –  |
| –           | Roman coin of Carthage; Plutarch, <i>Theseus</i>   | 24 people  |
| yes         | Tacitus, L. 2, <i>An.</i> ; Roman coin; Tristan; Patin; Harduin  | –  |
| yes         | Vitruvius, <i>Praefat.</i> L. 2; Strabo, L. 13; Plutarch, <i>in vita Alex. M.</i> ; Neuhof, <i>Cesandt. Der Ost Indischen Compagnie nach China</i> , p. 318; Martinus Martini, <i>Novus Atlas Sinens.</i> , n. 69  | 122 people, 10 ships, 4 camels, 9 horses                             |
| –           | –  | 24 people  |
| yes         | Pausanias; Wheler and Spon, <i>Reisebeschreibungen</i> ; Vitruvius, L. 5 c. 6; Vitruvius, L. 5 c. 8; Pollux; Suetonius   | –  |
| yes         | –  | –  |
| –           | –  | 14 people  |
| –           | –  | 67 people, 4 horses, 1 monkey  |
|             |  | 1,773 people, 110 ships, 5 carriages, 14 camels, 64 horses, 1 monkey |

## BOOK II

| PLATE | SUBJECT   | NUMBER AND TYPE OF DRAWINGS                     | CATEGORY          | DATE (FROM WIKIPEDIA) | DATE (ASSIGNED BY FISCHER)   |
|-------|---|---|-------------------|-----------------------|--|
| I     | Amphitheatre of Tarragona                       | 1 perspectives                                  | ruins / nature    | 2nd c. BC             | –  |
|       | Tomb of C. and P. C. Scipio in Tarragona        | 1 perspectives                                  | ruins / nature    | 3rd c. BC             | –  |
| II    | Aqueduct of Carthage                            | 1 perspective                                   | ruins / nature    | 2nd c. BC             | (destroyed by the Arabs from 685 AD)   |
| III   | Bridge of Augustus                              | 1 perspective                                   | building / event  | 1st c. BC             | –  |
| IV    | Domus Aurea                                     | 1 perspective                                   | building / city   | 64–68 AD              | –  |
| V     | Arch of Catullus and Marius                     | 1 perspective                                   | building          | –                     | –  |
|       | Arch of Domitian                                | 1 perspective                                   | building          | 1st c. AD             | –  |
|       | Arch of Drusus                                  | 1 perspective                                   | building          | 3rd c. AD             | –  |
|       | Arch of Septimius Severus                       | 1 perspective                                   | building          | 202 AD                | –  |
| VI    | Naumachia                                       | 1 perspective                                   | building / event  | 1st c. AD             | –  |
| VII   | Trajan's Forum                                  | 1 perspective                                   | buildings         | 112 AD                | –  |
| VIII  | Mausoleum and bridge of Emperor Hadrian in Rome | 1 perspective                                   | building / city   | 134 AD                | –  |
| IX    | Baths of Diocletian                             | 1 perspective                                   | building          | 298–306 AD            | –  |
| X     | Palace of Diocletian in Split                   | 1 perspective                                   | building / city   | 293–305 AD            | –  |
| XI    | Octagonal Temple of Jupiter in Split            | 1 plan, 1 section                               | building          | 293–305 AD            | –  |
|       | Internal square with ancient colonnade          | 1 perspective                                   | building          | 293–305 AD            | –  |
|       | Aqueduct of Diocletian                          | 1 perspective                                   | building          | 293–305 AD            | –  |
|       | North gate of Split, called the "Iron Gate"     | 1 elevation                                     | buildings         | 293–305 AD            | –  |
| XII   | Temple dedicated to Jupiter                     | 1 perspective                                   | building          | –                     | –  |
|       | Temple of Vespasian on the Capitol              | 1 perspective                                   | building          | 87 AD                 | –  |
|       | Macellum of Emperor Augustus                    | 1 perspective                                   | building          | 65 AD                 | –  |
|       | Temple of Jupiter                               | 1 perspectives                                  | buildings         | 222–35 AD             | –  |
| XIII  | Ruins of Palmyra (Syria)                        | 1 perspective                                   | ruins / nature    | 1st–2nd c. BC         | Built by Solomon, embellished by Seleucus Nicator, restored by Hadrian, sacked under Aurelianus (270 AD) |
| XIV   | Stonehenge                                      | 1 perspective                                   | building          | 31st–17th c. BC       | –  |
|       | Hellbrunn rocks                                 | 1 perspective                                   | nature            | –                     | –  |
| XV    | Isola Bella                                     | 1 perspective                                   | building / nature | 1632 AD               | –  |
| TOTAL | 27 drawings (15 sheets)                         | 1 plan, 1 elevation, 1 section, 24 perspectives |                   |                       |  |

| DESCRIPTION | SOURCES   | CAST  |
|-------------|---|---|
| –           | drawing by Anton Weiss (survey of 1711)   | –   |
| –           | Livy, L. 38; Valerius Maximus, L. 8, c. 34; Livy, L. 25 c. 34-36; Pliny L. 3 c. 3; drawing by Anton Weiss (survey of 1711)  | 6 people, 4 horses  |
| –           | According to the drawing commissioned by Charles V to Antonio Barbalonga during the conquest of Tunis   | 53 people, 30 horses  |
| yes         | Suetonius, Aug. ch. 30; Cassius Dio, L. 53; Livy, l. 39; Martial, LX epigr.   | 280 people, 2 ships, 7 carriages, 3 dogs, 6 elephants, 35 horses                                |
| yes         | Suetonius, Ner. C. 31; Tacitus, 15 Annal.; Pliny, L. 36, c. 5; Olypiodorus, Biblioth., Phot. Cod. 80; Martial, L.1, de spectac.; Suetonius, Ner. C. 20; Pliny, L.36, c. 22  | 255 people, 3 ships, 5 horses   |
| –           | Drawing made from direct observation  | 7 people, 1 horse   |
| –           | Roman medals in the Bellori collection  | 4 people, 1 dog, 1 horse  |
| –           | Roman medals in the Bellori collection, Suetonius   | 16 people, 12 horses  |
| –           | Roman medal in the French king's cabinet of coins   | 9 people, 2 horses, 1 dog   |
| yes         | Suetonius, <i>Ces.</i> , c. 39; <i>Claud.</i> , c. 21; Nero, c. 12; <i>Dom.</i> , c. 5; Tacitus, Lib. XII, Xiphilinus; Onophrio Panvino, <i>descript. Urb. Rom.</i> ; Martial; Hieronimus Mercurialis, <i>de arte Cymnast.</i> , Liv. 3, ch. 13   | 1,588 people, 48 ships, 12 horses   |
| yes         | Vitruvius, L. 5; Roman medal A (reproduced in the engraving); Publius Victor, <i>descript. Rom.</i> ; Nicephorus, L. 7 c. 16; Aulus Cellius; Roman medal B (reproduced in the engraving); Cassiodorus; Xiphilinus; Cassius Dio; Aurelianus (?); Tacitus; Probus; Eutropius, L. 7; Cassius Dio, in <i>Hadriano</i> ; Cassiodorus, <i>Euseb.</i> ; Spartianus, in <i>Hadriano</i> | 102 people, 4 horses  |
| yes         | Roman medal in the French king's cabinet of coins; Suetonius, <i>Aug.</i> , C. 30; Cassius Dio, in <i>vita Hadriani</i> ; Spartianus, in <i>Hadriano</i> ; Pancirollus, <i>de XIV. Reg. Urbis Roma Reg. IX</i> ; Procopius, L. 1 c. 18; Procopius, <i>de Bello Gothico</i> ; Montfaucon, <i>Itin. Ital.</i> , p. 449  | 108 people, 9 ships, 5 horses   |
| –           | Serlio, <i>Libro terzo di Architettura</i>  | 127 people, 3 horses  |
| yes         | Survey by Giovan Pietro Marchi; Spon and Wheler; Eusebius, L.8 c. 39  | 110 people, 12 ships  |
| yes         | Survey by Giovan Pietro Marchi; Spon and Wheler; Eusebius, L.8 c. 39  | –   |
| yes         |   | –   |
| yes         |   | 1 person, 1 dog   |
| yes         |   | 8 people, 2 dogs, 2 horses  |
| –           | Medal of Tiberius in the French king's cabinet of coins   | –   |
| –           | Roman medal   | 6 people  |
| –           | Roman medal; Xiphilin; Cassius Dio  | 3 people  |
| –           | Roman medal   | 18 people   |
| yes         | Le Brun, <i>Voyage au Levant.</i> ; Flavius Josephus, L. 5 c. 25; 3. Reg. c. 9 v. 18; Edward, Smith, <i>Inscriptiones Graecae Palmyrorum</i> ; Halifax, in the <i>Acten der Englischen Societät</i> An. 1695; survey by Sparre, Cose, Cyllenichip; Vopiscus   | 17 people, 5 camels, 5 horses, 6 cows, 4 goats,   |
| –           | <i>De Svecia illustrata</i> ; Olaus Wormius, <i>Monuments Danois</i>  | 21 people, 14 horses  |
| –           | –   | 6 people, 1 horse   |
| –           | –   | 12 ships  |
|             |   | 2,745 people, 86 ships, 7 carriages, 8 dogs, 6 elephants, 5 camels, 136 horses, 6 cows, 4 goats |

## BOOK III

| PLATE            | SUBJECT  | NUMBER AND TYPE OF DRAWINGS                        | CATEGORY          | DATE (FROM WIKIPEDIA) | DATE (ASSIGNED BY FISCHER) |
|------------------|--|--|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| I                | Imperial baths in Budapest                             | 1 section, 1 elevation, 1 plan                     | building          | –                     | 1565 AD                    |
| II               | Mosque of Sultan Orcanus                               | 1 perspective                                      | building          | –                     | –                          |
|                  | Mosque in Pest   | 1 perspectives                                     | building          | –                     | –                          |
| III              | Mosque of Sultan Ahmed                                 | 1 plan, 1 perspective                              | building          | 1609–1616 AD          | 1610 AD                    |
| IV               | Süleymaniye Mosque                                     | 1 plan, 1 perspective                              | building          | 1550–1557 AD          | –                          |
| V                | Great Cistern of Constantinople                        | 1 plan, 1 perspective                              | building          | 532 AD                | –                          |
| VI               | Hagia Sophia   | 1 plan, 1 perspective                              | building          | 532–37 AD             | –                          |
| VII              | Elevation of a part of Mecca                           | 1 perspective                                      | building          | since 5th c. AD       | –                          |
| VIII             | Tomb of Muhammad at Medina                             | 1 perspective                                      | building          | 622 AD                | –                          |
| IX               | King of Persia's Palace                                | 1 perspective                                      | building          | –                     | 17th c. AD                 |
|                  | Bridge of Alivardi-chan at Ispahn                      | 3 perspectives                                     | building          | –                     | 17th c. AD                 |
| X                | French Emperor's entrance to the King of Siam's Palace | 1 perspective                                      | event             | 1685 A.C              | October 1685               |
| XI               | Forbidden City of Beijing                              | 1 perspective                                      | building          | 1420 AD               | 1406 AD                    |
| XII              | Nanjing pagoda   | 1 perspective                                      | building          | 1402–24 AD            | –                          |
| XIII             | Bridge between Focheu and Nantai                       | 1 perspective                                      | building / nature | –                     | –                          |
| XIV              | Cientao bridge   | 1 perspective                                      | building / nature | –                     | –                          |
|                  | Loyang bridge  | 1 perspectives                                     | building / nature | –                     | –                          |
| XV               | Chinese triumphal arch                                 | 1 perspectives                                     | building / city   | –                     | –                          |
|                  | Sinkicien pagoda                                       | 1 perspectives                                     | building / nature | –                     | –                          |
|                  | Chinese mountains and artificial caves                 | 1 perspectives                                     | building / nature | –                     | –                          |
|                  | Kengtung bridge  | 1 perspectives                                     | building / nature | –                     | –                          |
| TOTAL            | 29 drawings (15 sheets)                                | 5 plans, 1 elevation, 1 section, 22 perspectives   |                   |                       |                            |
| TOTAL I, II, III | 81 drawings (50 sheets)                                | 7 plans, 4 elevations, 2 sections, 68 perspectives |                   |                       |                            |

| DESCRIPTION | SOURCES   | CAST  |
|-------------|---|---|
| -           | -   | -   |
| -           | -   | 8 people  |
| -           | -   | 5 people, 1 dog, 1 horse  |
| -           | "Oriental drawings"   | 30 people   |
| -           | -   | 131 people, 67 horses   |
| -           | -   | -   |
| -           | -   | 26 people, 2 horses   |
| yes         | Drawing by Arab engineer brought to the Sultan in Constantinople and later to Vienna (the original drawing is in the collection of Mr. Hüldeberg) | 199 people, 1 horse   |
| yes         | Drawing by Arab engineer brought to the Sultan in Constantinople and later to Vienna (the original drawing is in the collection of Mr. Hüldeberg) | 14 people   |
| -           | -   | 90 people, 2 dogs, 22 horses  |
| -           | -   | 20 people, 6 ships, 6 horses  |
| -           | Père Tachard, <i>Voyage de Siam</i>   | 651 people, 24 ships, 2 elephants, 13 horses  |
| -           | -   | 539 people, 19 horses   |
| -           | -   | 203 people, 5 dogs, 12 horses   |
| -           | -   | 25 people, 30 ships   |
| -           | -   | 28 people   |
| -           | Martino Martini, <i>Atlas Sin.</i> , p.124  | 62 people, 16 ships, 4 horses   |
| -           | -   | 65 people, 36 horses  |
| -           | -   | 30 people, 1 ship, 1 horse  |
| -           | -   | 15 people, 4 horse  |
| -           | -   | 13 people   |
| -           | -   | 2,154 people, 77 ships, 8 dogs, 2 elephants, 188 horses   |
|             |   | 6,072 people, 273 ships, 12 carriages, 19 camels, 16 dogs, 8 elephants, 6 cows, 1 monkey, 4 goats |

Tables by Jacopo Lamura,  
Francesca Pagliaro and  
Cecilia Tramontano