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Giorgio Vasari and Mannerist Architecture: A Marriage of Beauty and Function in Urban Spaces*

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The first part of this essay deals with Giorgio Vasari's conception of architecture in sixteenth-century Italy, and the second part examines Vasari's practical application of one of his constructions, the *loggia* (open gallery or arcade) or *corridoio* (corridor). The essay also discusses the merits of Vasari's open gallery (*loggia*) as a vernacular architectural construct with egalitarian functions and Vasari's principles of architecture (design, rule, order, and proportion) and beauty (delight and necessity) for the formulation of the theory of art in Mannerism, a sixteenth-century style of art.

Keywords: mannerism, fine arts, loggia (open gallery), architectural principles, theory of art, design, beauty, necessity and functionality

Chi non ha disegno e grande invenzione da sé, sarà sempre povero di grazia, di perfezione e di giudizio ne' componimenti grandi d'architettura.

[One that lacks design and great invention [in his art] will always have meager architectural constructions lacking beauty, perfection, and judgment.]

—Giorgio Vasari

Vite (1550/1568)¹

Introduction

The renowned Mannerist painter, architect, and writer of Florence, Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574, see Figure 1), considered architecture one of the most important aspects of the fine arts or the sister arts (architecture, painting, and sculpture).² In the first Florentine publication of the *Vite* with La Torrentina in 1550, Vasari's original title lists architecture before the other arts: *Le vite de più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori Italiani da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri. Descritti in lingua Toscana, da Giorgio Vasari, Pittore Aretino. Con sua*

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¹ Giorgio Vasari (1906, repr. 1973), Le vite de'piú eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori, Gaetano Milanesi (ed.), 9 Vols., 5: 358.

² Liana De Girolami Cheney (2012), Giorgio Vasari's Prefaces: Art and Theory; Liana De Girolami Cheney (2007), Giorgio Vasari's Teachers: Sacred and Profane Art; Liana De Girolami Cheney (2011), Giorgio Vasari: Artistic and Emblematic Manifestations; Liana De Girolami Cheney (2006), The Homes of Giorgio Vasari; and Jean H. Hagstrum (1958), The Sister Arts: The Tradition of Literary Pictorialism and English Poetry from Dryden to Gray, pp. 3-92, on the notion of the sister arts from classical times to the Renaissance.

utile e necessaria introduzione a le arti loro.³ In doing so, Vasari demonstrated the superiority of architecture as an artistic endeavor above the others sister arts. In the title of his opus magnum as well, Vasari clearly informs the reader that included in the text is an introduction on the practical arts, which is "useful as well as necessary."



Figure 1. Giorgio Vasari, Self-Portrait, 1565-70, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence. (Photo credit: Art Resource, NY)

³ The full title of the 1550 La Torrentina edition is *Le vite de'più eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori Italiani da Cimabue insino a' tempi nostri. Descritti in lingua Toscana, da Giorgio Vasari, Pittore Aretino. Con sua utile e necessaria introduzione a le arti loro I tipi di Lorenzo Torrentino Firenze, 1550.* This earlier title was changed in the 1568 La Giuntina edition to *Le vite de'più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori* (1568) (cited henceforth as *Vite*, La Giuntina), placing architecture at the end of the title. See the invaluable comparative study by Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi on the 1550 and 1568 editions of Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de'piú eccellenti architetti, pittori, et scultori: nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568, 6 Vols.* (1971-1986) (cited henceforth as Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite*). See also, Liana De Girolami Cheney (2004), "Giorgio Vasari's Studio, Diligenzaed Amorevole Fatica", in *Reading Vasari*, A. Barriualt, et al. (Eds.), pp. 259-277, for a discussion on the original title of the *Vite*.

⁴ See *Vite*, Preface to the Whole Book, Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 1: 253, on *disegno* (design) from Vasari, *Vite*.

This essay consists of two parts. The first part deals with Giorgio Vasari's conception of architecture in sixteenth-century Italy; and the second part examines Vasari's practical application of one of his constructions, the *loggia* (open gallery or arcade) or *corridoio* (corridor). This essay also discusses the merits of Vasari's open gallery (*loggia*) as a vernacular architectural construct with egalitarian functions and Vasari's principles of architecture (design, rule, order, and proportion) and his principles of beauty (delight and necessity) for the formulation of the theory of art in Mannerism, including the concepts of invention, imitation, and functionality in the fine arts.

This research benefited from the studies about Vasari as an architect by Paola Barocchi, Leon George Satkowski, Claudia Conforti, Francesca de Luca, and Emanuela Ferreti as well as the established investigations in *Vasari and Mannerist Architecture* by Giusta Fasola, Nikolaus Pevsner, and Andrzej Piotrowski; and the two seminal studies on *Vasari and Technique* by Louise Maclehose and Roberto Panichi.⁵

Giorgio Vasari's Practical Arts: Architecture

In his *Vite*, noted on the title page and at the end of the first *proemio* or preface to the whole book, Vasari placed three chapters on the *Three Arts of Design* (a discussion on the components and materials of Architecture, Painting, and Sculpture).⁶ For clarity, I will refer to this section as that on Vasari's practical arts. This section begins with a study of architectural usages and practices and a clear statement of Vasari's intention to write about the practical arts and their components. It consists of three quests: (1) to instruct the reader on the practical arts of his fellow artists; (2) to provide delight in viewing these constructed arts; and (3) to honor the achievements of his fellow artists.

Vasari appropriated his artistic criteria for the formation of Mannerist architecture from Pliny the Elder and Vitruvius' architectural notions as assimilated in Giovanni Battista Adriani's historical explanation for classical architecture. Vasari established his cannon for Mannerist architecture from two concepts: (1) assimilations of classical architecture (*all'antica* constructions), and (2) his idea of *disegno* (the art of drawing or design). He considered *disegno* as the basis for an artist's first expression of creativity, followed by the application of the laws of order, rule, and proportion. With these properties, the artist composes an architectural form that manifests stylistic originality and beauty, hence the creation of a Mannerist conceit. Vasari wrote:

⁵ See Paola Barocchi, "Vasari Architetto", Atti della Accademia Pontaniana 6 (1956-1957; Naples, 1958), pp. 113-136; Leon Satkowski (1993), Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier; Claudia Conforti (1993/2010), Giorgio Vasari Architetto; Claudia Conforti and Francesca de Luca (2011-2012), Vasari, gli Uffizi e il Duca; Emanuela Ferreti, Uffizi Discoveries and Restorations (oral presentation at the international conference of the Renaissance Society of American in Berlin on March 19, 2014); and Andrzej Piotrowski (2011), Architecture of Thought. See also the well established investigations on Mannerism and Vasari by Giusta Fasola (1952) in "Manierismo e Architettura", Atti del Convegno internazionale per il IV centenario della prima edizione delle "Vite" del Vasari / Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 175-180; Nikolaus Pevsner's Architecture of Mannerism (1946); and Paola Barocchi's Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento (1960); and Renato de Fusco (1981), L'architettura del Cinquecento (Cinquecento Architecture), pp. 91-160. Further, see the seminal studies in Vasari on Technique: being the introd. to the three arts of design, architecture, sculpture and painting, prefixed to the lives of the most excellent painters, sculptors and architect, Louisa S. Maclehose (Trans.), G. Balwin Brown (Ed.), (1960); and by Roberto Panichi (1991), La Tecnica dell'arte negli scritti di Giorgio Vasari.

⁶ In the Vite, Introduzione di Giorgio Vasari, Alle tre arti del disegno cioè architettura, pittura e scoltura, e prima dell'architettura, and Preface to the Whole Book, Bettarini and Barocchi, Vite 1: 31-72.

⁷ Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 1: 31, citing them as sources; 1: 79-227, letter translated in Cheney, *Vasari's Prefaces*, pp. 21-67; and Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 1: 63-64, Vasari commenting on Vitruvius' architecture. See Gaio Plinio Secondo (Ed. & Trans.), *Storia Naturale*, With extensive notations by Antonio Corso, Rosanna Mugellesi, and Giampiero Rosati, 5 vols. (Turin: Enaudi, 1988), 5: 9-101, Book 33 on architecture, while Books 34, 36, and 37 discuss the materials used in the fine arts. Book 35 focuses on painting and the history of painters. See also Sarah Blake McHam (2013), *Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the "Natural History*".

Before I explain the history and lives of those who have created these arts, it is [also essential] to provide a brief introduction to the arts from which they labored. It is as well important to recall every gracious spirit in most noble matters that appertains to the artistic profession. It is, of course, significant to observe the formation of the arts, which provide delights and services as well as variety according to their creators. It is also constructive to recall the labors and cunning of those who in the past have excelled in these arts. 8

Vasari continued emphasizing that

Architecture will be shown to be the most universal, the most necessary, and the most useful of the human arts, for whose service and adornment exist the other two arts [painting and sculpture]. [In architecture] the different qualities of [materials] will be investigated with the styles of building and the proper proportion and the characteristics of good design and good construction.⁹

There are two fundamental notions undergirding Vasari's conception of the practical arts. The first concerns the origin of creativity, which, for Vasari, emanates from God's intellect, a divine macrocosm, which impregnates the artist's intellect, a microcosm in the universe. According to Louisa Maclehose, Vasari noted:

The creative skill has made it all beautiful within, and this is the skill of man, but it is only his in so far as man shares the nature of the Divine Artist that fashioned the vast macrocosm of the universe. Hence, artistic knowledge and craftsmanship a part of the original heritage of man as he was made in the image of God the Creator, and to win back this heritage by patient labor and contriving is a religious duty, in the fulfillment of which the Holy Spirit will Himself give constant aid. ¹⁰

In the chapters on the practical arts, Vasari began with the topic of architecture, a construction where the artist selects the materials to be used. He also discussed other components for the formation of a building, for example, arches, architraves, doors, windows, and the orders.

In his discussion on architecture in the section on the practical arts, Vasari described the origin of materials' mineralogy, noting the knowledge of the ancient as recorded in Pliny the Elder (23-79 CE) and Vitruvius (Marcus Vitruvius Polio, d. 15 CE). He also noted the appropriation of ancient Roman materials (marble, stone, and porphyry) in early sixteenth-century buildings. And he commented on the Cinquecento's interest in collecting these ancient materials, by Roman families such as Egidio e Fabio Sasso for a palace in via Parione, near Piazza Navona in Rome, ¹¹ and Florentine families such as the Medici for their *palazzi*. Vasari listed and cited with great

⁸ See in the *Vite*, Preface to the Whole Book (Preface I), Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 2: 11, on *disegno* (design) from Vasari, *Vite*: "Tratterò bene di molte cose che si appartengono al magistgero di qual si è l'una delle arti dette, ma prima che io venga a' segreti di quelle o alla storia delli artefici, mi par giusto toccare in parte una disputa, nata e nutrita tra molti senza proposito, del principato e nobilità non dell'architettura, ch'questa hanno lasciata da parte, ma della scultura e della pittura, essendo per l'una e l'altra parte addotte, se non tutte, almeno molte ragioni degne di esser udite e per gl'artefici loro considerate."

⁹ See in the *Vite*, Preface to the Whole Work, Bettarini-Barocchi, *Vite*, I: 28: "Comincerommi dunque dall'architettura come da la più universale e più necessaria et utile agli uomini et al servizio et ornamento della quale sono l'altre due... Le maniera e modi dell'edificare con le loro proporzione, et a che si conoschino le buone fabbriche e bene intese." See Alina A. Payne (1999), *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament, and Literary Culture*, pp. 182-206, on aesthetic necessity for Cinquecento art, especially for the Venetian architect Andrea Palladio (1508-1580).

¹⁰ See Maclehose and Brown, *Vasari on Technique*, 9, a statement referring to Theophilos' *Schedula*. Malclehose's statement combined Vasari's writings from the Preface to the Whole Work (Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 1: 11) with those from his Preface to the Vite (Preface One) (Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 2: 3), e.g.: "Dico dunque che gli [artisti] come dotati forse dalla natura e dall'esercizio dell'arte ... cercado d'attribuir il più gradoall'arte loro ... per aver il grande Iddio fatto l'homo..." (Preface to Whole Work): "...fusse perfettissimo in su l'origine di tutte I'altre cose, quando I'altissimo Dio, fatto, il gran corpo del mondo et ornato il cielo de' suoi, chiarissimi lumi, discese con l'intelletto più giù nella limpidezza dell'aere e nella solidità della terra; e, formando l'uomo scoperse, con la vaga invenzione delle cose" (Preface to the *Vite* [PrefaceOne]).

¹¹ See Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 1: 33.

care and enthusiasm the Tuscan quarries where fine marbles are located and excavated. 12

The second notion informing Vasari's conception of the practical arts deals with the formation of the arts through the central foundation of *disegno*. For Vasari, *disegno* joins the arts and provides their egalitarian superiority, contrasting with the rivalry of the *paragone* between painting and sculpture.¹³ He stated:

Disegno—which is the foundation of the arts of design, rather, the very soul that conceives and nourishes within itself of all the parts of man's [individual] intellect, was already most perfect before the creation of all other things, when the Almighty God, having made the great body of the world ... with His intellect [Holy Spirit] in shaping man [individual] discovered the first form of sculpture and painting.¹⁴

Vasari continued:

[Disegno] Drawing/design proceeds from the intellect, this intellect conceives many things through universal judgment. It is a form and an idea from nature, which is very regular [proportionate] in its forms, not only in those [forms] of the human bodies and of trees, but also in the construction of forms in sculptures and paintings [.] [Nature] [is aware] knows of the proportion of the whole and its parts, and the parts to the whole [.] Drawing is born from this conception, which is an expression and is a version of a concept existing in the soul. This conceit of drawing is nothing more than the universal father of our own art. [It] needs for the hand to act and promptly oblige the intellect to draw so that the drawn image is closer to the conceived image, hence creating a more perfect drawing... Thus, drawing is conceived by means of the intellect assisted by judgment [discernment] and through the study of art, the hand is able to expresses the conceptions of the intellect [.] Guided by diligence, the intellect and the hand achieve all that is conceived with perfection ... hence is the nature of architecture.

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Vasari's *disegno* is a concept of creativity, which originated in God, whom he referred to as "Divine Architect of time and of nature" in the Preface One of the *Vite*.

Cosi, dunque, il primo modello onde uscì la prima imagine dell'uomo fu una massa di terra; e non senza cagione, periciò che il divino Architetto del tempo e della natura, come perfettissimo, volle mostrare nella imperfezzione della material la via del levare e dell'aggiungere, nel medesimo modo che sogliono fare i buoni scultori e pittori, i quali, ne' lor modelli, aggiungendo e levando riducono le imperfette bozze a quell fine e perfezzione che vogliono.

(Now the material in which God worked to fashion the first man was a lump of clay, and this was not without reason; for the Divine Architect of time and of nature, being wholly perfect, wanted to show how to create by a process of removing from, and adding to, material that was imperfect in the same way that good sculptors and painters do when, by adding and taking away, they bring their rough models and sketches to the final perfection for which they are striving). ¹⁶

¹² See Maclehose and Brown (1960), *Vasari on Technique*, p. 129, chart of quarries' locations; and Peter Fane Saunders (2016), *Pliny the Elder and the Emergence of Renaissance Architecture*.

¹³ See Benedetto Varchi (1560), Due Lezzioni di Benedetto Varchi: l'una d'amore, & l'altra della gelosia con alcune utili & dilettevoli quistioni, da lui nuove aggiunte; and Bettarini and Barocchi, Vite 1: 252-254, on disegno from Vasari, Vite.

¹⁴ See Preface to the *Vite* (Preface One), Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 2: 3: "Il disegno—che è il fondamento di quelle [le arti], anzi l'istessa anima che concèpe e nutrisce in se medesima tutti i parti degli intelletti—fusse perfettissimo in sua l'origine di tutte l'atre cose, quando, l'altissimo Dio, fatto il gran corpo del mondo ... formando l'uomo, scoperse con la vaga invenzione delle cose la prima forma della scultura e della pittura."

¹⁵ See Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 1: 253, on *disegno* from Vasari, *Vite*, "Il disegno procede dallo intelletto, il quale intelletto di

¹⁵ See Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 1: 253, on *disegno* from Vasari, *Vite*, "Il disegno procede dallo intelletto, il quale intelletto di molte cose ne cava un giuditio universal ed è come una forma et idea della natura, la quale nelle sue figure è regolarissima, talche non solo ne' corpi umani e degli alberi, ma nelle fabriche e nelle scolture e pitture cognosce la proportione del tutto con le parti e delle parti col tutto insieme, e ne nasce di questo concetto il disegno che è una espressione e dichiaratione del concetto che si à nell'animo. Questo disegno non è altro che un padre universale dell'arte nostra, et à bisgono che la mano sia atta e spedita per obedire all'intelletto, perche tanto quanto e' sarà simile allui, più perfett'è nel disegnalle ... attesochè l'intelletto le manda fuori col guiditio e la mano le esprime con lo studio dell'arte, le quali, accompagnate con la diligentia, l'uno e l'altra riducano tutto quello che si opera a perfetione... se gli è di cose di architettura."

¹⁶ See Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite*, Preface One, 2: 4.

Vasari's viewed on God as the architect of the universe is based on the Bible and writings of the Middle Ages. For example, in his *First Letter to the Corinthians* Saint Paul writes: "For we are laborers together with God: ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building. According to the grace of God, which is given unto me, as a wise master-builder, I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon. For other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ." Saint Thomas Aquinas (1225-1274), in his *Summa Theologica*, says, "God, Who is the first principle of things, may be compared to things created as the architect is to things designed" (*ut artifex ad artificiata*). And in *Il Paradiso*, Canto 19: 40, Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) praises God The Architect as "Colui che volse il sesto" ("He who turn'd his compass"). As God is the supreme Creator and Architect, the artist created in the image of God and imitator of God becomes a creator and an architect of the universe, the natural and divine realms.

As a Renaissance Christian believer and architect by profession, Vasari understood the parallelisms between God and himself. According to Christian credo, he is created in the image of God, and as an architect he is an imitator of God. He visualized this spiritual relationship (Christian) and practical connection (architect) in his attributed *Self-Portrait* of 1565-1570 at the Galleria degli Uffizi in Florence (see Figure 1).¹⁹ Here, he depicts himself as an architect, an ambassador of God's creation, standing in front of a table upon which attributes of architecture and drawing instruments are visible. Not by whim, he points to an architectural drawing of his house at Arezzo. Vasari also realized the importance of the artistic function of architecture as a primary indicator of creativity by placing in the *endpiece* (a woodcut illustration located at the end of the *Vite* or facing the last page of the *Vite*) the personification of Architecture in the center of the Fine Arts. In the imagery, Fame floats above Architecture, alluding to her dominant artistic role in the Fine Arts (see Figure 2).

As an architect and painter, Vasari was strongly influenced by ancient, medieval, and Renaissance treatises (*trattati*) on art. This essay does not formulate a comparative study on this issue. But I briefly note that Vasari's conception of the divine in an individual's creativity derives from Theophilos's *Schedula* (*De diversis artibus* or *Treatise on Diverse Arts* of 1125) of the twelfth century through Cennini's *Libro dell'Arte* of 1398;²⁰ Vasari's ideal conception of an architect as an artistic genius with a sense of judgment reflects Leon Battista Alberti's notion in chapter ten of book nine of the *De re aedificatoria* published in 1485;²¹ and the emphasis on artistic practice and familiarity with the materials of the professions reveals Vasari's awareness of Vitruvius' *Ten Books on Architecture* published in Italian in 1521.²²

¹⁷ King James Bible (KJV) (2006), no page, 1 Corinthians 3, 9-11.

¹⁸ Dante, Divine Comedy, Il Paradiso, Allen Mandelbaum (1995) (Trans. & Ed.), Canto 19, line 40.

¹⁹ The authorship of this self-portrait is questioned. See Alessandro Cecchi (2011), "Giorgio Vasari: Disegnatore e Pittore", in Alessandro Cecchi, Alessandra Baroni, Liletta Fornasari, *Giorgio Vasari, disegnatore e pittore: "studio, diligenza et amorevole fatica*", pp. 13-22.

fatica'', pp. 13-22.

See Maclehose and Brown (1960), Vasari on Technique, p. 9, statement referring to Theophilos's Schedula; and Heidi G. Gearhart (2010), Theophilus on Diverse Arts.

²¹ See Maclehose and Brown, Vasari on Technique, p. 13; Alberti, Leon Battista. De re aedificatoria. On the Art of Building in Ten Books, Joseph Rykwert, Robert Tavernor and Neil Leach (Trans.) (1988); Anthony Grafton (2000), Leon Battista Alberti: Master Builder of the Italian Renaissance; and Payne (1999), The Architectural Treatise in the Renaissance, pp. 70-88, on Alberti.

²² Vasari's well-known Florentine publisher La Giuntina had edited a Latin version of Vitruvius' book with illustrations by the architect Fra Giocondo of Verona in 1513. See Panichi (1991), *La Technica dell'Arte*, p. 27 n. 1, citing the Vitruvian editions in the Renaissance; and Maclehose and Brown (1960), *Vasari on Technique*, p. 25, no. 1. Vasari viewed Vitruvius like Michelangelo did, who remarked: "If a man could draw he would be able by the help of Vitruvius to become a good architect." See also Maclehose and Brown (1960), *Vasari on Technique*, p. 25, no. 1; and Vitruvius (1999), *Ten Books on Architecture*, Ingrid Rowland (Ed.) with illustrations by Thomas Noble Howe; and Payne (1999), *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 34-51, on Vitruvius.



Figure 2. Giorgio Vasari, Fine Arts, 1550, frontispiece from Vite (Florence: La Torrentina). (Photo credit: author)

In the *Vite*, in the section on the practical arts addressing the Art of Architecture, Vasari cited his major sources for writing the instruction and for the materials used by architects, which derive from the writings of Vitruvius and Alberti (1404-1472). Along with investigating the sources for the materials and their properties, Vasari introduced the application of the materials in architectural structures. In particular, he focused on the Vitruvian orders (maybe Serlian as well) but elaborated on a new order, the Tuscan order. His descriptions are explicit about the function and usage of the architectural forms, architraves, arches, columns, vaults, and façades.

Although not specifically mentioned in the *Vite*, but alluded to in the *vita* (biographical life) of the architect and painter Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1537), ²³ Vasari was probably greatly influenced by the Bolognese architect Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1540), who lived in Venice from 1527 until 1540 and published

²³ Sharon Gregory (2012), Vasari and the Renaissance Print, p. 65, note 12; Bettarini and Barocchi, Vite 4: 327.

two major volumes on architecture: *On the Five Styles of Building* (1537) and *On Antiquities* (1540).²⁴ These books were beautifully illustrated, which made Serlio's architectural views so appealing and popular in the sixteenth century. During Serlio's sojourn in Venice, Vasari had visited Bologna in 1538 and Venice in 1540 to complete artistic commissions of frescoes for refectory of San Michele in Bosco and apparatus decorations for Pietro Aretino's play *La Talanta*, respectively.²⁵ While ignoring Serlio's accomplishments, Vasari praised the Modenese architect Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-1573) for the useful and practical study of the five orders of architecture in *Regola delle cinque oridini d'architettura*, published in Rome in 1552.²⁶

Furthermore, under the influence of Antonio Averulino or Filarete's *Trattato di Architettura* (1461-1464; Latin 1488-1490), in particular Book 8 (on the ideal palace for a prince) and Book 11 (on the ideal mansion for a nobleman),²⁷ Vasari composed his notion of an ideal space, as visualized in a private space in his home at Arezzo (1542-1554), an embodiment of the ideal mansion for an artist.²⁸

With his investigation of the practical arts, Vasari constructed a prolegomena for his Mannerist theory of art, based on architectural elements and vocabulary, upon which he further expounded in the following prefaces—I, II, and III of the *Vite*. With his ingenious mind, Vasari began to compose practical and intellectual parallels on the fine arts. Employing the metaphor of an architectural design and structure, he commenced step by step to build his notions about art and the theory of art by paralleling the components of architecture for the formation of a building (plans, steps, arches, architraves, doors, windows, and the orders), as well as the materials and their usage, their application, and their appropriation by his fellow artists. In this architectural construct the architect/artist must follow certain rules inherent in the material and forms; laws of proportion and order need to be applied in any practical construction. The architect must exercise judgment and have the ability to select and adapt the best format in order to create a perfect form, a beautiful edifice. Hence the individual architectural components united to form a whole composition—a parallel construct or analogy, which is embodied with the human body—as noted by Vitruvius.²⁹

Vasari further probed the merits of architecture as an art form, since he wanted to free and elevate the status of the artist from that of a mere laborer to that of a creator of beautiful buildings. In explaining his fellow architects' ability to construct a building, their familiarity with the usage of materials, and their acquired and required knowledge about the laws of architecture (design, rule, order, and proportion), Vasari established a Mannerist theory of artistic practices. His terminology in describing his conceits included words such as capriccioso (whimsical), varietà (vario) (variety), originalità (originality), larghezza (magnitude), diligenza (diligence), giudizio (judgment), invenzione (invention), difficoltà (difficulty), bellezza (beauty) and dilletare

²⁴ See Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (1996) (Eds.), "Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture Volume One: Books I–V", *in Tutte L'Opere D'Architettura et Prospetiva*; and Payne (1999), *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 133-144, on Serlio.

²⁵ See Liana De Girolami Cheney (Winter 2002), "Giorgio Vasari's Venetian Decorative Cycle I: The *apparato* for Aretino's *La Talanta*", *Exploration in Renaissance Culture*, pp. 239-285; and Liana De Girolami Cheney (Summer 2003), "Giorgio Vasari's Venetian Decorative Cycle II: The Cornaro Ceiling", in *Exploration in Renaissance Culture*, pp. 23-59.

See Barocchi, "Vasari Architetto", pp. 113-115, on Vasari and Serlio; Branko Mitrovic (1999), Canon of the Five Orders of Architecture; Gregory, Vasari and the Renaissance Print, 65, note 15; and Bettarini and Barocchi, Vite 5: 20, on Vignola.
 See John R. Spencer (Ed., Trans., & intro.) (1965), Filarete's Treatise on Architecture, 2 vols. An original version of Antonio

²⁷ See John R. Spencer (Ed., Trans., & intro.) (1965), *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture*, 2 vols. An original version of Antonio Averulino Filarete's *Trattato di Architettura* of 1461-1464 is at the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale in Florence.
²⁸ See Cheney, *The Homes of Giorgio Vasari*, pp. 87-153.

²⁹ See *Vitruvius: The Ten Books on Architecture*, Morris Hicky Morgan (Trans.) (1960), pp. 72-75; and Payne (1999), *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance*, pp. 107-110, on human analogy and discussion of Francesco di Giorgio Martini's treatise in *Codice Magliabechiano* I and II at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. See Codice II: fols.31v, 27v, and 38v, for architectural drawings integrating the human body.

(delight), all of which are embodied and imbued in the style of Mannerism.³⁰

In Preface III of the *Vite*, Vasari applied these concepts to all the fine arts, addressing them as the *cinque giunte* (five components) for the formulation of a pleasing artistic form, which are: design, rule, order, proportion, and style (including the concept of beauty). He expanded the concept of creativity to include imitation, which consists in assimilating and copying nature at three levels. For example, in the first level is copying from the masters who observed nature, from classical edifices such as the Roman Theater of Marcello of 44-22 BCE, the Coliseum of 70-80 CE, and the Arch of Constantine of 315 CE. The second level is copying from Florentine Renaissance masters who observed nature and copied from the ancient masters such as Brunelleschi's Hospital of the Innocents of 1420 and Church of Santo Spirito of 1436; Benci di Cione Talenti's Loggia di Ocagna or Loggia dei Lanzi of 1372; and Alberti's Loggia Rucellai of 1460. And the third level is copying from himself (an artist relying on his own creations), as Vasari copied from his own works: the Logge Vasariane of 1570 in Arezzo is an assimilation of the Medicean Corridoio Vasariano of 1560-1568 in Florence. With the concept of imitation, the association of antiquity with the Renaissance becomes indispensible for Vasari as well as for Mannerist architecture.

Thus, just as an architect constructs an edifice from ground-floor plan, platform, steps, columns, lintel, pediment, and roof, Vasari too built his artistic theory of practices beginning with architecture. Furthermore, employing the designs for these architectural forms, Vasari initiated his Mannerist theory of art, in which creativity is fundamental. He focused on the origin of creation (intellect) and on the observations of creation in practical applications. He understood that it is through the intellect that *disegno* forms the basis of creativity. It is through this intellectual manifestation about the notion of an original composition that the "hand" can visualize the conceit or idea: "l'intelletto le manda fuori col guiditio e la mano le esprime con lo studio dell'arte." For Vasari, creativity involved selectivity (similar to selecting the materials for a building), judgment (ability of the artist to judge his labor), diligence (constancy in the work), and originality. In this latter quality or component, Vasari injected the sense of taste, a quality about beauty, which is associated with perfection, that is, an architectural form that is so well designed and proportional that it arouses in the viewer a sense of delight.³²

Giorgio Vasari's Logge

After this brief introduction on Vasari's architectural interest and formation of some of the basis of his Mannerist theory of art, the second part of this essay examines one aspect of Vasari's construction of an architectural form: a *loggia*, an open gallery, with an archway (*colonnato*) or corridor (*corridoio*) as a Mannerist architectural construct of a beautiful form. Vasari saw the *loggia* as an ideal form, that is, a form created with design, rule, order, and proportion as well with judgment, diligence, and originality to function for the delight of the participants.

A few examples of Vasari's *logge* will be considered here, such as the Loggia del Pesce of 1568; the Loggia of Castiglion Fiorentino of 1570-1573; and the Logge in Arezzo of 1570-1574. But in between these architectural constructions, Vasari designed other *logge*, such as the two courtyards of the Roman papal palace in Villa Giulia

³⁰ See Bettarini and Barocchi, *Vite* 5: 533, for other expressions such as "most graceful and delicate manner" (*molto graziata e gentile maniera*), "novel and varied" (*capriccioso e vario*).

See Bettarini and Barocchi, Vite 1: 253, on disegno.
 David Cast (2009), The Delight of Art: Giorgio Vasari and the Traditions of Humanist Discourse; and Payne (1999), The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance, pp. 170-213, on beautiful forms in Cinquecento architecture.

in 1553³³ and the Florentine Corridoio Vasariano in 1560-1568.³⁴

The *loggia* is an open construct supported by columns or piers containing an architrave or lintel with or without decorations (roundels). A vault supported by round arches culminates with a pitched roof. The uniqueness of a *loggia* is that it does not have a cardinal or specific direction. It can be entered or exited from the east or west side or from the south or north. The open effect captures the surrounding environment and provides the viewer with a variety of perspectives and spatial closures. The decoration on the *loggia* in some cases reveals its function, as the Loggia del Pesce, which was a fish market (see Figure 3).³⁵



Figure 3. Giorgio Vasari, Loggia del Pesce, 1568, Florence. (Photo credit: author)

Loggia del Pesce, Florence

The Loggia del Pesce of 1568 was part of the Mercato Vecchio (Old Market), located in the area today

³³ See Nicholas Temple (2011), *Renovatio Urbis: Architecture, Urbanism and Ceremony in Rome of Julius II*, Chapter 2; Noriko Kotani (2011), "Villa Giulia: The Caprice of Pope Julius III", *Journal of Osaka University of the Arts*, pp. 1-14; Satkowski (1993), *Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier*, pp. 18-24; Richard J. Tuttle (1997), "Vignola e Villa Giulia," *Casabella*, 646, pp. 101-178; and Barocchi (1960), "Vasari Architetto", pp. 122-123.

³⁴ Because I discussed this corridor in a previous publication, I will not include it in this essay. See Liana De Girolami Cheney (2012), "*Il Corridoio Vasariano*: A Resplendent Passage to Medici and Vasari's Grandeur", in Paul Emmons, John Hendrix, and Jane Lomholt (Eds.), *The Cultural Role of Architecture*, pp. 27-38. See also Satkowski (1993), *Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier*, pp. 25-44, on the Uffizi; and Conforti and de Luca, *Vasari, gli Uffizi e il Duca*, exhibition catalogue and text, especially, pp. 60-72.

In the architrave or lintel area, different types of fish are represented. During the demolition of the area, the *loggia* was dismantled and parts of the decoration were saved in the San Marco Museum.

known as Piazza della Repubblica in Florence (see Figure 4).³⁶ It remained intact until 1885, when Giuseppe Poggi's urban renovation plan for cleaning up the ghetto area around the Old Market had the *loggia* dismantled piece by piece. A few old photographs provide us with a reconstruction of the old market and the transfiguration of this loggia (see Figure 5). In 1955, the Committee for the Beautification of the City, with economic assistance from the Cassa di Risparmio of Florence, reconstructed the Loggia del Pesce in Piazza dei Ciompi, near Santa Croce. Following the meticulous descriptions of the Italian historian of the Risorgimento, Guido Carocci (1851-1916), this onerous task was successfully accomplished.³⁷



Figure 4. Old Market and Giorgio Vasari, Loggia del Pesce, 1584 Florence. (Photo credit: Public domain, wikepedia.org)

³⁶ Guido Carocci (1884), *Il Mercato Vecchio di Firenze: Ricordi e curiostià di storia e d'arte*, p. 22, stated that the construction of the loggia began on April 19, 1568, by Giorgio Vasari. See Barocchi (1960), "Vasari Architetto", p. 128; and David G. Wilkins (September 1983), "Donatello's Lost Dovizia for the Mercato Vecchio: Wealth and Charity as Florentine Civic Virtues", The Art Bulletin, 65 (3), pp. 401-423.

37 Carocci (1884), Il Mercato Vecchio di Firenze, pp. 16, 21-22; and Guido Carocci and Henry G. Huntington (1899), By'gove

Florence: Firenze scomparsa.



Figure 5. Giorgio Vasari, Loggia del Pesce, 1568, Florence. (Photo from early 20th century). (Photo credit: Public domain, wikipedia.org)



Figure 6. Giorgio Vasari, Dedicatory Plaque, 1568, Loggia del Pesce, Florence. (Photo credit: author)

A surviving dedicatory plaque established the date and the function of the *loggia* (see Figure 6):

Il mercato del pesce che fino ad ora si teneva, nei tempi di quaresima, presso il Ponte Vecchio, ora l'illustrissimo ed eccellentissimo Cosimo de' Medici, secondo Granduca di Firenze e di Siena, e suo figlio Francesco, ottimo principe, lo fecero costruire con assai maggiore spesa e magnificenza di quella con cui era stato edificato prima, affinché il pesce da ora in poi sia venduto qui. 1568.

[The fish market which until now was held, in the periods of Lent, near Ponte Vecchio, now the most illustrious and eminent Cosimo de' Medici, second Grand Duke of Florence and Siena, and his son Francesco, a great prince, have built another at far greater expense and with more magnificence to the previous one, so that, from now on, fish can be sold here. 1568.]

Vasari composed eight bays areas, expanded to nine in 1699 during the governance of Cosimo III de' Medici (1389-1464), which are supported by Tuscan columns. The additional bays are Tuscan piers of 1699. The roof is composed of clay tiles. The lintel of the *loggia* is decorated with eight *tondi* on each side, depicting different types of fish, affirming the function of the *loggia* as a fish market for fishmongers to sell eel, tench, and carp caught fishing from the Arno River (see Figure 7).



Figure 7. Giorgio Vasari, Loggia del Pesce, Medallions with Fish, 1568, Florence. (Photo credit: author)

The corners of the *loggia* contain coats of arms of the Medici family. Two of them with the imperial crest commemorate the marriage of Francis I de' Medici (1541-1587) to Johanna of Austria (1547-1578). Only one of the two devices for the Magistrate of Grain Officer or *Grascia* has survived.³⁸ The *Grascia* supervised the sale of food products in the Loggia del Pesce. His device is composed of a cartouche whose top is decorated with two

³⁸ See Ann G. Carmichael (1986), Plague and the Poor in Renaissance Florence, p. 28.

large volutes covering a winged bat as a shell. In the center, a barrel full of grains with two golden ears of wheat, bracketed by two bulls that are being swallowed by two dolphins (see Figure 8).³⁹ In the center of the façade facing via Pietrapiana is the coat of arms with of Cosimo I de' Medici (1519-1574) and Eleonora of Toledo (1522-1562). The cartouche is decorated with a crown at top and the Golden Fleece below, which connects with a small scroll with the inscription "Magnus Cosmus. Med. Flor.Et.Senar. DUX II" (see Figure 9).



Figure 8. Giorgio Vasari, Grascia's Coat of Arms, 1568, Loggia del Pesce, Florence. (Photo credit: author)

³⁹ In all the coat of arms of the Loggia del Pesce, there is at the top of the cartouche a motif of a winged bat as a shell. Vasari appropriated this motif from Florentine architectural decorations. See Wolfgang Lot (1995), *Architecture in Italy: 1500-1600*, rev. by Deborah Howard, p. 168.



Figure 9. Giorgio Vasari, Coat of Arms of Cosimo I de' Medici and Eleonora de Toledo, 1568, Loggia del Pesce, Florence. (Photo credit: author)

In the Loggia del Pesce, Vasari appropriated the decoration of the roundels from Brunelleschi's medallions on the façade of the Hospital of the Innocents (see Figure 10) and the vaulting system of the *loggia* from Brunelleschi's side aisle in the church of Santo Spirito. For both Brunelleschi and Vasari, the classical construction of arches and vault system of the Marcellus Theater (see Figure 11) and the Arch of Constantine were architectural inspirations.

With the Loggia del Pesce, Vasari combined a functional public space with civic Medicean patronage. He created an ideal architectural structure for a gathering place with design, proportions, rules, order, and *capricci* (artistic whims) displayed with good judgment. This structured ideal form functions at the public and practical level as a fish market and at a civic and political level alludes to the powerful patronage of the Medici. Vasari

created and used a public architectural space to honor the patronage of a powerful ruler. This public construction also visually manifests a beautiful form and reflects the Medici quest for commissioning and sponsoring beautiful and practical projects to aggrandize themselves and Florence. Vasari achieved this enterprise with a Mannerist architectural conceit.



Figure 10. Filippo Brunelleschi, Hospital of the Innocents, 1420, Florence. (Photo credit: author)



Figure 11. Theater of Marcellus, 44-22 BCE. Patronage of Julius Caesar and Augustus Caesar, Rome. (Photo credit: author)

Loggia of Castiglion Fiorentino, Tuscany

The Loggia of Castiglion Fiorentino was built in 1513 and expanded and restored by Vasari in 1570 (see Figure 12).⁴⁰ It contains nine bays with elegant piers supported by a base. The material used is *pietra serena* (gray sandstone). It partakes of the space of the Piazza del Municipio and the Palazzo Comunale, providing a decoration and closure to the open space of the piazza. Unlike the misfortune of the Loggia del Pesce, the Loggia of Castiglion Fiorentino suffered only a minor alteration. It is unclear why, when, and by whom the three nave arches facing the landscape of Valle di Chio were closed.⁴¹ But in 1929 they were reopened, providing a great view of the natural surroundings of the valley (see Figure 13). The round arcade of the *loggia* is supported by large piers, unlike the columns in the arcade of the Loggia del Pesce. Small masks, partially deteriorated by the vicissitudes of time, decorate the lintel above the arcade. The central arch has an attic where the Medici's coat of arms is still visible.



Figure 12. Giorgio Vasari, Loggia of Castiglion Fiorentino, 1570, Tuscany. (Photo credit: author)

⁴⁰ See Daria Viviani [Fiorini] (1937), "Le Logge della Piazza del Comune di Castiglionfiorentino", *Atti e memorie della Accademia Petrarca di lettere, arti e science,* 22-25, pp. 123-126. In vol. 98, Annali I dal 1200 al 1555, of the Biblioteca of Castiglion Fiorentino, there is a copy of a letter dated December 1, 1513, by the librarian Tonieri, which describes the construction and materials employed for the *loggia* in 1513 by the two architects Maestro Bernardo del Ghirba and Maestro Filippo da Bellinzona. Vasari was two years old at this time. However, between 1560 and 1571, the *loggia* was renovated and restored by Vasari, according to Alessandro del Vita (1920), *Castiglionfiorentino nella storia e nell'arte*, p. 46.
⁴¹ Del Vita (1920), *Castiglionfiorentino nella storia e nell'arte*, p. 46. According to Enrico Guadagni's new documents

⁴¹ Del Vita (1920), *Castiglionfiorentino nella storia e nell'arte*, p. 46. According to Enrico Guadagni's new documents discovered in the *Fondo Ghizzi*, MS 99 in the Biblioteca Comunale of Castiglion Fiorentino, "the loggia was completed in 1571 by two stonemasons, Mattia and Francesco, who finished nine pilasters in front and on the back of the loggia as well as part of the wall for the piazza." See Conforti (1993/2010), *Giorgio Vasari Architetto*, p. 123, n. 119.

Del Vita also noted in his book that in 1920 the three arcades were still closed. There is no documentation explaining when, why, and by whom they were closed. Del Vita conjectured that it probably was to ensure a stronger architectural stability and control over the strong wings from the valley. He also wished they could be reopened. His wish came true in 1929 when the arcade was reopened. Still today we have no data on who opened the arcade.



Figure 13. Giorgio Vasari, Loggia of Castiglion Fiorentino, 1570-73.42 (Photo credit: Public domain, wordpress.com)

Here the *loggia* serves as intermediary between the natural environment (valley) and the human-created construction (buildings in the piazza). In addition, it connects the municipal edifices and encloses a public space for civic recreational and religious purposes. The *loggia* is a bridge between an external and internal area or between a physical and a metaphysical space, unifying the societal functions in the piazza with its citizens.

⁴² Piazza del Municipio, Palazzo Comunale, Collegiata, and View of Valley Chio. Above view of closed arches and below view of 1929 opened arches.

Logge Vasariane, Arezzo

Inspired by the architectural grandeur of the Piazza del Campidoglio of 1538 in Rome, designed by his maestro Michelangelo, Vasari wanted to transform the cumbersome trapezoidal Piazza Grande in Arezzo, his native town, into a delightful vernacular space framed by secular and religious buildings. The edifices included the Confraternity of the Misericordia, the Palazzo of the Misericordia, the Church of Santa Maria a La Pieve, and business shops. Together they participated in a *platea communis* (public space or common area, see Figures 14 and 15). In Piazza Grande, Vasari planned to place a fountain in the center of the trapezoidal piazza. Leon Satkowski described the view of the *logge* and the constructed piazza as parallel to a basilica overlooking a forum. This concept of urbanization (*renovation urbis*) aggrandized the importance of the citizens of Arezzo as well as of Vasari. Under this classical influence, the Cinquecento's market areas appropriated this ancient construction, as seen in Andrea Palladio's Basilica of 1542 in Vicenza.



Figure 14. Giorgio Vasari, Piazza Grande, Arezzo, renovatio urbis, 1570, Palazzo dei Tribunali, Fraternita dei Laici and Logge Vasariane. (Photo credit: author)

⁴³ See Barocchi (1960), "Vasari Architetto," pp. 128-129. Satkowski (1993), *Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier*, p. 78, section on Vasarian *logge*, pp. 74-80; W. Lotz (1977), "16th Century Italian Squares", in *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture*, pp. 78-90; and Conforti, *Vasari Architetto*, pp. 243-247.

⁴⁴ Satkowski (1993), Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier, p. 80.

⁴⁵ Satkowski (1993), *Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier*, p. 80. See also Temple (2011), *Renovatio Urbis*, pp. 28, 33, 73, 110, and 213-214, for a discussion on *renovation urbis* in classical and Renaissance urbanization.



Figure 15. Giorgio Vasari and assistants, Logge, 1572-74, Piazza Grande, Arezzo. (Photo credit: author)

A model of the *logge* in wood has survived, which assists in understanding Vasari's conception, since the arcade was completed after his death by his nephew. ⁴⁶ Vasari's architectural conceptions are appropriations from Roman architecture, such as the Theater of Marcellus and the Coliseum, as well as from the Renaissance Florentine architecture of *logge*.

Vasari's *logge* as a public area recalls the Florentine Loggia della Signoria (alluding to a political symbol of tyranny) and as a private structure recalls the Rucellai's *loggia* (alluding to a symbol of nobility). ⁴⁷ But Vasari transformed these concepts about the *loggia* to signify freedom, a receptive open area for the gathering of people with same interests. Vasari's architectural design unites the splendor of the city's hill along the same lines as Michelangelo's Piazza del Campidoglio in Rome. Vasari's piazza encloses space to embrace secular buildings, such as administrative and public shops, as well as religious edifices. Private constructions such as Rucellai's *loggia* and the Medicean Corridoio Vasariano, the Aretine Logge, and the Loggia of Castiglion Fiorentino were transformed into a public entity, like the Loggia del Pesce, providing freedom and delight for those who participated in the experience of purchasing or selling local and edible products. In these public *logge*, Vasari cleverly carved an architectural space for the cultivation of a cultural identity, which evolved at two levels: (1) for economic, social, and political purposes; and (2) for sponsoring and praising, most of all, the Tuscan folkloric art, handicrafts (*artigianato*), and trade. ⁴⁸ This conscious as well as capricious transformation of a conceit from mere artificiality to functionality and vice versa is an aspect of Mannerism, which Vasari endorsed and promoted.

⁴⁶ Compare Vasari's wooden model for the *logge* conserved in Casa Vasari at Arezzo with his nephew's drawing for bay construction of the Uffizi or Via dei Magistrati in Florence. See Conforti and de Luca (2011/2012), *Vasari*, *gli Uffizi e il Duca*, pp. 200-213.

⁴⁷ Satkowski (1993), Giorgio Vasari: Architect and Courtier, 80.

⁴⁸ The family of Vasari were craftsmen: his great-grandfather Lazzaro (1399-1468) was a saddler maker and dyer, and his grandfather Giorgio (1404?-1481), was a vase ceramicist, a *vasaio*, hence the family appellation "Vasari."

Conclusion

In the treatment of the *logge*, Vasari defined the space of a piazza where its construction served to enclose an area or to accentuate the design of an area. In this fashion, Vasari constructed an ideal civic space and also created a "delightful" area, a pleasant space necessary for a communal enjoyment. The ideal construct relies on the principles of proportion, order, and rule to formulate a perfect architectural construct. The function of Vasari's piazza is to promote the unity between private and public, the civil and political, religious and urban constructions, a *platea communis*. The *loggia* also frames an open area and encloses it, thereby uniting municipal buildings and palaces in a perspectival allusion. The piazza becomes a *salotto* for all people in the community to enjoy socially the natural and cultural environment, and the *loggia* invites them to reunite—an egalitarian and ethical conception of space composed by a Mannerist architect, Giorgio Vasari.

Thus, in his physical construction of *logge*, Vasari composed two metaphysical bridges. One links classical architecture principles of permanence, practicality, and visual delight with Renaissance vernacular principles of necessity, functionality, and societal constructs. The second bridge links the application of architectural principles (design, rules, order, proportion) with the canons of beauty, invention, imitation, and judgment for the formation of a Mannerist theory of art, where physical and metaphysical constructs are united for the sake of creating beautiful and practical arts.

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