| 5 |
GENEVA

I Triumph and Censorship of the Printed Book

Printing existed officially in Geneva as early as 1478, but through the first quarter of the sixteenth century there is no evidence of a flourishing print industry. In 1521 and 1522 the last missals of the diocese were printed not there but in Lyons.[1] By 1563, one year before Calvin's death, Geneva counted eleven thousand inhabitants, and thirty-four authorized printers.[2] In the space of just ten years, between 1550 and 1560, the authorities of the reformed metropolis allowed the immigration of sixty-two foreign typographers and seventy-two booksellers. The visa granted to these resident aliens did not allow them to become masters in the local guild system. Indeed, among all of the professions practiced in the city, printing came under the strictest control. In 1539, three years after the Reformation came to Geneva, the Seigniory of the city set in place the first in a series of regulations governing all aspects of the production and selling of books.

Already in 1515, a decretal of the fifth Lateran council had inaugurated in Rome a set of preventive censorship measures that were intended to be universal. These instituted an obligatory system of authorizations for the diffusion of every sort of printed document or manuscript, regardless of its subject matter or place of origin.[3] Despite a scale of penalties for the offenders, including a fine of one hundred ducats to be used toward the construction of the new Saint Peter's, the Roman decretal seems to have been applied with little zeal. The 1521 Imprimatur of François I took into account only theological works.[4] Similarly, the censorship measures introduced in Trent in 1546 (fourth session, second decree) addressed only books and manuscripts on religious subjects (*de rebus sacris*).[5] The principle of a universal Imprimatur was invoked again in a provision of the Roman Index of 1559,[6] and more

rigorously by the tenth rule of the Tridentine Index of 1564. This rule provided for censorship prior to printing and was thus imposed on any form of writing, together with nominative control over the import, export, acquisition, sale, and even the inheritance of any works in print.[7]

Geneva had outdone Rome. From 1539 on, everything published in Geneva had to be approved by the city authorities, who required that a complete and signed manuscript copy be submitted for authorization prior to printing. The *Ordonnances sur l'Imprimerie*, issued in 1560 and revised in 1580, legislate a sophisticated system of printing privileges that prefigure the copyright laws of our own day. In some documented cases it was already the author, not the printer, who retained the rights to a literary work, rights that came with a negotiable and commercial value.[8] In 1552 Calvin himself presented a petition defending his rights as an author.[9] In 1561, Théodore de Bèze donated to a charitable organization the royalties from his translation of the Psalms.[10] Geneva's extensive oversight of the print industry did not cover only local publication; an obligatory visa was instituted in 1561 for every book to be sold in Geneva that had been published elsewhere. This dual system of authorizations, the one for local the one for imported works, would have obviated the need for a separate index of banned materials, since only certain books were allowed to enter the city, but the Consistory was nevertheless forced to take additional measures against citizens suspected or accused of owning works of Catullus or of Rabelais for example.[11] In his Lutheran country, the historian and theologian Matthäus Richter defended the freedom of the press (and of the Church) against the meddling of what he qualified as a neopapist political power. Expelled from Magdeburg for printing without a license—and already the target of a first-class interdiction in the Tridentine Index of 1564—Richter managed to print, apparently in Copenhagen, his 1566 pamphlet titled *On the Invention of Typography and on Its Legitimate Control.*[12]

As a necessary device for the dissemination of the reformed faith, the printed book became, in the second half of the century, a fundamental component of the Genevan economy.[13] As we would say today, it had become a high value-added export. Laurent de Normandie, a lawyer, Reformation propagandist, and friend of Calvin, owned at the time of his death a stock of 34,912 printed books. Laurent de Normandie was a capitalist in the modern sense of the term, and he conducted his publishing activities outside of the traditional corporate system. Neither a printer nor a bookseller by trade,

he nevertheless requested printing licenses in his own name. Numerous independent typographers, tradesmen, and traveling salesmen worked for him, either as salaried employees or as subcontractors. Laurent de Normandie's outsourcing anticipated other, better-known examples that followed the collapse of the guild system.[14] In purely commercial terms, the export of books printed in Geneva—especially to the Catholic countries—was not in the sixteenth century a particularly profitable undertaking, nor was it without risks. Many of Laurent de Normandie's agents were burned alive—in Turin, Dijon, Paris.[15]

Bibles in the French language, especially inexpensive editions, were always in demand. Laurent de Normandie apparently applied for a permission to print a new edition with new illustrations "that would aid comprehension."[16] Like other Protestant revolutions, the Genevan Reformation had known iconoclasm. Today an exactingly realistic and oversize monument of John Calvin, realized between 1908 and 1917, dominates the gardens next to the University of Geneva, at the feet of the old fortified city. In Arona, on the other side of the Simplon pass, a colossal statue of San Carlo Borromeo signals to the traveler the ideological frontier of the Counter-Reformation. Yet during the lifetime of these men, in the age of the religious wars, the use of images—any images whatsoever—raised some very delicate issues.

II North and South: Books versus Images, Images without Books, Images in Books

The modern revival of the iconoclast controversy was inaugurated in Wittenberg on January 27, 1522 with a pamphlet published by the theologian Andreas Bodenstein von Karlstadt.[17] Only three days before, the removal of sacred images from the churches of Wittenberg had been ordered by a decree of the city council. Luther was absent from the city at that time, and upon his return on March 6, he immediately opposed the decree and the position of the radical iconoclasts. Already in 1521 Melanchthon had defended a less rigorous interpretation of the Mosaic ban on graven images. In the end, Karlstadt was expelled from Saxony, from which he sought refuge first in Zurich and then in Basle. Inspired by Zwingli, Zurich's city council also banned sacred images from its churches in a decree of 1523.[18]

By 1548, the Catholic polemicist Konrad Braun could offer an assessment of the first years of "iconomachy," or image wars, in the countries

touched by the Reformation. In Germany, he said, where the temples had been stripped of their images, the populace filed out after sermons in a solitary and silent fashion, everyone going his own sad way. In contrast, continued Braun, in our own once richly decorated churches, at the end of mass the faithful lingered, kneeling before the altars to contemplate again in images the stories of the Scriptures. Easier for worshipers to hold in their memories, images reinforced the cults of God and the saints.[19]

According to Church tradition, the topos of the "Bible of the poor" dates back to a letter of Gregory the Great to the iconoclast Serenus, bishop of Marseilles. The argument was reprised at the second Council of Nicea (787) and at the fourth Council of Constantinople (869–1870). According to Gregory, images were the equals of the texts of the Scriptures, but unlike texts they could speak to both the learned and the ignorant. Images were the literature of the illiterate. Some months before the death of Calvin, the last session of the Council of Trent, held in December 1563, returned to the doctrine of sacred images. With some new qualifications, in particular against the risks of superstition and obscenity, the Council reconfirmed the traditional Gregorian argument on the didactic function of visual language. Even the veneration of images was not idolatrous because images would forward the devotion that they received to the holy persons whom they represented. Thanks to images, the illiterate populace (*indocta plebs*) could be educated in the articles of the faith, instructed in the stories of Scripture, and incited to the imitation of the lives of the saints.[20]

The Council of Trent did not limit itself to encouraging the use of images for communicating with the ignorant. The Tridentine version of the "Bible of the poor," a Bible in images, was not meant to supplement the text of the printed Bible; it was, rather, a replacement for it. The second decree of the fourth session of the Council (April 8, 1546)[21] had canonized the Vulgate of Saint Jerome as the only approved Latin version of the Scriptures. The first decree of the same session defined the ordering of the books of the Old and New Testaments, specifying that "only the old Latin edition [called the] Vulgate will be considered authentic."[22] The preference of one Latin version over another might seem to be a matter of purely philological and stylistic erudition. The humanists, for example, tended to dislike Saint Jerome's Latin; Erasmus did not find it sufficiently Ciceronian. But Jerome's Latin edition was not chosen solely at the expense of other Latin versions. In a somewhat indirect fashion—and this is a controversial topic—the

Council of Trent banned popularization, the translation of Scripture into the modern vernaculars.

A literal reading of the second decree of April 8, 1546 (*Recipitur vulgata editio bibliae*) can give rise to some interpretive confusion. Only the ancient version of Saint Jerome was authorized, the preamble makes clear, to the exclusion of every other *Latin* version. But what about the other languages? If the Latin of Saint Jerome is to be the only acceptable language, it seems that all other versions, ancient or modern, should be explicitly prohibited; the formula of the decree is vague on this point.[23] The dispute dragged on for several decades, but south of the Alps the climate was growing more and more openly averse to vulgarization. The printing, reading, or even possession of modern-language editions of the Bible was forbidden by the Roman Index of Pope Paul IV in 1559, except in cases where a special authorization had been granted by the Holy See.

Paul IV simplified this authorization procedure in 1561 (*Moderatio Indicis*), but the new Tridentine Index of 1564 returned to a system of tighter controls. The fourth rule of the Index explains that modern translations of Scripture bring about more harm than good. Every reading of the sacred text in a modern vernacular must consequently receive written authorization from either an inquisitor or a bishop, or in the case of clerics, from their superiors. Even this system of permissions was revoked in 1596 by Clement VIII's *observatio ad regulam quartam.* The translation of Scripture was banned in Catholic countries until June 13, 1757.[24] Despite the evidence for a long series of negotiations that were riddled with ambiguities, compromises, and changes of opinion, one cannot deny an ancient prejudice of Whig historiography: the Tridentine decree of 1546 initiated a long series of conflicts between the Roman Church and the printed book. In certain academic circles, there is still discussion about when the hostilities actually ceased.[25]

The ban on the vernacularization of Scripture dealt a severe blow to the publishing industry in Catholic countries. By contrast, in Protestant countries the policy of a "Bible in every house" had created a mass market for an inexpensive product, an advantage that publishers in Catholic lands were forced to do without for some centuries. In Catholic countries, the ratio was closer to a Bible for every parish, a luxury market but a niche one. Excluded from direct interaction with the written word, because it was written in a language that they could not understand, lay people had to forgo

the reading of the Bible, or at least the private reading of it.[26] Exit the printed book: those who could not read Latin had to be content with looking at images (and with listening to the preacher's sermon in the local language).

The heated dispute over sacred images that began with the Reformation had nothing to do with the revolutionary technology that was in the same years transforming the practices of writing and visual communication. The question of idols is as old as the Judeo-Christian tradition. It is a doctrinal debate that has never been influenced by concerns about media. Neither the prophets nor the apostles nor the Church fathers seem ever to have reflected (at least not explicitly) on the particulars of the reproductive technologies—whether oral, written, or visual—used in different contexts for the dissemination of their ideas. The first to react to Karlstadt's iconoclastic declaration turned to historical precedent. In 1552 Emser cited Wycliff and Hus; Eck the Felician heresy and the Council of Frankfurt (794).[27] When Karlstadt defended the preeminence of written discourse, he was primarily thinking of the Word, not of its material transmission. Karlstadt's crusade was purely exegetical, based on his interpretation of the Old Testament. In their historical and technological context, however, his conclusions (*Bücher lehren, aber Bilder nicht*)[28] had broader implications.

The first Evangelicals of the modern world, the Waldensians roamed the countryside from the thirteenth century without baggage or books but with the Word committed to memory—the New and Old Testaments, learned by heart and recited orally. A few centuries later, the printed book and the rise of literacy facilitated a direct contact between the believer and Scripture that was less dependent on memory and itinerant preachers and more dependent on the itinerant salesmen of pocket Bibles. As Karlstadt repeated, even after having made itself visible, the Word proclaimed: *my flock listens to my voice;*[29] Jesus taught the Word of the Father, and he never said, let the faithful look at my image or at those of my saints.[30]

Karlstadt does not distinguish between spoken, written, or printed words. But whether he thought about it or not, the book of his day was the printed book. Some of his contemporaries were more aware of the presence of print. The history of inventions may seem an unlikely field of study in the sixteenth century, a truism that is not belied by Polidoro Virgilio's (Polydore Vergil's) best selling *De inventoribus rerum* (1499). More a doxographic collection than a true technical encyclopedia, the three books of the first edition make no mention of woodcut or engraving, but Vergil does not forget

Gutenberg, the inventor of "this new manner of writing, which in our time has come into being, because in only one day one person prints and publishes what many could hardly write in one year." Vergil goes on to forecast that "just as in the beginning when it became widely known it was of great usefulness and equal admiration, I predict that as the days go by it will become more common and less admired for its importance."[31] Elsewhere, Vergil remarks that the art of printing, "invented by a divine spirit," was among the most significant inventions of modern times, together with the mechanical watch, the compass, the cannon, spurs for horsemen, and the hat, unknown to the ancients.[32] For the invention of architecture, as for many other subjects, Vergil's source is the Old Testament, which he privileges over the classical tradition. This first history of inventions led a brilliant publishing career in the sixteenth century. Translated into Italian by Pietro Lauro in 1543, it was soon placed on the Index, first in Paris in 1549, then in Rome with a second-class interdiction in 1559.[33]

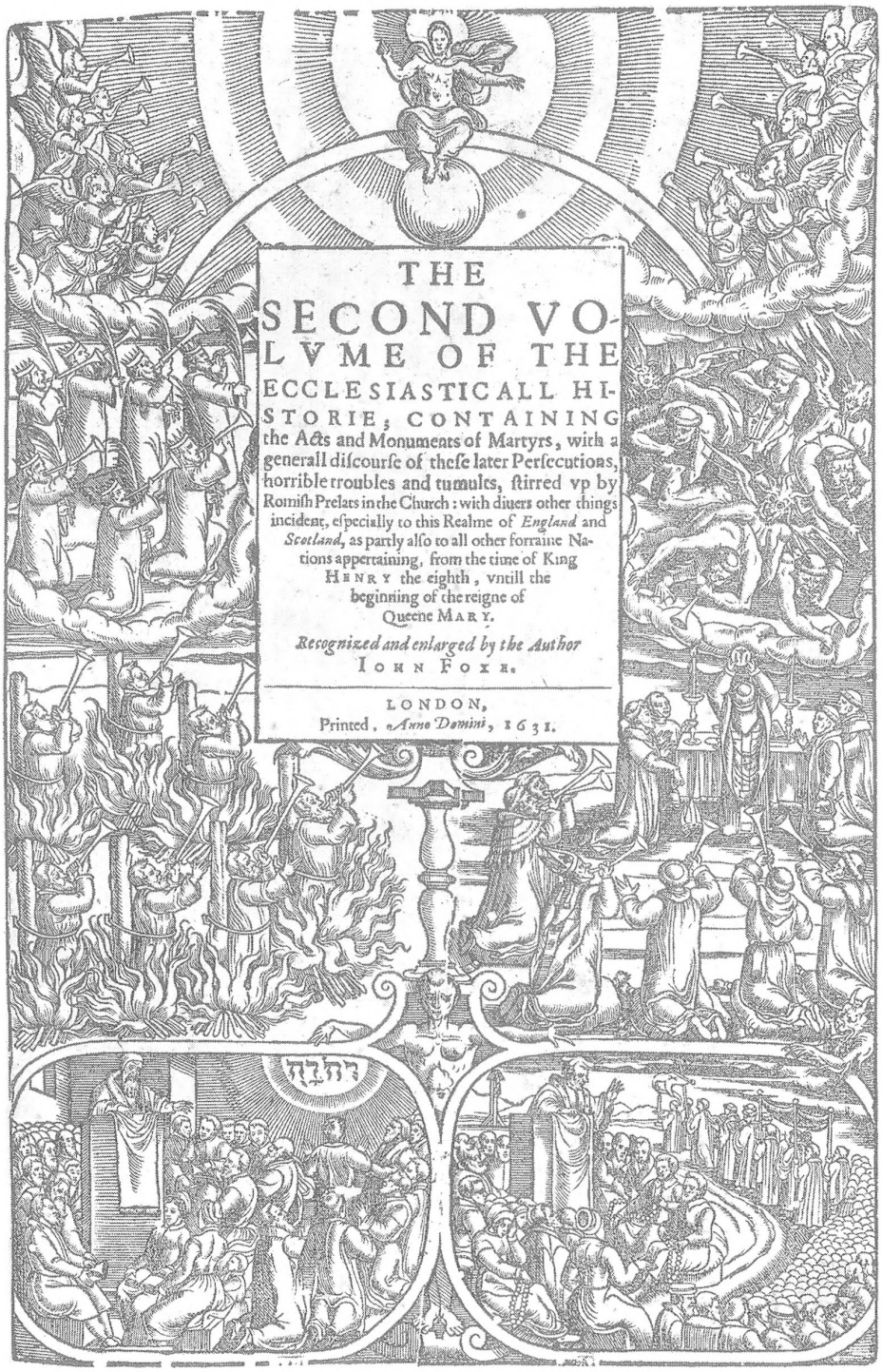
As the commonplace goes, everything technically required for printing a book was available long before Gutenberg—everything but the idea of doing so. A year after the conclusion of the Council of Trent, Matthäus Richter pondered the question of why during 5412 years of Judeo-Christian history no one had thought of incising or casting in metal the letters of the alphabet in order to print or stamp them on some sort of surface. Certainly, he mused, printing must be a divine gift, but why was this gift given to mankind with such a delay? Richter observed that after its invention in Germany, typography had favored the rebirth of scholarship, the arts, and letters. This was the beginning of a chain reaction: as books became more numerous and less expensive they would be demanded by an increasing readership, a readership more and more inflamed by the discovery of God's true words. And because these new readers would in turn translate the principles of the new faith into their respective languages, thanks once again to printing, this vernacularized doctrine would be further disseminated, reaching a yet greater public. Thus, continued Richter, when Martin Luther wanted to denounce the antichrist in a single pamphlet, his arrow had only just been loosed from the bow when, instantly taken up by printing as by a superhuman war machine, his words were multiplied and spread far and wide. The result was an inexorable hailstorm that hit the tares wherever it fell, striking at the errors and idolatry of the papists. Richter concluded that typography was a divine gift, like the mastery of languages bestowed upon the apostles, that was only

revealed to men at the time that God had chosen for unmasking the antichrist. Sixty-seven years were enough.

Without printing on their side, Wycliff and Hus had fared less well.[34] At more or less the same time, a similar view, but from the opposite side, was sketched out in an elegy by Pierre de Ronsard. It was the printed book that had permitted the contagion of heresy to spread: "with books the enemy has seduced a wayward public, which mistakenly follows its lead." In the period between 1560 and 1584, Ronsard repeatedly revised a line of that elegy, apparently unsure whether it was better to answer the books of the heretics with other books or with the weapons of war.[35]

Curiously enough, Karlstadt's iconoclastic pamphlet of 1522 had been published together with another of his writings, a discourse against begging, so that the work's complete title was *On the Removal of Images and That There Should No Longer Be Mendicants Among the Christians.*[36] The two texts are independent of one another, and the author does not stress any points of contact between two topics that today could be the focus of a single sociological investigation. In most modern countries, and even in secular or socialist nations, education tends to be considered a key measure in fighting underdevelopment. The only form of equality in which Karlstadt took an interest was that of the faithful before their Maker; yet, regardless of theological motivations, the Protestant dissemination of the Bible and the policy of popular literacy that went along with this are among the factors most commonly cited by modern historians to explain the swifter technological development of some Protestant countries. In Catholic countries, the decision to keep for the illiterate the living writing (zoography) of a visual language does not seem to have encouraged a rise in literacy among the poor. For centuries, the "Bible of the poor" continued in fact to reach its target audience—an audience of poor people.

If in Tridentine theory the primacy of the visible was maintained at times to the detriment of the legible (and of its physical vector, the printed book), on the opposite side not all Reformed theologians shared the same iconophobia. On the title page of the John Foxe's Protestant martyrology, published in London in 1563, the juxtaposition of two images recalls a commonplace of Protestant propaganda (figure 5.1). At lower right, a disorganized file of Catholic idolaters, rosaries in hand, processes toward an isolated monument, some statue or image venerated for its supernatural powers. At left is an assembly of Protestant worshipers engaged in prayer



| Figure 5.1 |

Title page, woodcut, from John Foxe, *The Second Volume of the Ecclesiasticall Historie* (London, 1631). The same image was used on the original title page of the *Actes and Monuments of these latter and perillous dayes* (1563). By permission of the Division of Rare and Manuscript Collections, Cornell University Library, Ithaca, NY.

and private readings. Yet John Foxe communicates his iconoclastic message via an image—a mechanically reproduced book illustration.[37]

The Wittenberg theses existed originally in manuscript format, designed for a limited circulation, while the indulgences of Tetzel that were the direct cause of Luther's indignation were printed.[38] Luther himself is the author of a famous panegyric on the typographic revolution in which he characterizes printing as "the latest of God's gifts and the greatest" and "the means that God has chosen for making known in all the world the cause of the true religion." And yet other less famous passages attributed to him, from his more informal *Tischreden* ("Table Talk"), reveal a less enthusiastic take on the new medium.[39] Luther defended, and never renounced the use of, visual language as a propaedeutic device and a provisional, introductory aid to learning. One could begin with images and then progress to texts. The same nourishment is not good for all, he said; even to babies we first give milk and then solid food.[40] Even as Luther was engaged in this dispute with Karlstadt, Lucas Cranach was preparing illustrations for the two Lutheran versions of the Old and New Testaments (1522, 1523).[41]

For Victor Hugo, as we have already seen, printing would "kill" the medieval image. But in the context of the Counter-Reformation, according to some, the image, as the adversary of the printed word, was to be used to counter the dissemination of printed texts. On the other side of the Tridentine border, the ban on the worship of icons and the perception of a theological risk inherent in all images justified a deep, abiding, widespread, and persistent mistrust of visual communication in the Protestant world. This did not mean, however, that Protestant books were any less likely to be illustrated than Catholic ones. Once removed from churches, images came back into the hands of the faithful in mechanically reproduced form—via the printed book.

III Illustrated Books and Architectural Treatises in Geneva

On the title page of a Bible originally printed in Antwerp in 1530 (and reprinted many times thereafter) the evangelists are illustrated in the act of writing, inspired by God. According to iconographic tradition, it was an angel who dictated the gospel to Matthew, but in this case, the angel presents him with an open book. The evangelist simply transcribes what he sees.[42] (We may wonder why Matthew was selected to try out this new form of visual apprehension of the word of God. According to a church tradition,

many times reconfirmed by the authority of the Councils, Luke, the patron saint of artists, would seem to have been the better choice.) Even in the context of the iconoclastic disputes, an illustration in a printed Bible was presumed to incur less risk of idolatry than an image in a church, especially if the subject was an inanimate object (typically, an Old Testament topos). Even this form of representation, however, was discouraged by the Geneva *Ordonnances* of 1560: "Since every day there are added to the texts of the Scriptures new images, which are not very helpful and which serve only to raise the price of the book [. . .] the Council orders that from this point forward no privilege be granted for the printing of illustrations."[43] As an instrument of dissemination and propaganda, the Genevan book was supposed to be affordable. Illustrations were both expensive to produce and intellectually suspect ("not very helpful").

Declaring scriptural illustration to be useless or worse, the *Ordonnances* did not for this reason ban them outright. This backing off is not so strange as it might first appear. In fact, the suspension of printing privileges could have had purely utilitarian, and not ideological, motives. In Geneva, no monopoly was ever granted for the publishing of Bibles, prayer books, or catechisms. Once their publishers had obtained the required license, these books could be produced freely and were exempt from copyright. Apparently some publishers sought to protect their investment by requesting exclusive printing privileges for commentaries or annotations appended to the sacred texts, and it may be that the 1560 *Ordonnances* was in part an attempt to ensure that illustrations too did not become an excuse for requesting an illegitimate copyright.[44]

The books printed in Geneva in the sixteenth century are indeed sparsely illustrated, at least until the last quarter of the century. Ideology aside, technical and economic factors discouraged the diffusion of illustrations. With a single exception, the burst of typographic activity in Geneva at the time of Calvin centered around the production of affordable books that were typographically mediocre.[45] It is fitting enough that militant publishers would not dedicate themselves to producing luxury editions. Henri Estienne could call upon his Parisian experience (and the money of his patron, Ulrich Fugger) for books on erudite subjects. But when it came to Bibles, catechisms, and other works espousing Reform doctrine and propaganda, the intended audience was usually much less prosperous and less demanding. Geneva's publishers were accused of unfair competition on the

markets of Paris and Lyons.[46] The notoriously dreadful quality of the paper used in Geneva became a matter that the city council had to look into on several occasions.[47]

Bibles printed in Geneva between 1550 and 1564 usually bear a scant repertory of some twenty illustrations of Old Testament subjects.[48] In that same period, a series of thirty-six woodcuts was printed that illustrated, in flagrant caricature, the *Antithesis Between the Deeds of Jesus Christ and of the Pope*. As the title tells us, this was an antipapist pamphlet, and it was reprinted in Geneva on several occasions after 1557. The theological mistrust of images was not necessarily opposed to other uses of visual communication, but in this case we know that the printer, Zacharie Durant, published the first edition of the *Antithesis* without a license. One year later, the authorities banned the sale of the book and ordered the destruction of all existing copies, apparently without success.[49]

The thirty-six woodcuts are attributed to Parisian artist Pierre Eskrich, also called Cruche, or Vase. A member of the Reformed faith, like his wife, Eskrich had moved to Geneva in 1552 after a spell working in Lyons for Jean de Tournes. He left Geneva again in 1565, perhaps because of a disagreement with the Consistoire, perhaps just for lack of work.[50] It was only after the death of Calvin that publishing in Geneva became diversified. The *Pictures* of the wars of religion by Jacques Tortorel and Jean Perrissin and the *Icons* of Théodore de Bèze (1580)[51] belong to a new class of more richly illustrated texts that began to be published after 1569–1570. The 1585 immigration to Geneva from Lyons of the de Tournes publishing house intensified this trend.[52]

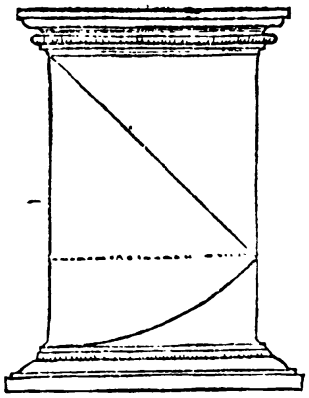
Like many Lyonese publishers, Jean I de Tournes (1504–1564) had converted to Protestantism. Henri III's edict of July 18, 1585 demanded that all Protestants abjure their faith or go into exile by December 15 of that year. Jean II de Tournes (1539–1615) was in Geneva by November 8 and the next day filed an application to be licensed as a printer. On November 30, he asked the city council for an imprimatur to publish a list of nine titles.[53] The first item on this list was a Latin edition of Vitruvius's treatise with Philandrier's commentary, which his father Jean I had already printed in Lyons in 1552, almost contemporaneously with Serlio's *Extraordinario Libro* (1551) and Jacopo Strada's *Epitome Thesauri Antiquitatum* (1553).[54]

In the Lyons *Vitruvius* of 1552, new illustrations replaced the sixty-eight woodcuts of the first edition of Philandrier's *Annotations* (Rome,

Dossena, 1554). The Lyons illustrations were of a finer graphic quality but were sometimes less precise than the Roman illustrations in rendering architectural details. It seems likely that the illustrator was a professional woodblock cutter but without specific architectural knowledge (see figure 5.2). If, as some have suggested, Serlio were really the author of these new woodcuts, a strange fate would have brought him to illustrating again, anonymously and even giving the credit to others, his very own invention of 1537—yet another metamorphosis of his method of the five orders, in this case revised and corrected for a second time by Philandrier.[55]

It was thus with this hybrid of Vitruvius and Serlio (mediated by Philandrier) that Jean II de Tournes inaugurated his Genevan publishing career. In a context often (and not without reason) held to be largely unfavorable to the production of illustrated or art books the city council was in effect admitting into the stronghold of Reformed literature an edition of Vitruvius's treatise—a Latin one with Philandrier's Latin commentary and illustrations. But in this way it was also Serlio's method of the orders, emended and rationalized by Philandrier, that received a sort of endorsement, indirect but official. Serlio's style was not in fact unknown in Geneva at that time: the monumental portal in the courtyard of the Hôtel de Ville was completed around 1556 (figure 5.3). John Calvin must have passed through it quite frequently during his last years, and he doesn't seem ever to have complained about it.[56]

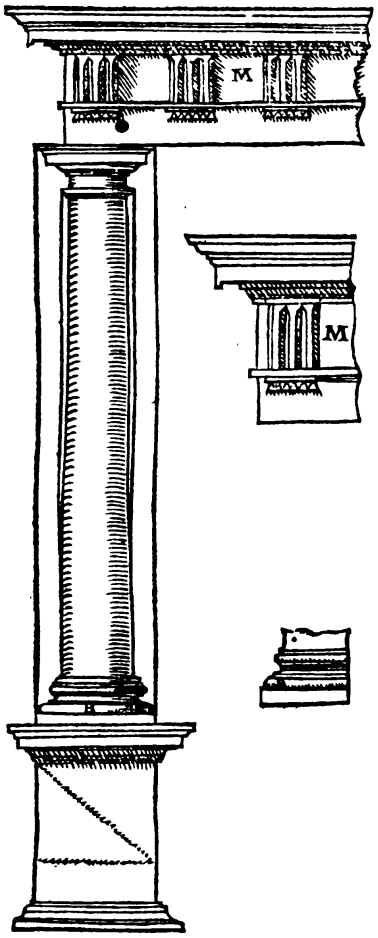
The print run of the Latin *Vitruvius* was finished on August 14, 1586, but a certain confusion remains as to where the book was printed. The book makes no mention of a Genevan imprimatur. Instead, de Tournes reproduced a ten-year French copyright, dated 1574, granted to Jean de Tournes, royal printer in Lyons.[57] From the point of view of a publisher, a French copyright held more value than one approved by the authorities in Geneva, which would have been valid only for a single city. Although the place of printing is not specified in the book, in some copies the indication "Geneva" has been stamped on the title page. The falsification or simple omission of place of publication was a common practice in the sixteenth century, and it is not hard to see why. The buying or selling of books printed in Geneva was forbidden in France after 1548.[58] When another de Tournes, Jean III, published in 1618 a French translation of Vitruvius's treatise, he gave as the place of publication a purely conventional site: "Colonia Allobrogum" for Cologny, a village just outside of Geneva.[59] The logic of this stratagem is a



baſi adduntur quintæ partes. Coronix in tres diuidetur partes, duæ dabuntur cymatio cum regula, quæ ipſius eſt pars tertia: quæ ſupereſt dabitur aſtragalo & regulæ, quæ etiam ipſius tertia parte conſtat. Baſi in duas diuiſa partes, vna tribuetur plintho: altera in duas diuidetur, quarum vnam torus accipiet: partita quæ ſupereſt in tria. Aſtragalus duas habebit partes, regula tertiam.

Doricus Stylobata.

Partium Dorici generis nomina & ſeries huiuſmodi ſunt: Trabeationis, regula, ſima, cymatium ſuperius, corona, cymatium inferius, tænia vbi capita triglyphorum, triglyphi cum metopis, tænia, regulæ in epiſtylio, vnde pendent ſex guttæ, Capituli, regula, cymatium, plinthus, echinus, annuli tres, hypotrachelium, Columnæ, aſtragalus, annulus ſuperior cum apophygi, inferior apophygis cum annulo, Baſis, torus ſuperior, regula, trochilus ſiue ſcotia, regula, torus inferior, plinthus, Stylobatæ, Coronicis, regula, cymatium, aſtragalus, regula, quadratum diagonium, Baſis, regula, aſtragalus, torus, plinthus.

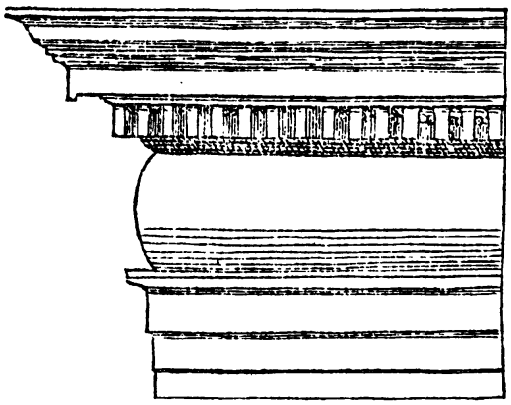


Dorica integra columnatio cum trabeatione.

Sequitur genus tertium Ionicum, in quo explicando non licet, quod in ſuperioribus incipere à ſumma trabeatione, id eſt coronice, ſed quòd trabs, id eſt, epiſtylium eſt modulus, quo in dimetiendis alijs partibus vſuri ſumus, inde initium

initium capere eſt neceſſe. Epiſtylij Ionici non eſt ſimplex ratio, ſed ex altitudine columnæ petenda illius altitudo. Id quomodo fiat, ſcribit hoc capite Vitruuius, vt minus mihi ſit laborandum. Conſtituta, quam oportet, ex autoris præſcripto epiſtylij altitudine, diuidenda ea erit in partes ſeptem, quarum vna fiet cymatium. Quæ ſuperabunt ſex partes, in tres faſcias ita diſtribuentur, vt vna, cuius craſſitudinem reſpondere oportet ſummo columnæ ſcapo, tres partes habeat, media quatuor, ſumma, tam craſſa, quàm craſſus eſt imus ſcapus, quinque. Ita fient epiſtylij præter cymatium partes duodecim. Contignatio, quæ fit opertis veluti tabula vna perpetua tignorum capitibus, Zophorus dicta, ſi pura ſtatuetur, minor epiſtylio quarta parte erit facienda: ſin ſcalpetur, illo erit quarta parte maior. Habebit cymatium altum ipſius parte ſeptima. Supra cymatium collocandus coronicis denticulus: ita enim appellatur faſcia ſecta ad dentium imaginem, qui aſſerum capita referunt. Dentium autem (ita vocemus clarioris doctrinæ gratia) altitudo duplo maior latitudine. Quod ſpatium inter duos relinquitur cauum, altius erit quàm latum tertia parte. Ei addetur cymatium altum ipſius parte ſexta. Coronicis, quæ pauimentum, ſiue tectum potius eſt, corona erit quanta media epiſtylij faſcia, cui ſuum erit cymatium altitudinis ipſius quarta parte. Sima, quæ coronæ ſuperadiungitur, altior ea erit parte octaua, cui addita regula eius erit ſexta pars.

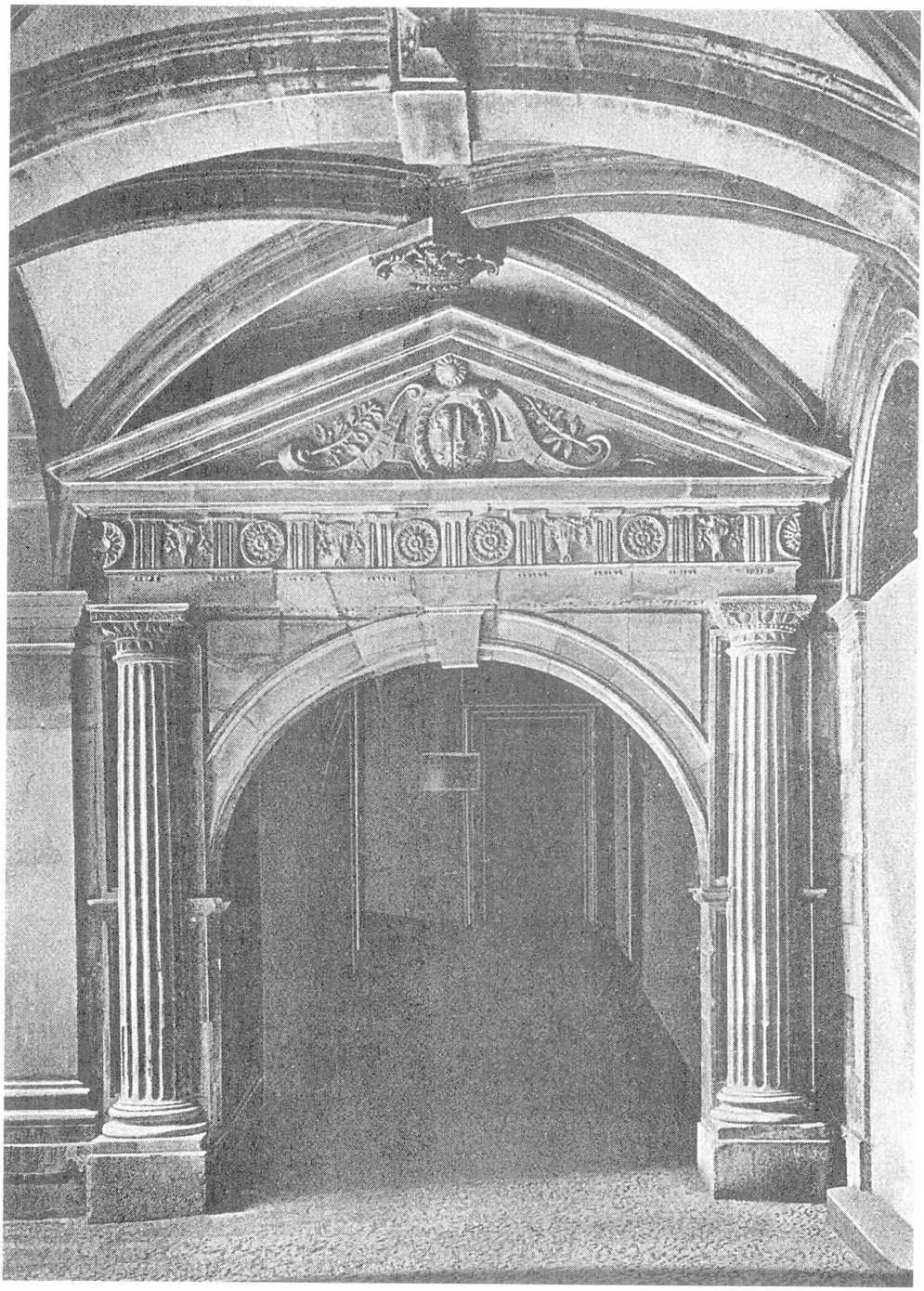
Ionica coronix, Zophorus, & Epiſtylium.



Ionicum capitulum tam altum erit, quàm craſſa eſt diametri ima columnæ pars tertia. Abaci frons præter cymatiũ latitudine reſpondebit toti diametro: ſed ei latitudini in decem & octo partes diuiſæ vtrinq; addetur vnius pars dimidia pro cymatij proiectura, vt ſint in vniuerſum partes decem & nouem. Ibi cum receſſeris in interiorem partem, partis vnius & dimidiæ latitudine, demittenda ad perpendiculum linea (Vitruuius catheton vocat) alta partes nouem & dimidiam. Harum ſuprema erit abaci, dimidia verò illa fiet ei cymatium. Supereſt Voluta, in qua circinanda & rotundanda, poſtquam Vitruuij peryit deformatio, multi laborauerunt. Baptiſta Albertus (quod ſciam) primus cum beſtia conflictatus eſt libro rei ædificatoriæ ſeptimo, quanquam locus mendus, vti & totũ opus, non caret. Albertus Durerus ſecundus certamen iniit, egregius vterq; pugnator. Nouiſſimus omnium commiſſus Sebaſtianus Serlius (quo ego ſum primis initijs huius artis vſus præceptore) videbatur feram confecturus. Verùm poſt multa vulnera reſpirantem adhuc, & membra, licet ægrè, tollentem reliquit, vt ſi ita

| Figure 5.2 |

Details of the Doric and Ionic orders, from Guillaume Philandrier, "Annotationes castigatiores," in *Vitruvius* (Lyons, 1552), 100–101. Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, Ia-1770 Rés.



| Figure 5.3 |

Portal entry to the staircase in the courtyard of the Hôtel de Ville, Geneva.

bit hard to understand; at that time the ploy must have been perfectly obvious to everyone, and hence ineffectual.[60] Maybe de Tournes had a long-term plan in mind, and indeed to this day many a bibliography on Vitruvius continues to cite a French edition of Vitruvius's treatise printed in 1618 in Cologne in Germany.

The Cologny edition of Vitruvius's treatise is original only in bringing together bits and pieces of diverse provenance.[61] The French text is the translation of Jean Martin (published for the first time in Paris in 1547),[62] but in the place of Jean Goujon's accompanying commentary (an appendix and original illustrations of the five orders), de Tournes preferred to recycle Philandrier's digression on the orders of 1552, translated now for the first time into French. One possible explanation for this switch is that de Tournes had at his disposal the woodcuts for the 1552 edition of Vitruvius's treatise, which were here used for the third or perhaps the fourth time (1552, 1586, 1618/1628).[63] But whether in the version of Philandrier or Goujon, it was still Serlio's system of the orders that de Tournes was trying to sell, in a camouflaged version, to the readers of an edition or translation of Vitruvius's treatise.

Both Philandrier and Martin, with their Humanist backgrounds, owed their architectural training to Serlio, Philandrier in Venice, and, some years later, Martin in Paris (although Serlio and Martin may have met in Venice around 1540).[64] In their respective work on Vitruvius, the two pupils distanced themselves in part from the teachings of their Italian mentor. As we have seen, even while he was working on Serlio's *Fifth Book*, Martin preferred to entrust to Goujon the architectural commentary and illustrations for his French edition of Vitruvius's treatise.

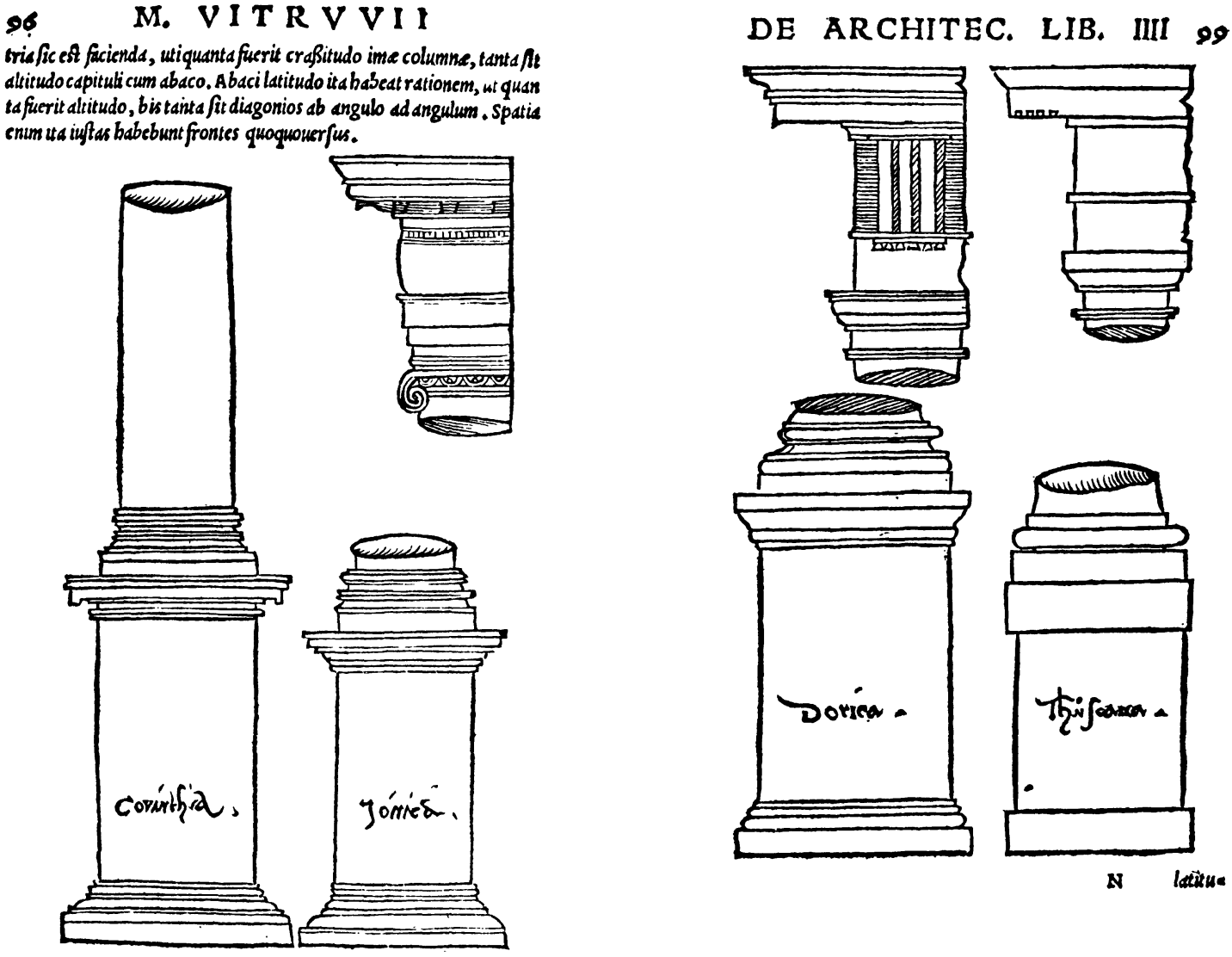
Several decades after the death of the protagonists of this rather complicated sequence, the editions of Vitruvius's treatise published in Geneva brought about a curious reassembling of some of Serlio's dispersed heritage. It was for the court of Pope Paul III Farnese that Philandrier had composed his Latin commentary and conceived the dogmatic and elitist subtleties of his architectural theory. Only a few years after the commentary's publication, Philandrier was all too aware of its failure, and we can only wonder what he would have made of the fact that his theory of the orders was to be reissued in Geneva in the vernacular by the official typographer of the Calvinist Republic.[65] Apparently Philandrier's theory had found a public at last, although not the one that the author had intended.

IV Serlio's Orders, Vitruvianism, and the Protestant World

As we have seen, Serlio's presence—ideological but also lexical—is apparent in Martin's French translation of Vitruvius's treatise. The association of this text with Philandrier's *Digressio* on the orders brought about a new convergence, almost a feedback loop, between Vitruvian doctrine and the modern orders. These orders were Serlian by birth, and therefore partially inspired by the architectural morphology of Vitruvius. But Philandrier reshaped them to conform more closely to the same Vitruvian norm that Serlio before him had so often invoked and less often respected. Although not one of Serlio's books was ever reprinted in Geneva, all of the architectural theory in French and Latin published in the city of Calvin by the de Tournes family bears the Serlian trademark and can be traced, through different intermediaries, to the activities and teachings of the Italian architect.

The quasi-Serlian orders reprinted in Geneva in 1618 and 1628 were distant from the Vitruvian ideal, which they betray more often than they clarify. They were also, at that time, of little practical value. During those years France saw the publication of other manuals on the orders, featuring better illustrations and modernized proportional systems, in some cases already translated into Vignola's new modular and arithmetic format.[66] But the treatise of Julien Mauclerc, printed in La Rochelle in 1600, harks back indirectly to Serlio, most likely by way of the *Säulenbuch* of Hans Blum (Zurich, 1550).[67] The 1664 manual on the orders published by the Huguenot engraver Abraham Bosse, *Traité sur la pratique des orders de colonnes*, might seem anachronistic, but the motto on its title page—"la raison sur tout"—is not.[68] Abraham Bosse was the author of various manuals on geometry, perspective, and stereotomy, as well as the first illustrated manual on the technique of engraving.[69] If in the post-Tridentine world images without books were the literature of the illiterate, elsewhere images within books were, or were becoming, the literature of technicians and scientists.[70]

Philandrier's idea of presenting the modern system of the five orders in place of a commentary on Vitruvius's discussion of temples in books III and IV of the *De architectura* set an important precedent, but it was not itself a complete novelty. In the Latin *Vitruvius* edited by Walther Ryff (Rivius) in Strasbourg in 1543, the orders are illustrated twice, once in the text, with figures copied from the Italian *Vitruvius* of 1521 (Cesariano), and again in an insert, by an epitome of the five Serlian orders of 1537 (figure 5.4).[71] Phi-



| **Figure 5.4** |

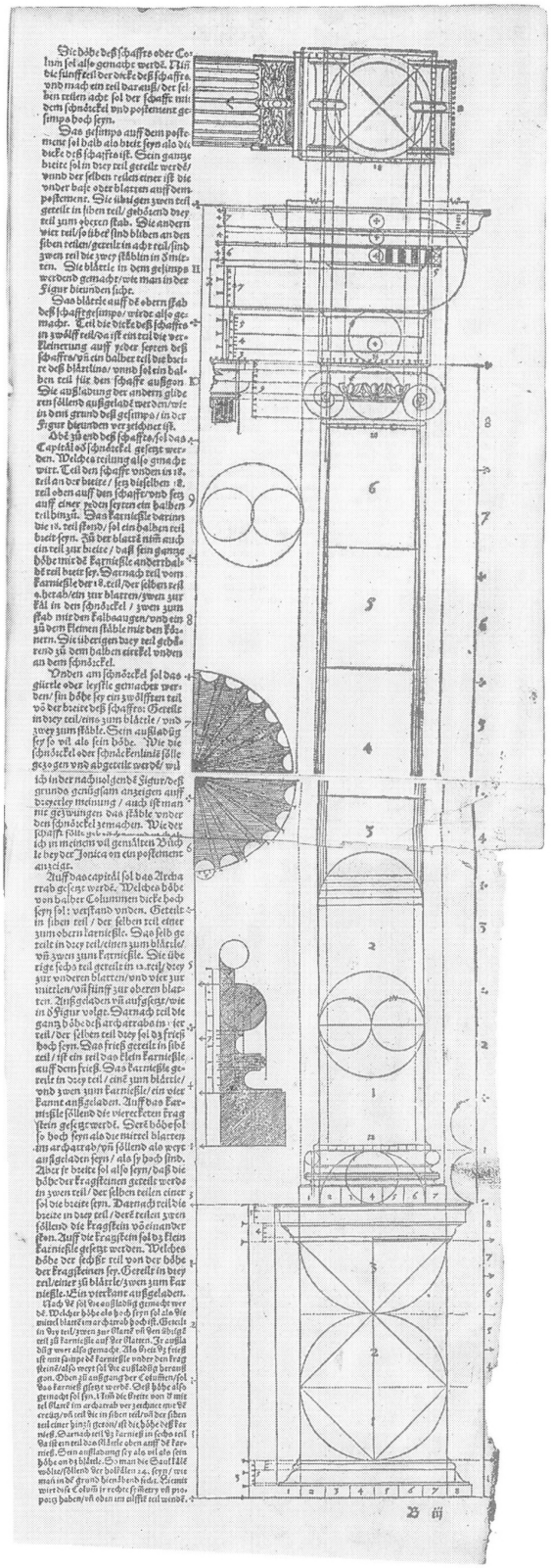
Details of the orders, from Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, ed. Walther Ryff [Riff, Rivius] (Strasbourg, 1543), 96–99 [the pagination of the original is incorrect]. Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale. Magl. 2.6.14. By permission of the Italian Ministero per i Beni e le Attività Culturali.

landrier probably knew about the edition of Rivius within a few months of its publication. In the preface to the first edition of Philandrier's *Annotations*, his publisher, Andrea Dossena, criticized the poor quality of an illustrated *Vitruvius* that had just been published. He states the place of publication as Basle, but in all probability he is referring to the Strasbourg edition of 1543.[72]

Dossena announced instead the imminent publication of a complete edition of *Vitruvius*, to be accompanied by a new commentary and illustrations and edited by Philandrier, a project that was never carried out.[73] No editions of *Vitruvius* were printed in Basle in 1543 or 1544, but Rivius's German translation of *Vitruvius* was republished there in 1575 and 1614[74] as was also, in 1572 and 1585, his compendium on architecture, which comprised sections on mathematics, mechanics, and a Vitruvian commentary.[75] After the partial translation of Coecke van Aelst, the first complete translation into German of the first five books of Serlio's treatise was also published in Basle in 1608 and 1609.[76] In the preface, a poem of eight lines declares the primary merit of the work, translated into German from Italian and Flemish: without errors and with complete clarity, Serlio restores Vitruvius to the modern reader.[77]

Serlio himself could not have complained about this misunderstanding. The title of his *Fourth Book*[78]—outlining a theoretical project that would unite the "rules" of architecture, the "five styles" of buildings, the "examples of the ancients," and the "doctrine of Vitruvius"—may be misleading to the reader. Serlio's orders are architectural models that exist on paper, independent of any possible "normative" rules (which are only embryonic in Serlio's treatise). Ancient architecture rarely accorded with Vitruvian doctrine. Moreover, the five Serlian orders themselves do not properly accord either with ancient architecture or with the Vitruvian text.

Toward the middle of the century, Serlio's system of the orders inspired another manual on the orders by Hans Blum (first editions Zurich, 1550, 1555; figure 5.5).[79] While Virtruvian editions and translations aimed at the French- and German-speaking markets were concentrated, respectively, in Geneva and Basle, it was in fact Serlio's theory of the orders, in its various and sometimes disguised incarnations, that seems to have particularly caught the attention of the Reformed cities north of the Alps. In 1563, the potter, architect, and later Huguenot martyr Bernard Palissy recognized two authorities, Vitruvius and Serlio (both of whom he subsumed under the



| Figure 5.5 |

The Ionic order, woodcut, from Hans Blum, *Ein kunstrych Buch* (Zurich, undated), foldout table on folio B.III. Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

authority of Nature, the work of God).[80] In 1649, a year after the independence of the Republic of United Provinces, the most important and complete *Vitruvius* of the century (an illustrated Latin edition that included reprints of the principal commentaries, among which was that of Philandrier), was edited by Jan van Laet, a humanist and the director of the Dutch West India Company, and published in Amsterdam by the Elsevier firm.[81]

This sort of elective affinity between the Vitruvian treatise and the modern theory of the orders was not accidental. Although an entirely modern invention, of which Vitruvius was only one among a variety of sources, the system of the orders was later grafted onto, even attributed to, the Vitruvian text. The resulting unions might be more or less fraudulent, depending on the specific case; as we now know, and as most architectural writers knew full well since the time of Alberti, in the Vitruvian text there simply are no orders in the modern sense, no word for them, and not the thing itself.[82] Vitruvius described only certain elements of what were to become the modern orders: more precisely, elements of which the moderns came to compose their system of the orders. And this Vitruvian architectural morphology has a peculiarity.

Whether the subject is the capitals and trabeation of Ionic and Doric temples, a Corinthian capital, or the columns of a Tuscan temple, Vitruvius always describes moldings of great simplicity, a kind of ground zero of classical morphology, an essentialized archetype to which anything might be added but from which nothing could be taken away.[83] In the discourse of Vitruvius this formal minimalism is always justified by and corroborated with the strictest application of the classical principle of tectonic mimesis, or rather of realistic imitation. In this way Vitruvius transmitted to posterity an architectural tenet that would find in early modern Europe a particularly receptive environment. In an exegetic drift once again particularly pronounced in the work of Serlio, there began in the Cinquecento the reinvention of Vitruvius as a strict rationalist, a severe censor of all superfluous decoration, a Puritan.

The relationship between Vitruvianism and Protestantism deserves a more profound investigation. Already in the age of the first humanists, Vitruvius's *De architectura* had been the object of an almost theological canonization. It thus makes perfect sense that Protestant culture, grounded in the interpretation of a foundational text that was vernacularized and widely disseminated in print, should have adopted almost without question this archi-

Le Proportioni principali ſono.	Del Toſcano.	Dorico.	Ionico.	Corintio.	Compoſito.
L'Altezza del Piedeſtallo.	Mod. 4.p. 8	Mod. 5.p. 4	Mod. 6.p.	Mod. 7.p.	Mod. 7.p.
Altezza della Baſe.	Mod. 1.p.	Mod. 1.p.	Mod. 1.p.	Mod. 1.p.	Mod. 1.p.
Altezza del viuo della Colonna.	Mod.12.p.	Mod.14.P.	Mod.16.p. 6.	Mod.16.p.12.	Mod.16.p.12.
Altezza del Capitello.	Mod. 1.p.	Mod. 1.p.	Mod. p.12.	Mod. 2.p. 6.	Mod. 2.p 6:
Altezza dell Architraue.	Mod. 1.p.	Mod. 1.p.	Mo. 1.p.4 1/2	Mod. 1.p. 9.	Mod. 1.p. 9
Altezza del Fregio	Mod. 1.p. 2.	Mod. 1.p. 6	Mod. 1.p. 9.	Mod. 1 p. 9.	Mod. 1.p. 9.
Altezza della Cornice.	Mod. 1.p. 4.	Mod. 1.p. 6.	Mo.1.p.13. 1/2	Mod. 2.p.	Mod. 2.p.
Larghezza dell'Intercolonio.	Mod. 4.p. 8.	Mod. 5.p 6.	Mod. 4.p. 9.	Mod. 4. p.12.	Mod. 4 p.12.
Larghezza dell'Arco ſenza Piedeſt.	Mod. 6.p. 6.	Mod. 7p.	Mod. 8.p. 9.	Mod. 9.p.	Mod. 9.p.
Altezza dell' Impoſta di d.Arco.	Mod. 9.p. 9	Mod.10.p. 6.	Mo.12.p.13 1/2	Mod.13.p. 9.	Mod.13.p. 9.
Altezza di d.Arco.	Mod.13 p.	Mod.14.p.	Mod.17.p.	Mod.18.p.	Mod.18.p.
Larghezza de'Pilaſtri di d.Arco.	Mod. 3.p.	Mod. 3.p.	Mod. 3.p.	Mod. 3.p.	Mod. 3.p.
Larghezza dell'Arco con Piedeſtal.	Mod. 8.p. 9.	Mod.10.p.	Mod.11.p.	Mod.12.p.	Mod.12 p.
Altezza dell'Impoſta di d.Arco.	Mo:13.p. 1 1/2	Mod.15.p.	Mod.16.p. 9	Mod.19.p.	Mod.19.p.
Altezza di d Arco	Mod.17.p. 6.	Mod.20.p.	Mod.22.p.	Mod.25.p.	Mod.25.p.
Larghezza de' Pilaſtri di d. Arco.	Mod. 4.p.	Mod. 5.p.	Mod. 4.p.	Mod. 4.p.	Mod. 4.p.

| Figure 5.6 |

"Tariff" of the orders, from Giuseppe Leoncini, *Istruzioni architettoniche pratiche* (Rome, 1679), 55.
Cliché Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris.

tectural text of archetypal status. After Trent, the "bible of the architects," translated, annotated, and illustrated, seems to have influenced the architectural culture of the Protestant north more deeply and over a longer time than it did in the Counter-Reformation south.[84] In the north, two independent architectural approaches overlapped with and reinforced one another: on one side the graphic standardization of the system of the orders, on the other an abstract principle of sobriety in decoration (the latter more reasonably attributed to Vitruvius than the former). A method of architectural composition based on the repetition of visually identical elements required that its components be simple and its rules of assembly rational.

Several decades later, in a different context, Claude Perrault, a Jansenist and man of science,[85] was concerned with transmitting to the "moderns" of his own day a new French translation of Vitruvius and, separately, an upgrade of the system of the orders (*Ordonnance des cinq espèces de colonnes selon la méthode des anciens*, 1683).[86] In a nearly contemporaneous Italian manual an unillustrated table giving the modular proportions of the five orders, after Vignola, was simply titled "tariff of the orders" (figure 5.6).[87] The French term "ordonnance," other than its generic meaning (arrangement), judicial meaning (decree), military, and architectural meanings (roughly "arrangement," but also, perhaps thanks to Perrault, the "orders" of columns), also means "prescription." Its use to mean a medical prescription is documented after 1660. Claude Perrault was in fact a medical doctor. His architectural formula or prescription was in a certain sense the natural evolution of the Serlian orders. But before Perrault's scientific revision of the Renaissance canon, from 1572 (the date of the reedition of Martin's French *Vitruvius*), until Fréart de Chambrai's *Parallel* (1650), both Vitruvian theory and the Serlian system of the orders were, with few exceptions, diffused in the French-speaking world from the city of Calvin.[88]

| 6 |
DECLINE AND FALL OF TYPOGRAPHIC ARCHITECTURE

I From Shute to Vignola

The chronological proximity between John Shute's treatise on the orders (1563) and that of Vignola (published without a date but probably in 1562) can be deceptive. London and Rome were far apart. Furthermore, the forms that these books ultimately took were not quite what their authors had intended. Shute's treatise is in fact a manual on the orders, a *Säulenbuch*. It bears a dedication to Queen Elizabeth but was very likely composed at the Protestant court of Edward VI between 1550 and 1553. Thus Shute's manual is not, as its publication date makes it appear, a contemporary of Vignola's but properly belongs to the generation before.[1] As for the *Regola* of Vignola, although it was to become, especially in the nineteenth century, the principal model book for the five Renaissance orders, it was born in another context, in another form, and for a different purpose.

All of the topoi inherent to the modern theory of the orders are cited by John Shute in his brief preface. He calls attention to the complementarity of text and image and claims that the image, as an example that incites enthusiasm and encourages emulation, can be more effective than text. He describes the illustrated orders as a mirror for contemplation, a perfect model, a guiding thread, a shortcut to the domain of all architectural knowledge.[2] In sixteenth-century usage, the term "short cut" was a common synonym for "method"—an ancient term whose modern career was only just taking off.[3] Regardless of any morphological and proportional differences or similarities, Shute's orders are once again those of Serlio. They are standardized, repeatable elements of architectural composition. The orders in print are "designed for reproducibility," published to be copied and reproduced (figure 6.1).