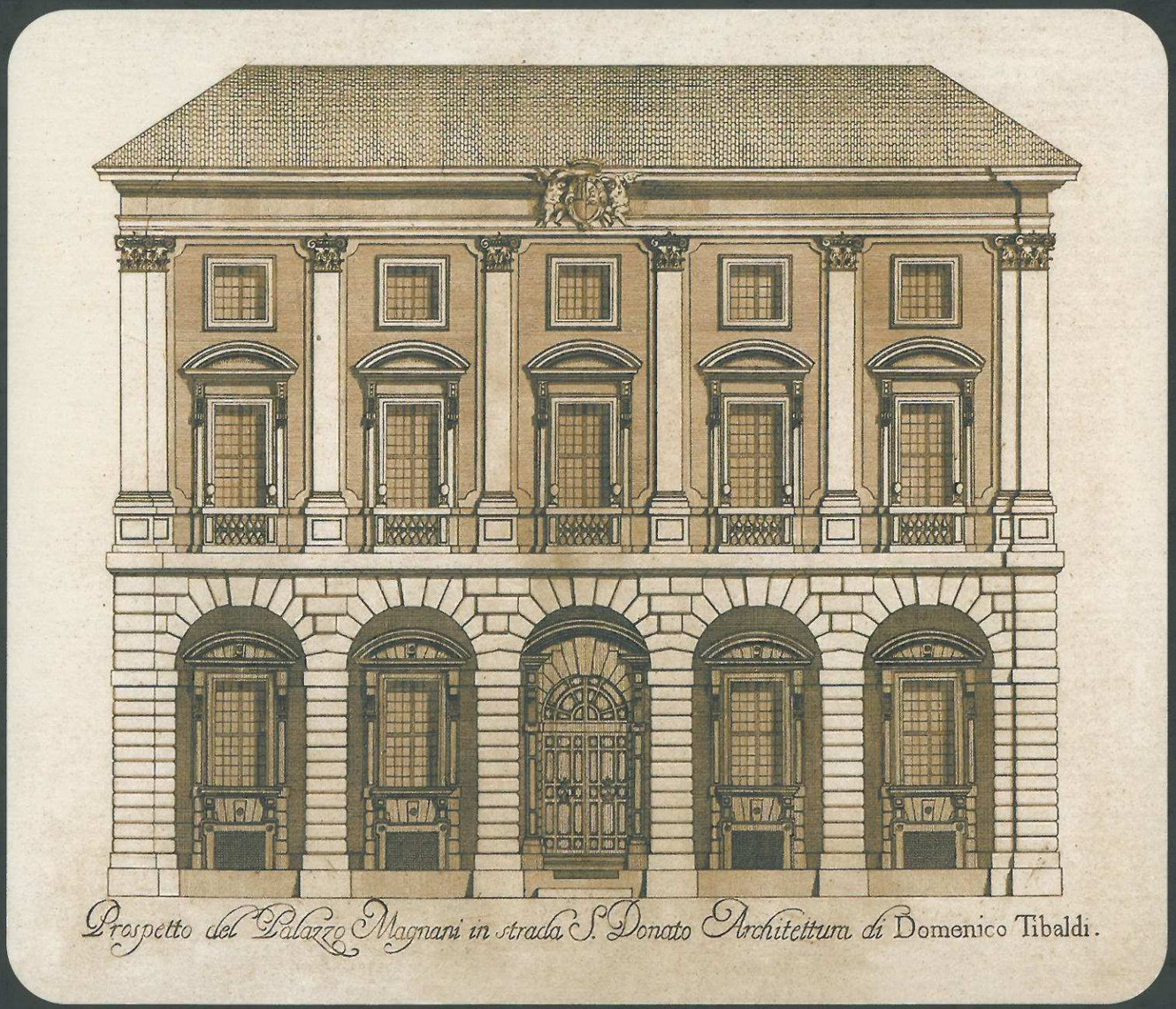
Palazzo Magnani in Bologna



Prospetto del Palazzo Magnani in strada S. Donato Architettura di Domenico Tibaldi.

UniCredit Banca

Palazzo Magnani
in Bologna

Palazzo Magnani in Bologna

edited by
Sergio Bettini

foreword by
Andrea Emiliani

texts by
Sergio Bettini, Richard J. Tuttle, Samuel Vitali

UniCredit Banca

Jacket illustration
Giovanni Antonio Landi, *Prospetto del Palazzo Magnani in strada S. Donato*, in *Raccolta di alcune facciate di Palazzi e Cortili de più ragguardevoli di Bologna* (midway through the XVIIIth century), plate 18. BCA, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, cart. Gozzadini no. 29.

Edited and published by
24 ORE Motta Cultura srl, Milano

Original title: Palazzo Magnani in Bologna
Translations: Sylvia Adrian Notini

Editor-in-Chief: Giuseppe Scandiani
Layout: Maurizio Bartomioli
Visual materials: Gian Marco Sivieri
Photolithography: Valter Montani

© 2009 24 ORE Motta Cultura srl, Milan
© 2009 UniCredit Banca spa, Bologna

All artistic and literary rights reserved for all countries.
Any form of reproduction, even partial, is prohibited.

First edition May 2009

After a considerable number of publications commissioned and financed by our bank, first as Credito Romagnolo, then as Rolo Banca and now as UniCredit, with the purpose of narrating the artistic splendour preserved in Palazzo Magnani, currently the seat of the bank's Presidency and national Management Offices, this volume, the result of rigorous archival research and stylistic analysis, tells the story of what actually went on behind the construction of the palace, as well as the events in the life of the senator Lorenzo Magnani, and the changes made inside the palace by the artists hired to work there. In recent decades, our institute has kept close watch over the conservation of the building and the artworks within, first and foremost the magnificent frieze recounting the *Founding of Rome* painted by the Carracci for the *sala grande*.

Of the many patrician residences in Bologna, Palazzo Magnani is preeminent in representing the heights achieved in the arts during the second half of the sixteenth century. Today, its story is once again delivered to scholarship and to the many lovers of art who each year flock to visit its rooms and its collections.

Aristide Canosani

On 17 February 2009, just as the corrected proofs for this book were being printed, our teacher and dearest friend Richard James Tuttle passed away suddenly. He had taken part in this group research project with the generosity and scientific insight that so distinguished him. Present-day Renaissance studies on Bologna have lost their most eminent exegete.

S.B.

Contents

8 Foreword
Andrea Emiliani

11 A note on the text
Sergio Bettini

13 Lorenzo Magnani "a nobleman and one of the senators of the city of Bologna." Tesserae in a portrait
Samuel Vitali

33 Palazzo Magnani: Domenico Tibaldi's architectural testament
Sergio Bettini

91 Palazzo Magnani: the sixteenth-century pictorial and sculptural decorations
Samuel Vitali

137 The fireplaces
Richard J. Tuttle

152 Documents
compiled by Grazia Lucisano

182 Bibliography

190 Index of names

Foreword

Andrea Emiliani

Palazzo Magnani is probably the Bolognese architectural monument most frequently studied in specialised publications. But the palaces's high repute is not so much due to the edifice itself as to the fact that it contains *ab antiquo*, from about 1590, the most famous cycle in the history of Bolognese pictorial decoration: the painted frieze of the *Founding of Rome* by Annibale, Ludovico and Agostino Carracci in its *sala grande*. This remarkable frieze with its brilliant decorative scheme denotes a turning point in the work that the artists had begun in the Palazzo Fava, on Via della Madonna di Galliera, and that led up to their great accomplishment in the ceiling of the Palazzo Farnese in Rome.

The present volume, following after the one recently carried out by Giuliano Malvezzi Campeggi on the Magnani for a series of publications on senatorial families in Bologna, is due credit for drawing attention to the palace as a whole, i.e. to its design as well as to its decorative and figural invention. It is founded on historical and archival research conducted alongside a stylistic and constructive survey, all of which coordinated and carefully directed by Sergio Bettini, who was flanked in his endeavour by experienced scholars of international renown such as Richard J. Tuttle and Samuel Vitali; the essays published here are furthermore complemented by a hefty corpus of documents assembled by Grazia Lucisano. The focus of the volume is, thus, not just on the famous frieze, but likewise on the architecture of the palace and all of the artworks preserved therein, including the monumental fireplace, without overlooking the figure of the patron himself, Lorenzo Magnani.

Little is known about Magnani's life, who—Samuel Vitali observes in the first essay—should substantially be remembered for his activity as a patron of the arts, which was as intense as his steadfast quest for a successor. During work on his palace Magnani revealed a sensitivity to art that is simply amazing, gathering about him many of the finest Bolognese artists of the period. Vitali closely examines the vicissitudes in the life of the Magnani family, Lorenzo's social ties with the Bolognese nobility, the work he commissioned in the near-by church of San Giacomo Maggiore (which entailed the realisation of two chapels and the related decoration), his business affairs, as well as his slow and hardwon political ascent towards the conquest of a senatorial seat, for which Giovanni Battista Castagna, the future Pope Urban VII, would prove to be instrumental.

In the chapter that follows, Sergio Bettini meticulously interprets the architectural and stylistic features of the palace, but not before attempting to assemble an artistic biography for Domenico Tibaldi, an emerging young architect in Bologna at that time, a favourite of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, as well as the younger brother of the more famed Pellegrino. The testimonial value of Palazzo Magnani is of utmost importance: it is also one of the architect's last works—Domenico would die a few years after its completion—as well as being his only undertaking to have remained nearly in its original state till the present. Tibaldi had developed a personal language, marked by the "decorum" of the masters working in Northern Italy: he was also quite skilled at taking formal "licenses" when applying the rules of architecture, thus providing tangible proof that he knew how to distinguish his work from the teachings of Rome, and that he possessed his own *maniera* insofar as the debate on post-Tridentine *reformed* architecture was concerned.

The essay on the decoration of the palazzo stems from a ten-year study conducted by Samuel Vitali, who closely analysed the documents and balance sheets for the Magnani house, proof that the work that went on in the palace included some of the finest representatives of Bolognese Mannerism (the painters Ercole and Camillo Procaccini, Cesare Baglione, Giuliano Spinelli, Lorenzo Magnanini also known as Fiorino, the sculptors Antonio Fasano, Bernardo Bagnoli and Lazzaro Casario, the gold-beater Bernardino Mazzoli, and the glass-maker Antonio Maffei), although, with the exception of the frieze in the *sala grande*, very few of their artworks have survived. Decoration of the *sala grande* and presumably of the entire palace was complete by 1592, the year that Lorenzo Magnani first became *gonfaloniere*: in 1587, Lorenzo Fiorino and Giovanni

Latini painted the wooden ceiling, its rosette decorations by a certain Sacchi, its gilding instead by Giuliano Spinelli; between 1590 and 1592, the Carracci executed their magnificent frieze with inscriptions by Antonio Zanetti; during that same period, although with some delay, at least the lower portion of the monumental fireplace designed by Floriano Ambrosini and executed by the stonecutter from Verona Zorzi, was concluded; the statues of *Mars* and *Minerva*, situated to the sides of the Carracci's *Lupercalia* painted for the portion of the fireplace located above the hearth, were sculpted by the artist from Lombardy Ruggero Bascapè. Vitali suggests a reading of the Carracci frieze and *sopracamini* based on the relationship between the culture of emblems and literary mythology. The chapter ends with a new interpretation of the sculptural group of the "Giant" in the back loggia, and some considerations on the busts located over the doors and which date from a later period. Clearly, much headway has been made since the historical study that Anna Stanzani and I conducted on the pictorial complex in 1989.

The essay by Richard J. Tuttle is instead devoted to the fireplaces in the palazzo, and it deserves credit—amongst other things—for drawing attention to a genre that till now has only rarely been dealt with by scholarship, raising the hope that his analysis will determine further study on the artistic production of such furnishings, present wherever heating was required. At the end of the eighteenth century, Palazzo Magnani—if we include the posterior area from the cellars to the attics—counted as many as sixteen fireplaces made out of sandstone (*masegna*), plaster and marble, in styles classified as "all'antica," and "alla romana." The monumental fireplace in the *sala grande*, which was the work of several artists, and where painting and sculpture magnificently form a whole in a sort of *bel composto* in Baroque style, may be ranked with the finest of Italian examples of this particular art. It is also proof of how fireplaces were conceived of in Bologna, where they were primarily distinguished by the presence of a large scene painted above the hearth: for the monumental fireplace, the painting is by the Carracci, while for the other two extant fireplaces in Palazzo Magnani, which were probably also designed by Fiorini, the paintings are by Bartolomeo Cesi.

The substantial amount of documentation in the appendix that concludes the volume gathers essential and as yet unpublished records for the years when the palazzo was being built, including the estimate of costs in Tibaldi's handwriting, and the detailed survey of 1581 by Vincenzo degli Alicorni. A glossary, the contract for the fireplace in the *sala grande*, a synoptic table of the annual balance sheets for the edifice, and the complete transcription of Angelo Venturoli's report of 1798, supplemented by references to all of the rooms named and set down in the tables drawn up by the same expert, contribute to the value of the appendix for the purposes of further study. A separate folder contains a facsimile of Venturoli's tables.

These praiseworthy studies, which provide new information on the palace, make up a scholarly volume that is essential to a knowledge of the entire stylistic season of naturalistic reform. This further enhances the value and the significance of the present work, while the sudden loss of one of its authors, Richard J. Tuttle (2009), makes its presentation particularly moving.

Such a multifarious and consistent work would not have been possible without the commitment of UniCredit Banca, which has been occupying Palazzo Magnani for several decades—first as Credito Romagnolo, and then as Rolo Banca 1473—and has been seeing to its upkeep since the outset (large-scale restoration work was carried out in 1997 and in 2007), making available to the public the works conserved therein by frequently opening its doors to visitors and scholars.

A note on the text

In the essays that follow, references to plates indicate the graphic representations reproduced in the section headed Documents, and complete doc. 7 (pp. 168-181).

The document in question is the report drawn up for the Palazzo Magnani in its entirety in 1798 (i.e. slightly more than two centuries after it was built) by the Bolognese architect Angelo Venturoli, who had been hired by the fiduciary heir Federico Montignani.

The report, whose original copy is preserved at the Fondazione Collegio Artistico Venturoli in Bologna, is made up of a meticulous written description and a series of plans, the former transcribed and the latter reproduced on pages 168-181.

For the purposes of facilitating the reader of the essays who wishes to consult the plans in Venturoli's report and identify the spaces described, the original writing has been "cleared" and replaced with Arabic numerals from 1 to 179, indicating each single space in the palace. Any interruptions that may be observed in the numerical order correspond to the "route," not always a sequential one, taken by Venturoli.

The plans as they were drawn up by Angelo Venturoli are instead reproduced in the plates included in the folder that comes with this volume.

S.B.



Palazzo Magnani: Domenico Tibaldi's architectural testament

Sergio Bettini

On 2 January 1577, when Lorenzo Magnani was just beginning to have his new palazzo built in strada San Donato (now Via Zamboni),[1] Domenico Tibaldi, who had been appointed to run the *cantiere*, was thirty-five years old and probably the youngest and most confirmed of all of the architects working in the city at that time[2] (fig. 2). There was absolutely no reason for him to think that this was going to be one of his last projects, and of all of his works, the one that would remain preserved nearly in its entirety till the present day. Domenico did live long enough to see the architecture of the palace finished, but he was not able to take part in its public inauguration on 1 July 1592, to celebrate Magnani's elevation to *gonfaloniere di giustizia*;[3] who knows what it would have been like for him to admire in the hall that he personally had designed the magnificent freize by the three Carracci, the impressive fireplace by Floriano Ambrosini with its statues by Ruggero Bascapè, and the ceiling that was the outcome of the joint efforts of a number of hands[4] (fig. 1). Some of the artists involved in work to create the Palazzo Magnani had actually done their apprenticeships in Tibaldi's workshop: it is a fact that Agostino had learned the basics of engraving there, and Malvasia reports that he had even gone so far as to "pass off" as his own work some of his master's copper-plates,[5] but only when the notoriety of the Carracci had succeeded in banishing to oblivion the memory of Tibaldi the engraver. Moreover, although there is no record of Floriano ever having been one of his disciples, the manifest analogies in their styles point to a dependence on Domenico's art.[6]

Domenico's health must have taken a turn for the worse during those final months of 1582, since Cardinal Gabriele Paleotti, made bishop of Bologna in 1566, and one of the most important participants in the Council of Trent, decided to summon from Milan the architect's elder brother Pellegrino—also an architect, and since 1567 at the service of the Fabric of the Cathedral—so that he might share with him some of his "dubij" (doubts) concerning the "moderatione" (moderation) of the new cathedral of San Pietro,[7] where Domenico had worked in the *cantiere* till then, and for nearly a decade had been its irremovable *dominus*.[8] The young Tibaldi would pass away on 2 January of the next year, exactly six years after work on the Palazzo Magnani had begun. He was buried in the church of the Santissima Annunziata, just ouside Porta San Mamolo, but, alas, the commerative stone that had been placed there lest he should be forgotten—as an engraver, a painter and an architect—has since been lost.[9]

Palazzo Magnani, façade, central detail.

Following pages
1
Palazzo Magnani, *sala grande* with the Carracci frieze and the fireplace by Floriano Ambrosini.

Biographical note on Domenico Tibaldi

Prior to initiating a close analysis of the actual construction of the Palazzo Magnani, it might be of use to briefly review the most significant stages in the artist's career, regarding which any attempts made till now have been sporadic.[10]

Domenico Tibaldi had dictated his will to the notary Camillo Bonasoni on 16 December 1582 at his home near Porta Santo Stefano, which came under the parish of Castel de' Britti,[11] and he had done this in the presence of his brother Pellegrino, his cousins Giovanni Battista and Cristoforo, and a group of trusted friends (Geronimo Caprari, Ottaviano dalla Fava and Giovan Paolo Bernia), naming as the sole heir to his estate Giovanni Tommaso, his only son.[12] An inventory of his property, drawn up on 21 January 1583, provides several indications as to the number of works present in the artist's home, as well as monies he was owed by third parties—at the very end of the document, for instance, mention is made of a certain Marc'Antonio di Brandi "per i tanti disegni hauti" (for the many drawings had), was he, perhaps, some kind of art dealer?—which might shed new light for the sake of studies on the collecting and graphic production of an artist who, plainly, must have made a good living with his work. A total in excess of five hundred designs in a variety of formats are mentioned, including "centoquindici […] diversi," "trecento quarantacinque novi, e vecchi," one of these works specified to be "in una forma di latta grando;" also listed are about fifty architectural elements ("basse, e capiteli," perhaps even some actual models?), "uno disegno della Cita di Bologna" (a plan, a view from above?), and, of course, illustrated books, paintings of devotional subjects and a "quadretto di marmoro" (bas-relief).[13]

Also worthy of note is the unquestionably substantial amount of real estate owned by Domenico Tibaldi: in addition to the


LAESI
NON NEGATI
ALIMVR



home where he resided, two floors with a portico and which included about ten rooms, as well as a cellar and a pen for the animals, the artist owned (in toto or a share of) six other pieces of property varyingly located throughout the city: one house in Borgo Paglia (now Via Belle Arti), a second house in San Petronio Vecchio co-owned with his cousin Cristoforo for three-fourths of its total value, a third under the parish of Santi Cosma e Damiano del Ponte di Ferro (Via Farini),[14] a fourth in the "Contrada di Sant'Andrea delle Scole" (Via Farini),[15] a fifth under the parish of Santa Caterina di Nosadella, and, last but not least, half of a sixth house "nella contrata di strata Castiglione."[16]

These are all elements pinpointing the economic conditions that an artist of Tibaldi's status had been able to achieve, a man whose social origins were, to be truthful, quite modest. Domenico Tibaldi came from a family of Lombard bricklayers originally from Puria in Valsolda (Lake Lugano), which, led by the father, Tibaldo, had emigrated to Bologna in 1511.[17] The Tibaldi building enterprise whose most important member, aside from Domenico's father, was an uncle named Cristoforo, included several members of the family, all recorded to have worked first in the *cantiere* of the convent of San Michele in Bosco, and later on in that of the Collegio di Spagna, both of these locations bearing witness to the significant changes that took place over the course of the sixteenth century, and monopolised, for several decades, by this family from Lombardy.[18] The power and influence that the Tibaldi held within the artistic guild *dei muratori* (bricklayers) is proven by the elevation of a certain Domenico—probably an uncle with the same name as our architect—to the *Consiglio della società*, voted in on 19 September 1553 with 23 in favour (white beans), and 7 against (black beans)—an election where only the most practised members of the guild, Antonio Terribilia and Vincenzo Montalbani, had succeeded in doing better, with 27 votes in favour and 3 against.[19]

In the years that followed, while working alongside some of the members of his family, the young Domenico began to show signs that, of all of these relations, he was the one with the greatest artistic talent, and for this reason he was assigned several jobs as a painter: for San Michele in Bosco, in 1565, he painted "sei quadretti" (six small paintings) in oil for the sacristy (which were lost during the eighteenth century);[20] at the Collegio di Spagna—where his cousin Giovanni Battista, son of uncle Galeazzo, was overseeing renovations—he was hired to decorate "*prima testudo capellae*" in the church, for which he was paid 680 lire in 1570-71.[21] On 30 May 1566, having been awarded citizenship in Bologna *ex privilegio*, Domenico was able to enrol in the list of those making up the *Quattro arti*, which also included painters.[22] Five years later, on 22 October 1571, and upon the death of Giovanni Francesco Bezzi, he was elected by the Senate to a "select" assembly of the company:[23] there are reports that those were years when Domenico was working as a painter in Milan, alongside Pellegrino as well as Camillo and Ercole Procaccini—the latter two would also be present in the *cantiere* for the Palazzo Magnani.[24] In July 1579 and till April of the following year, Domenico rose to the position of *massaro*.[25]

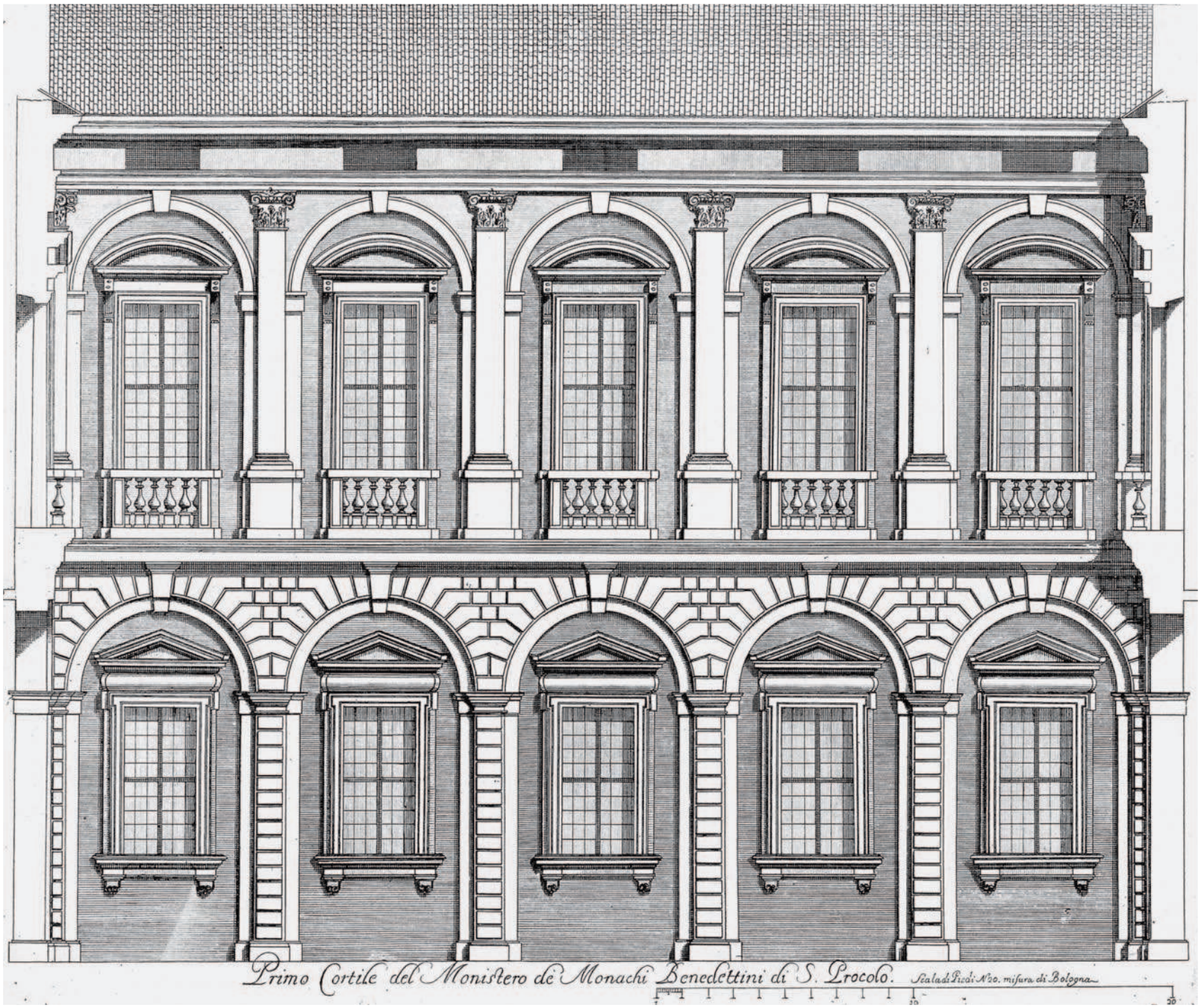
These events point to an important stage in Tibaldi's artistic and professional growth, one which involved the study of drawing: added to his training in bricklaying, which he and his brother Pellegrino had both received from the family, the study of drawing was an essential requirement for anyone wanting to sharpen his skills in architectural planning and in the general overseeing of works. At that time, architects did not have their own corporation, and in order to be able to practise their trade they were forced to enrol in one of the *Società*, or associations, for the arts, principally in one of those which accepted bricklayers; but if a person was particularly gifted, he could even aspire to membership in one of the associations that included painters. This signified the best possible training for an architect, for whom an education in drawing and in the proportions of the human body was part and parcel with a professional apprenticeship: when this was lacking it was a sign of serious inferiority. These are the words that Michelangelo wrote to Rodolfo Pio da Carpi: "è cosa certa che le membra dell'architettura dipendono dalle membra dell'uomo. Chi non è buon maestro di figure, e massimo di *notomia*, non se ne può intendere" (what is certain is that the structure of architecture depends on the structure of man. He who is not a good master of figures, and especially of anatomy, cannot be considered an expert).[26] At this time in history, architectural drawing, along with the three-dimensional model, constituted an essential tool to be used in defining and communicating the project to the patron, who "secondo il disegno" (based on the design) produced by the architect would then stipulate contracts with the skilled workers hired to supply materials and execute the work. In the first book of *De re aedificatoria*, Leon Battista Alberti had emphasised the authority of architectural design—"accioché poi tutta la forma d'esso edificio in essi disegni si riposi" (so that the whole form of the construction resides entirely in the project design itself)[27]—which he believed to be the means of expression at the very foundation of the architectural creation, insofar as this constituted pure mental activity freed of all material aspects. It was thus that the distinction between *architectus* (inventor) and *faver* (carpenter, executor of the work)—a concept that had been foreshadowed in Alberti's *Proemio*—was explained by Vitruvius.[28] In the introduction to his Albertian *Pareri*,[29] Pellegrino Tibaldi went back to this argument—"Although the architect might terminate the building in his mind, he requires a specific design to be able to carry it through materially: it is in his soul that he understands all of the forms that may be shaped with lines and angles"—further distinguishing, at the conclusion to the text, the tasks related to the planning phase, from those instead concerning execution, to the extent that he exempted the architect from the obligation of overseeing the construction work as it was being carried out: "The architect must not take on the general responsibility for a project because when he does so it becomes very difficult for him to defend himself from accusations that derive from the faults of others, and that occur either because of a lack of



2
Palazzo Magnani, façade onVia Zamboni (at one time San Donato).

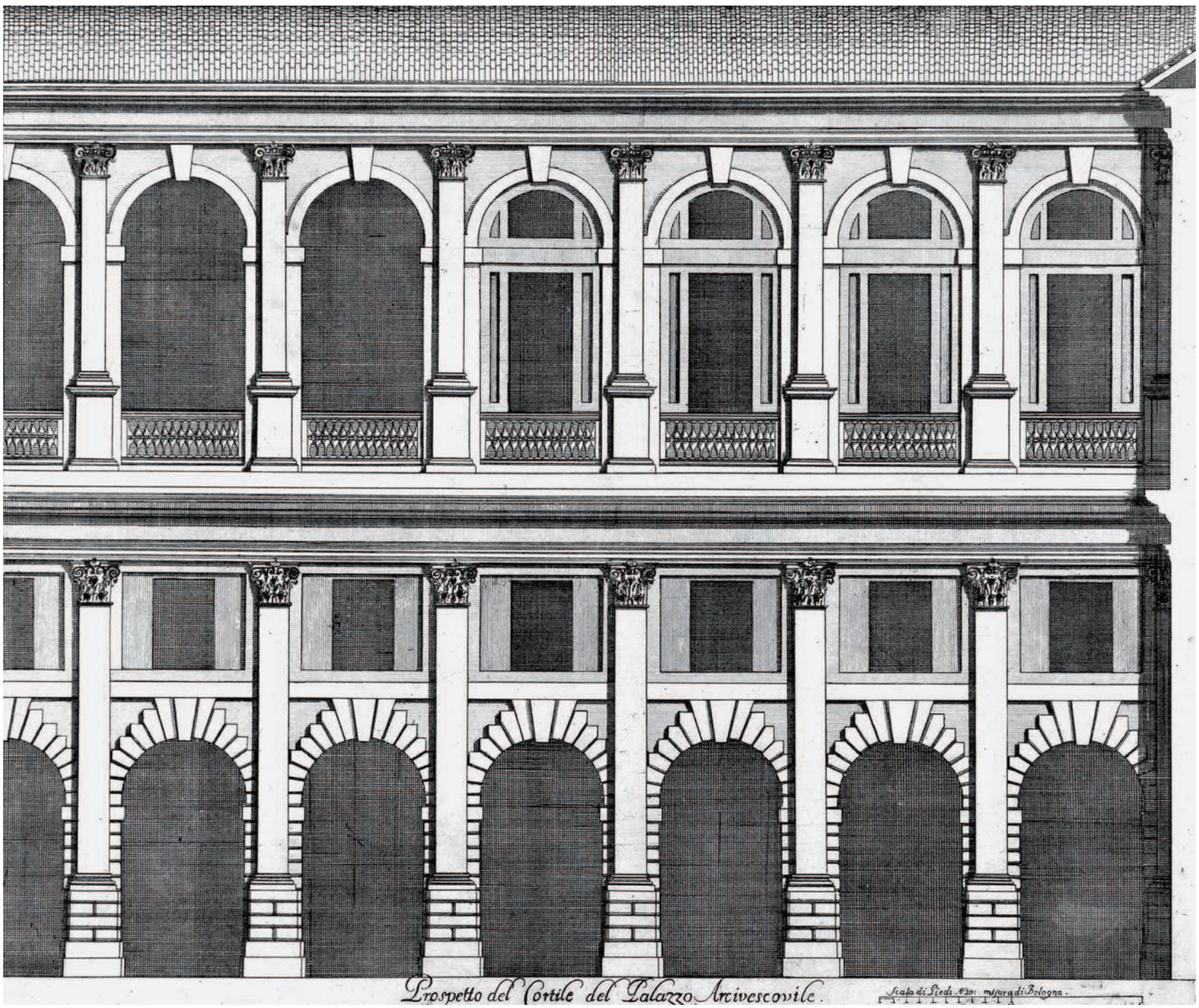
skill or due to ignorance. This responsibility should instead be handed over to a general overseer capable of being diligent and strict."[30] This meant an easing up on the architect's professional duties, allowing him to take on several jobs at the same time, something that was feasible only if a project had been defined previously; the "soprastanti" (those overseeing the work) could thus supervise the diverse phases of the work's execution, from the laying of the foundations to the addition of the ornamental details, and this explains why, lest there should be "inremediabil disordine non pensato" (irremediable and unforeseen disorder), project designs were absolutely not to be modified during the course of the work.[31] Like Alberti, Pellegrini considered painting, after geometry and arithmetic, to be the "terza" (third) art, without which the other two could not produce "alcuna cossa bona" (anything good); he judged the study of painting to be a rite of passage for the architect, as it exalted the principal attribute characterising the graphic representation of the project, that of its having been conceived "con inventione e legiadria" (with invention and grace).[32]

While there is little proof of his activity as a painter, it is a known fact that beginning in the seventies Domenico Tibaldi received numerous assignments as an architect. These first and foremost concerned religious architecture, undeniably an attempt on the part of Cardinal Paleotti to publicise within the city of Bologna his own theories as to a "reform" of ecclesiastic construction through the work of his architect, who at that time was readying a *Discorso del modo da tenere nel disegnare et edificare le chiese*, never to be



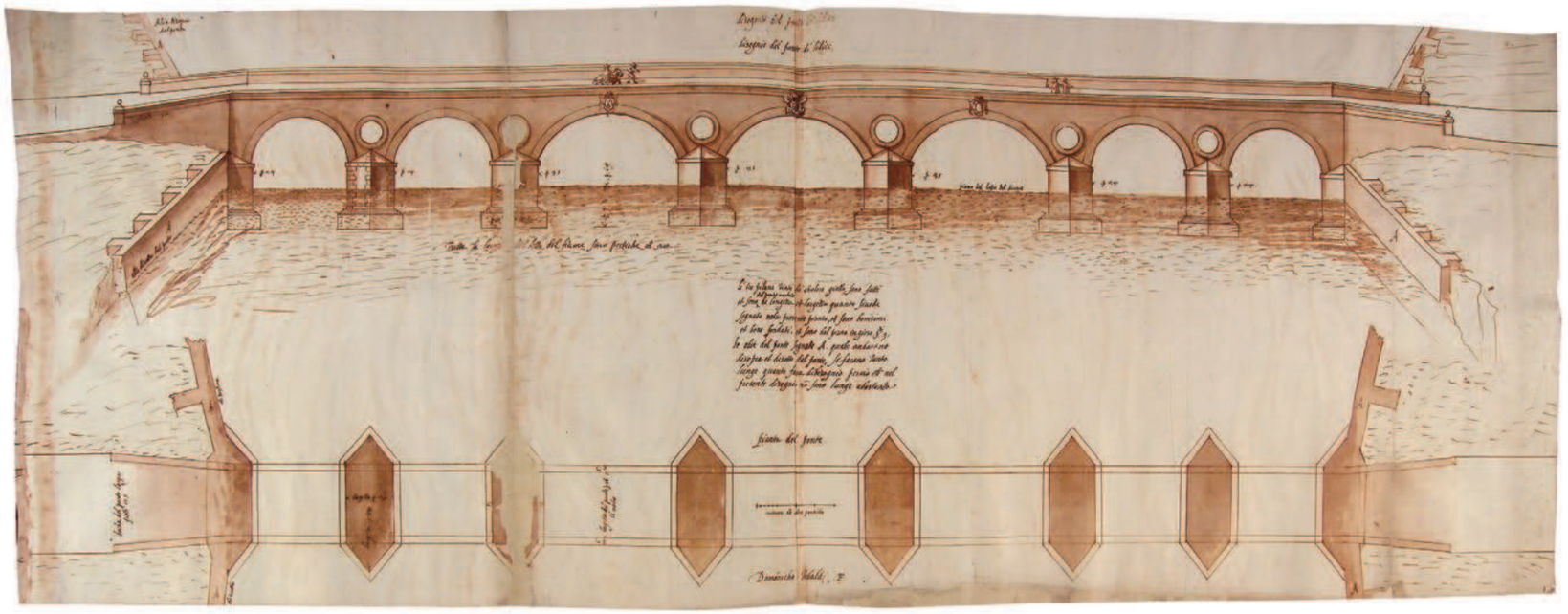
published, and many parts of which were destroyed in a fire and therefore lost forever.[33] In around 1570, while Domenico was just beginning to work on the church of San Pietro, he was consulted regarding the façade of the church of San Petronio, which he proposed completing with a project in "gothic" style, then submitted to Palladio for a comparison with an alternative proposal set forth by Francesco di Antonio Morandi.[34] The sources name diverse and subsequent assignments, some of which, however, reported much later, thus requiring a more accurate verification in order to be confirmed: San Procolo, for which, as an "ingegniero pubblico" (public engineer), Domenico would receive compensation in 1575 for plans for the new circular choir (executed in 1573-79, and then reworked by Carlo Francesco Dotti in 1744) and for the "claustro del Capitolo" (Chapter cloister) in the Convent (1577-86)[35] (fig. 3); Santa Maria delle Laudi, with the annexed Ospedale di San Francesco (circa 1574);[36] the "galante disegno del tempietto" (the galant project for the small temple) for the Madonna del Soccorso (1581, since destroyed);[37] the church

3
Giovanni Antonio Landi, *Primo cortile del Monistero de Monachi Benedettini di San Procolo*, in *Raccolta di alcune facciate di Palazzi e Cortili de più ragguardevoli di Bologna* (midway through the XVIIIth century), plate 21. BCA, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, cart. Gozzadini no. 29.



4
Giovanni Antonio Landi, *Prospetto del Cortile del Palazzo Arcivescovile*, in *Raccolta di alcune facciate di Palazzi e Cortili de più ragguardevoli di Bologna* (midway through the XVIIIth century), plate 24. BCA, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, cart. Gozzadini no. 29.

of the Carmelite Convertite or of the Buon Pastore in Via Lame (1585);[38] the cloister for the convent of the Olivetan monks of San Bernardo (1579-82);[39] the church and the oratory of the Compagnia della Madonna delle Febbri known as di San Giorgio, whose Confraternity had been instituted by Paleotti in 1573 and for which Domenico provided a project for the portico and the steps;[40] the church of Santa Maria a Fossolo;[41] the Palazzo Arcivescovile (from 1575-83 under his supervision)[42] (fig. 4); the project for decoration of the cupola of Santa Maria della Morte (1576, since lost) executed by the painter and stucco-worker Girolamo Bellati and that included grotesque motifs and other gilt highlights;[43] the upper cornice for the entrance doorway to the Palazzo Comunale (at that time also the Palazzo Apostolico), its lower level already designated by Galeazzo Alessi, with the purpose of positioning there the statue of Gregory XIII cast by Menganti (circa 1580)[44] (fig. 6); the project for the work done on the large archivault in Via Pescherie Vecchie and for an adjacent fabric for the premises of the Compagnia di Santa Maria della Vita (1581);[45] civil work



5
Domenico Tibaldi, *Disegnio del ponte di Idice*. ASBo, *Assunteria di confini d'acque*, Mappe b. 16, Miscellanea di mappe restaurate e non inventariate no. 11.

such as the seat of the Gabella Grossa or Dogana (1572-75, since then extensively modified);[46] the lost chapel of the palazzo of Senator Ercole Riario in strada Maggiore executed based on a plan by Gabriele della Porta (1579);[47] Tibaldi's contribution to Palazzo Bentivoglio in Borgo Paglia;[48] his participation in a contest for the building of a bridge over the River Idice (1581)[49] (fig. 5), in addition to hydraulic work carried out on the fluvial courses of the Rivers Aposa[50] and Navile.[51] Less certain are attributions concerning the villa of Camillo Bolognetti, known as il Toiano, in Casalecchio di Reno (inaugurated in 1559)[52] and the Palazzo Gessi in Strada Maggiore (1573).[53]

The Vatican plan and the Palazzo Magnani

A patron like Lorenzo Magnani, greedy for all things new, must have judged Domenico Tibaldi to be the leading architect on the Bolognese scene at that time—a man to whom Palladio himself had sent his regards in a letter dated 18 October 1572 and delivered by Francesco di Antonio Terribilia[54]—and hence the ideal person to commission a new palace.

Halfway through the 1570s, when work on the building began, Bologna's new look was being celebrated by the extensive land-surveying that was going on, promoted by both Cardinal Paleotti and the Bolognese pontiff Gregory XIII Boncompagni.[55] In 1573, the apostolic visitor Ascanio Marchesino reported having seen in the *sala delle udienze* inside the archbishop's palace in Bologna three broad topographical maps of the city, the mountains and the plain, which specified all of the churches in the diocese, and that had been drawn up under the supervision of the Augustinian historian Cherubino Ghirardacci.[56] Scholars have perceived these lost maps to have preceded representations to be painted on the walls of the Vatican lodgings of Gregory XIII on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1575.[57] These and the fascinating *icnoscenografia* (fig. 7) of the city decorating the *stanza Bologna*—regardless of omissions and restitutions that do not always correspond to what is true—plainly illustrated a new urbanistic and architectural vision, where the golden roofs were used to emphasise the churches of the diocese (the only exception being the house where the pope was born), and where what was conferred was the image of a "città centrata sulla chiesa" (a city centred on the church), its layout of manifest Borromean inspiration.[58] In March of 1575, Scipione Dattari, who would one day be nominated "primo ingegniero civitatis Bononie" (first engineer for the city of Bologna), was assigned the task of executing the preparatory drawing, to be completed during a second stage under the supervision of the painter Lorenzo Sabatini.[59] But just one month later, the Senate's public engineer was ordered to suspend any work under way and to instead take into consideration a new "Disegno mandato qua da M. Domenico Tibaldi" sent to Filippo Carlo Ghisilieri, the ambassador to Rome for the Bolognese Senate.[60] It may reasonably be surmised, as has been by others as well,[61] that the person sending the drawing was also its author. Solely on the basis of the many assignments he had received during those years, Domenico could be surpassed by no one for his knowledge and understanding of the city's future urban transformations, which would lead up to the hypothesis that in addition to playing a significant role in the revision of the work sent to Rome, the "disegno della Cita di Bologna" jealously preserved in his own home and recorded in an inventory of his property, was the very one that had been "mandato" (sent) to Rome by the architect.[62]

The Vatican view was to provide a finished image of the city

6
Domenico Tibaldi, project for the completion of the entrance doorway to the Palazzo Comunale in Bologna. Naple, Museo di Capodimonte, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 734.



but at the same time it could not help also completing, with an effective margin of credibility, its empty blocks, buildings that had remained unfinished, those which had been initiated and were still to be built. This was the case of the detail that portrayed the Palazzo Magnani as being a part of the complex of buildings surrounding what is at present Piazza Rossini (fig. 8). In 1575, while the Palazzo Malvezzi (to then become de' Medici) and the Augustinian convent complex were practically the same as they are today, the Palazzo Magnani was still waiting to be initiated. The ancient Bentivolesque heart of the city (where the Palazzo Magnani was to rise), marked by the Augustinian temple of San Giacomo Maggiore, the "Palatine church" of Sante e Giovanni II, had over the course of just a few decades been completely redesigned. The Palazzo Malvezzi's long front, assigned by Pietro Lamo (1560) to "Bartolomeo Triachino,"[63] now joined strada San Donato at the small square, a sort of "controcanto" (counter-melody) to the medieval façade of San Giacomo. It is common knowledge that the Magnani afforded strong political meaning to their presence in that specific area of the city, confirmed from the fifteenth century, and this was to be further emphasised through a plan for a two-fold image promoted by Lorenzo: the construction of the palazzo that would soon be visible, and of a chapel, consecrated in 1575.[64]

What the Vatican view revealed of the palazzo was a roof with two eaves as if the façade, but not the areas located behind it, or the court, had already been erected, implying that its authors knew of the future developments of the project. Records in fact report that the front of the palace was the first to be built, erected between January 1577 and April 1578, those being years when Domenico's name was listed amongst the "debitori" (creditors) in the "balanci" (balance sheets) to be remunerated for work on the fabric.[65] Routine procedure for the construction of nobiliary palaces at that time established that once the structure had been designed, work would begin from the façade, revealing preference for the public *facies* over the inside of the building. Domenico may have known of his patron's plans as early as 1575, and was probably already busy working on a project.

The palazzo in the archive records

A document published by Davide Ravaioli[66] tells us that at that time, and at any rate up to and not subsequent to the first half of 1576, Lorenzo Magnani was probably comparing the offers made by Bartolomeo Tassi ("Triacchino") and Francesco di Antonio Morandi ("Teribilia") to demolish the old fifteenth-century palace. Maurizio Ricci was recently able to associate this phase in the work with a drawing, attributed to the young Terribilia, showing the ground floor of the ancestral palace[67] (fig. 11), and which Magnani would continue to transform beginning on 20 April 1564, after having been exempted from paying the customs duty normally required to transport building material into the city, thereby rejecting the hypothesis proffered by some scholars that this date should be accepted as the *terminus post quem* for the start of work on the new palace.[68] Although the drawing does not entirely correspond to the description provided for the pre-existing building in the document dated 2 February 1494[69]—which says that it was "cum quattuor curtis" and not three as is instead represented—the association seems an acceptable one if based on the evident congruency with the proportions of the portico on the façade, as well as with the orientation of the building, but it is difficult to comprehend why Magnani continued to have work done in the old palace till 1576, to then tear it down the same year and begin to build a new one.[70]

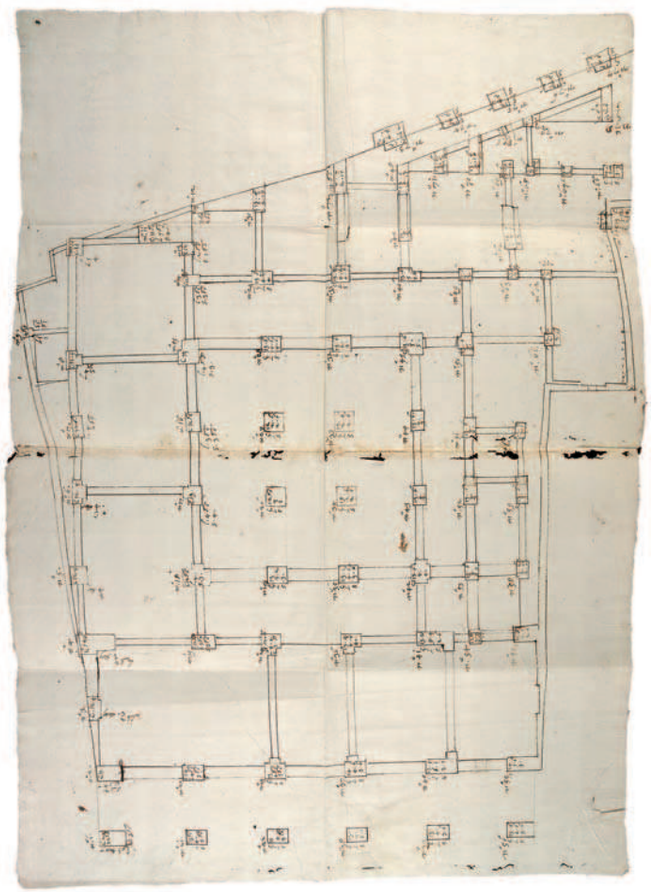


7-8
Domenico Tibaldi and Scipione Dattari, Lorenzo Sabatini, Giovanni and Cherubino Alberti, *Pianta prospettica di Bologna*, whole and detail with Palazzo Magnani. Rome, Palazzi Vaticani.

New elements in favour of the original hypothesis—i.e. that in 1564, when the nobleman was exempted from paying the entrance duty, Magnani already intended to have the new palazzo built—emerged during the course of research carried out by Vitali on Lorenzo Magnani's wills: the first version of 1565 states that the new palazzo was to be made up of "tre ordini di stanze" and therefore presumably arranged on three levels (as it is at present: ground floor, *piano nobile* and the floor below the roof), assigning the project "a genti perite" (experts, whom it would seem had not as yet been chosen); in a subsequent version of 1572, the project would appear to have lost its interest, and this might explain the small improvements made to the old building till 1576 (for slightly more than 765 lire), thus allowing the two hypotheses to coexist.[71] As for the delay—a lapse of time lasting more than a decade, between the exemption from the duty (1564) and the onset of construction (1576)—Vitali has reported on a long legal diatribe between Lorenzo Magnani and his father-in-law Camillo's heirs—concerning ownership of the property and settlement for the


S. DOMENICO
S. FRANCESCO
S. PETRONIO
S. STEFANO
S. MICHELE
S. GISMONDO
S. VITALE
S. GERVASE
S. PROTASIO
S. GIACOMO
S. VITALE





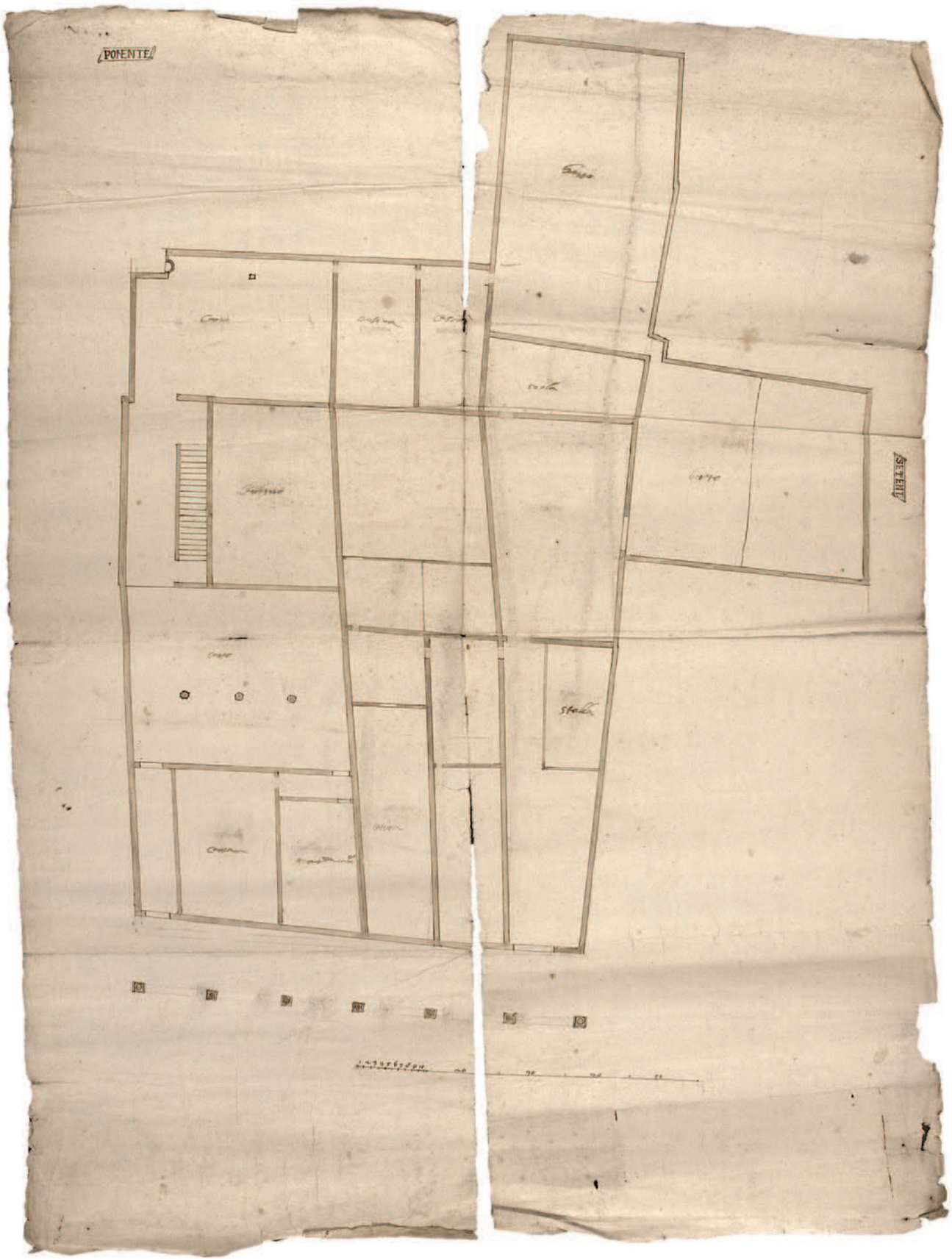
9-10
Palazzo Magnani, plans for the basement-foundations. ASBo, *Malvezzi Lupari*, IX, b. 190, "E3° Magnani. Piante schizzi e disegni di beni stabili senza forma da alcun perito. Libro E", two drawings on paper, Indian ink: 3) counts 85 walls with relative proportions, 869 x 589 mm. At the bottom of the page and left, the following annotation: "parte tagliato e parte ingrosatto, cioè ingrosata da un cho once 9 e da l'altre taiatto once 4 in alteza di piedi 16"; 4) counts 77 pilasters with relative proportions, including those for the back exterior meant for the adjacent palace.

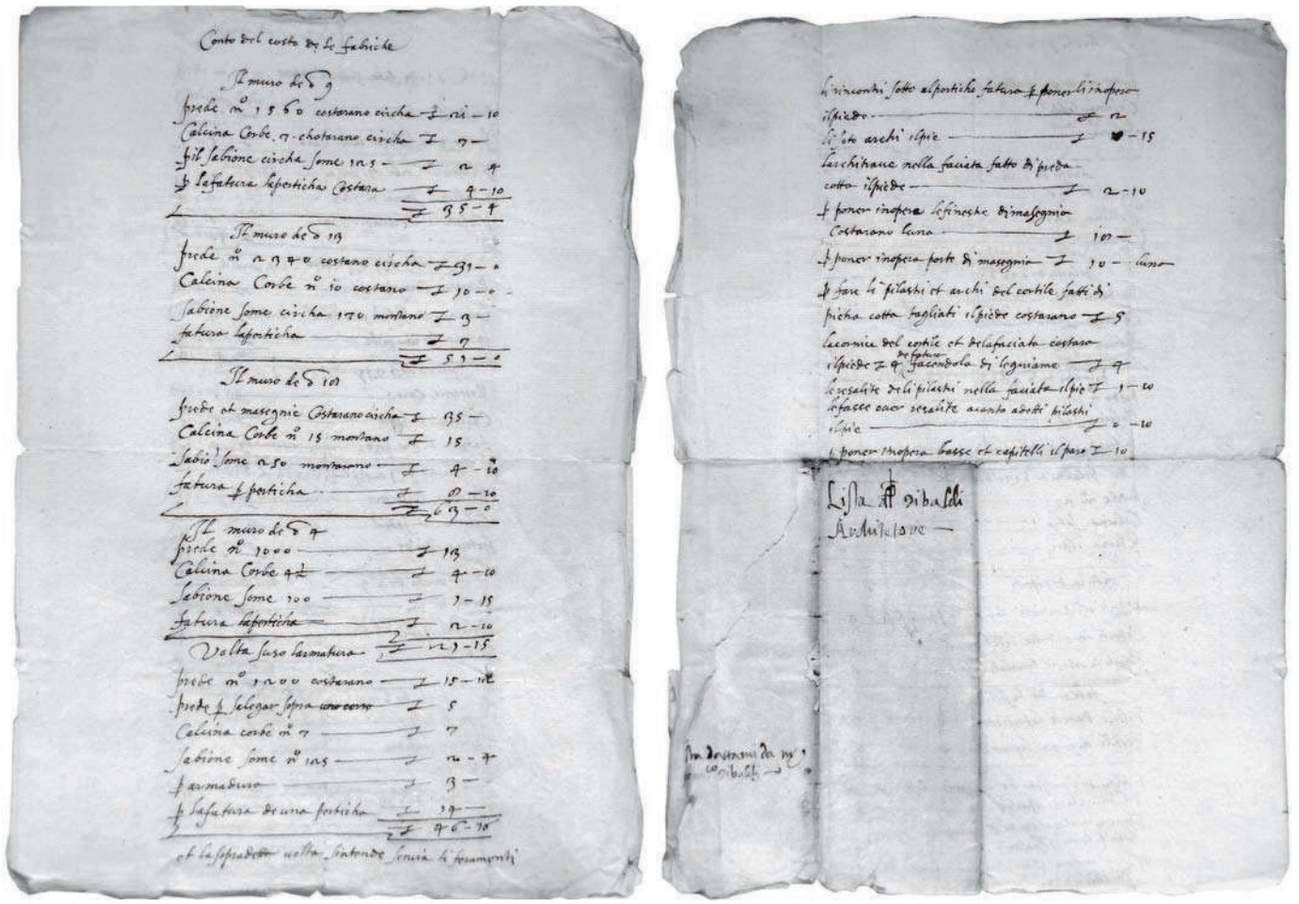
dowry of his first wife—and for which an agreement between the parties was not reached till 1571, whereupon the Borgognini heirs were allowed another five years (till 1576) to pay off their debt to Lorenzo in the amount of 5,373 lire.[72]

Hence, in 1576, as a result of the patron's improved finances the situation had changed considerably. It was during this phase that Domenico Tibaldi entered the scene, nominated "architettore" in a contract of 23 August, while the hauler Mariotto di Giovanni Ubaldini and his "disette asini" (seventeen mules) were assigned the task of removing the debris after demolition of the old building, and transporting the new material required for subsequent construction work,[73] permanently replacing Triachini and Terribilia in the *cantiere*.[74] The document also clarifies how the vaults in the "tuade" (cellars) were to be executed, so that work could be carried out on the foundations and basement, after a project design described in two very large sheets (figs. 9-10) discovered by Ravaioli.[75] The drawings, nearly identical and somewhat inaccurate, meticulously record, however, the proportions for the structures: in one of these, measurements for the pilasters (including those supporting the vaults located below the court) are noted, while in the other, the proportions for the connecting walls are designated. In truth, what these sheets really do is to define a sort of structural pattern for the building, as the horizontal section does not exactly correspond to either the foundations or the basement, and this is probably explained by the fact that in those days it was necessary to save on drawing materials, so that one or more plans were often combined. While Ravaioli has assigned the sheets to Tibaldi, on the basis of the handwriting that may be observed on the right side of one of the two, Vitali has now attributed them to Piero Magli, the master builder who signed the aforementioned contract of 1576 with the hauler.[76]

A "Conto del costo della fabricha," signed by Tibaldi, recently traced in the Malvezzi Lupari *fondo* (figs. 12-13), states that the architect had also been responsible for establishing the building's elevation.[77] This is what is currently referred to as an "estimate of proportions and cost," i.e. an estimate of expenses including the amount of material required, and the proportions, to which is added the cost for labour ("fatura"). Tibaldi had written all of this up before beginning to work in the *cantiere* in the summer of 1576, as is indicated by his use of the future tense ("costarano," "costarà"). The materials referring to the elevation in strada San Donato reveal what had probably been decided a priori in a drawing since lost: pilasters for the façade and the arches above, the "regolone […] sopra li archi" (i.e. the string-course), the windows and doors were to be made of "masegnia," i.e. of sandstone, whose yellowish colour would suggest the use of stone from the quarries of Varignana;[78] contrarily, the walls, the vaults, the arches, the inside pilasters, "l'architrave nella faciata"

11
Francesco Morandi Terribilia (?), plan for the ground floor of the fifteenth-century Palazzo Magnani. ASBo, *Malvezzi Lupari*, IX, b. 190. Top right the essential indications "ponente" and "settentrione." At the foot of the page the metric scale (in Bolognese feet). From the bottom left "camara," "guarda camara" (?), "casina," "corto" (court), "stalla," "camino," "horto," "corto," "casina," "casina," "scola" (stairway), "horto." Drawing on paper, watercolour with Indian ink, 600 x 443 mm.





12-13
Domenico Tibaldi, *Conto del costo della fabricha*, unpublished. *Documents*, no. 1.

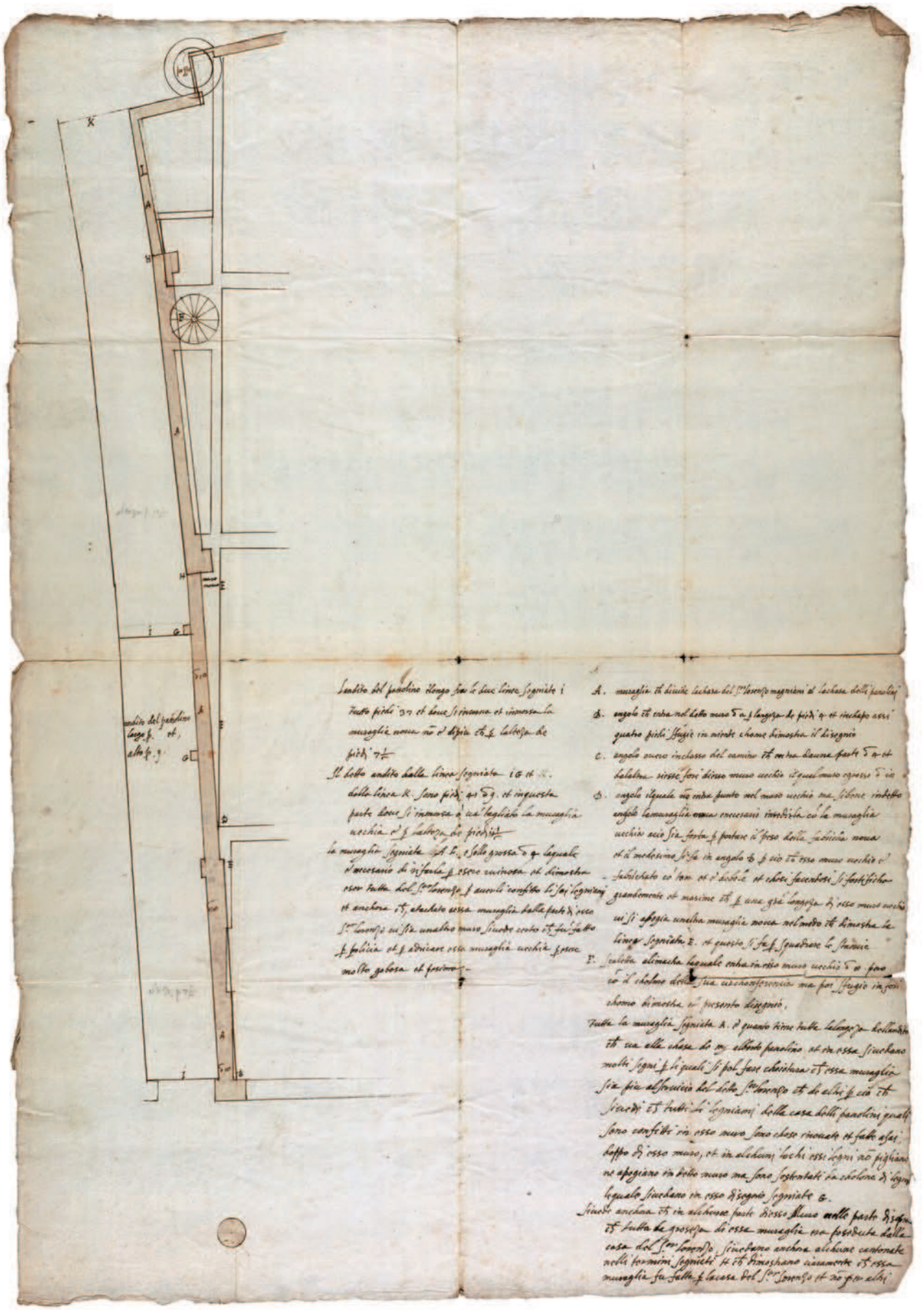
(the top cornice), the "resalite" (the pilaster strips),[79] the "fasse over resalite acanto adetti pilastri" (the *specchiature*, niches) were to be made of "preda cotta," i.e. masonry; and the "taseli," i.e. the floors, of "dabeto" (made of fir-wood) or "defiopa" (made of poplar); poplar, easily supplied by the territory, was preferred to oak—the opposite of what is now the case—because of its elasticity, which limited unpredictable structural collapses; its poor mechanical resistance was made up for by increasing the dimensions of the small beams.[80]

Elevation of the building up to the roof, including the court, as well as decoration of many of the rooms, had been concluded by January 1581. On 2 February 1581, A *Quadernetto del saggio della fabrica* was written up by an expert master-builder named Vincenzo degli Alicorni, but also known as "Rose Montalban,"[81] concerning the resolution of a work-related legal dispute between the bricklayers Piero Magli, Gregorio Marescalchi, Tommaso Martelli[82] and Giovanni Bedini,[83] and the patron Magnani. Magli signed for the other three "per non sapere loro scrivere" (because they did not know how to write), while in the balance sheets from 1577 to 1581, Marescalchi's name was used to refer to all three, and a total amount of 12,592-11-6 *lire* in 1581 was indicated.[84] Alicorni's calculations actually reveal a higher figure (13,799-19-0 *lire*), without including a whole series of additional works previously carried out by the bricklayers as well as those complained of by the patron because they had not been done "a regola d'arte" (professionally), and it is for this reason that the parties agreed that the work was to be done over again for the (reduced) price of 25 *lire*.

Alicorni's report is therefore the most exhaustive source for a reconstruction of Tibaldi's project. But the report is not always immediately comprehensible, as it is filled with technical terminology in an often evasive Bolognese dialect;[85] moreover, there are no drawings enclosed with it and, perhaps more importantly, the rooms are not described in a logically sequential order, floor by floor, but by subdividing the building into vertical sky-land volumes, so that the exact location of some of the parts of the building continues to be difficult to prove.

Vitali has pointed out another drawing—accurately covered with elegant handwriting recognised to be Domenico's—which shows the southern boundary wall of the palace to be "landito del panolino," a corridor that passed between the Magnani property and that adjacent, which belonged to the Pannolini[86] (fig. 14). The plan, which was probably a part of the settlement of 1587 ending the ten-year legal dispute between the parties,[87] must have been readied—perhaps prepared by Piero di Magli himself—before the work was begun, since the drawing reveals a request to make the wall thicker in some places, in order to "portare il peso della fabricha nova" (bear the weight of the new building). It also indi-

14
Piero di Magli (drawing) (?), Domenico Tibaldi (handwriting) (?), Palazzo Magnani, drawing for the wall marking the boundary with the Pannolini. Centre, left column: "*Landito del Panolino* è longo fra le due linee segniate in tutto piedi 37 et dove se incassa et inmorsa la muraglia nova non è di più che per l'alteza de piedi 7 1/2. Il detto andito dalla linea segniata iG et dalla linea K sono piedi 41 once 9 et in questa parte dove si inmorsa o va' tagliato la muraglia vechia è pertiche l'altezza de piedi 1 1/6. La muraglia segniata A.L. è sollo grossa once 4 la quale è necessario di rifarla per esere ruinosa et dimostra eser tutta del Signor Lorenzo per averli confitto li soi legniami et anchora che, atachato a essa muraglia dalla parte di esso Signor Lorenzo vi sia un altro muro si vede corto che fu fatto per policia et per abricare essa muraglia vechia per essere molto gobosa et pesima. Al centro, colonna destra: A. muraglia che divide la chasa del Signor Lorenzo Magniani e la chasa delli Panolini. B. angolo che entra nel detto muro once 2 per longeza de piedi 4 et in chapo assi quatro piedi sfugie in niente chome dimostra il disegnio. C. angolo overo incasso del camino che entra da una parte once 4 et da l'altra riesse fori di esso muro vechio il qual muro grosso once 18. D. angolo il quale non entra punto nel muro vechio ma sibene in detto angolo la muraglia nuova è necessario insedirla con la muraglia vechia acio sia forta per portare il peso della fabricha nova et il medesimo si fa in angolo B per cio che esso muro vechio è fabrichato con tera et è debole et chosi facendosi si fortificha grandemente et masime che per una già longeza di esso muro vechio vi si apogia un'altra muraglia nova nel modo che dimostra la linea segniata E et questo si fa per squadrare le stancie. F. scaletta a limacha la quale entra in esso muro vechio once 8 però con il cholmo della sua circhonforencia ma poi sfugie in fori chomo dimostra il presento disegno. Tutta la muraglia segniata A è quanto tiene tutta la longeza dell'andito che va alla chasa de messer Alberto Panolino et in essa si vedano molti segni per li quali si pol fare choiotura che essa muraglia sia più al servicio del detto Signor Lorenzo che de altri percio che si vedi che tutti lo legniami della casa delli Panolini quali sono confitti in esso muro sono chose inovate et fatti asai doppo di esso muro, et in alchuni lochi essi legni non pigliano ne apogiano in detto muro ma sono sostentati da cholone di legnami li quali si vedono in esso disegno segniate G. Si vede anchora che in alchune parti di esso muro nella parte di sopra che tutta la groseza di essa muraglia era poseduta dalla casa del Signor Lorenzo. Si vedano anchora alchune cantonate nelli termini segniati H che dimostrano ciaramente che essa muraglia fu fatta per la casa del Signor Lorenzo et non per altri." ASBo, *Malvezzi Lupari*, X, b. 199.





15
Palazzo Magnani, court of the "Giant."

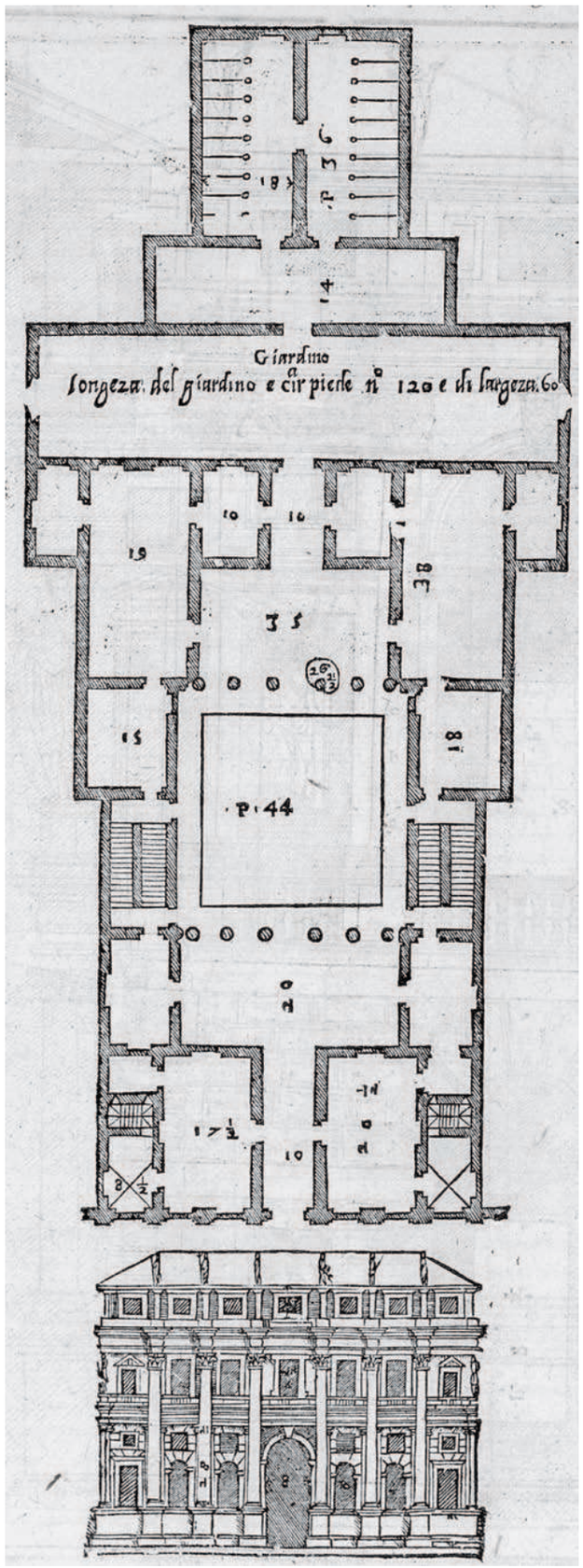
cates the presence of a spiral staircase, which Alicorni says was located close to one of the two palace chapels.[88] In the report written up at a later date by Venturoli, the passageway had become a "chiavica aperta" (open drain), onto which the windows of a toilet on the ground floor and a small room above made out of a mezzanine both faced (plate I, 14, 15, 17).

The palace interior and changes made

From the time of Lorenzo Magnani's death (1604) the palace interior continued to undergo transformation, so that the detailed report written up by Angelo Venturoli in 1798, published in its entirety in this volume, only partially "descrive il palazzo nella sua configurazione che è ancora quella progettata da Domenico Tibaldi" (describes the palace and its shape, which is that planned by Domenico Tibaldi).[89] Data obtained from records posterior to Alicorni's report (1581) must be taken into account if any sort of reconstruction of the original layout is to be attempted; these include: inventories, expenses for work done, surveys, engravings, estimates.

The way in which the parts of a nobiliary palace were distributed was determined by the arrangement of the rooms, as well as by the way in which one could get around the palace and reach its upper floors starting from the area around the court (figs. 17-18), considered by Leon Battista Alberti to be the "cuore della casa" (the heart of a home). Tibaldi chose a square court with three bays per side, which, on account of the limited amount of space available, could not be arcaded on all four sides, a solution that the architect had used for the Palazzo Bentivogli and at the Dogana.[90] Thus, he decided on using only two, parallel to the façade and immediately visible upon entering, almost as if it were the climax of a series of theatrical wings arranged along a set visual axis, which—as Vitali has acutely observed—did not end with the dark area containing the statue of Atlas, but in an open "curtesela," square in shape, and crowned by a baluster.[91] Moreover, Alicorni stated that between the loggia and the "curtesela" was a wall "sopra li pilastri de la loga verse la chorte" (above the loggia pilasters and towards the court) rising up as far as the roof. The so-called Agostino Carracci plan, also printed in 1581, portrayed the open rear portion of the palazzo, probably during a phase that preceded Alicorni's report, although the idea that this may have been based on needs having to do with representation cannot be excluded[92] (figs. 19-20); the Palazzo Malvezzi, depicted in the plan adjacent and below, assigned by Lamo to Andrea and Giacomo Marchesi da Formigine, revealed a similar opening, in which Giuseppe Mazza would at a later date place the statue of Hercules, still displayed today.[93] Closing of the upper part of the Magnani "curtesela" containing the "Giant" and its addition into a new second loggia duplicating the one towards the court (fig. 15; plate II, 5) probably came about in 1615 and was the work of the bricklayer Tommaso Roca as requested of him by Lodovico Magnani.[94] The effect produced by the succession of these spaces is now compromised by the windows of the logge, which, for the purpos-

16
Palazzo Valmarana, Vicenza. Palladio 1570, II, chapter III, p. 16.



es of saving energy, close the court off, further curbing the amount of light reaching it inside. The aspect of the court imagined by Tibaldi was meant to exalt the centrality of the scuptural group inside the niche, by way of a fulcrum lit from above, which expanded the depth of the plan longitudinally. Similar sequences of spaces recall a series of buildings that Domenico might have personally seen or known of from printed works, like the Roman Palazzo Gaddi, attributed to Jacopo Sansovino by his own son Francesco and by Vasari,[95] Vicenza's Palazzo Valmarana (1565) by Palladio (fig. 16), while examples where the court is elongated include the houses built for Angelo and Pietro Massimo by Peruzzi;[96] not to be overlooked is the inspiration for the local gardens in the rear, present as far back as in Palazzo Bentivoglio, which was then destroyed, and, halfway through the sixteenth century, in Palazzo Campeggi (previously Sanuti) in San Mamolo.[97]

Also different was the shape of the apertures in the logge (figs. 21-22), as proven by an engraving of the court by Giovanni Antonio Landi (fig. 23), depicted in the corridor opening up to the west a single central door flanked by two aedicules with tympanum, based on a configuration confirmed in Alicorni.[98] It was probably during the course of the nineteenth century that these were replaced with the existing doors featuring overdoors with windows (fig. 24), in this part of the building also placed at the head of the loggia. What has instead survived in the area corresponding to the heads is the original semi-circular and splayed cornice, reported in Alicorni;[99] two centuries later, Venturoli added not the doors that can be seen at the present time, but two aedicule-shaped windows, which duplicated the model used in the court and on the façade, suggesting that they must have dated to the sixteenth century (plates II, 35, 43; X). The lack of doors in the southern heads of the logge would imply that circulation within the apartments on the various floors must have required a necessary passage through the "sala," in line with the past notion of distribution in nobiliary palazzi (plates I, 7; II, 36).[100] One plan, published by Ricci, concerning a dispute in 1678 with the Malvezzi about the aperture of a window and including other papers[101] (figs. 25-27), confirms the frontal aspect of the logge with two windows to the sides of the door, while another door may be observed in the southwards head.

Thus, the court's arcaded fronts were characterised by aedicules featuring a triangular tympanum, while its closed fronts, repeated on the façade and on the portico, revealed a motif that on the *piano nobile* was inserted into an arched bay whose extrados was highlighted by a small cornice in relief and that varied only slightly from what Domenico had proposed, during those same years, for the closed sides of the Chapter cloister of San Procolo (figs. 3, 28-29). Finally, as per a Bolognese custom that was dictated by the need to save energy, and also reported by Serlio,[102] the "curnisote" in the courtyard was made of wood.[103]

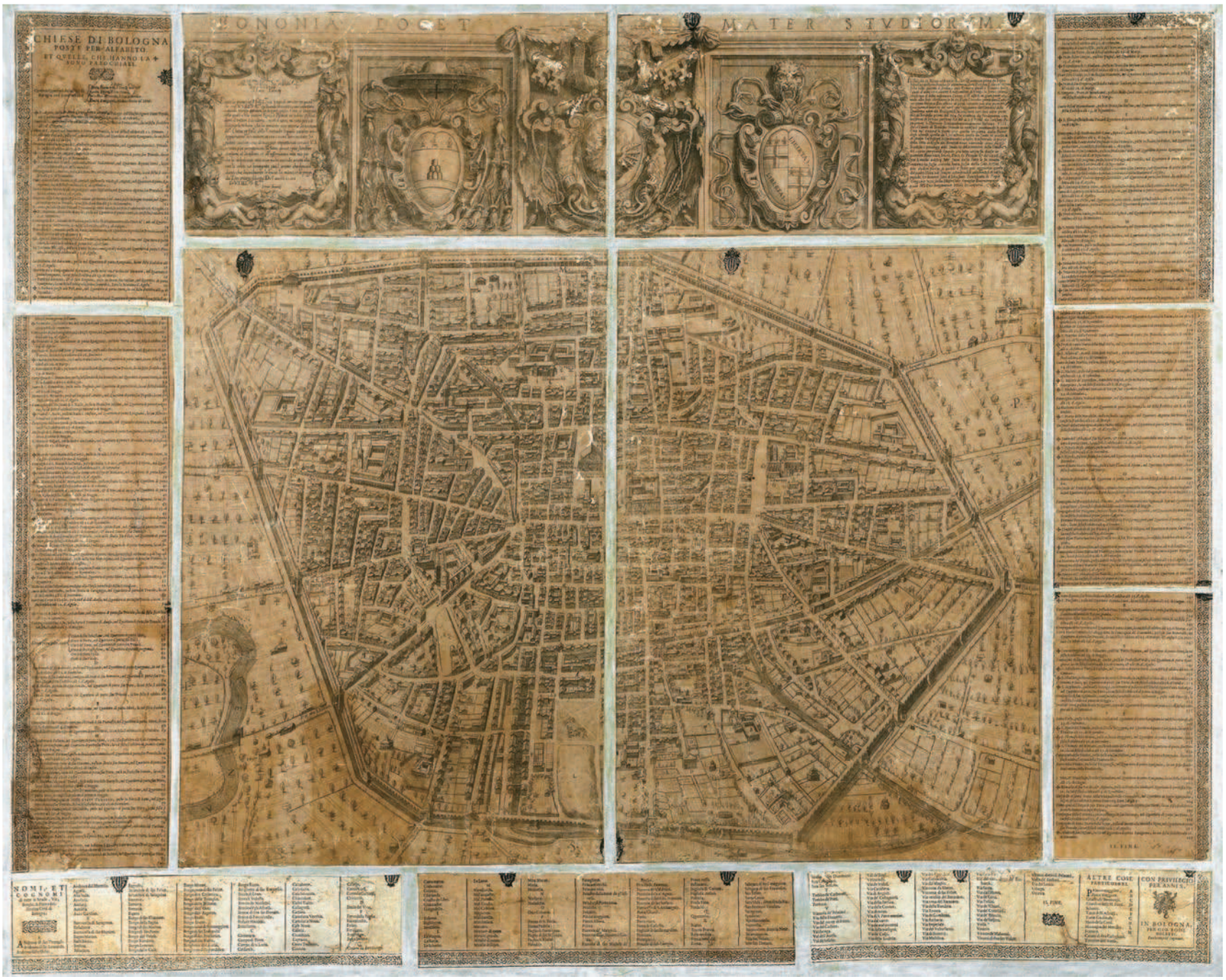
The position of the stairway and the way it developed closely depended on the shape of the court. The stairway was to be immediately visible, as soon as one went past the corridor, its loca-



17
Palazzo Magnani, court, eastern front.

18
Palazzo Magnani, court, southern front.





19
Agostino Carracci, plan of Bologna, 1581. Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Gabinetto disegni e stampe.

tion being at the end of the first loggia.[104] The closeness between the arcaded loggia and the stairway is recorded for numerous buildings: because only so much room was available, a single arm of peristyle could be constructed, the same as in the Palazzo Baldassini by Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, and in some of the projects by Baldassarre Peruzzi for the Palazzo Ricci in Montepulciano.[105] The beginning of the stairway in Palazzo Magnani is preceded by two small spaces: the first meets with the passageway located under the upper flight, the second is a sort of elevated landing indicating that the staircase is about to begin (fig. 30). This is a "cultured" element, which Christoph Luitpold Frommel refers to as a "podio," documented from the fifteenth century beginning with the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino and the Palazzo della Cancelleria, used by Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane in Palazzo Farnese, in that which during the sixteenth century may be considered the most aulic reconstruction of the Vitruvian *domus*,[106] and, in turn, used by Vignola in Piacenza, in his first project for the Palazzo Farnese.[107]

The stairway designed by Domenico Tibaldi in proximity to the landing was originally characterised by a second flight specular to the one leading up to the *sala dei Carracci*, which could be used to reach the northwestern portion of the *piano nobile*. It continued along the northern side of the court and, opening up "like

20
Agostino Carracci, plan of Bologna, 1581, detail with Palazzo Magnani and Palazzo Malvezzi. Bologna, Pinacoteca Nazionale, Gabinetto disegni e stampe.





21
Palazzo Magnani, court,
western front, late afternoon.

22
Palazzo Magnani, court, western front, at night.

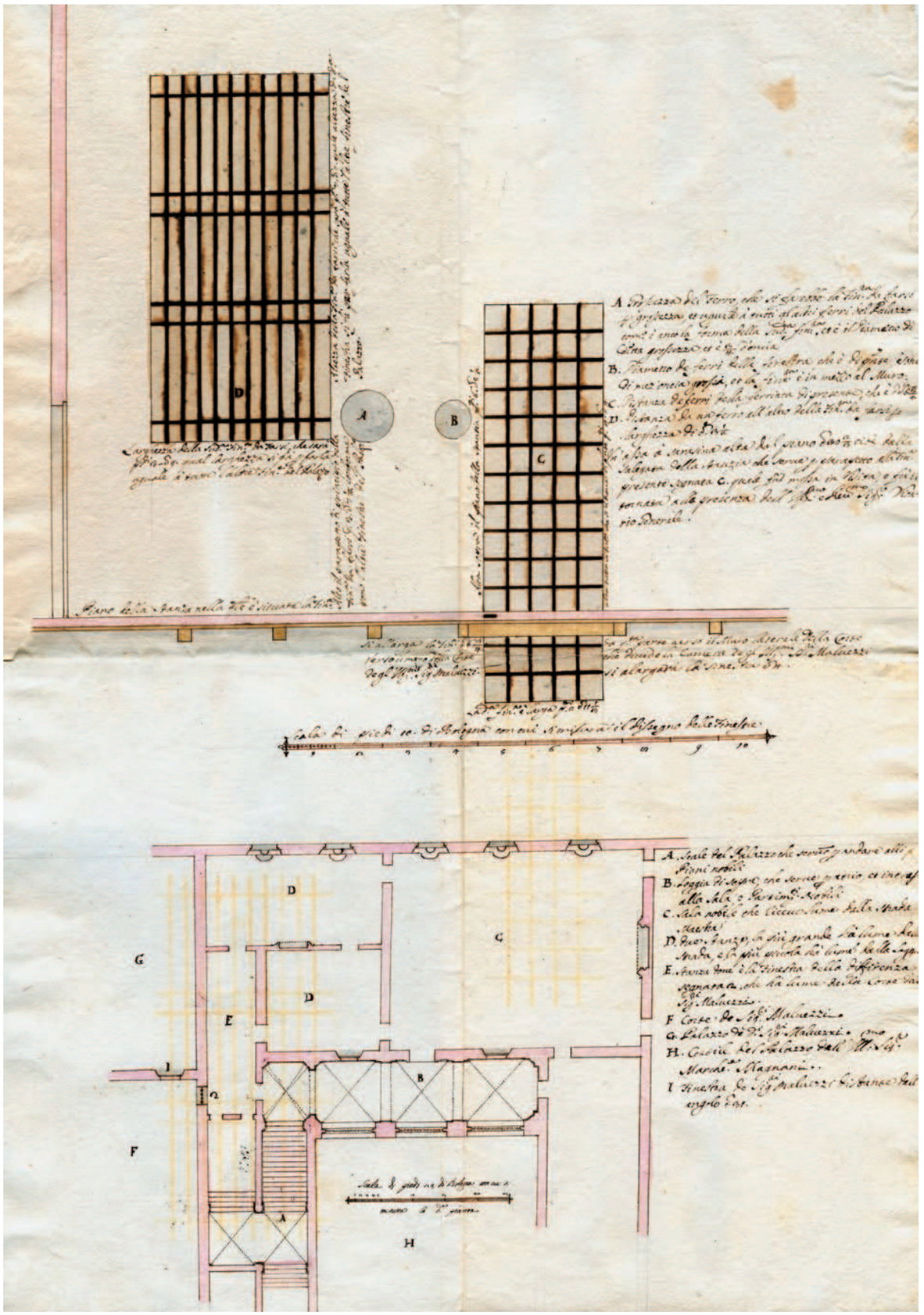




23
Giovanni Antonio Landi, *Prospetto del Cortile nel Palazzo Magnani. Architettura di Domenico Tibaldi*, in *Raccolta di alcune facciate di Palazzi e Cortili de più ragguardevoli di Bologna* (midway through the XVIIIth century), plate 19. BCA, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, cart. Gozzadini no. 29.

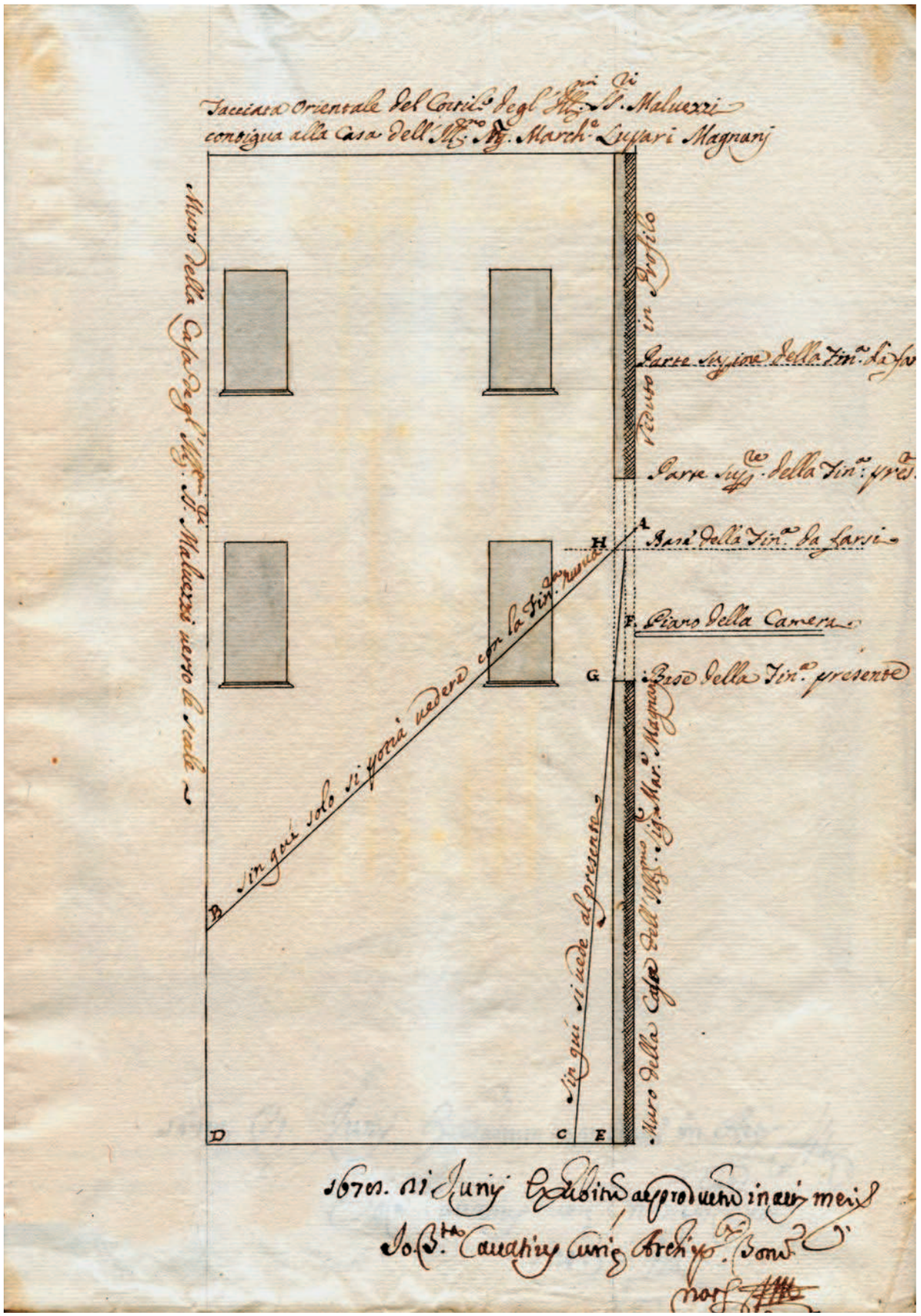
24
Palazzo Magnani, *piano nobile*, western loggia.

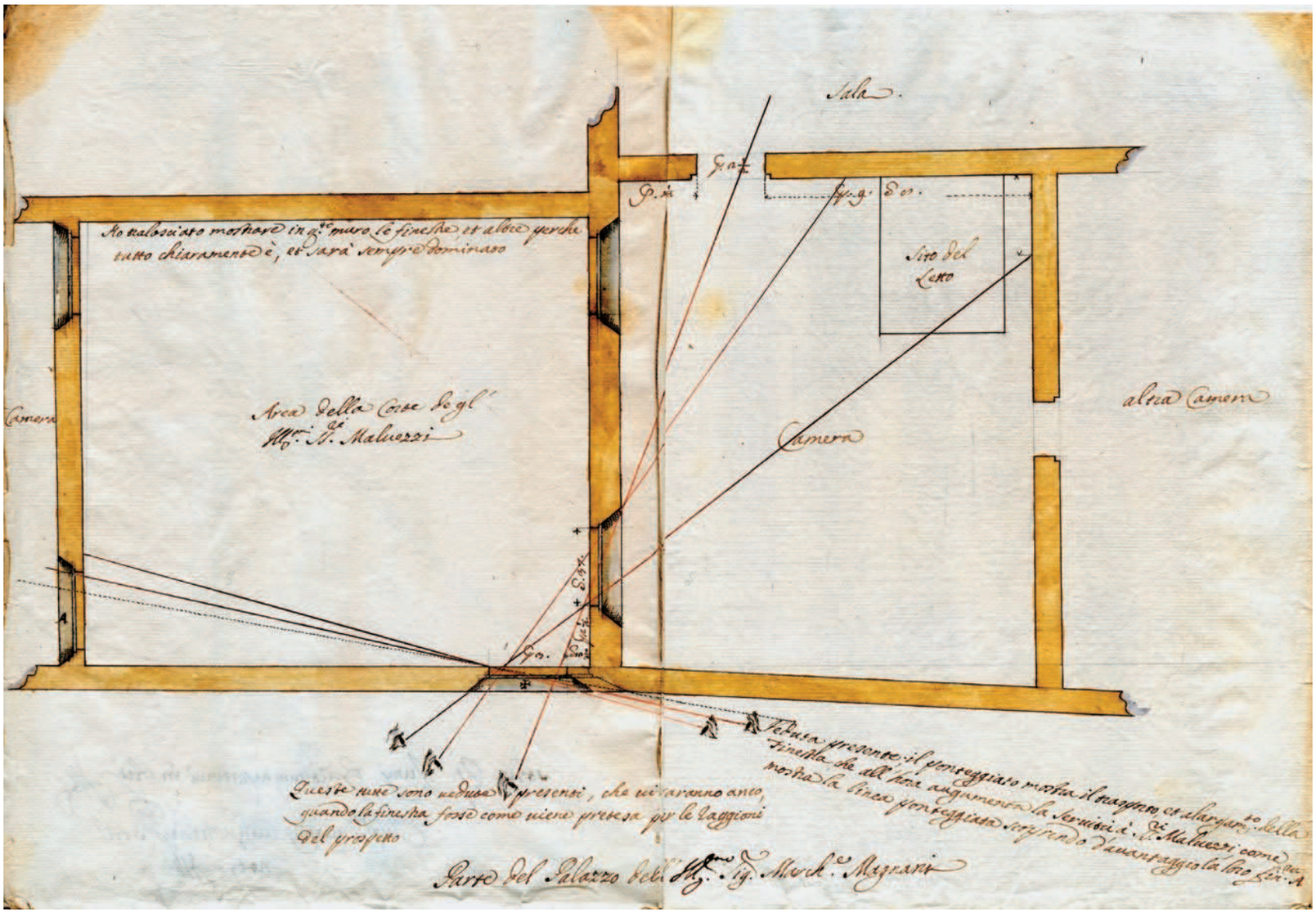




25
Anonymous, partial plan of the *piano nobile* in Palazzo Magnani with other views of the wall marking the boundary with the Malvezzi as concerns aperture of a window, 21 June 1678. Legend for the plan: "A: Scale del Palazzo che servono per andare alli piani nobili. B: Loggia di sopra che serve per atrio et ingresso alla sala e partimenti nobili. C: Sala nobile che riceve lume dalla strada maestra. D: Due stanze, la più grande hà lume dalla strada e la più piccola hà lume dalla loggia. E: stanza dove è la finestra della diffirenzia segnata (Simbolo), che hà lume dalla corte delli Sig. Malvezzi. F: Corte de Signori Malvezzi. G: Palazzo dei detti Signori Malvezzi. H: Cortile del palazzo dell'Illustrissimo Signor Marchese Magnani. I: Finestra de Signori Malvezzi distante dall'angolo once 31." FAGM, *Istrumenti*, b. 552, fasc. 27/2.

26
"Facciata orientale del cortile degli Illustrissimi Signori Malvezzi contigua alla casa dell'Illustrissimo Signor Marchese Lupari Magnani," 21 June 1678. FAGM, *Istrumenti*, b. 552, fasc. 27/2.



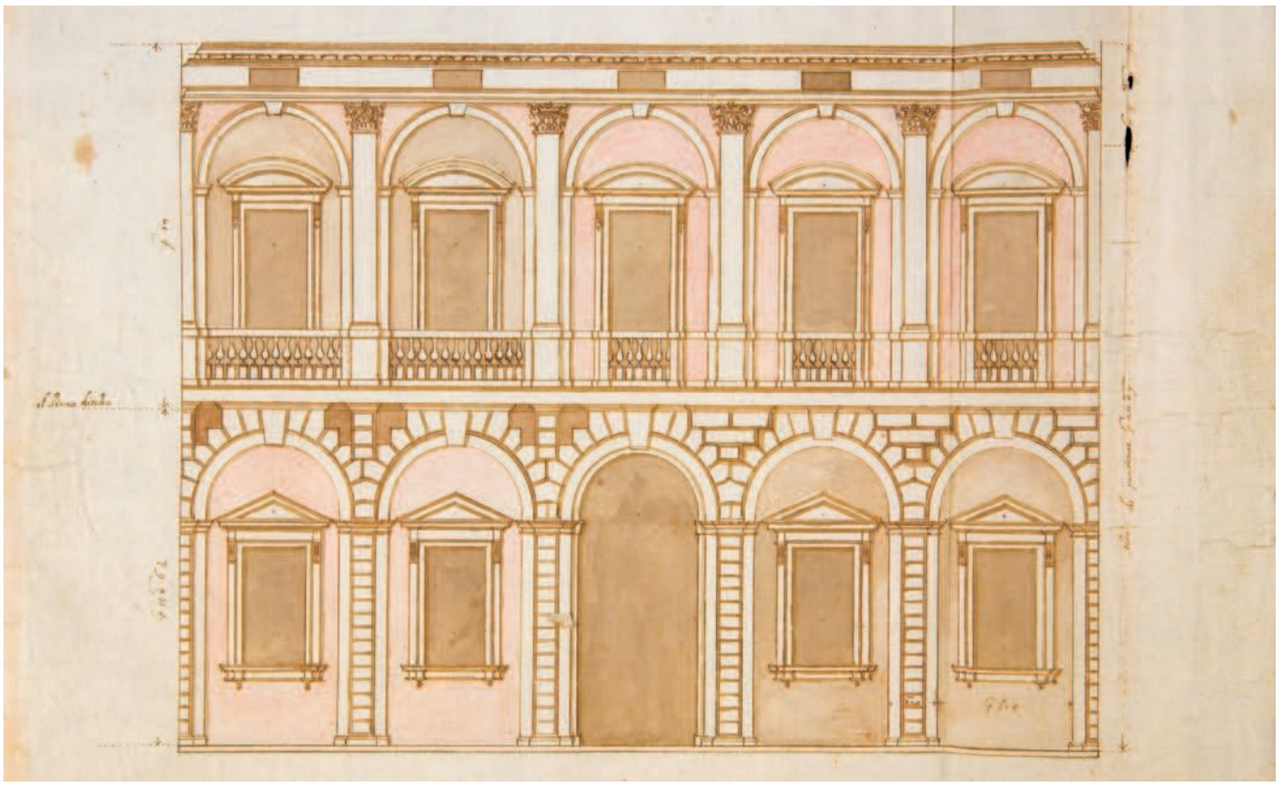


a butterfly," made it possible to get to two opposite poles of the palace. Circulation inside the palace was thus regulated by a symmetrical "C" layout in relation to the structure's transverse axis, so that each flight connected to an upper loggia, from which it would then be possible to gain access to the rooms on the *piano nobile*, on the basis of the system described. The past shape of the stairway has been known to scholarship for some time thanks to the existence of several illustrations, like the seventeenth-century drawing mentioned above, the plan for the ground floor sketched by an eighteenth-century traveller by the name of Francesco Muttoni (fig. 32) designating the locations on the ground floor,[108] and the one produced soon after, recording a partition of the rooms contiguous to the *sala dei Carracci* located on Via San Donato (fig. 31). But the most important indications concerning the entire vertical connecting system in the palace may be found in Venturoli's drawings, where we learn that, by way of a similar double flight—only a few of its steps have survived—and after climbing a small staircase with flights side-by-side, it was also possible to gain access to the floor that included the "granari" (plate IV, 65-67). Also present were a wholes series of stairways and service "lumache" used to reach secondary locations and mezzanines.

What nonetheless remains a problem is the "hole" effect produced by the windows in the stairway barrel vault, which seems to have had the purpose of bestowing a visual unity upon the court, to the detriment, however, of the internal aspect and lighting. Domenico did not want to change the aspect of the northern side of the court, and it is for this reason that he preferred to create windows that would illuminate the stairway without following the upwards movement of the flights. A solution chosen by "Bramante nel palazzo principalle de Bollogna, onde sta il legato e li anziani" (Bramante in the most important palace in Bologna, where the legate and the elders reside)—his brother Pellegrino wrote—and

27
«Parte del Palazzo dell'Illustrissimo Signor Marchese Magnani», 21 June 1678. FAGM, *Istrumenti*, b. 552, fasc. 27/2.

28
City of Bologna, Via M. D'Azeglio, monastery of San Procolo, front view of the façade on the enclosure court. On the left side, the variant was never realised; on the right it was. ASBo, *Corporazioni religiose*, Conventi e monasteri, Bologna, *San Procolo*, 208/5426, c. 39, "Raccolta di non pochi disegni fatti da vari autori della fabbrica della chiesa e monastero di San Procolo di Bologna, uniti nell'anno 1763." Drawing on paper, Indian ink, watercolour ink, 352 x 422 mm. Scale of 50 feet. "Monastero di San Procolo. Claustro della Porta."



29
San Procolo, Chapter cloister.





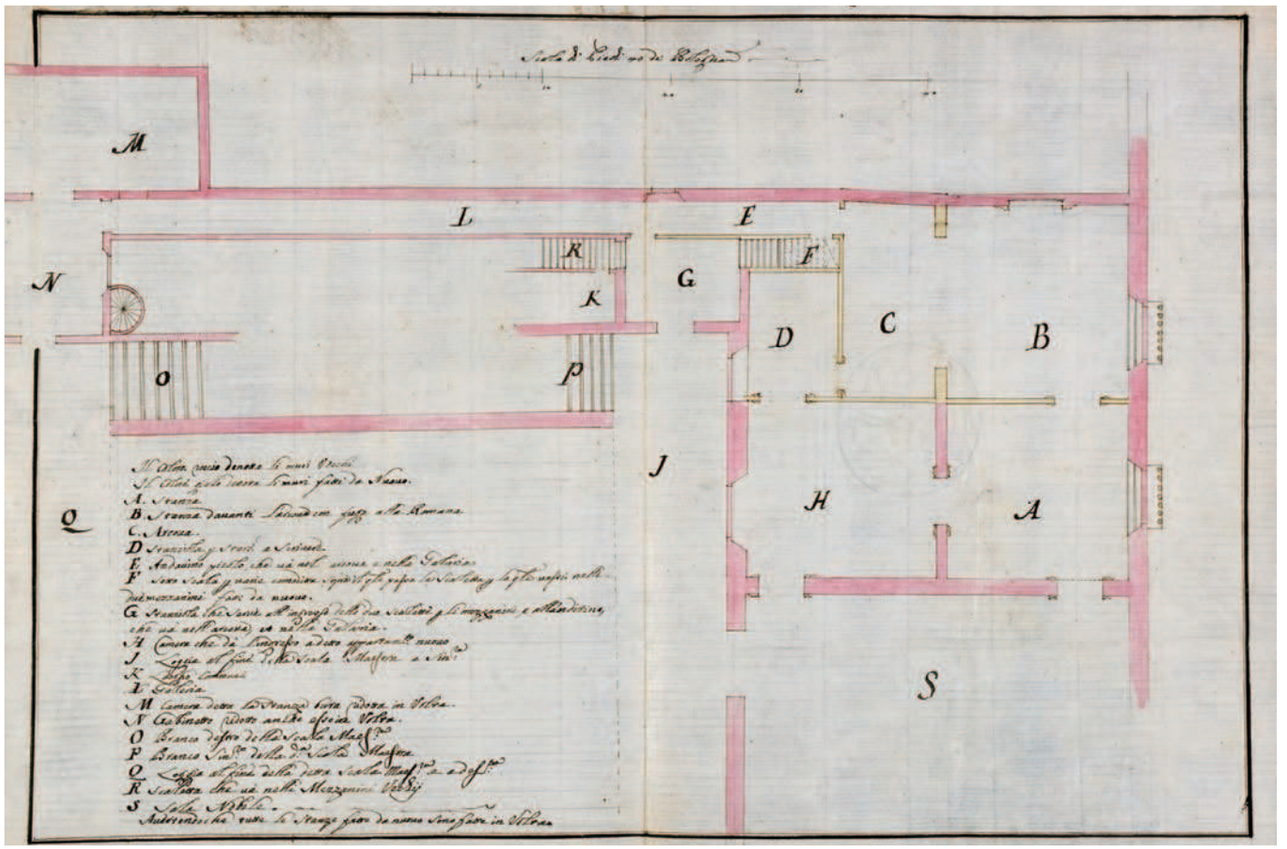
30
Palazzo Magnani, bottom of the stairway.

where, among other things, the 'disharmony' of the holes was in part hidden and diminished due to the fact that they looked onto the passageway under the portico and not directly onto the court, as was instead the case in Palazzo Magnani.[109]

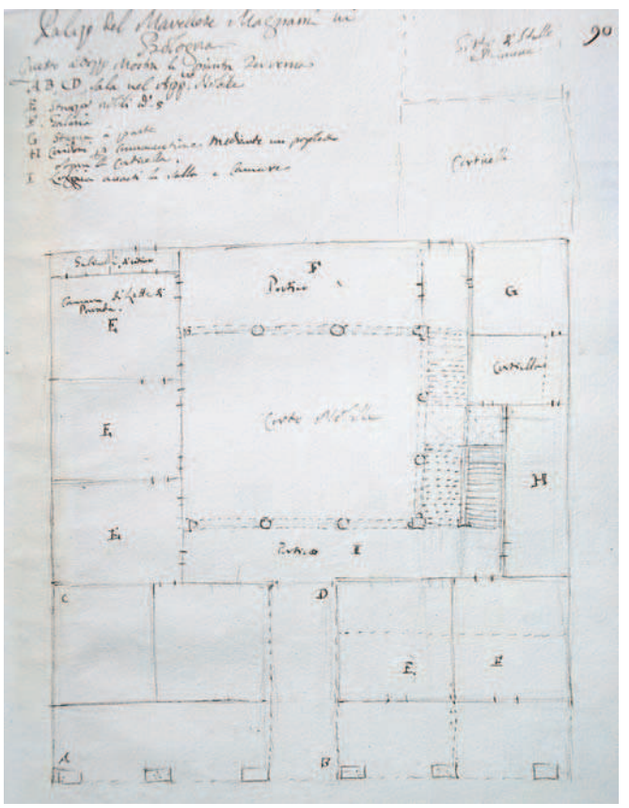
Of the three windows to the north of the court, only the one in the middle, i.e. the one corresponding to the common landing, was partially opened, while the other two, located at the ends, could not be, as they would have been excessively high in relation to the stairway[110] (figs. 33-34). Originally, the intermediate landing and the western flight of the staircase, which was then demolished, leading to the *piano nobile* and to the floor used as a granary below the roof, were lit by windows facing another "curtesela" described by Alicorni, Muttoni and Venturoli,[111] according to a solution also suggested by Pellegrino in his treatise, in the section devoted to stairways.[112]

The variety of solutions employed to capture light in the palace rooms is accurately recorded by Venturoli, whose report reveals how from the "soteraney" to the "granari" every possible trick was used to guarantee efficient natural lighting, as well as to overlook areas inside the palace: cellars lit by *bocche di lupo* that opened onto the court, as well as ones located under the portico on the façade, gratings made out of the thickness of the floors (an example of this is the floor of the double loggia with the giant), "luminarolli" (gables) cut into the eaves of the roofs to provide light to the granaries, and, naturally, an infinite number of overlooking views and small windows, an example of this being the two areas locat-

31
ASBo, *Malvezzi Lupari*, IX, b. 190, "E3° Magnani. Piante schizzi e disegni di beni stabili senza forma da alcun perito. E n.3," s.d. Drawing on paper, Indian ink, pink and yellow watercolour, 271 x 395 mm. "Scala di piedi 40 di Bologna." Legend: "Il colore roscio denota li muri vecchi. Il colore giallo li muri fatti da nuovo. A stanza; B stanza davanti l'arcova con fuga alla romana; C arcova. D stanziola per steri a scrivere; E andavino piccolo che va nella arcova e nella galaria; F sotto scala per varie comodittà sopra il quale passa la scaletta per la quale vassi nelli due mezzanini fatti da nuovo; G stanziola che serve all'ingresso delle due scalette per li mezzanini e all'andittino che va nel arcova e nella galaria; H camera che da ingresso a detto appartamento nuovo; I loggia al fin della scala maestra a sinistra; K luogho commune ; L galeria; M camera detta la stanza bura ridotta in volta; N gabinetto ridotto anche esso in volta; O branco destro della stanza maestra; P branco sinistro della scala maestra; Q loggia al fine della detta scala maestra e a destra; R scaletta che va nelli mezzanini vecchi; S sala nobile. Avertendo che tutte le stanza fatte da nuovo sono fatte in volta."



32
Francesco Muttoni, *Palazzo del Marchese Magnani in Bologna*. Archivio del comune di Porlezza, sezione disegni Architetto Muttoni. "Palazzo del Marchese Magnani in Bologna.
Questo abozzo mostra la pianta terrena.
AB, CD sala dell'Appartamento nobile
E stanze nobili n. 5
F galaria (Portico)
G stanza a parte
H coridori per communicatione sopra la corticella
I loggia avanti la salla e Camere."



ed in the mezzanine looking onto the *sala dei Carracci*, divided by a small aisle that "riceve il lume da una finestra ovata" (gets its light from an oval window) (plate III, 71-73). The terrace located above the western loggia also contributes to providing light to the upper rooms in case, as Serlio wrote, the court "d'una habitatione dentro alla città in luogo nobile non è molto spacioso" (in a home located within a noble part of the city was not very spacious) (plate IV, 85).[113]

In his *I quattro libri*, Palladio suggested situating the stairway along the longitudinal side of the palace court of Count Iseppo da Porto in Vicenza for the pleasure of those walking through it (fig. 36), commenting as follows: "*Ho voluto poner le scale principali sotto 'l portico, che rispondano à mezo del cortile: accioche quelli, che vogliono salir di sopra; siamo come astretti à vedere le più belle parti della fabbrica; & ancho accioche essendo nel mezo possano servire all'una, e all'altra parte*."[114] But this example was not governed by the restrictions of a Palazzo Magnani. The stairway, in fact, was not obtained by sacrificing an arm of the peristyle, but was sooner conceived of as a separate block obtaining the light it required from a pair of windows located on the landings and that could not be viewed from the court: the problem of how to light it did not conflict with the court's aspect, rather it required the realisation of two cavaedia situated at each end of the stairway. The truth of the matter is that the pleasure or "constriction" "à veder le più belle parti della fabbrica" was not expe-



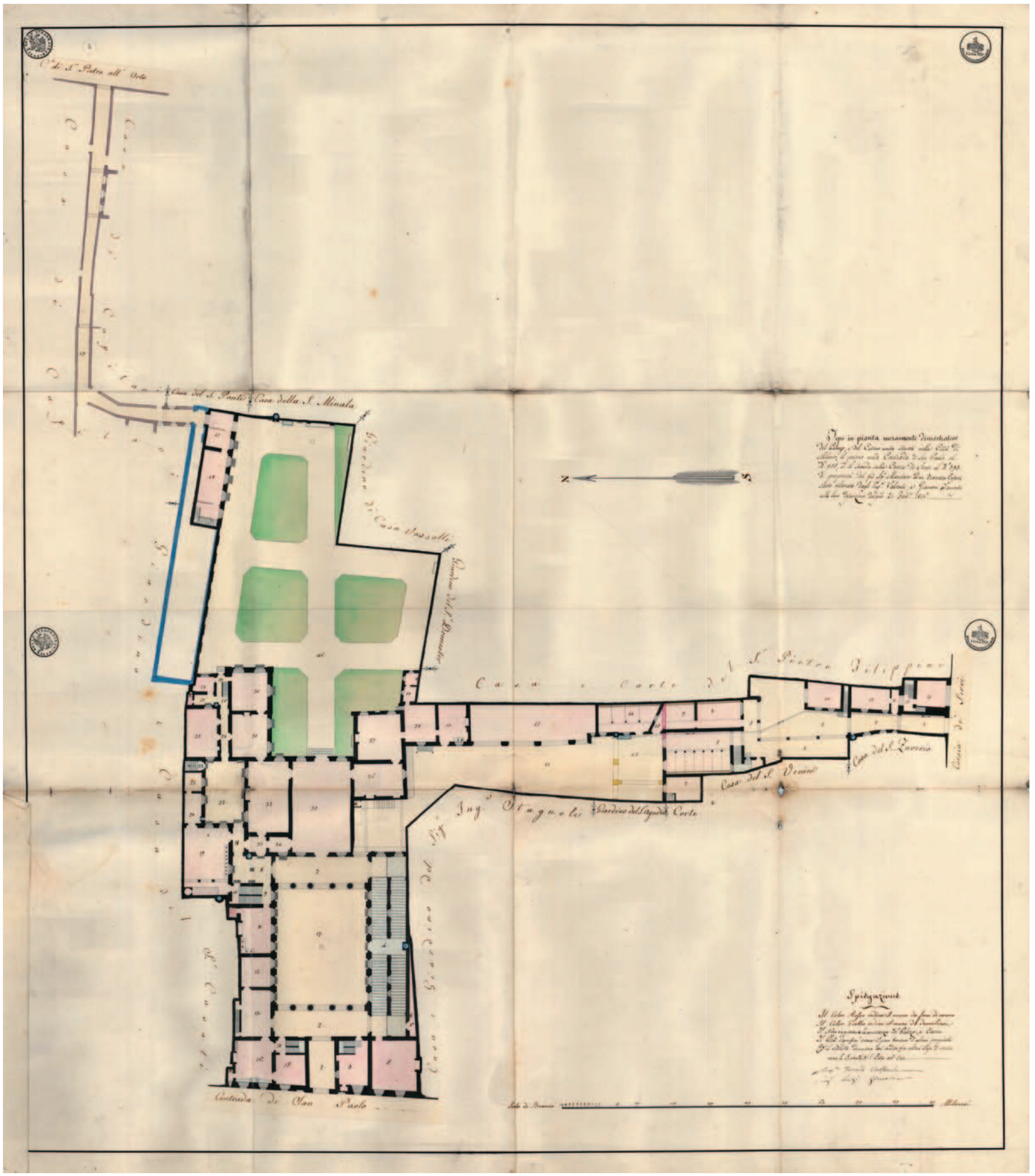
33
Palazzo Magnani, stairway.
Detail of the middle window
on the northern side of the court.

rienced while climbing up the stairs, but only when one had reached the level of the upper floor.

If we exclude the palazzo of Leonardo Spinola in Milan (fig. 35), with its double stairway in the shape of a butterfly based on a project by Pellegrino Tibaldi, and dated from 1570-75 but still to be completed upon the death of the patron in 1598, and precisely as regards the portion that contained the stairway,[115] the only precedent known to Renaissance studies of a stairway in the shape of a butterfly developing along the longitudinal side of a court, transversally bound by two open logge, seems to have been a project, never accomplished, for a palace for Vettor Grimani on the Grand Canal in Venice, in which Jacopo Sansovino[116] (fig. 39) combined the tradition of the Venetian stairway with the oldest known example of a double upwards structure, the presumed Maecenas' palace in Montecavallo. This was a building surveyed by Giuliano da Sangallo (fig. 40), which suggested to Palladio—the first to understand that the complex was noot a a palazzo but a temple devoted to Jove (figs. 37-38), where "v'erano scale comodissime che ascendevano al Tempio" (there were very comfortable stairs rising up as far as the Temple)—a plan to serve two separate residential units.[117] It is relatively unlikely that Tibaldi was informed of the project for Vettor Grimani, despite the fact that Sansovino was mentioned in brother Pellegrino's treatise,[118] while it is certain that he had indeed had news of the large flights of stairs in the palazzo of Maecenas, through Palladio or Serlio, according to whom the temple was also characterised by modil-

34
Palazzo Magnani, court, northern side. Detail of the windows facing onto the stairway.

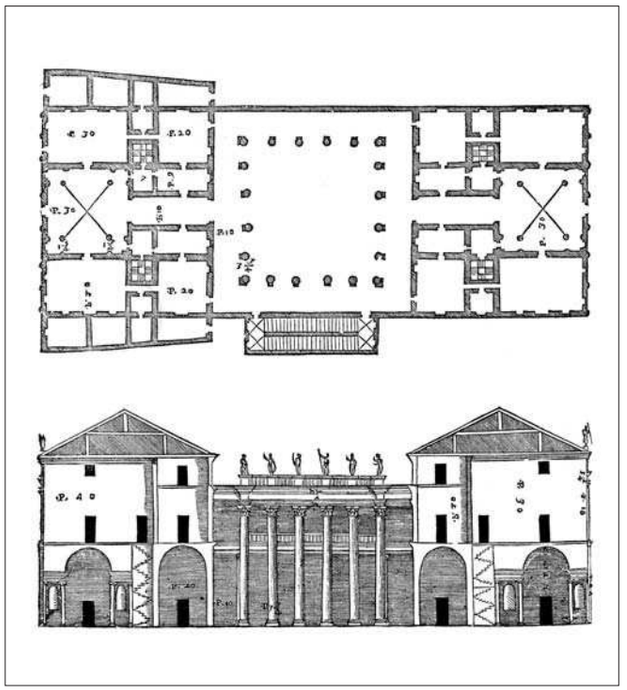


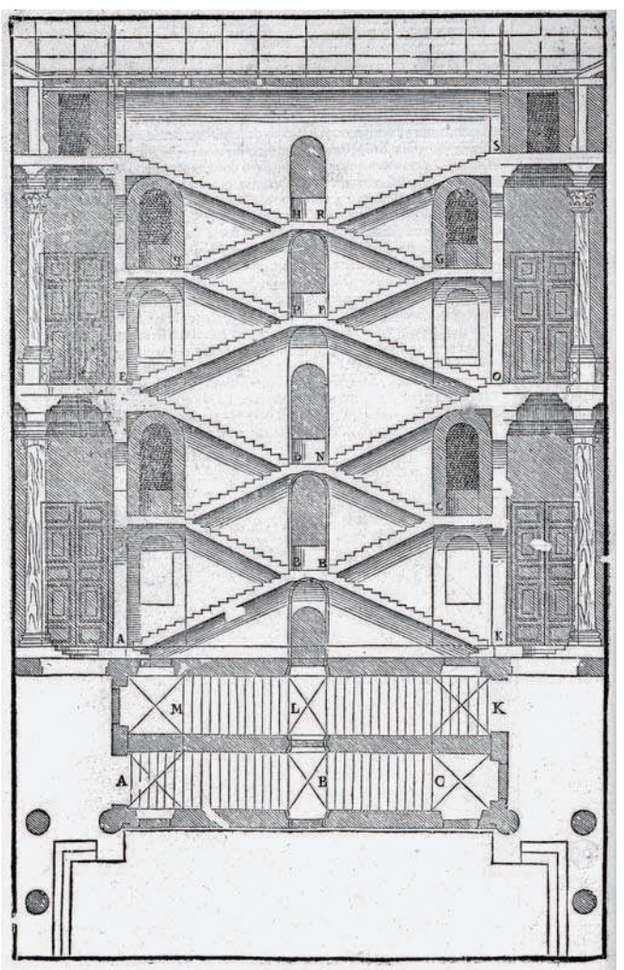

Casa e Corte del S. Pietro Belisario
Casa del S. Zaccaria
Casa del S. Venier
Giardino della seconda Corte
Contrada di San Paolo

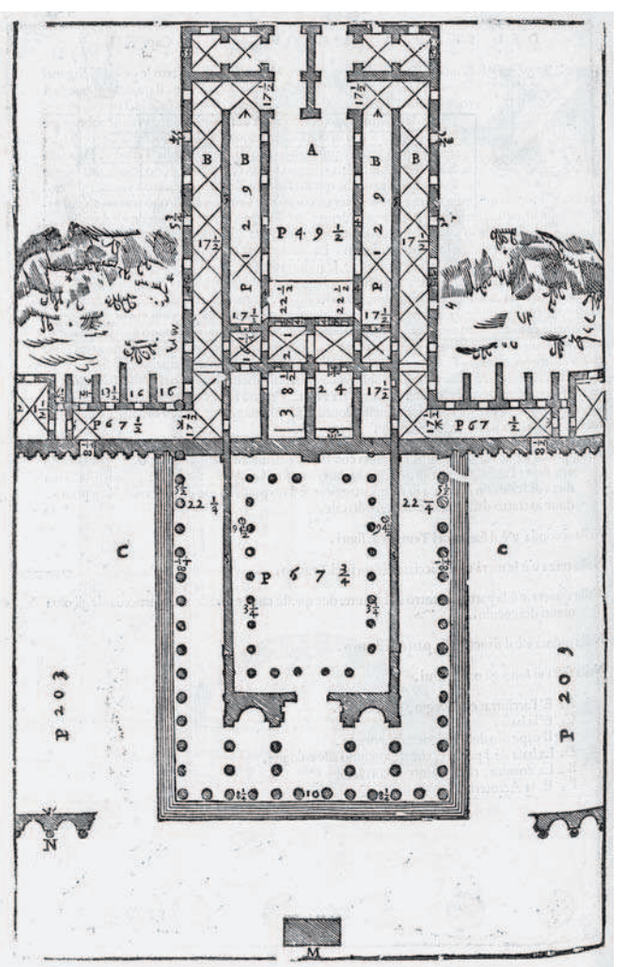
36
Palazzo da Porto, Vicenza.
Palladio 1570, II, p. 8.

37-38
Section and plan for the Temple of Zeus. Palladio 1570, I, p. 66 and IV, p. 42.

Opposite
35
Francesco Valsecchi and Luigi Giavani, *Pianta del pianterreno di palazzo Spinola, allegata a una perizia del 1816*. Milano. Milano, Archivio di Stato, *Notarile*, cart. 49945.
On the right: "Tipo in pianta meramente dimostrativo del Palazzo, e del Casino situati nella Città di Milano, il primo nella Contrada di San Paolo al n° 935, ed il secondo sulla corsia de' Servi al n° 593 di proprietà del fu Sig. Marchese Cusani stato rilevato dagli Ingegneri Valsecchi e Giavani ed annesso alla loro descrizione del giorno 21 febbraio 1816."
Below: "Il Color Rosso indica il muro da farsi di nuovo
Il Color Giallo il muro da demolirsi
Il Nero la consistenza del palazzo, e casino
Il Bleu significa essere il pian terreno d'altrui proprietà
Ed il Violetto dimostra andito fra altrui case di sortita verso la contrada di S. Pietro all'Orto.
Ing. Francesco Valsecchi, Ing. Luigi Giavani."







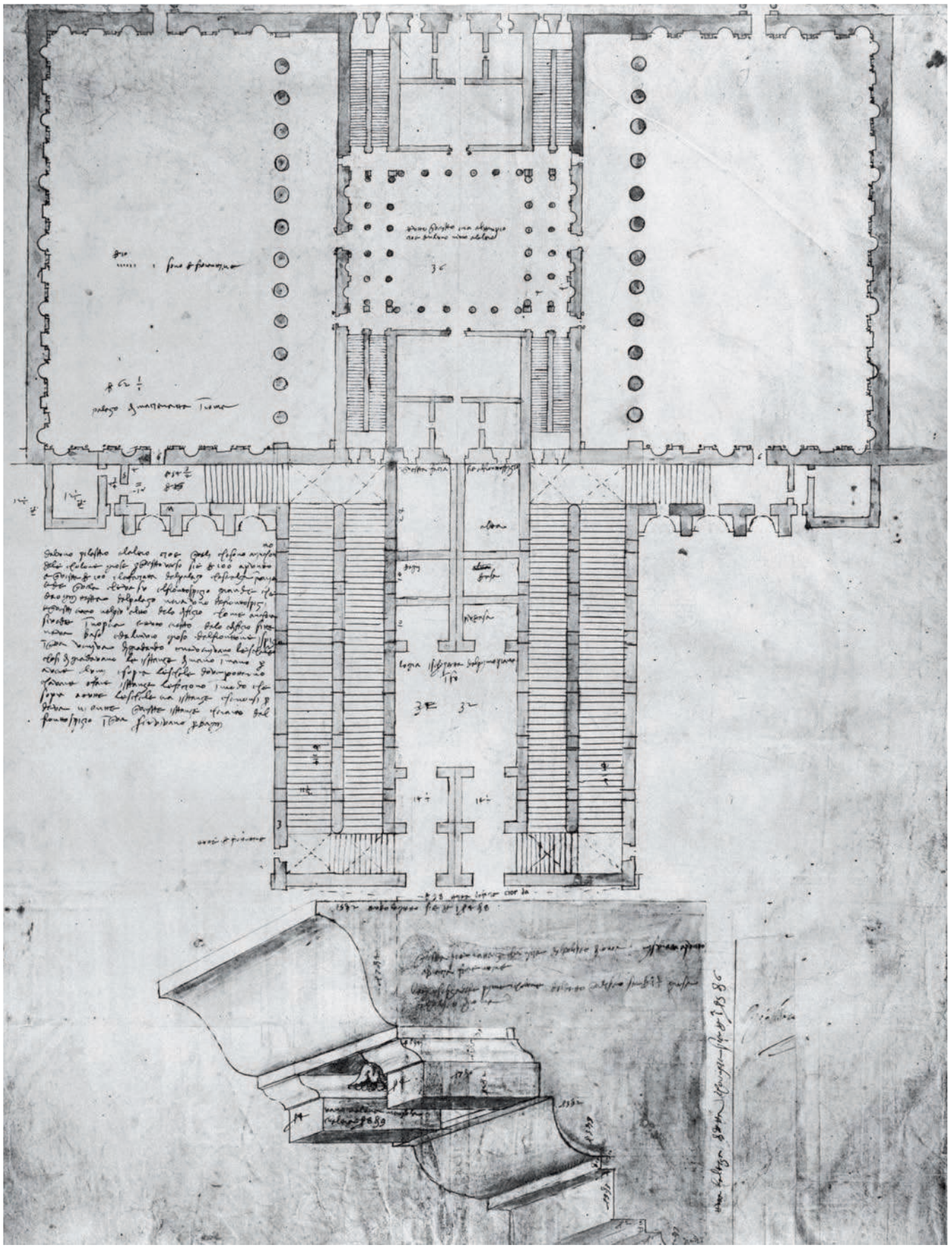
lions in the cornice akin to the Bolognese example.[119] And it is also possible that Malvasia had understood the example from the past to instead be a contemporary one when he attributed to Ottaviano Mascherino the "doppia scala" (double stairway) at the Quirinale, the source of inspiration for Tibaldi in Palazzo Magnani.[120] Whereas in Venice the use of such stairways could boast of a long catalogue of examples,[121] the tradition was yet to flourish in Bologna, and there is no doubt that in that great season of Baroque stairways the Palazzo Magnani was a necessary model.

An inventory of property written up in 1604 after the death of Lorenzo Magnani provides an image of the interior of the palace that quite differs from today's: the *sala grande* painted by the Carracci and many of the rooms at that time had walls covered in red leather ("corrami") with architecture highlighted in gold and silver. The three rooms on the ground floor to the south (plate I, 8, 9, 10) had a "curnise dopia de gese in torne" and pairs of seats ("sedire") made of sandstone at the windows towards the court, probably similar to the only window which has survived with the indoor furnishings in the first room on the right side facing onto the portico (plate I, 18).[122] An attempt will be made in the sections below to describe the past splendours of the palace interior.



39
Jacopo Sansovino, plan for the Palazzo for Vettor Grimani on the Grand Canal, Venice (1527). Venice, Museo Correr, *Disegni*, cl. II, f. 603*r*.

40
Giuliano da Sangallo, *Palazo di Macinata in Roma*, circa 1513. Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codice Barberiniano Latino 4424, f. 65*v*.





41
Palazzo Magnani, façade.

The façade

While it is true that the interior of the palazzo has undergone a significant number of changes that have modified the original sixteenth-century layout, the façade on strada San Donato has instead fully preserved its original lines (fig. 41). Gaetano Ferratini defines its view to be in a position that is slightly off-axis, emphasising its dependence on the portico (fig. 42). The front would seem to require a pause, as if its intention were that of accepting the "dictatorship" of the Bolognese portico, but without submitting to it, which, in most cases, annuls the view of the entrance doorway, awarding it with only secondary importance. The uneven number of bays in fact reestablishes an axis of central symmetry on which are aligned the entrance and the coat of arms — "l'arma de masegna" with "putin de masegna"[123] — raised up high on the cornice (figs. 2, 43-44). The skill and control that Tibaldi used to be able to include the portal in the continuous pattern of the bays of a portico that was originally slightly elevated by "tri schalini de masegna" and closed off to the street by "10 fiturni de masegna," will become apparent further on.[124]

Scholarship has singled out two drawings for the façade on Via San Donato, which designate two distinct phases in planning. The first stage is illustrated in a sheet found by Guido Zucchini in the collection of the count Venturoli[125] and subsequently misplaced (figs. 45-46); the second and final stage in planning is instead depicted in a drawing of only half of the façade, preserved in Berlin, published by Sabine Jacob and brought to the attention of studies on Palazzo Magnani by Pigozzi[126] (fig. 50). Many of the details in the

42
Gaetano Ferratini, *Fabbriche di Bologna*, no. 57 (Palazzo Magnani). BCA, Sezione Manoscritti, Gozzadini ms. 79.





43
Palazzo Magnani, façade, central detail.

44
Palazzo Magnani, façade, coat of arms.





45
Floriano Ambrosini (previously attr. to Domenico Tibaldi), drawing for the Palazzo Zani, Bologna. Mario Venturoli Mattei collection (lost).

first of the two drawings reveal the differences in the work that was actually done, in the plan and in the elevation, as well as concerns proportions; moreover, the handwriting, if compared with that in the documents cited here, does not seem to belong to Domenico Tibaldi. Ricci has recognised it to be a project for the Palazzo Zani by the hand of Floriano Ambrosini.[127] The second drawing is instead unquestionably referable to the façade of the Palazzo Magnani; nonetheless, the graphic *ductus*, a vaguely impressionistic one, and some of the inaccuracies, for example the Corinthian order in place of the Composite order for the pilaster strips and their angular slippage which is more marked if compared to what was actually the case, raise doubts on the authenticity of Tibaldi's signature, so that it cannot be considered a document that he may have wanted to present to the patron, as is instead believed by some.[128] All of these elements would sooner lead to the idea of an academic exercise, and one that took place at a later date.

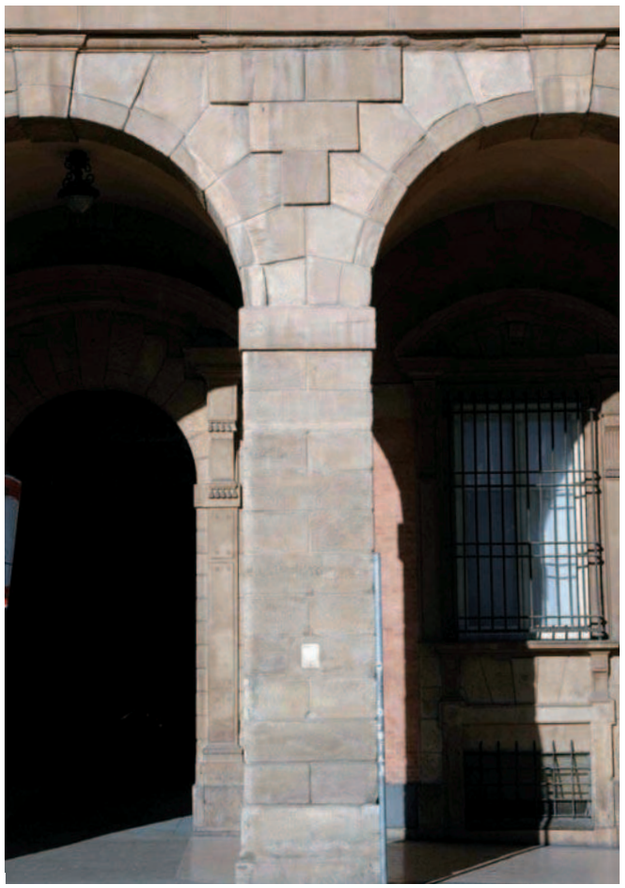
A composition by levels permeates the whole of the façade and most of its details. Maximum projection is conferred to the two elements that provide a rhythm to and delimit the bipartition of the façade: the thick string-course made of sandstone (the "regolone de masegnia") and the top "curnisone," "parte de preda cota taia e parte de masegna."[129] Vertically bound to these elements are the two corner pilaster strips with a corresponding area of projecting trabeation. The level at the back is defined by the series of giant pilaster strips "de preda cota, taiade," whose pedestals atop the string-course band are aligned at the level of the balconies, via "fasete de masegna."[130] Furthermore, the pilaster strips find a "tettonica" correspondence with the rustication just below, which seems to move and come out with the specific desire to regale them with support. The emerging ashlars also emphasise a meeting point for the radial hewn stones of the portico's arches, through a sophisticated play that recalls, more than the irony of a Giulio Romano,

46
Bologna, Palazzo Zani.









47-48
Palazzo Magnani, façade, detail of rustication, before and after renovation.

49
Palazzo Magnani, façade, detail of pilasters.

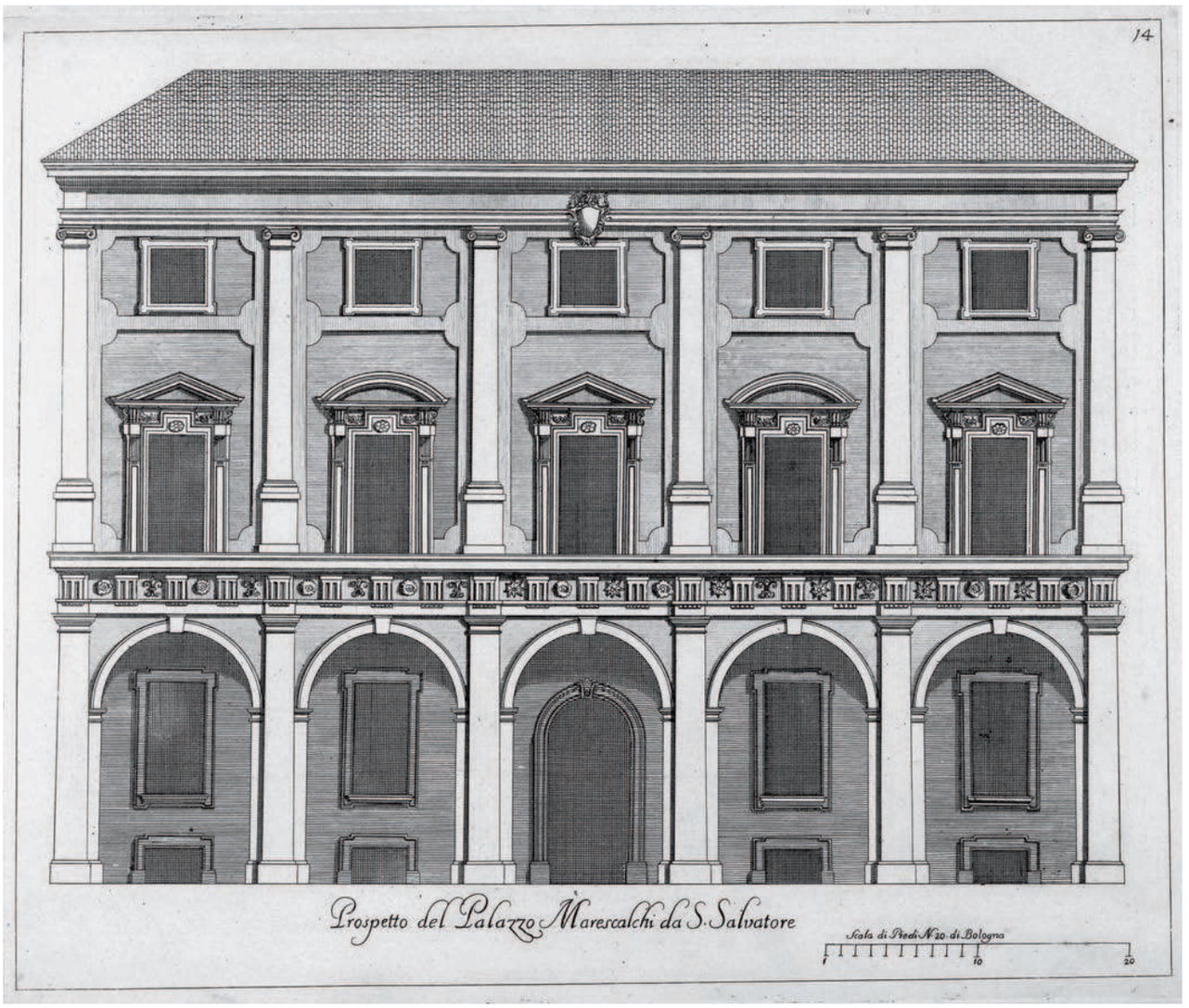
the measured solutions of a Palladio, without overlooking some fifteenth-century examples, such as the façade of the Palazzo Gondi in Florence by Giuliano da Sangallo.

The sandstone was originally whitewashed, tinted a yellowish or grey colour, as is evinced in several of the photographs taken prior to the most recent restoration work (1997) (figs. 47-48). This allows for several hypotheses to be drawn as concerns construction of the ashlar level. While the pilasters (fig. 49) are entirely made up of sandstone blocks placed one atop another and set on sandstone plinths, the arches instead appear to reveal an "a sandwich" wall system, in which the rustication and the intrados of the arch are made out of sandstone slabs covering a brick framework, a practice that was quite widespread as early as the Middle Ages.[131] Use of the method was not so much meant to contain costs for the amount of sandstone required, as to provide a technical solution, and one capable of guaranteeing closer supervision and a minor waste of labour during construction of the structural arches in stone then to be coated with sandstone.

The superimposition of a giant order upon the ground floor rustication evidently recalls the Palazzo Caprini by Donato Bramante and all that which then ensued in Rome during the first half of the sixteenth century, Raphael first, followed by Giulio Romano, Jacopo Sansovino, Baldassarre Peruzzi, that is to say, when a flattened language at the very limit of the abstract began to appear on the façades of Roman palazzi, a language obtained through the use of pilaster strips and niches barely visible. The motif for the corner pilasters may be observed in work executed during the fifteenth century: it was used, for instance, in the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome to emphasise the slight slipping of the lateral volumes facing onto the piazza of the same name, and in the second order for the court at the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino, where the angular doubling of the support, aided by an overlying area of projected trabeation, produced a slight effect of depth in perspective. Again at the Cancelleria a precedent for a play of levels obtained by the advancement of the pedestals and parapets may be viewed. These solutions were known to Raphael, who used them in the Palazzi Alberini and Jacopo da Brescia, where further elements after the façade of the Bolognese palace were anticipated, such as aedicules with arched tympana and volutes, and the *piattabanda* on the *piano nobile*. Examples of these motifs could already be found in northern Italy in the Loggia Cornaro by Giovanni Maria Falconetto dated from 1524, and to an even greater extent in a catalogue of works executed during the 1530s and 1540s which made use of a giant pilaster strip order atop the rustication: in the Palazzi Landshut and Thiene, as well as in Andrea Palladio's very first projects for the

50
Anonymous, drawing for the façade of the Palazzo Magnani. Berlin, Kunstbibliothek, Hdz 6549.

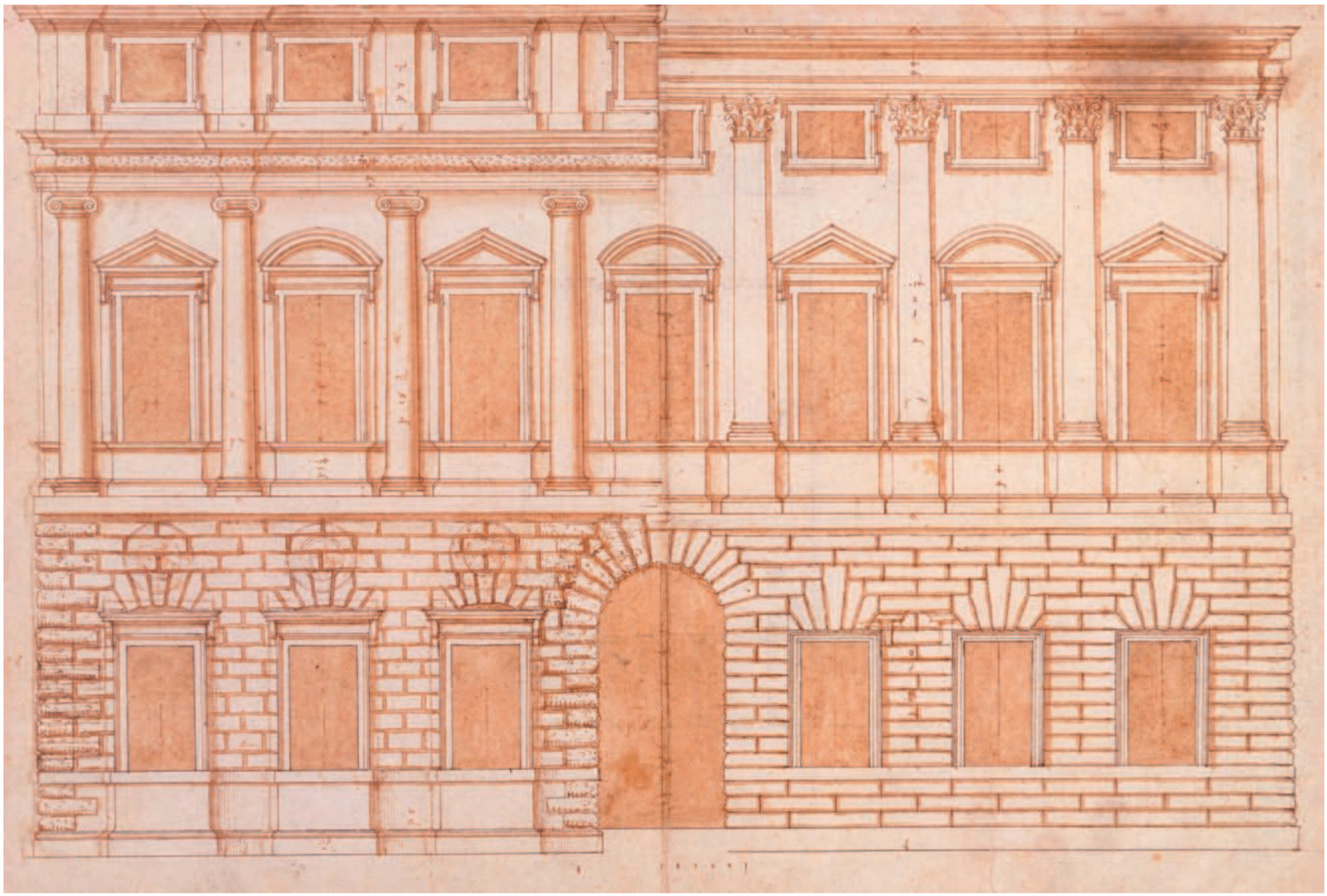




51
Giovanni Antonio Landi, *Prospetto del Palazzo Marescalchi da San Salvatore*, in *Raccolta di alcune facciate di Palazzi e Cortili de più ragguardevoli di Bologna* (midway through the XVIIIth century), plate 14. BCA, Gabinetto disegni e stampe, cart. Gozzadini no. 29.

Palazzo Porto Festa (1542-45) in Vicenza—a work much praised by Vasari in the 1568 edition of his writings—as indicated by Pigozzi.[132] On the right wall depicted in a drawing preserved at the RIBA (fig. 52), giant pilaster strips, elevated on pedestals located on a *piattabanda*, frame aedicules and windows with ears and a façade that quite resembles the Bolognese example, but it is important to keep in mind that the solution was still at an embryonic stage, and that it was thrown out by Palladio, who was attempting to obtain, here like in Palazzo Chiericati, the opposite effect via a greater plastic relief of the *piano nobile*, closing the aedicules inside narrow bays framed by half-columns. As compared to Palladio, Tibaldi pursued a language which was less plastic and more pictorial, constituted by reliefs just suggested by the mouldings. In this sense, then, the Palazzo Magnani appears to be easily compared with the Palazzo Canossa in Verona, where the architect—perhaps Michele Sanmicheli according to Frommel, perhaps instead Giulio Romano according to Howard Burns[133]—attenuated the dilated dimensions of the intercolumns on the *piano nobile* by doubling the pilaster strips and adding a system of fastened serlianas.

In the Bolognese example, the "long length of time" characterising the intercolumniations is instead filled by a series of framing strips which accentuate depths almost as if they were shadows cast by the nearby pilasters and capitals. Previous niches were due to the Palazzo Stati Maccarani by Giulio Romano. In Bologna, this motif and pilasters may be observed in the project by Vignola for the façade of the church of San Petronio (1545) and in the Legate's chapel by Galeazzo Alessi, dated from 1553-55; framing strips also present in the second order of the Palazzo dei Banchi.[134] The way ears are used on the Palazzo Magnani is repeated on the façade of the Palazzo Marescalchi (fig. 51), while the corner pilasters and simple niches would be resumed on the façade of Santa Cristina, the work of Giulio Torri (and not Antonio, as suggested by Landi), one of Domenico



52
Andrea Palladio, project for the palazzo Porto Festa (1542-45). London, The Royal Institute of British Architects, XVII, 9*r*.

Tibaldi's collaborators. The windows in the mezzanines are, in turn, simple rectangular apertures surrounded by cornices with moulding.

What is exceptional is the way in which Domenico bestowed monumentality and elegance upon the palazzo portal (fig. 53), which Alicorni says was made twice in order to achieve the largest aperture possible for entrance to the palace;[135] a system of very subtle moulding allows for a stretching of the topmost portion, assembling elements that are situated one on top of the other, thus cutting out enough space to be able to include the arched tympanum in the bay's arch.[136] The arched lintel with pentagonal quoins recalls the so-called Drusus' Arch on the Old Appian Way executed on a span of the Antoniano acqueduct, where the elements just suggest a rectilinear trabeation (fig. 55). Diverse variations on the theme had been proposed by Giulio Romano and by Vignola and then made known by Serlio in his *Quarto libro* and in the *Extraordinario libro*.[137] In Bologna, a "corrupt" solution of the motif appeared for the first time on the entrance doorway to the Palazzo Bocchi,[138] and likewise Domenico Tibaldi very often made us of it in the portico (now destroyed) of the Gabella Grossa—an original model of which is preserved in the Archivio di Stato in Bologna—and again in the court of the Arcivescovado.[139] In the Palazzo Magnani portal the quoins break out in an arched tympanum, interrupted below, with a solution of evident Michelangelesque accent (Porta Pia, Palazzo dei Conservatori, etc.)—although a similar "interruption" is also present in the fifteenth-century façade of the Cathedral in Pienza—but everything is inspired by a balanced and composed measure, as revealed in the supporting quoin which accepts becoming one with and eventually being enclosed within a thin cornice.

Coherent with the façade, the design of the mouldings for the portal and windows on the ground floor, repeated at the same level in the court (fig. 54), is conducted by way of a compositional layering procedure. The windows, the "triglifate" triglyph consoles,



53
Palazzo Magnani, entrance doorway.

54
Palazzo Magnani, court, aedicule.





55
Drusus' Arch. Rome, Old Appian Way.

the tablets crowning the *bocche di lupo* are juxtaposed with the rustication, which reemerges above on the inside of the arched tympanum. This solution appears to be one frequently used when the summit includes a triangular tympanum, something that may be observed in the Palazzo Stati Maccarani by Giulio Romano, as well as in Bologna's Fontana Vecchia designed by the Sicilian Tommaso Laureti; use of an arched tympanum is, on the contrary, rarer. The linguistic witticism of the motif decorating the pilaster strips applied in the entrance doorway becomes apparent in the series of plaques that are as if bolted into the wall and used to decorate it, an expedient which was also employed for the monumental chimney in the *sala grande* by Floriano Ambrosini.

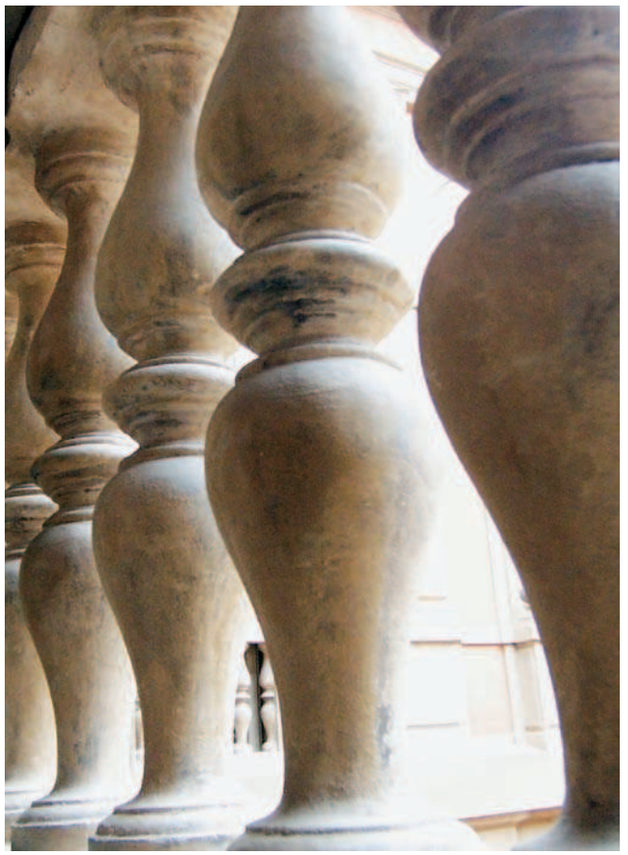
Conclusions

"Decorum" and "licence," to use two of the aesthetic connotations from the past and referred to by Sebastiano Serlio, appear to be the poles between which Domenico Tibaldi's work to build the Palazzo Magnani was painstakingly balanced.[140] The word "decorum," as James Ackerman has explained,[141] was used to attribute to the building a multiplicity of features (respect for tradition, function, social status); while what was meant by "licence" was a freedom of invention, without which a project would end up being conventional. The theme of *decor*—first introduced by Vitruvius in the second chapter of his first book to define *venustas*—referred not so much to ornamentation as to the appropriateness of form in relation to content, or rather to the "agreement between the architectural structure and the meaning of the divinity and the place."[142] Serlio, in turn, had proven just how closely "decorum" was related to the problem of "commodità," by pointing out an extensive series of buildings in which the design of the façade was closely related to internal distribution.[143] Despite the fact that Serlio dealt with the issue in his *Quarto libro* promising to make it fit "questi tempi moderni" and "seguitando i costumi nostri christiani,"[144] there seem to be very few Tridentine indications to this regard or as concerns civil architecture, especially if we consider what was being discussed and suggested for ecclesiastical architecture during those same years.[145]

A multiplicity of references, harking back to several Roman "progenitors" have been singled out here, but we must be cautious, because what was at that time being executed on the façades of the palaces of Bologna and Rome adhered more closely to dictates of the Council in the city of the Capitoline. In Rome—where there is no record for Domenico, unlike for his brother Pellegrino, although the two were constantly and frequently in contact[146]—architectural orders, for instance, had not been in use for some time, and any concession to their "magnificenza rappresentata" appeared to have been left to the churches.[147] A misunderstanding, in this sense, seems to have been generated in those who have made an attempt to perceive in the Bolognese palazzo a debt with the Palazzo dei Senatori in the Campidoglio, an impression strengthened by several engravings by Etienne Du Pérac (1568, 1569), whose ties to the supposedly Michelangelesque project—probably mediated by Pirro Ligorio—still requires verification.[148] Anna Bedon has shown that Michelangelo was responsible for the stairway alone, while the structure—defined in the midst of a very different historical and cultural climate, and that may firstly be justified by the attempt at a reconciliation with the theatrical wing-like appearance of the Capitoline square—was put into effect at the start of the seventeenth century, and an entire century would have to go by for a basement in fake rustication to be seen.[149] Thus, it would seem that to perceive the choices of style in Palazzo Magnani to be "act of the propaganda of faith in classicism for the architect and in papal Romanism for the patron,"[150] not to mention a "specific pro-Roman design," a distortion of the facts.[151]

It is necessary to go back to Serlio and his *Settimo libro*—published posthumously in 1575—where he discussed what he meant by "architettura giudiziosa, et massimamente degli ornamenti et del decoro."[152] Alina A. Payne and, more recently, Francesco Paolo Fiore have demontrated that for Sebastiano the skill of the "giudizioso" (wise) architect resided in his ability to express, through a love of "varietà" (variety), that careful balance meant to be the product of a "mescolanza" (mixing) of the rustication work

56
Palazzo Magnani, balusters.



with the other orders: the question had been posed several years prior in the *Regole generali* contained in the *Quarto libro*.[153]

The combination of rustication and Composite order at the Palazzo Magnani is part and parcel with the concept of the Composite order's "licensiosso ordine," believed by Pellegrino Tibaldi to be "alquanto più leggiadri delli altri,"[154] where the "legiadria" was that which bestowed upon the ornament its autonomy of expression,[155] and was, thus, suited to be used by those who, on the whole, were capable of "edificar bene, & leggiadramente,"[156] i.e. as if naturally and without difficulty.

The use of a "licenzioso" vocabulary, for the interior of the palazzo, may perhaps be justified if it is added to a foreordained logic: the rusticated pilaster emphasising the passage between the two areas that come before the stairway, through the playfulness of the sequences of ashlars, simulates a splayed perspective, a flattening nearly to remind us that the room is located at the crossing of the entrance loggia, while the other arm of the peristyle had to be omitted for the sake of space (fig. 30).

Tibaldi's research appears to sooner be aligned with the proposals of the great architects working in the north of the peninsula, Giulio Romano, Sanmicheli, Sansovino, Palladio and Vignola, expressions of a grandiose and rigorous manner, in which each concession, each "Mannerist" digression—as it was at one time referred to—is softened and rearranged on the inside of a rational and controlled matrix. For instance, in placing the two Michelangelesque aedicules under the portico, Domenico seems to have listened to Palladio's advice, who suggested not using windows with interrupted tympanums in the façades of buildings, as they would not have been adequately protective.[157]

Likewise the play of the architectural framework on the façade seems to reveal a knowledge of what Serlio had written in his *Settimo libro*, that such projection had to be regulated by way of an appropriate chromatic definition, so that a yellowish colour was assigned to the elements that were more in "rilievo" (relief), while an "oscuro" (darker) colour was assigned to those which were more distant.[158]

Additional details are proof of Domenico's elegant manner of conceiving of the moulding: an example of this may be observed in the design of the balustrades, each of which made up of carefully rounded shapes separated by a refined collar (a ring interposed between two small *cavetti* and relative listel fillets), that Tibaldi used to adorn the balconies, recalling the second order of Palladio's Basilica, or the Alessiani balusters situated in the windows overlooking Piazza Maggiore of the Legate's summer home, or the loggia for the papal players in his project (never executed) for the cornice at the back of the papal statue, the difference being that the balusters in Palazzo Magnani end with a bare architrave deprived of moulding, an example of Tibaldi's very dry language.[159] (fig. 56) In this case, instead of a Michelangelesque plastic exuberance—Domenico never used balusters with a single round element, of the type instead preferred by both Buonarroti and Vignola[160]—he chose more measured lines, marked by the "correctness" of motifs after Sanmicheli and Palladio, taken from Bramante. No palace in Bologna had ever before welcomed the use of balustrated balconies as an integral part of the façade's design.[161]

These are all reasons that might explain the long-lasting critical success of the Palazzo Magnani in the literature that followed, to the extent that it even received praise—after that by Francesco Algarotti[162]—from the least merciful of late-sixteenth-century architectural critics, namely, Francesco Milizia, whose words in *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni* were as follows: "Tibaldi is greatly honoured by the many edifices that he had built in Bologna, especially that of the Gabella, for this specific type of construction without equal; the Small Temple of the Blessed Virgin in Borgo su le mura; the Porta Maggiore of the Palazzo della Città where the Statue of Gregory XIII is located; and, above all, the Palazzo Magnani. This building is characterised by two orders, with no cornice in between the two; it is for this reason that it expresses a harmonious unity; it is of medium proportions, but because it was treated as though it were large, it appears to be of large proportions, and although its court is small, it appears to be spacious. This excellent Architect died while still in his prime, and his body, followed by his many children, was buried in the Church of the Annunziata in Bologna."[163]

[1] "Nota che la casa della mia abbitazione fu comenciata a fabbricare alli 2 genaro 1577," FAGM, *Instrumenti e scritture*, b. 541 (ex-Libro 12), n. 33, f. 9*v*, located by Samuel Vitali in the margin of a 1573 draft for Lorenzo Magnani's will; VITALI 2004a, p. 79. See Vitali's essay published here for a biography of Lorenzo Magnani, for whom a biographical profile was instead not included in the recently-published (2006) *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*. For the sake of brevity, the notes indicate throughout individual contributions on Palazzo Magnani and on those who worked there, but a complete list of all of the works on this or related topics may be found in the bibliography. A shorter version of this text was presented on the occasion of an international meeting on *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi: Architettura e arte a Bologna nel secondo Cinquecento* (Bologna, 5-7 December 2006); proceedings are forthcoming; cf. BETTINI 2009b.

[2] "Die 18 aprilis 1541 Dominucus, filius Peregrini Tibaldi, baptizatus ut supra, compatres magister Ionnes Franciscus, aurifex, et Maria Laurentii," AABo, *Registri battesimali della Cattedrale*, 15, 1536-1542, c. 115*v*, cf. GUALANDI 1840-1845, II, p. 186.

[3] Lorenzo Magnani was elected *gonfaloniere* twice: during the fourth bimestrial session in 1592, and the sixth in 1599; cf. DOLFI 1670, p. 484; GUIDICINI 1876-1877, III, p. 78.

[4] For the decorations of the "sala grande" and the monumental fireplace, see the essays by Samuel Vitali and Richard J. Tuttle published here.

[5] "[…] many of the coppers engraved by Domenico were passed off by Agostino as being his own, because Agostino's name had become famous […]," MALVASIA 1678 (1841), I, p. 164. Two of the most famous engravings were: a portrayal of the Fountain of Neptune (1570) (cf. 1977 1977), and a project for the Este family by Galasso Alghisi (cf. CECCARELLI 1999). For Tibaldi the engraver, cf. MALVASIA 1678 (1841), I, pp. 69-70, 159, 266, 281, 307; 1802-1821 1802-1821, XVIII, 1818, pp. 10-17; DE GRAZIA 1984, PP. 32-33, 221-223; and now FAIETTI 2009.

[6] An example of this is the façade for the Palazzo Zani, a "variation on the theme" of that for the Magnani palace. It is also commonly known that when Domenico passed away (1583), Ambrosini inherited some of his *cantieri*, for example, the one in Palazzo Bentivoglio in Borgo Paglia; for his contribution, see RICCI 2007b, pp. 79 foll. For a concise summary regarding Ambrosini, cf. BUBANI 1960.

[7] Pellegrino Tibaldi's answer to Cardinal Paleotti as concerns "moderatione," i.e. the liturgical appropriateness of the cathedral of San Pietro based on the dictates of the Council of Trent, is dated 4 November 1582, and transcribed and commented on in TERRA 2007, who I wish to thank for having generously provided me with information on the contributions made by the two Tibaldi in the archiepiscopal *cantieri*. Pellegrino had previously been consulted regarding completion of the façade of the church of San Petronio by the lifetime president of the *fabbriceri*, Giovanni Pepoli, whom the architect answered with a letter of 24 September 1582; cf. GAYE 1839-1840, III, pp. 446-448.

[8] At that time, Domenico held the position of "architetto Archiepiscopale", although his name was never associated with this role, which is described in *Governo Archiepiscopale di Bologna*, a manuscript dated from halfway through the eighties (AABo, H. 537, ff. 1-90, here f. 87): "V'è ordine che le fabbriche di momento non si faccino senza consiglio dello architetto Archiepiscopale stipendiato a questo, et con intervento d'alcuni altri fabriceri pratichi di questo maneggio et che convengono de' prezzi de' lavori, acciò non si habbia a contendere con gli operarii" (transcription in PRODI 1960, pp. 341-94, here p. 391); cf. *Archiepiscopale Bononiense* 1594, especially on pp. 482-483. The first piece of evidence linking Domenico to the cathedral in Bologna is a letter from Paleotti to the Marquis (Alfonso) d'Este, posted on 15 March 1574, in which the cardinal justified Domenico's not having departed for Ferrara, and sang his praises: "con tutto che di questa cattedrale tutti si riposi sopra di lui; et senza [his] occhio possa patirne gravemente," AIBo, *Fondo Paleotti*, F 33, Min.VI, c. 136, cited in PRODI 1959-1967, II, P. 41. In February of the same year, Paleotti had posted a letter to Filippo Boncompagni, nephew of Ugo (the future Pope Gregory XIII), informing him of the production of a "Modello che tosto sarà in esser di tutta la fabrica" to be exhibited in Rome (AIBo, *Fondo Paleotti*, F. 32 min.VI, c. 133, 13 February 1574, cited in TERRA 2007, note 68 on p.89). Thus, the project must have been at a very advanced stage in 1574. Recent studies on Bologna's church of San Pietro agree on backdating to 1570 Domenico Tibaldi's involvement, when Paleotti ordered that the pre-existing medieval basilica be demolished; cf. TERRA 1997; THURBER 1997; TERRA, THURBER 2003; TERRA 2007; TERRA, THURBER 2009.

[9] The date of death is recorded by Valerio Rinieri in his manuscript *Diario*: "1583. Adi 2 gennaio muore Domenico Tebaldo, eccellente architetto," RINIERI 2136, c. 82*r*. The words on the lost memorial stone for Tibaldi in the Santissima Annunziata were: "Dominici Thebaldi de Peregrinis / ghraphidis picturae et architecturae / laude insignis viri ossa hic sita sunt. / VIX. ANN. XXXXII. M. IↃ OBIIT MDLXXXIII," MALVASIA 1678 (1841), I, P. 164; GUALANDI 1840-1845, II, p. 188.

[10] For a profile of Domenico Tibaldi, cf. FRATICELLI 1969; GAUK-ROGER 1996; PIGOZZI 1989.

[11] Not be confused with the village of the same name on the Bolognese hills to the west, including the territory of San Lazzaro, the parish of "Sancti […] Castri Brittorum" (Castel de Britti), also known as Santa Maria della Ceriola, was located close to Via Santo Stefano in the portion of the city just outside the selenite circle, or of the *Quattro Croci* (VIIth-XIIth centuries), and the so-called penultimate circle (XIIth-XIIIth centuries), situated between what is at present Via Guerrazzi and Vicolo Pusterla; cf. GOZZADINI 1851, p. 92 and note 77. A plan of the city, with the location of the church, is included by Augusto Vasina in *Storia Chiesa Bologna* 1997, I, p. 134 (plate 4).

[12] For Domenico Tibaldi's will, ASBo, *Notarile*, Bonasoni Camillo, 6/2, I, 1582, cc. 25*r*-27*v*, the volume includes a "Trascrizione cominciata dal fu illustrissimo monsignor Luigi Breventani, sovrintendente dell'Archivio Arcivescovile, illustre paleografo morto in Bologna, il 26 dicembre 1906," published with some parts missing in GUALANDI 1840-1845, II (1841), pp. 24-30. The inheritance was to be distributed as follows: 1,500 *lire* to both of the daughters, Caterina and Artemisia, but only if they both became nuns, 20 *soldi* to the Monte di Pietà in Bologna, 4 *soldi* to the parish priest for the church of Santa Maria di Castel de' Britti. Ottaviano dalla Fava was named executor for the Bolognese estate, brother Pellegrino for that in Milan.

[13] An inventory of Domenico Tibaldi's estates was taken after the appointment of Giovanni Paolo, son of Matteo de Berniis, as guardian for Giovanni Tommaso, Domenico Tibaldi's heir and son: ASBo, *Notarile*, Bonasoni Camillo, 6/2, I, 1583, cc. 49*r*-55*r*, here c. 51*v*, transcribed in GUALANDI 1840-1845, II, pp. 30-40 (the date indicated, 24 January, is incorrect).

[14] This corresponds to the area of Via Farini that stretches from Piazza de' Calderini to Via Castiglione, known as *Ponte di Ferro*, referring to the bridge that allowed for passage across the River Aposa and from which the name of the nearby church of *San Damiano* was also derived, FANTI 1974, pp. 316-317.

[15] This corresponds to the area of Via Farini that stretches from Piazza Galvani to Piazza de' Calderini, known as *Via degli Ansaldi* where they built their houses and the church *of Sant'Andrea degli Ansaldi* or *Sant'Andrea delle Scuole*, because prior to construction of the Archiginnasio, they were surrounded by the rooms used for advanced study in Bologna, FANTI 1974, pp. 315-316.

[16] Domenico had purchased this last portion of the house, "murata, cuppata, tassellata, balconata con curia, orto, pozzo," used as a dye-works and under the chapel of Santa Lucia, in the contrada named Strada Castiglione, on 8 August 1582: ASBo, *Notarile*, Bonasoni Camillo, 6/2, I, 1582, cc. 299*r*-300*v*.

[17] On 14 November 1561, Domenico Tibaldi became a citizen of Bologna after fifty years of residence there: "Tebaldum quondam Christofori de Tebaldis mediolanensis habitantem Bononiae per 50 annos, per suffragia XXIV," ASBo, *Senato*, Partiti, 7, 1555-1561, c. 173*r*, cf. GUALANDI 1840-1845, II, p. 181 foll., which corrects from Cristoforo to Tibaldo as the person receiving the measure without, however, explaining why, as observed in CORTESE 1979, note 131 p. 112. The memorial stone located in the church of San Leonardo and which is proof of his death at the age of sixty years, in 1563 (cf. GUALANDI 1840-1845, 1841, p. 182), would suggest that Tibaldo was born in 1503, and that in 1521, at the age of seventeen, he held the post of *maestro* in the church of San Michele in Bosco, and was not just an unskilled labourer. This deduction led Cortese to "sollevare lievi dubbi circa la riferibilità della lapide mortuaria al nostro personaggio," CORTESE 1979, note 163 on p. 118.

[18] The presence of members of the Tibaldi family in the *cantieri* in San Michele in Bosco and in the Collegio di Spagna has been indicated by ZUCCHINI 1943, *passim* and CORTESE 1979, pp. 112 foll., respectively. Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri also named Tibaldo, Domenico's father, for construction of the new church of the canons of San Gregorio in Alega in Venice (1534 foll.), just outside Porta San Vitale: cf. MALAGUZZI VALERI 1901, p. 311.

[19] "Homini del Conseglio di la Compagnia di muradori […] bianche 23, Domenigo di Tibaldi, negre 7," ASBo, *Assunteria d'arti*, Notizia sopra le arti, muratori e fornari, Atti (1525-1704), 1553, 19 September. This is probably the same Domenico who in 1550 forged six silver candelabra for the convent of San Michele in Bosco, reported in ZUCCHINI 1943, p. 30. Our Domenico at that time was only 9 years of age, as indicated by CORTESE 1979, note 46 on p. 141. Antonio Terribilia and Vincenzo Montalbani had previously been elected to the same assembly for the year 1545. Moreover, it cannot be affirmed with certainty that the "Domenicho di Baldi muratore" elected to the assembly on 12 March 1560 and on 11 March 1567 is our Domenico because during the 1560 session a certain "Tebaldo di Tibaldi," father of Domenico, was also elected, and the surname is correctly indicated; cf. ZUCCHINI 1947, p. 37. On Vincenzo degli Alicorni, known as Rosso Montalbani, see *infra*, note 81.

[20] ORETTI B 110/1, cc. 147, 153; ZUCCHINI 1943, p. 40. ZUCCHINI 1943, p. 66, again names Domenico, in 1582, for the drawing of the two silver candlesticks paid 454 *lire* and 6 *soldi*, proving his skill at goldsmithery.

[21] "*Dominicus Tebal habiturus est a collegio lib. Sexcentum octuaginta ratione picture quam facere tenetur in prima testudine capelle collegi nostri*," transcription in CORTESE 1979, note 234 on p. 138.

[22] "*Magister Dominicus quondam Tibaldi de Tibaldis Bono-*

nie civis ex privilegio. 1566 Die XI maii. Matriculari ego Theodosius Zannitinus civis et notarius Bononie et unus ex notaris camere et magnifice civitatis Bononie suprascriptum magistrum Dominicum de Tibaldis civem privilegiatum Bononie vigore significatorum rogati per se Pompeum Benatium notarium dicte Societatis sub datum Bononie die XI maii, anni predictorum 1566 et de quo in filo," ASBo, *Capitano del Popolo*, Corporazioni, Libri matricularum delle società d'arti e d'armi, b. 6, c. 259*v*, mentioned in CORTESE 1979, p. 141. For the *arte dei pittori* (Bombasari), cf. MALAGUZZI VALERI 1897; FEIGENBAUM 1999.

[23] "*Die lune 22 octubris 1571* […] *Surrogatio in Consilio Pictorum Dominici Thebaldi Pictoris. Item, ex tribus a Massario et hominibus consilii Societatis Bombasariorum et pictorum civitatis Bononie, electis et sanatui propositis et exibitis, elegerunt et surrogarunt per suffragia 30 in locum vocantem in consilio dicte societatis per obitum Iohannis Francisci Betii, pictoris, Dominicum Thebaldum, pictorem, ut pote habilem et idoneum, et qualitates necessarias habentem, cum honoribus, oneribus, emolumentis, et aliis debitis et consuetis. Mandantes ipsum a dictis Massario et hominibus consilii predicti ad huiusmodi locum recipi et admitti. Contrariis etc.*," ASBo, *Senato*, Partiti, 9, 1569-1575, cc. 54*r-v*, transcribed with several errors and parts missing in MALVASIA 1678 (1841), I, p. 164.

[24] TORRE 1674, pp. 36, 46, 89, 289, which indicates the pictorial activity of "Domenico Pellegrini" in Milan, in the churches of San Giovanni in Era, Sant'Antonio, Sant'Eustorgio and Sant'Agostino; cf. PIGOZZI 1989, p. 315 and note 4 on p. 325. On Domenico the painter, cf. BENATI 2009. For Camillo and Ercole Procaccini's contribution to Palazzo Magnani, refer to the essay by Samuel Vitali here.

[25] FEIGENBAUM 1999, p. 368.

[26] "Monsigniore reverendissimo, quando una pianta à diverse parte, tucte quelle che sono a un modo di qualità e quantità ànno a essere adorne in un medesimo modo e d'una medesima maniera; e similmenti i lor riscontri. Ma quando la pianta muta el tucto forma, è non solamente lecito, ma necessario, mutare del tucto ancora gli adornamenti, e similmente i lor riscontri: e' mezzi sempre son liberi come vogliono; sì come il naso, che è nel mezzo del viso, non è obrigato né all'uno né all'altro ochio, ma l'una mana è bene obrigata a esere come l'altra, e l'uno ochio come l'altro, per rispecto dei lati e de' riscontri. E però è cosa certa che le membra dell'architettura dipendono dalle membra dell'uomo. Chi non è buon maestro di figure, e massimo di *notomia*, non se ne può intendere," the date for this letter is somewhere between 1557 and 1560; cf. *Carteggio di Michelangelo* 1983, p. 123. On Michelangelo and on architectural design, cf. BURNS 2006.

[27] ALBERTI (1565), p. 9.

[28] "… *architectus autem simul animo constituerit, antequam inceperit et venustate et usu et decore quale sit futurum habet definitum*" ("… l'architetto invece prima che l'impianto sia iniziato l'ha già costituito nel proprio animo e lo ritiene definito quale sarà realizzato sia per bellezza sia per uso sia per convenienza"), VI, 8, 10, VITRUVIO-GROS 1997, II, pp. 858-859 and note 282 on p. 1008; cf. ALBERTI (1565), p. 5; THOENES 1999, p. 27.

[29] For the text which has remained a manuscript, preserved at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (ms. Italiano 474), there is a seventeenth-century copy preserved at the Biblioteca Ambrosiana in Milan (ms. P 246 sup.). Cf. SIMONCINI 1987; *Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino* 1988; BARTOLINI SALIMBENI 1989; PELLEGRINI (1990).

[30] *Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino* 1988, pp. 59 (I, I, 2-4), 192 (IX, XI, 7-10) and the comment to the text by Giorgio Simoncini, on pp. 17, 233, 272. The passage goes beyond what Alberti writes in Book IX of his treatise.

[31] *Alberti nel commento di Pellegrini* 1988, p. 136 (VI, V, 26).

[32] "Et per questo si abiano a ristringere qualle parte sono quelle che sono necessarie a l'architetto et che dano origine e forma alla architettura: la quale si conclude che siano le due matematiche, cioè geometria e aritmetica, et la pitura, arte veramente che scopre tuti li dubii delle fabriche, sì interior come esterior, et dà forma al tuto con invenzione e leggiadria, ché le forze delle due matematiche senza essa non po' alcuna cossa bona. In maniera, con queste tre arte, pittura, geometria et aritmetica, congiunto con studio e diligentia, fa lo architetto perfetto," *Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino* 1988, p. 191 (IX, X, 41-48); cf. ALBERTI (1565), p. 356.

[33] AIBo, F. 20/5 n. 5, cc. 7 no date; cf. PRODI 1959-1967, II, note 88 on p. 41; ROCA DE AMICIS 1985; MARINELLI, SCARPELLINI 1992, pp. 165, 190. For a transcription of the parts that survived in Domenico's *Discorso*, cf. *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento* 1971, pp. 1115-1119; PIGOZZI 1989, pp. 327-330.

[34] On 17 July 1572, Palladio affirmed having "diligentemente considerato li disegni fatti, luno da messer Francesco Tribilia et laltro da mess. Domenico Teodaldi," cf. GAYE 1839-1840, III (1501-1672), pp. 322-324, here p. 322. There are various hypotheses as concerns the dating of Tibaldi's project for the church of San Petronio, including one backdated to 1570: cf. Vitale Zanchettin, in *La Basilica incompiuta* 2001, cat. 12, pp. 107-109.

[35] Thanks to the help of my friend and colleague Fabrizio Tonelli, transcribed here are some of the passages from the very elaborate report by Nicola Vignali da Bologna on the work carried out in San Procolo: "Adì 7 settembre [1573] il monastero fece accordo con maestro Nicolò Andrei asinaro di darli lire 110 per portare tutta la ghiara e sabbia necessaria alli fondamenti della cappella maggiore di S. an Procolo anzi del choro, della larghezza giudicata da messer Domenico Tibaldi ingegniero e messer Giulio Torre muratore e dell'altezza sino al pavimento del forno. E perché detti periti alterorono il modo del fondamento, per esservi fabricato per opere da mano di muratore, si deffalcorono dalla somma lire 20; e più si deffalcorono lire 12 per la sabbia e la ghiara che per detto fondamento si era cavata dalla nostra cisterna, nonostante tutta quella sabbia che si adoprò nel pavimento della sagrestia di nuovo, che non si comprende in detto conto;" "Havendo l'anno 1537 il senato di Bologna donato al monastero di S. an Procolo, anzi promesso, lire 3000, il dì 4 giugno 1574 ad instanza del reverendissimo padre don Gio. Battista Alberti da Bologna, abbate di detto monastero, rinovò tale donativo in vigore d'un mandato fatto da esso senato con le debite solennità e sottoscrittioni sì di monsignore governatore, come del signore confaloniero et altri officiali della Camera di Bologna, da essere pagato in dieci anni a lire 300 l'anno, da errogarsi nella fabrica della capella di S. an Procolo, né si possano spendere in altra opera; e ciò conforme il dissegno fatto da messer Domenico Tibaldi, ingegniero publico di Bologna, quale dissegno era approvato dal signor cardinale Gabriele Paleotti, vescovo di Bologna, e dal senato, massime da signori Aggiunti deputati del Reggimento, quali furono li signori Romeo Foscherari, Marc'Antonio Volta, Ercole Bandini e Galeazzo Poeti. Adì 4 giugno ci diedero lire 300 per la prima paga e continuorno poi sempre puntualmente sino al totale pagamento delle lire 3000;" "[1580] L'anno antecedente 1579 fu finita la fabrica del choro grande della nostra chiesa come appare dall'inscrittione ch'è attorno il cornicione, qual dice: d.eo optimo .maximo. divisq. ue martyrib. us proculo episcop.o et proculo Proculo bononiensi bononiensibus 1579," VIGNALI 3774, cc. 592*v*; c. 593*r*, 614*v*. On the basis of the later testimony by Marcello Oretti as concerns the plan for the Chapter cloister—referred to by Vignali as "claustro della porta" and thereafter referred to as "del Priore"—a later source reported: "Il Primo Chiostro è disegno di Domenico Tibaldi architetto del monastero del 1577 con provisione di una castellata d'uva dal Comune di Gesso, il di cui disegno è nell'archivio," a plan which indeed exists (ASBo, *San Procolo*, 208/5426, n. 49) and according to FANTI 1963 not identifiable with the first project by Tibaldi, "bensì, solamente, una più tarda iconografia (inizio sec. XVII) redatta per una progettata e non eseguita modifica architettonica" (p. 226), to which he added the note: "Ciò potrebbe essere confermato dal disegno successivo (n. 50) che mostra un particolare bugnato dell'ordine inferiore." Vignali reports that work carried out for the cloister was paid up in September 1586, compensating "Pietro Maria Nani e Riniero tagliapietre per lavorieri di macigno fatti nella parte del claustro attaccato al Capitolo che è la parte verso la sagristia, cioè le cornici sotto le finestre, basi, capitelli di quattro pilastri, sotto basi, archi, architravi. A dì 24 Dicembre il monastero diede credito L. ire 1434-19-8 a mastro Giulio Torre muratore, cioè L. ire 1250 per l'accordo fatto con esso della fabrica della soletta parte del claustro e L. ire 184-19-8 per altre fatture in detta fabbrica non contenute nell'accordo" (VIGNALI 3774, c. 645), from which it is evinced that the work was finished by Giulio dalla Torre (at least this side of it), making it difficult to understand the reason upheld by Fanti which would support the hypothesis of a subsequent variation of the court (fig. 28). The solution revealed in the plan clearly recalls the façade for the Palazzo Zani by Ambrosini, borrowed from the Roman Crypta Balbi (Portico di Pompeo), in its use of the order that emerges from the rustication, which may have been meant for this building and for the balusters with a single bulb. Domenico's assignment to do work in the church of San Procolo is proof of the fact that during the seventies he also held the post of public engineer, thus adding his name to the list of experts working for the future Assunteria d'Ornato, the office responsible for the maintenance of roads, buildings, sewers, as well as the place where permits concerning property were given out, an office instituted on 18 December 1586, but which had actually been active for several decades. For San Procolo, cf. FANTI 1963, pp. 136-141, who publishes Tibaldi's drawings for the chorus (ASBo, *San Procolo*, 208/5426, nn. 1, 4, 5) and Dotti's modification (ASBo, *San Procolo*, 208/5426, n. 9); for the choices of style adopted by Tibaldi, cf. ROCA DE AMICIS 2009. For the Assunteria d'Ornato, cf. TAMBORRINO 1997; FOSCHI 2004b, pp. 197-207.

[36] For Santa Maria delle Laudi, cf. MASINI 1650, p. 395; MASINI 1666, I, p. 395, reported that it initiated in 1512, when Domenico had not as yet been born; it is probably on this basis that Guidicini establishes the date of 1513 for the onset (GUIDICINI 1869-1873, *Miscellanea*, p. 321); cf. MESINI 1957, p. 473; MENCHETTI 2006, p. 63. For the company's statutes and inventory of 1329 for the Ospedale di San Francesco, cf. MESINI 1959 (Domenico T. is mentioned on p. 15). RICCI 2007b, note 90 on p. 96, believes that the façade was executed by Giulio Torri because of its proximity to the church of Santa Cristina (1602).

[37] MALVASIA 1678 (1841), I, p. 158, cf. ORETTI B. 123, c. 466; B. 124/I, p. 326; GUIDICINI 1869-1873, *Miscellanea*, p. 366; FANTI, ROVERSI 1965, p. 64.

[38] GUIDICINI 1869-1873, II, p. 316; *Miscellanea*, p. 324.

[39] The orders for payment in the San Bernardo *cantiere* date from 8 July 1579 to 20 September 1580 (more exactly: 8 and 28 July, 8 September, 1 and 20 October, 2 December 1579; 16 January, 6 March, 18 and

28 April, 15 and 27 May, 20 September 1580), for a total amount in favour of Domenico Tibaldi equal to 1.158 *lire* and 4 *denari* (where 1 *lira* corresponds to 20 *soldi* and 1 *soldo* to 12 *denari*). Domenico was assisted by his cousin Cristoforo, who would then replace him. Tibaldi, as well as Vincenzo Montalbani Alicorni, on 6 March 1581 (c. 4*v*) estimated the cost for labour ("per fattura di detta casa") carried out by the bricklayers Ludovico and Francesco Toresani to be 430-0-7 *lire*, to which were added "scudi trenta d'oro" (i.e. 124-10-0 *lire*) on 4 July 1582, for labour and supplies, bringing the total cost for labour to 554-10-7 *lire*; ASBo, Demaniale, *S. Michele in Bosco*, 177/2349, cc. 1*r*-4*v*, 7*r*, freely quoted in Roversi 1963, p. 285, who believes the court, still visible today, to be a full expression of Tibaldi's project, while a stylistic comparison with work ascertained to be his should be considered more cautiously, implying that substantial changes were made to Tibaldi's project. Domenico would again work for the Olivetan monks as a public engineer involved in hydraulic work carried out on the River Aposa as well as for the bridge of the Crocifisso; cf. Menchetti 2009.

[40] The portico was destroyed in 1812; cf. Guidicini 1869-1873, III, p. 316.

[41] Oretti B. 110/1, c. 132.

[42] Terra, Thurber 2002, especially pp. 56-81.

[43] ASBo, Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte, I, 1 (77), *Sommari degli istrumenti e processi spettanti all'Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte 1270-1599*, c. 371*v*, indicated in TUMIDEI 2002, p. 94 and note 96 on p. 109, reported in its entirety: "1576, 3 marzo. Convenzioni seguite tra Girolamo quondam Bernardino Bellati pittore, li signori Rettore et Assonti dell'Ospitale di Santa Maria della Morte, nelle quali esso Girolamo si obligò dipingere et ornarle la cupula dell'Altare Maggiore della chiesa di detto Ospitale, e fare il cornisone di pietra e gesso attorno il capitello sotto le finestre col suo friso, architrave e modioni sotto quello, con teste di seraffini tra l'uno e l'altro modione, et in tutto e per tutto conforme al dissegno di Domenico Tibaldi. E per mercede di tal lavoro detti signori dell'Ospitale suddetto promisero pagare à detto Girolamo L. 500. Rogito di Francesco Barbadori, Lib. ro 32, n. 52." L'atto della convenzione riporta ulteriori informazioni sui motivi della decorazione della cupola di Santa Maria della Morte: "*quod listelli, fiorini, volte et modioni et alia ornamenta in dicto designo apparentia et fienda in dicta cupula que in ipso designo tincta sunt coloris inorei debeant inaurari et quod etiam ex locis et spacis existentibus inter grotiscas que fierent in dicta cupula aliqua similiter inaurari debeant*," ASBo, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Morte*, III, 32, 1576, 3 March, n. 52.

[44] All that remains of Domenico's project to complete the entrance doorway—which is what we believe it to be, and not so much the finishing touches on a project as defined nearly thirty years previously by Alessi—is a drawing (fig. 6) preserved in Naples, Museo di Capodimonte, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 734, published by Corrado Ricci (Ricci 1913); cf. Malaguzzi Valeri 1899, p. 210 note 1; Hubert 1993, pp. 130, 137, 240 (doc. 321); Hubert 1999; S. Tumidei, in *Michelangelo incognito* 2002, cat. 27, pp. 193-195; Tuttle 2001, pp. 124-130.

[45] Work for which Donino de Torlani and his fellow-bricklayers were compensated on 25 February 1581: ASBo, *Ospedale di Santa Maria della Vita*, s. X, 14 (248), *c.* 29*v*; cf. Fregna 1977-1978, p. 297, who believes that the work done by Tibaldi must have included the Bianchi front, thus denying Vignola's authorship for the building, a hypothesis that was not accepted by subsequent scholarship, which has carefully avoided expressing an opinion on the conformity between Tibaldi's large archivault and the Bianchi portico on Piazza Maggiore.

[46] For the Gabella and subsequent modifications, see Ricci 2007b.

[47] As confirmed in the contract between Ercole Riario and the "maestro Ghabrielle della Porta […] secondo il disegno fatto da Domenico Tibaldi," dated 8 March 1579, found by Paola Foschi at the Archivio di Stato in Naples (*Archivio privato Riario Sforza*, Istrumenti, b. 129, n. 21): cf. Foschi 2004a, p. 291, transcribed on pp. 307-308, who suggests extending authorship of the "assetto complessivo del palazzo" to Tibaldi.

[48] Cf. *supra*, note 6; Ricci 2009.

[49] ASBo, *Assunteria di confini ed acque, serie mappe*, b. 16, previously indicated in Zucchini 1954-1955, p. 98; but for a better analysis cf. Foschi 1986; Foschi 1990; Menchetti 2009. Besides Tibaldi (who in support of his own project sent an explanatory letter to the ambassador from Bologna in Rome, Camillo Bolognini), the contestants included Bartolomeo Triachini, Scipione Dattari, Tommaso Laureti, Francesco Terribilia.

[50] ASBo, Assunteria di Ornato, *Diversorum Ornatus*, b. 2, 27; cf. Menchetti 2005-2007, pp. 131 foll.; Menchetti 2009.

[51] ASBo, *Gabella Grossa*, b. 150, ff. 21B-22, cited in Pigozzi 1992, note 15, p. 285, cf. Menchetti 2009. Nonetheless, what Marcello Oretti says concerning the presumed collaboration between Domenico and Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola "nell'architettura dei sostegni del canale Navile" is not confirmed (Oretti B. 110/1, c. 35; cf. Pigozzi 1989, note 22 on p. 326); the work is generally and solely ascribed to the latter; cf. Adorni 2008, pp. 39-43 and notes on p. 45.

[52] Backed up in Oretti B. 110/1, c. 12; B 124/I, p. 326, cf. Cuppini, Matteucci 1969, pp. 25-26, 365, figs. 49-55 on pp. 162-165.

[53] Attribution suggested in Roversi 1986, p. 271.

[54] Gaye 1839-1840, III, p. 332. Cf. Ricci 2008.

[55] During this time in history, a land-surveying campaign commissioned by Egnazio Danti was being carried out on the architectural monuments in the county of Bologna (Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. Gozzadini 171); see the entry by Sergio Bettini in *Andrea Palladio e la villa veneta* 2005, cat. 139, pp. 398-399, with bibliography. There is no recent monographic study on Gregory XIII Boncompagni's important papacy, after the indispensable work done by Pastor on the *Storia dei papi* cf. Pastor 1925, especially for the *sala Bologna*, see pp. 920-921 (where Tibaldi is only mentioned as a "scultore" for the entrance door to the Palazzo Comunale in Bologna). For a thorough biographical summary on Pope Boncompagni, cf. Borromeo 2002 and particularly Borromeo 2000, although neither one contains information on the *sala Bologna*.

[56] "Fece col mezzo del padre Cherubino Ghirardazzi bolognese frate heremitano in disegno verare la città di Bologna con suoi borghi chiese strade hospitali et altri et queste grandi tavole fece ponere in una sala […] Fece per modo di topographia porre in disegno tutta la sua diocese distinguendola in due tavole, cioè una che contiene la pianura, et l'altra la montagna di essa. Similmente fece fare il dissegno della città di Bologna in un'altra tavola […] et tutte le suddette tavole fece porre in una sala del palazzo, dove ordinariamente soleva dar udienza," may be read in an unpublished note from the Archivio Isolani, transcribed in Prodi 1959-1967, II, note 86 on p. 40.

[57] Cf. Comelli 1896, pp. 10 foll.; Ghizzoni 2003; Bettazzi 2004, pp. 191 foll.; Fiorani 2004, p. 183.

[58] For the influence of this conception of city planning in the writings of Pellegrino Tibaldi, see Simoncini 1987, pp. 381-382. A systematic and accurate study of what is represented in the perspective plan of 1575 is still to be conducted (figs. 7-8).

[59] ASBo, *Archivio Albergati*, Istrumenti, b. 69, fasc. 45 (11 July 1594), cited in Bambi 2004, p. 148, which may be referred to for the profession of the public engineer. As concerns Scipione Dattari, cf. Gualandi 1840-1845, VI, pp. 6-9, according to whom on 12 February 1601 he was commemorated for his sixty years (i.e. since 1541!) of service for the Republic Bologna, a fact which, however, requires verification (p. 8); Comelli 1896, pp. 9 foll.; Benocci 1987; Foschi 2004a, p. 198. For a brief overview on land-surveying in Emilia, cf. Capoferro Cencetti 1981.

[60] The assignment concerning this view of the city is the subject of a letter posted on 16 March 1575 to the Senate by Filippo Carlo Ghisilieri, the ambassador for Bologna in Rome; this first letter was followed by others, on 19 and 30 March, 6, 20 and 23 April, 6, 10, 11 and 24 May, 8 June 1575: cf. ASBo, *Senato*, Lettere dell'Ambasciatore al Senato, VII, vol. 50; ASBo, *Senato*, Lettere del Senato, copiari, I, vol. 13, published in part in Comelli 1896, doc. 1, pp. 36-40; published again in Comelli 1914, pp. 32-42, 78, docc. 64-68 (ASBo, *Reggimento*, Lettere dell'Ambasciatore al Senato, vol. 1575; *Literarum* o Registro delle lettere spedite, vol. dal 1574 al 1580). Dattari had been asked to design a more all-encompassing view of the "città e contà di Bologna con inserirgli dentro le castella et anco il Po et il Panaro con le città di Ferrara et Modena," but the engineer answered that on account of his many professional "occupazioni" and because of the complexity of the work, he could not guarantee that it would be done quickly. Filippo Guastavillani, the pope's nephew, answered, through Ghisilieri, stating that he "racordarsi aver veduto altre volte simil Disegno et che di questo se ne potria fare facilmente una copia," thus suggesting this new view be obtained by working on one that already existed, perhaps the one that had been drawn in the past by Ghirardacci. Thus, it was during this very delicate phase that, as reported in the letter of 23 April 1575, Domenico Tibaldi presented his drawing on the same subject to be shown to Dattari: "Doppo l'altra mia VV.SS. molto Ill.re sapranno circa il particolare del Disegno che Mons. Ill.mo Guastavillani desidera sia mandato qua per servitio di N.S.e. *Si contenteranno commettere a M. Scipione che veda un Disegno mandato qua da M. Domenico Thebaldi, et possano scorgere in quei luoghi che saranno convenienti Ferrara, Modena, Pistoja et Imola* et come più presto potrasi spedire sarà più caro et se paresse meglio a M. Scipione fare un Disegno intiero faccino quello le pare et le bascio le mani. Di Roma li 23 Aprile del 1575" (my italics). Having abandoned the idea of portraying the county as far as its borders with Ferrara, Modena, Pistoia and Imola, Dattari was thus asked to work on Tibaldi's drawing, which had been handed in to Lorenzo Sabatini in June. Sabatini's job was to oversee the pictorial completion of the work, and this also involved the brothers Alberti: Cherubino, a painter and engraver of copper, Giovanni, a painter of perspectives. As concerns Cherubino and Giovanni Alberti from Borgo San Sepolcro, cf. Gualandi 1840-1845, VI, pp. 64-73, who does not, however, mention their involvement in this plan of Bologna.

[61] For example, Comelli 1896, p. 10.

[62] Cf. Gualandi 1840-1845, II, p. 32.

[63] Lamo (1996), p. 100 (c. 28*v*). As concerns Bartolomeo Tassi known as Triachini, cf. Ravaioli 2009.

[64] For the chapel of Lorenzo Magnani in the church of San Giacomo, cf. Vitali here, pp. 24-25.

[65] This is proven by the fact that on 17 April 1578 Carlo and Emilio Malvezzi allowed Lorenzo Magnani to

remove a part of the wooden cornice on their palazzo so that Magnani could raise the wall that he was having built and, hence, complete the façade; cf. FAGM, *Instrumenti*, b. 542 (libro 13), fasc. 23, cited in ROVERSI 1985, note 4 p. 172. Not to be excluded is the notion that the speed at which the building was elevated might have had something to do with the use of a machine for the moving and lifting of material, something like the crane ("gruve") described by Pellegrino (*Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino* 1988,VI,VI, pp. 17, 137-138); from the time of Aristotele Fioravanti, Bologna was believed to be avant-garde, a place where new ideas such as this one were often tried out. For payments to Tibaldi, cf. doc. 3.

[66] ASBo, *Magnani Lupari*, series X, b. 209, n.d.; cf. BAMBI 2002, p. 193; RAVAIOLI 2002, note 5 on p. 453, to whom the observation is due.

[67] Cf. RICCI 2007a, pp. 38-40 and fig. 3 on p. 39.

[68] FAGM, *Istrumenti*, b. 540, fasc. 15, 20 April 1564, cited in ROVERSI 1985, pp. 162, 168.

[69] FAGM, *Istrumenti*, b. 532, fasc. 31, 2 February 1494, cited in ROVERSI 1985, p. 162.

[70] The fact that the vaults under the portico on Via Zamboni are not as high as the other basement vaults would indicate that this portion belonged to the pre-existing fifteenth-century plan.

[71] Cf. ASBo, *Notarile*, Chiocca Alessandro, 6/1, 1555-1571, filza prima: testamenti, cc. 10*v*-11*r*; *ibidem*, 1571-1573, protocollo A, c. 73*r*; cf. Vitali here, p. 24.

[72] Cf. VITALI 2003, p. 108; VITALI 2004a, pp. 75-76.

[73] FAGM, *Archivio Magnani, Istrumenti e scritture*, b. 542 (ex 13), n. 14, 23 August 1576, transcribed in ROVERSI 1985, pp. 168, 170.

[74] The only member of the Terribilia to remain was Giovanni, listed in the 1578 balance sheets with the other "creditori," as possibly one of the suppliers of materials used for building.

[75] ASBo, *Malvezzi Lupari*, series IX, Piante e mappe Magnani, b. 190, not numbered; cf. RAVAIOLI 2002, p. 419, figs. on p. 449. The sandstone pilasters for the façade continue on into the basement, as was confirmed during physical-chemical and endoscopic analyses that I personally conducted with the engineer Giuseppe Di Stefano. Moreover, still present at this level of the building is the old system used to dispose of waste fluids from the palazzo, reported by Alicorni (cf. doc. 2, pp. 29, "27" foll.); this involved an open canalisation system made of brick, through which meteoric liquids could flow, resulting in the self-cleaning of any waste, and to which was added a series of inspection chambers.

[76] VITALI 2004a, note 359 on p. 83.

[77] Cf. doc. 1. I presented this document on the occasion of a meeting on *Pellegrino and Domenico Tibaldi*, held in Bologna in December 2006 (BETTINI 2009b).

[78] "Le macigne per essere buone, devono essere di colore berettino, che tendi all'oscuro, le gialle poche sono quelle, che riescono dure, ma ciò è facile conoscerle, mentre toccandole con un coltello manifestano la loro qualità. Buone sono le cave fuori strada Castiglione, ma le più ottime sono le cave poste nel comune di Varignana, le quali danno Macigne, che gareggiano col marmo," ANGELOTTI 1765, p. 94, cf. MARINELLI, SCARPELLINI 1992, p. 32.

[79] The architectural term "risalite" was taken up by Floriano Ambrosini, the author of the fireplace in Palazzo Magnani, in order to illustrate the moulding that made up the trabeations of "Cantonata del ordine toscano" and of "Cantonata ionica," in his manuscript treatise *Nuova regola di pratticare facilmente gli cinque ordini d'architettura*, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 143, cc. 29r, 46*v* (46b); cf. FANTUZZI 1781, p. 221, on which Maurizio Ricci and Paola Zampa are at present writing a critical edition (cf. RICCI 2007b, n. 74 on p. 95).

[80] "Il Bolognese somministra assai Pioppo, ò come diciamo corrottamente Fioppa, quale si rende assai leggiera, e fa buon lavoriero; in caso declini, dà inizio col piegarsi prima, avanti di rompersi affatto, mà il Rovere, Querzia, e simili legni forti, quando patiscono troppo peso, ò per altro mancamento, senza dare segno alcuno si rompono, e restano troncati all'improvviso senza potervi rimediare […] L'abete dopo la Fioppa è il migliore legname si trova, sì ne lavorieri di Fabriche grandi, tanto più, che in occasione di Coperti grandi, si possono aggiungere l'uno con l'altro," SPINELLI 1708, p. 102. On the contrary, Vincenzo Scamozzi advises against using poplar: "non ha forza di sostenere i gravi pesi, e per le vene larghe e piene di humore, si tarla e guasta facilmente" (SCAMOZZI [1997], II, p. 248); cf. MARINELLI, SCARPELINI 1992, pp. 53-55, for the use, in Bologna, of these kinds of wood for construction.

[81] Vincenzo Alicorni Montalbani, known as Rosso, was mentioned in the *Consiglio dei muratori* in 1545, on 6 September 1553, on 12 March 1560, on 17 February 1567, on 25 September 1580 (which also includes Gregorio Marescalchi, Giovanni Terribilia, Tommaso Martelli, Piero Magli) and on 27 June 1596 (amongst others, along with Giovanni Terribilia, Tommaso Martelli, Giovanni Bedini): cf. ASBo, *Assunteria d'arti, Notizie sopra le arti, muratori e fornari*, Atti (1525-1704). For the Alicorni Montalbani family, cf. CARRATI 700, p. 19, which indicates Vincenzo (unless we are dealing with a case of paternal homonymy) as being the founder of the family whose descendants included Giovanni Battista and the more famous Ovidio, a university professor in Bologna, a man with a number of interests. The same information is contained in another manuscript again by Carrati preserved at the Archiginnasio (ms. B. 688, pp. 369-375). MALAGUZZI VALERI 1899, note 1 on p. 226, erroneously believes that Montalbani and Alicorni are two distinct people. Other reports written up by Alicorni may be found in GUIDICINI 1869-1873, II, pp. 275, 302-303 and IV, p. 349; to these must be added the one written up by Tibaldi for work done in San Bernardo (cf. *supra*, note 38).

[82] In 1575, Tommaso Martelli built the villa of Filippo (II) Guastavillani in Barbiano on the very first hills of Bologna—which recent studies have attempted to attribute to Ottaviano Mascherino, the author of several plans for a previous, but very different layout, and to Tommaso Laureti for the hydric system (MATTEUCCI, RIGHINI 2000)—, provides several plans for the church of San Salvatore (GUIDICINI 1869-1873, I, p. 116), builds the bell tower for the Certosa (1590: ANGELOTTI 1765, pp. 68-69), leaving a will (GUALANDI 1840-1845, III, p. 187); cf. ZUCCHINI 1947, p. 92.

[83] Cf. doc. 2.

[84] Marescalchi, Magli and Martelli are also listed as debtors in the balance sheets for the following 1582, while Marescalchi, alone or with others ("et compagni"), is a debtor from 1583 to 1597, which indicates that other and numerous works were carried out to complete the building; cf. doc. 3.

[85] For the architectural glossary used in the documents, see the following *Glossary*.

[86] Cf. VITALI 2004a, p. 78 and fig. 34.

[87] FAGM, *Archivio Magnani, Istrumenti e scritture*, b. 543 (ex libro 14), n. 31.

[88] Cf. doc. 2, p. 31 ("29"). This is confirmed in the *Descrizione de' miglioramenti rilevati nel palazzo*, written up on 1 May 1754 by the expert Bernardo Gamberini: "Piano terreno, appartamento a mano sinistra del cortile […] Altre due bussole più piccole in detta ultima camera a due porte, di cui una entra in un gabinetto che si crede fosse anticamente una cappellina, e l'altra mette ad una scaletta che conduce ad una piccola stanziala sopra detto gabinetto." The *Descrizione* also informs of the new "cappellina," observed by Venturoli (plate II, 44) "ornata e costrutta da fondamenti, dipinta come si trova presentemente, ed è fabbricata nel sito acquistato dal Collegio Pannolini l'anno 1660, rogito Masina, per lo prezzo di lire 200," cited in ROVERSI 1985, pp. 196, 198.

[89] CERVELLATI 1997, pp. 76-77. A misunderstanding that led to the identification *tout court* as being "originario" (late sixteenth century) all that which was reported by Venturoli two centuries later, as concerns how the rooms were divided and the definition of apertures, floors, attics and fireplaces.

[90] For the courts of Palazzo Bentivoglio and the Gabella designed by Tibaldi, but documented in plans by Pietro Fiorini and Floriano Ambrosini, respectively, cf. RICCI 2007b, pp. 75-78 and fig. 10, pp. 80-81 and figs. 15-16.

[91] For example: "Item per metere in opera la ringiera di balaustre sopra la nicia de la curtesela lunga pie 8 once 8 con el dade sota e sopra," doc. 2, p. 18 ("16"); cf. VITALI 2004a, nos. 358-359 on p. 82.

[92] Scholars have nearly always declared that the plan, unlike the frieze surrounding it, cannot be attributed to Agostino Carracci, but that it was rather the work of a less refined engraver: cf. COMELLI 1896, p. 16; DE GRAZIA 1984, p. 89. Two copies of this plan are preserved in Bologna, one in a private collection, the other in the Pinacoteca Nazionale, which we have been able to reproduce thanks to the kind concession of Elena Rossoni, the director of the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe.

[93] LAMO (1996), p. 99. As concerns Palazzo Malvezzi (then Campeggi) cf. ROVERSI 1986, pp. 108-115, with bibliography.

[94] "[…] per aver fato li ponti et acomodato li madoni sopra al gigante et conciate de le cesure e la cortesina et fasse," doc. 6, c. 3*r*.

[95] Cf. MORRESI 2000, cat. 8, pp. 50-65.

[96] PIGOZZI 1999, p. 272 is due the match with Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne.

[97] Cf. BETTINI 2009a.

[98] "[…] doe finestre de masegna in dita loga," doc. 2, p. 10 ("8").

[99] "[…] per il contrapuntone in testa la loga de sopra verse le stancie, con un sguanga intorno, con un surdele intorno 'l dite, con la sua cima," doc. 2, p. 9 ("7").

[100] It cannot, however, be safely stated that this system of internal circulation derived from the sixteenth-century layout, at which time tradition would have it that distribution always began with the most important room in the building; cf. *Aspetti dell'abitare in Italia* 2001.

[101] RICCI 2007a, fig. 4 a p. 41. I wish to thank Paolo Pascale Guidotti Magnani, Vice-President of the Fondazione Archivio Guidotti Magnani, who allowed me to consult and reproduce material from the archives. I instead wish to thank my father, Paolo, for all of the work he did to carefully scan and reassemble these images.

[102] "[…] li corniciamenti saranno di legname colorati di colore di macigna à olio & vernicia, li quali resisteranno alle piogge, al ghiaccio 6 al sole gran numero d'anni," SERLIO 1575, p. 243. Antonio Terribilia made the wooden cornice on the façade for realizzò Palazzo Orsi (later Marconi).

[103] "Item per pie 136 de curnisote de legname in dite, a lire $2^{1}/_{2}$ el pe," doc. 2, p. 15 ("13").

[104] Pietro Cataneo writes: "E sopra tutto le scale, come cosa più di ogni altra difficultosa et importante, vadino per tutto libere, spatiose, et abbondino di lume, e vadino dolcemente salendo, né sieno dalle stanze impedite, né che quelle impedischino le stanze, dove si vede, che, per essere in più palazzi e casamenti male accomodate le scale, ne sono divenuti storpiati; e tal

volta, volendole correggere, è bisognato da per terra buona parte dello edificio," CATANEO 1567 (1985), libro IV, cap. 1, pp. 97-98; cf. *Trattati* 1985, p. 328.

[105] For Palazzo Ricci in Montepulciano, cf. GDSU, A 594*r*, A 595*r*, A 358*r*. In other cases, for example as concerns several projects for villas (GDSU, A 15r), Peruzzi situates the stairways all along the length of a peristyle, with double flights of stairs on the two opposite ends of the court, a pattern that was also present in the hypothetical design for the palazzo of the archbishop of Amalfi, with a large stairway taking up exactly one half of the length of the court sleeve (GDSU, A 596*r*).

[106] FROMMEL 1985, pp. 135-143 and figs. on pp. 281-288.

[107] Cf. ADORNI 2008, cat. 169, pp. 312-313, fig. 169.

[108] Cf. GRILLI 1991, p. 138, n. XIV, 110 (90); PIGOZZI 1999, p. 274.

[109] *Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino* 1988, p. 69.

[110] Tibaldi's authorship for the windows on the *piano nobile* of the court is confirmed in the *Quadernetto* written by Alicorni: "Item per aver mese in opera 6 fenestre de masegna in la chorte de sopra 3 da ogne la, con el so parapete de sota de balaustre e con el dade sota e sopra," doc. 2, p. 16 ("14").

[111] Cf. doc. 2, p. 5 ("3"): "Item el mure de once 9 che ingursa in testa la schala, sota la curtesela."

[112] "Si à cura che il suddetto piano a mezo [corresponding to the landing] che vi sia una corticella, la qualle serve et per luminar gagliardamente la scalla et ancor per entrar in stanze, che si sogliono fare non molto grande, avendo poca alteza," Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino 1988, p. 69; for the chapter "Delle scalle," pp. 68-71.

[113] SERLIO 1575, p. 60.

[114] PALLADIO 1570, II, p. 8; cf. CEVESE 2005.

[115] Ricci also ties the Bolognese example to Palazzo Spinola: RICCI 2007a, p. 42 and fig. 7, based on SCOTTI 1985, pp. 148-149 and fig. 226 on p. 289. For a more circumstanced dating, see GIACOMINI 2002, pp. 74-77 and notes 1-43 a pp. 85-86, kindly indicated to me by Francesco Rephisti.

[116] For the attribution of the palazzo for Vettor Grimani to Sansovino, cf. FOSCARI, TAFURI 1981; TAFURI 1992, pp. 308-316; MORRESI 2000, cat. 11, pp. 72-83, on p. 78 notes that a stairway in the shape of a butterfly is adopted by Sansovino, transversally with flights that diverge rather than converge, in the palazzo della Zecca located in the area of San Marco (1536).

[117] Or this would at least seem to have been Palladio's intention. Huelsen (*Il libro di Giuliano* 1910, p. 69) assigned the temple to Serapide, on the basis of a hypothesis that has since been abandoned. Giuliano's son Francesco then went back to the design (GDSU, 1691r), from Serlio (SERLIO 1540, p. lxxx), whereas the reconstruction proposed in PALLADIO 1570, I, pp. 61, 66; IV, pp. 42-47 is quite different. In the plan for the "Tempio di Giove" (ibidem, IV, p. 42), Palladio does not indicate how the steps for the stairway develop, instead discussing the vaulted areas located below. In previous reconstructions of the ancient monument, the stairways always have flights that are side-by-side, like those depicted in the section of the monument in the chapter on stairways (*ibidem*, I, p. 66), but no case of a butterfly-shaped bifurcation, like in the Bolognese example, is ever indicated. As concerns a knowledge of palazzo di Mecenate (Tempio di Giove, di Serapide, Torre Mesa) during the Renaissance, cf. GÜNTHER 2001; SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2005; GROS 2006, pp. 40-44; GÜNTHER 2007, pp. 797-798.

[118] His brother Pellegrino listed "il Sansovino" as being one of those who had "rassusitato la architettura," PELLEGRINI (1990), p. 359.

[119] SERLIO 1540, p. lxxx.

[120] MALVASIA 1678 (1841), I, p. 159; cf. RICCI 2007a, p. 42.

[121] MORRESI 2002, p. 78, also recalls the projects by Mauro Codussi for the Scuole Grandi di San Marco (lost) and for San Giovanni Evangelista. It is of interest to note how in the project for Vettor Grimani the problem of the view overlooking the stairway on the court and its relative lighting was carefully avoided by Sansovino, as no aperture on the wall in common is indicated. A similar thing was done by Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane in his project for Palazzo Pucci in Orvieto (GDSU, 969 A).

[122] Similar seats may be found inside Palazzo Marescalchi (the location of the Soprintendenza), in the hall and in a room nearby, which is now used as an office by the Archivio Storico.

[123] Cf. doc. 2, p. 7 ("5").

[124] Cf. doc. 2, p. 7 ("5").

[125] ZUCCHINI 1957. The best reproduction may be found in CUPPINI 1974, fig. 86 on p. 105.

[126] JACOBS 1975, p. 23, cat. 42; PIGOZZI 1999, p. 267 and note 7 on p. 275.

[127] This hypothesis, advanced in RICCI 2007b, p. 82 and n. 69 on p. 95, was developed further by the scholar in a talk he gave at the meeting on Domenico Tibaldi held in 2006: cf. RICCI 2009. Materials used to build Palazzo Zani's portico were purchased on 31 August 1586, but "spese di fabrica per la facciata" are recorded from 1595, the year that Ambrosini is reported to have received payment. Cfr. REGGIO 2000, pp. 18-19.

[128] I wish to thank Richard J. Tuttle for having made me continue to doubt and ponder my suspicion that the author of this design for the Palazzo Magnani façade was not Domenico Tibaldi.

[129] Cf. doc. 2, p. 6 ("4"), where Alicorni specifies that the bricks ("preda cota taia") are made to emerge "con le teste."

[130] Cf. doc. 2, p. 7 ("5").

[131] This may observed, for example, inside the church of San Miniato in Florence, in the parts of the nave that are not covered.

[132] Cf. PIGOZZI 1999, p. 272. For the Tiene and Porto palazzi in Vicenza, cf. BURNS 2002, pp. 387-393, 400-402.

[133] As concerns Palazzo Canossa, and the attribution to Sanmicheli, cf. FROMMEL 1995b, p. 24; for the attribution to Giulio Romano, cf. BURNS 1989; BURNS 1995, pp. 57-60, 78-79.

[134] For Palazzo Stati Maccarani, cf. FROMMEL 1995a; for Vignola in the church of San Petronio, Richard J. Tuttle in *Vignola* 2002, cat. 25-26, pp. 145-146; for the chapel of the Legato and for the Banchi, cf. TUTTLE 2001, pp. 130-135 and pp. 203-238.

[135] "Item per aver poste in opera la porta de masegna come la iera prima, con la suoia e poi averla tolta d'opera […] Item per aver posta in opera la porta dita de masegna del mode che la se ritrova al presente che più larga che l'altra con un pitafi dentre de masegna sopra de pie 4 e pie 2 e grose once 6," cf. doc. 2, p. 8 ("6"); cf. VITALI 2004a, n. 357 on p. 82.

[136] By comparison, observe how the awkward proportions of the entrance doorway for the nearby Palazzo Malvezzi are a consequence of the inability to make it fit into the enlargement of the portico.

[137] Giulio Romano used the same motif for the first time in the Roman house of Macel de' Corvi, while Vignola used it on the ground floor of the façade on Villa Giulia; cf. SERLIO 1537, cc. VIII*v* foll.; SERLIO 1551, *passim*.

[138] For Palazzo Bocchi, cf. RAVAIOLI 2006, pp. 25, 31-34; ADORNI 2008, pp. 32-37.

[139] Cf. BIAVATI, MARCHETTI 1974, p. 477, publish the model that still includes a small piece of paper signed by Domenico and the words: "il primo arco del portico della parte di via Oleari, benché giù di squadro, non avrebbe fatto mostruosità, come realmente non lo fa;" S. Sabbatini in *Lo spazio, il tempo, le opere* 2001, pp. 353-355; RICCI 2007b, p. 71. This motif, among others, is again used in the cloister of the Annunziata in Parma, the work of Giovanni Battista Fornovo, its date somewhere between 1566, when construction of the church initiated, and 1583, on the basis of what is reported in a *supplica* of 1627 by the monks to the congregation of cardinals, cited in ADORNI 1974, p. 115 and note 28. The rusticated arches remind the scholar of the entrance doorway to the palazzo di Caprarola in Vignola, while for us the interruption in the Doric cornice generated by the ashlars is another of the many variations on how to compose by levels, with which Domenico Tibaldi's work is aligned.

[140] For Serlio, including opinions that diverge, cf. CARPO 1993, pp. 13-62; PAYNE 1999, pp. 116-122; FIORE 2000; FIORE 2001, p. 18 foll.

[141] ACKERMAN 2003, pp. 155-156. Cf. ACKERMAN 2008.

[142] VITRUVIO, FERRI 1960, p. 59 (in note); cf. KRUFT 1988, p. 11; VITRUVIO, GROS 1996, I, 2, 5-7, pp. 29-31, where *decor* is "convenienza."

[143] "[…] perché le commodità si son converse in ornamento," SERLIO 1537, c. XV*r*.

[144] SERLIO 1537, c. V*r*.

[145] For "riformed" characters in church architecture, see the major work by REPHISTI, SCHOFIELD 2004.

[146] *Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino* 1988, note 43 on p. 42. Federico Borromeo reports that Pellegrino "fu per caso accolto fra gli aiuti di Michelangelo" at the beginning of 1564 when he was working in Santa Maria degli Angeli: *Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino* 1988, note 12 on p. 38.

[147] "It seems inevitable to relate the affirmation of this austere architectural type, cleansed on the outside of any borrowed classicist or 'paganising' elements, with requests for a religious and cultural renewal governed by the Council of Trent (1545-63). The truth of the matter is that the generalised adoption of a new type of palazzo is more authentically justified in a deeply-rooted social conformity, based on which the splendour represented by the marble structure for the orders could not be shown off by a private party in the public streets of the city: this was exclusively a prerogative of the church," CONFORTI 2001, p. 36. For the success of this type in Bologna, but limited to the early sixteenth-century, cf. RICCI 2003.

[148] RAVAIOLI 2002, p. 422.

[149] Cf. BEDON 2008, pp. 196-197, 285-301, 303.

[150] PIGOZZI 1999, p. 274.

[151] RAVAIOLI 2002, p. 422.

[152] SERLIO 1575, p. 120.

[153] Cf. FIORE 2000, pp. 237-249, note 4 on p. 247.

[154] "[…] ordine […] subalterato, che si compone da le ragione delli altri ordini a giudizio del architetto; basta che pare che sia alquanto più leggiadro delli altri il capitello suo, qualle è conposto e di Ionico e di corintio, e vaghissimo er di molto artificio e lavore […] et in questo licensiosso ordine li Architetti ano autto canpo da sbizarirssi et di mostrar le sue capriciosse invenzione," writes brother Pellegrino; cf. BARTOLINI SALIMBENI 1989, p. 188.

[155] "Però 4 cosse sono principale ne la qual consiste il tutto: prima il numero, la colocacione, leggiadria e finimento. Con queste si procachierà la dignità, gratia et autorità, imitando la natura, ottima artefice de tutte le cosse" (IX,V-VI, 21-24): *Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino* 1988, pp. 186-187.

[156] PALLADIO 1570, I, p. 3.

[157] "Ma quello, che à mio parere importa molto, è l'abuso del fare i frontespici delle porte, delle finestre, e delle loggie spezzati nel mezo; conciosiache essendo essi fatti per dimostrare, & accusare il piovere delle fabri-

che, il quale così il colmo nel mezo fecero i primi edificatori ammaestrati dalla necessità istessa; non so che cosa più contraria alla ragione naturale si possa fare, che spezzar quella parte, che è finta difendere gli habitanti, & quelli, ch'entrano in casa, dalle pioggie, dalle nevi, & dalla grandine: e benché il variare, & le cose nuove à tutti debbano piacere; non si deve però far ciò contra i precetti dell'arte, e contra quello, che la ragione ci dimostra: onde si vede che ancho gli Antichi variarono: né però si partirono mai da alcune regole universali, & necessarie dell'Arte, come si vederà ne' miei libri dell'Antichità," PALLADIO 1570, I, p. 52.

[158] SERLIO 1575, p. 126. It is thus a question of chromatic adequacy in the perception of perspective on the building, and not so much the suitability of the chiaroscuro in connoting "una funzione statica importante," CARPO 1993, pp. 56-57.

[159] For the topic of balustrades, cf. WITTKOWER 1968; DAVIES, HEMSOLL 1983. Between 3 and 14 April 1937, the Salem property is authorised to "riparare parte dei balconi esterni che minacciano di crollare e la pulitura della facciata stessa," work carried out by the architect Ecchia: cf. Archivio della Soprintendenza ai beni architettonici e paesaggistici per le province di Bologna, Modena e Reggio Emilia, *Serie monumenti*, BO M 29, Palazzo Magnani, prot. 1984. I wish to thank Loretta Vancini for having allowed me to consult the material preserved in the archives.

[160] Cf. LIMA 2002.

[161] Domenico will again use the solution for the court in Palazzo Magnani in that of the Palazzo Arcivescovile, which at least till midway through the eighteenth century, when Landi drew a picture of it (fig. 4), must have had balusters very similar to our example; thereafter, these were replaced by the variant that is visible today, made up of elements with a single bulb and sharp lines, and which was enormously successful in Bologna, and not just during the eighteenth century.

[162] Francesco Algarotti praises Palazzo Magnani for having, unlike in the nearby Palazzo Malvezzi (de' Medici), avoided the superimposition of the orders on the façade and the problems that this would involve, as well as for the use of several cornices: "Di tal maniera sono fabbricati tra gli altri i palagi Caffarelli e Pandolfini amendue di disegno di Raffaello, e i Porto e Tiene del Palladio, a norma de' quali, e di quello de' Ranuzzi, che è in Bologna pure del Palladio architetto Domenico Tibaldi nella medesima città il palagio Magnani. Quasi di rincontro a questo ne ha un altro de' Malvezzi con tre ordini di architettura al consueto modo non si sa bene, se di disegno del Vignola, o pure del Serlio. Dove ognuno può conoscere quasi in un'occhiata, che il palagio Magnani piace sommamente come un tutto, in cui si trova armonia ed unità; non così il Malvezzi, che ha sembianza di tre differenti case messe in capo o a ridosso l'una dell'altra," ALGAROTTI 1784, p. 32.

[163] MILIZIA 1785, II, p. 61. Analogies with the Magnani façade may be observed in Palazzo Ruini (later to become Ranuzzi Baciocchi): a gigantic order of pilaster strips frames aedicules with balustraded parapets and small windows above a ground floor in part characterised by rustication; in 1582, Carlo Ruini obtained a public property permit in order to "decorate the door or the vestibule, and façade of the house that he has begun to build with magnificence" (ASBo, "Concessio soli publici Domino Carolo Ruino pro fabrica eius domus", *Senato*, *Partitorum*, XXIV, c. 195*v*, cit. in ROVERI 1994, p. 52) and that later local acknowledgement assigned to Palladio.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

AABo • Archivio generale arcivescovile, Bologna
AIBo • Archivio Isolani, Bologna
ASBo • Archivio di Stato, Bologna
ASV • Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Vatican City
BCA • Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna
BUB • Biblioteca Universitaria, Bologna
DBI • *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*
GDSU • Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi, Florence
FAGM • Fondazione Archivio Guidotti Magnani, *fondo* Magnani, Bologna

Manuscripts

Amadi B. 164 • *Discorso del signore Agostino Amadi Cittadino Venetiano intorno alla famiglia de Vizani*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 164.

Anonimo 621 • *Copia d'un Originale d'un diario estratto dallo studio dell'Alidosio Antiquario Bolognese, qual'Originale e Postillato dal d.° di Propria Mano. Contiene notizie belle, e curiose di ciò seguito in Bologna dal 1080 al 1626*, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 621.

Barbieri Gozzadini 269 • Diego Antonio Barbieri, *Raccolta di varie notizie sù le chiese di Bologna*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. Gozzadini 269.

Bianchetti Malvezzi 59-63 • Alamanno Bianchetti, *Annali di Bologna dall'edificazione della città fino al 1599*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Raccolta Malvezzi, vols. 59-63.

Bianchini 296 • Marcantonio Bianchini, *Cronaca di Bologna (1584-1638)*, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 296.

Carrati B. 698/II-736 • Baldassare Antonio Maria Carrati, *Alberi genealogici delle famiglie bolognesi…*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, mss. B. 698/II-736.

Carrati 700 • Baldassarre Antonio Maria Carrati, *Genealogie di famiglie nobili di Bologna*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 700.

Carrati B. 849-882 • Baldassare Antonio Maria Carrati, *Cittadini maschi di famiglie bolognesi battezzati in S. Pietro come risultano dai libri dell'archivio battesimale, dal 1451 al 1809*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, mss. B. 849-882.

Carrati B. 910-928 • Baldassare Antonio Maria Carrati, *Li Morti sì Nobili che Civili, e di Famiglie antiche della Città di Bologna, fedelmente estratti dalli Libri Parrocchiali delle infrascritte Chiese*, 19 vols., Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 910-928.

Galliani B. 3567 • Francesco Galliani, *Cronica o sia Diario di Francesco Galliani l'originale della quale si conserva nel publico Archivio di Bologna*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 3567 (18th-century copy).

Ghiselli 770 • Antonio Francesco Ghiselli, *Memorie antiche manuscritte di Bologna. Raccolte, et accresciute sino a' tempi presenti dal Canonico Antonio Franc.° Ghiselli Nobile Bolognese*, 95 vols., Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 770.

Legnani 896 • Pirro Legnani, *Diario delle cose accadute in Bologna (1555-1601)*, 2 vols., Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 896.

Marescalchi B. 1118 • Giovan Battista Marescalchi, *Annali*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 1118.

Oretti B. 104 • Marcello Oretti, *Le Pitture che si ammirano nelli Palazzi, e Case de' Nobili della Città di Bologna, e di altri Edificij in d.ª Città…*, vol. 1; *Le Pitture che si vedono nelle Case e Palazzi de' Nobili della Città di Bologna…*, vol. 2; *Le Pitture sul muro nelli Palazzi, e Case della Città di Bologna fatte da eccellenti Pittori, raccolte, e descritte da Marcello Oretti bolognese*, vol. 3; Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 104.

Oretti B. 108 • Marcello Oretti, *Descrizione delle Pitture che si ammirano nelle strade di Bologna…*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 108.

Oretti B. 110/1 • Marcello Oretti, *Le pitture nelli palazzi e case di villa nel territorio bolognese*. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 110.

Oretti B. 123-B. 124 • Marcello Oretti, *Notizie de professori del dissegno cioè pittori, scultori ed architetti bolognesi e de' forestieri di sua scuola raccolte ed in più tomi divise*. Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, I-II, mss. B. 123, B. 124.

Oretti B. 123-132 - Marcello Oretti, *Notizie de' Professori del Disegno, cioè Pittori, Scultori ed Architettori Bolognesi e de' Forestieri di sua scuola*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, 11 vols., ms. B. 123-132.

Rinieri 434 • Valerio Rinieri, *Diarii delle cose più notabili seguite nella Città di Bologna dall'Anno 1520 sino al 1613 descritti da Valerio Rinieri…*, 2 vols., Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 434 (18th-century copy).

Rinieri 2136 • Valerio Rinieri *Diario delle cose più notabili seguite in Bologna, cominciando dall'anno 305 insino a tutto il 1586*. Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. 1311 (2136).

Salaroli B. 802 • Carlo Salaroli, *Famiglie della Città di Bologna, Loro Origine, Arme, Case, e Sepolture. Loro Dignità, e de' Magistrati essercitati, Nobili, Antiche, e Moderne. sino all'Anno 1740. (Forma il Secondo Libro della Nobiltà di Bologna)*, Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, ms. B. 802.

Saraceni B. 578II • Cristoforo Saraceni, *Cronica di Bologna dal 1534 al 1587*, Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, ms. B. 578II.

Vignali 3774 • Nicola Vignali da Bologna, *Cronologia del monastero di S. Procolo e della Religione Benedettina Cassinese in Bologna (aa. 270-1667)*, 4 vols. Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, ms. parm. 3773-3776, 17th-century [1640-1667]: ms. 3773: vol. 1, till c. 492; ms. 3774: vol. 2, cc. 493-985 (1546.02.08 - 1660.06.30); ms. 3775: vol. 3, cc. 986-1029; ms. 3776: vol. 4, index.

Sources

Alberti (1565) • Leon Battista Alberti, *"L'architettura" tradotta in lingua fiorentina da Cosimo Bartoli, gentilhuomo e academico fiorentino, con aggiunta di disegni*, Venezia, Francesco Franceschi, 1565 (second edition).

Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino 1988 • *L'Architettura di Leon Battista Alberti nel commento di Pellegrino Tibaldi*, ed. by S. Orlando, introduction by G. Simoncini, Roma 1988.

Algarotti 1784 • Francesco Algarotti, *Saggio sopra l'architettura*, Venezia, Graziosi a S. Apollinare, 1784.

Amadi 1588 • Francesco Amadi, *Della Nobiltà di Bologna di Francesco Amadi d'Agostino, Compresa nel suo Specchio della Nobiltà d'Europa*, Cremona 1588.

Angelotti 1765 • Guido Angelotti, *Nuova economia per le fabriche con li prezzi, e quantità di tutti li materiali necessari per construire qualsivoglia fabrica sia in città, che in villa opera necessaria, ed utile per chiunque si sia, che voglia fare fabricare, ed altresì per li muratori, fondeghieri, segantini, ferrari, o siano magnani, agenti di campagna ec. Con avvertimenti necessari di cio si puo fare, e che viene proibito dallo statuto di Bologna per isfuggire le liti, e non avere pregiudizi… ed in fine vari rimedi per li muratori, che s'ammalassero in campagna*, Bologna, Sassi, 1765.

Bassani 1816 • Petronio Bassani, *Guida agli amatori delle belle arti, architettura, pittura, e scultura per la città di Bologna, suoi sobborghi e circondario*, Bologna 1816.

Bocchi 1555 • Achille Bocchi, *Symbolicarum Quaestionum, De universo genere, quas serio ludebat, Libri Quinque*, Bologna 1555.

Burrièl 1795 • Antonio Burrièl, *Vita di Caterina Sforza Riario Contessa d'Imola, e Signora di Forlì…*, Bologna 1795.

Cartari 1571 (1996) • Vincenzo Cartari, *Le imagini de i dei de gli antichi*, ed. by G. Auzzas, F. Martignago, M. Pastore Stocchi, Paola Rigo, Vicenza 1996.

Carteggio di Michelangelo 1983 • *Carteggio di Michelangelo*, posthumous edition by G. Poggi, ed. by P. Barocchi, E. Ristori, V, Firenze, 1983.

Cataneo 1567 (1985) • Pietro Cataneo, *L'architettura*, Venezia 1567 (anastatic reprint Bologna 1985).

Conti 1567 (2006) • *Natale Conti's Mythologiae*,

translation and notes by John Mulryan, Steven Brown, Tempe (Ariz.) 2006.

DOLCINI 1631 • Bartolomeo Dolcini, *De vario Bononiae statu ab ea condita usque ad annum 1625*, second edition, Bologna 1631.

DOLFI 1670 • Pompeo Scipione Dolfi, *Cronologia delle famiglie nobili di Bologna. Con le loro insegne, e nel fine i Cimieri. Centuria prima, con un breve Discorso della medesima Città*, Bologna, Ferroni, 1670.

FANTUZZI 1781 • Giovanni Fantuzzi, *Notizie degli scrittori bolognsi*, I, Bologna, nella stamperia di San Tommasi d'Aquino, 1781.

FARRA 1594 • Alessandro Farra, *Settenario della humana ridutione… di nuovo ricorretto e ristampato*, Venezia 1594.

HOLTZWART 1581 (1968) • Mathias Holtzwart, *Emblematum Tyrocinia*, Stoccarda 1968 (first edition Strassburg 1581).

LAMO (1996) • Pietro Lamo, *Graticola di Bologna* (1560), ed. by M. Pigozzi, essays by F. Chiodini, M. Marchi, G. Sassu, Bologna 1996.

Libro (Il) di Giuliano 1910 • *Il libro di Giuliano da Sangallo codice Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 4424*, introduction and notes by C. Huelsen, 2 vols., Leipzig, Ottone Harrassowitz, 1910.

MALVASIA 1678 • Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice*, Bologna 1678.

MALVASIA 1678 (1841) • Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Felsina Pittrice. Vite de' pittori bolognesi*, revised and augmented, ed. by G. Zanotti et al., 2 vols., anastatic reprint, Bologna, Guidi all'Ancora, 1841 (first edition Bologna 1678).

MALVASIA 1686 • Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Le Pitture di Bologna*, Bologna 1686.

MALVASIA 1686 (1969) • Carlo Cesare Malvasia, *Le pitture di Bologna*, ed. by A. Emiliani, Bologna 1969 (first edition Bologna 1686).

MASINI 1650 • Antonio (di Paolo) Masini, *Bologna perlustrata, in cui si fa mentione ogni giorno in perpetuo delle fontioni sacre, e profane di tutto l'anno. Delle chiese, e loro feste, indulgenze, reliquie*, Bologna, Carlo Zenero, 1650.

MASINI 1666 • Antonio Masini, *Bologna perlustrata (1666)*, introduction by M. Fanti, 2 vols., Sala Bolognese 1986 (anastatic reprint, da Bologna, per l'erede di V. Benacci, 1666).

MIGNE 1857 • Jacques Paul Migne, *Dictionnaire des Cardinaux*, Paris 1857.

MILIZIA 1785 • Francesco Milizia, *Memorie degli architetti antichi e moderni*, 2 vols., Bassano, Remondini, 1785 (second edition).

OLIVIER RAZZALI 1614 • *Aureae decisiones Seraphini Olivarii Razzalii Sacrae Rotae Decani…, ingenio ac labore Laurentii Vitalis Bononien. I.V.D. Eius infimi familiaris*, Typographia Camerae Apostolicae, Roma 1614.

PALEOTTI 1582 (1960-1962) • Gabriele Paleotti, "Discorso intorno alle imagini sacre e profane," in *Trattati d'arte del Cinquecento fra manierismo e controriforma*, ed. by P. Barocchi, Bari 1960-1962, II, pp. 117-509.

PALEOTTI 1594 • Gabriele Paleotti, *Archiepiscopale Bononiense sive de Bononiensis Ecclesiae administratione*, Roma, Zanetti-Burchioni-Ruffinelli, 1594.

PALLADIO 1570 • Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro libri dell'architettura*, Venezia, Domenico de' Franceschi, 1570.

PELLEGRINI (1990) • Pellegrino Pellegrini, *L'architettura*, critical edition by G. Panizza, introduction and notes by A. Buratti Mazzetta, Milano 1990.

PISSARRI s.d. • Carlantonio Pissarri, *Raccolta de' Cammini che si ritrovano in varie case nobili di Bologna, dipinti da Ludovico, d'Annibale, e d'Agostino Carracci.*

RIDOLFI (1990) • Angelo Calisto Ridolfi, *Indice dei notai bolognesi dal XIII al XIX secolo*, ed. by G. Grandi Venturi, Bologna 1990.

RINIERI (1988) • *Cronaca di Giacomo Rinieri 1535-1549*, Bologna 1988.

RIPA (1987) • Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia*, pratical edition by P. Buscaroli, second edition, 2 vols., Torino 1987.

RUSCELLI 1584 • Girolamo Ruscelli, *Le Imprese illustri…*, Venezia 1584.

SCAMOZZI (1997) • Vincenzo Scamozzi, *L'idea della architettura universale* (Venezia 1615), introduction by F. Barbieri, text by W. Oechslin, Vicenza, Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, 1997, 2 vols.

Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento 1971 • *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*, ed. by P. Barocchi, IV, Milano-Napoli, 1971 (second edition Torino 1978).

SERLIO 1540 • Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Terzo libro di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese nel qual si figurano, e descrivono le antiquità di Roma, e le altre che sono in Italia, e fuori d'Italia*, Venezia, Francesco Marcolini, 1540.

SERLIO 1537 • Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole generali di architetura sopra le cinque maniere degli edifici, cioè, thoscano, dorico, ionico, corinthio, et composito, con gli essempi dell'antiquità, che, per la maggior parte concordano con la dottrina di Vitruvio*, Venezia, Francesco Marcolini da Forlì, 1537.

SERLIO 1551 • Sebastiano Serlio, *Extraordinario libro di architettura di Sebastiano Serio del re christianissimo, nel qual si dimostrano trenta porte di opera rustica mista con diversi ordini et venti di opera diliscata di diverse specie con la scrittura davanti, che narra il tutto*, Lyon, Giovanni Tournes, 1551.

SERLIO 1575 • Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Settimo libro di Sebastiano Serlio bolognese nel qual si tratta di molti accidenti, che possono occorrere al architetto, in diversi luoghi, e istrane forme dei siti, è nelle restauramenti, o restituzioni di case, è come habiamo à far per servicij de gli altri edifici è simili cose, come nella seguente pagina si lege. Nel fine vi sono aggiunti sei palazzi, con le sue piante è fazzate, in diversi modi fatte per fabricar in villa per gran Principi. Del suddetto autore italiano è latino*, Frankfurt, Andrea Wecheli, 1575.

SPINELLI 1698 • Giovanni Battista Bruno Spinelli, *Economia nelle fabriche, e regola di tutti li materiali per costruire ogni fabrica urbana, e rurale, per saperne di ciò distintamente la spesa, opera non meno virtuosa, che utile a tutti gli economi, agenti… Con alcuni casi veridici, e curiosi, de' quali n'è stato spettatore l'auttore. Seconda impressione, con l'aggionta della seconda parte continente altri documenti sopra le fabriche… in fine alcuni ricordi per li poveri infermi muratori lontani dalla citta destituti d'aiuto*, Bologna 1698 (first edition).

SPINELLI 1708 • Giovanni Battista Bruno Spinelli, *Economia nelle fabriche, e regola di tutti li materiali per costruire ogni fabrica urbana, e rurale, per saperne di ciò distintamente la spesa, opera non meno virtuosa, che utile a tutti gli economi, agenti… Con alcuni casi veridici, e curiosi, de' quali n'è stato spettatore l'auttore. Seconda impressione, con l'aggionta della seconda parte continente altri documenti sopra le fabriche… in fine alcuni ricordi per li poveri infermi muratori lontani dalla citta destituti d'aiuto*, Bologna, Barbiroli, 1708 (second edition).

TORRE 1674 • Carlo Torre, *Ritratto di Milano… nel quale vengono descritte tutte le Antichità e Modernità che vedevansi e che si vedono nella Città di Milnao, sì di sontuose Fabbriche, quanto di Pittura e di Scultura, con varie Narrazioni istoriche appartenenti a' Gesti di Principi, Duchi e Cittadini*, Milano, Federico Agnelli, 1674.

Trattati 1985 • *Pietro Cataneo, Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola - Trattati, con l'aggiunta degli scritti di architettura di Alvise Cornaro Francesco Giorgi, Claudio Tolomei, Giangiorgio Trissino, Giorgio Vasari*, ed. by E. Bassi, S. Bendetti, R. Bonelli, L. Magagnato, P. Marini, T. Scalesse, C. Semenzato, M. Walcher Casotti, Milano 1985.

VITRUVIO, FERRI 1960 • *Vitruvio* (from books I-VII), ed. by S. Ferri, Roma 1960.

VITRUVIO, GROS 1997 • Vitruvio, *De Architectura*, ed. by P. Gros, translation and commentary by A. Corso, E. Romano, 2 vols., Torino 1997.

VIZZANI 1608 • Pompeo Vizzani, *I due ultimi libri delle historie della sua patria*, Bologna 1608.

STUDIES

ACKERMAN 2003 • James Ackerman, "L'estetica dell'architettura nel Rinascimento," in *Architettura e disegno. La rappresentazione da Vitruvio a Gehry*, Milano 2003, pp. 152-159 (original title "Architecture: Italian Renaissance Aesthetics," in *Encyclopedia of Aesthetics*, New York 1998, I, pp. 84-87).

ACKERMAN 2008 • James S. Ackerman, "Palladio fra licenza e decoro," in *Palladio 1508-2008* 2008, pp. 14-17.

ADORNI 1974 • Bruno Adorni, *L'architettura farnesiana a Parma 1545-1630*, Parma 1974.

ADORNI 2008 • Bruno Adorni, *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola*, Milano 2008.

AGOSTINI 1988 • Grazia Agostini, "La chiesa e i committenti: S. Giacomo Maggiore," in *Dall'avanguardia dei Carracci al secolo barocco*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna 1988), ed. by A. Emiliani, Bologna 1988, pp. 123-128.

Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon • *Saur Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, München-Leipzig 1983 ss.

Andrea Palladio e la villa veneta 2005 • *Andrea Palladio e la villa veneta da Petrarca a Carlo Scarpa*, exhibition catalogue (Vicenza 2005), ed. by G. Beltramini, H. Burns, Venezia 2005.

ANTONELLI 2002 • Armando Antonelli, "Le origini della famiglia senatoria a Bologna: i Magnani di San Lorenzo dei Guarini tra XIII e XIV secolo," in *Magnani* 2002, pp. 71-83.

Arti a Bologna 1982 • *Le arti a Bologna e in Emilia dal XVI al XVII secolo*, proceedings of the XIV Convegno Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte

C.I.H.A. (Bologna, 10-18 September 1979), ed. by A. Emiliani, Bologna 1982.

Aspetti dell'abitare in Italia 2001 • *Aspetti dell'abitare in Italia tra XV e XVI secolo. Distribuzione, funzioni, impianti*, ed. by A. Scotti Tosini, Milano 2001.

Attardi 2002 • Luisa Attardi, *Il camino veneto del Cinquecento. Struttura architettonica e decorazione scultorea*, Angelo Colla Editore, 2002.

Bacchi 1996 • Andrea Bacchi, "Da Gian Cristoforo Romano ad Alessandro Menganti: note sulla scultura del Cinquecento a Bologna," in *Nuovi Studi*, 1 (1996), pp. 65-91.

Bacchi 2002 • Andrea Bacchi, "'Il Michelangelo incognito': Alessandro Menganti e la scultura del suo tempo," in *Michelangelo incognito* 2002, pp. 13-53.

Bambi 2002 • Anna Rosa Bambi, "Documenti Magnani, veri e presunti, conservati all'Archivio di Stato di Bologna," in *Magnani* 2002, pp. 167-199.

Bambi 2004 • Anna Rosa Bambi, "Un caso Bologna? La professione di 'perito' fra norma e prassi," in *Memoria disegnata: documenti, lettura, conservazione, utilizzo*, proceedings of the Giornate di studi mengoniani (Fontanelice, 15 November 2003), ed. by A.-M. Guccini, Bologna 2004, pp. 131-155.

Bardon 1974 • Françoise Bardon, *Le portrait mythologique à la cour de France sous Henri IV et Louis XIII. Mythologie et Politique*, Paris 1974.

Bartolini Salimbeni 1989 • Lorenzo Bartolini Salimbeni, "Gli ordini architettonici nel 'discorso' di Pellegrino Tibaldi," in *Atti del XXIII Congresso di storia dell'architettura* (Rome, 24-26 March 1988), ed. by G. Spegnesi, Roma 1989, pp. 185-191.

Bartsch 1802-1821 • Adam Bartsch, *Le Peintre Graveur*, 21 vols., Vienne 1802-1821.

Basilica (La) incompiuta 2001 • *La Basilica incompiuta. Progetti antichi per la facciata di San Petronio*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 4 October 2001 - 6 January 2002), ed. by M. Faietti, M. Medica, Bologna 2001.

Bedon 2008 • Anna Bedon, *Il Campidoglio. Storia di un monumento civile nella Roma papale*, Milano 2008.

Benati 1990 • Amedeo Benati, "Glossario medio-latino-bolognese dell'edilizia," in *L'edilizia civile bolognese fra Medioevo e Rinascimento*, Bologna 1990.

Benati 2009 • Daniele Benati, "Domenico Tibaldi pittore," in *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi* 2009, forthcoming.

Benocci 1987 • Carla Benocci, *s.v.* "Dattari (Dactari, Dattili, Datili, Datari, Del Dattero), Scipione," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XXXIII, Roma 1987, pp. 64-66.

Benzoni 2000 • Gino Benzoni, *s.v.* "Urbano VII," in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, Roma 2000, III, pp. 222-230.

Berselli 1991 • Elisabetta Berselli, "Tommaso Laureti e la committenza bolognese durante il pontificato di Gregorio XIII," in *Il Carrobbio*, XVII (1991), pp. 37-46.

Bettazzi 2004 • M. Beatrice Bettazzi, "Imago Bononiae: ricerche e deduzioni intorno ad un archetipo perduto," in *Tra oriente e occidente* 2004, pp. 188-196.

Betti 1986 • Gian Luigi Betti, "Note per la biografia del cardinale Serafino Olivier Razzali: gli anni precedenti l'arrivo a Roma, il testamento, l'amicizia con i Sozzini," in *Bollettino senese di storia patria*, CIII (1986), pp. 433-448.

Bettini 2009a • Sergio Bettini, "Il 'magnifico palagio nella via S. Mamolo, da reguagliar con li primi palaggi d'Italia'" (Leandro Alberti), in *Palazzo Sanuti. Arte e società nell'età dei Bentivoglio*, ed. by S. Bettini, Firenze 2009, forthcoming.

Bettini 2009b • Sergio Bettini, "Palazzo Magnani: indagini sul cantiere," in *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi* 2009, forthcoming.

Biancani 1997 • Stefania Biancani, "La censura del nudo nel discorso di Paleotti e nella trattistica post-tridentina a Bologna," in *Bartolomeo Cesi e l'affresco dei canonici lateranensi*, ed. by V. Fortunati, Vincenzo Musumeci, Fiesole 1997, pp. 204-215.

Biavati, Marchetti 1974 • Paolo Biavati, Gaetano Marchetti, *Antiche sculture lignee in Bologna dal sec. XII al sec. XIX*, Bologna 1974, pp. 476-477.

Bodmer 1933 • Heinrich Bodmer, "Un capolavoro della pittura bolognese: Gli affreschi dei Carracci nel Palazzo Magnani ora Salem a Bologna," in *Il comune di Bologna*, XX, no. 12 (December 1933), pp. 3-20.

Bohn 1995 • Babette Bohn, *The Illustrated Bartsch*, XXXIX, Commentary, Part 1: *Italian Masters of the Sixteenth Century: Agostino Carracci*, New York 1995.

Bologna 1994 • *Lavinia Fontana 1552-1614*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna 1994), ed. by V. Fortunati, Milano 1994.

Bologna 2000 • *Gli affreschi dei Carracci: studi e disegni preparatori*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna, Palazzo Magnani, 2000), ed. by C. Loisel, Bologna 2000.

Bologna 2002 • *Il Michelangelo incognito. Alessandro Menganti e le arti a Bologna nell'età della Controriforma*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna 2002), ed. by A. Bacchi, S. Tumidei, Ferrara 2002.

Bologna 2007 • *Scultura. Nuove acquisizioni*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna, Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio di Bologna, 2007), ed. by B.F. Buscaroli, Bologna 2007.

Bologna-Roma 2006-2007 • *Annibale Carracci*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna-Roma 2006-2007), ed. by D. Benati, E. Riccòmini, Milano 2006.

Borromeo 2000 • Agostino Borromeo, *s.v.* "Gregorio XIII," in *Enciclopedia dei Papi*, Roma 2000, III, pp. 180-202.

Borromeo 2002 • Agostino Borromeo, *s.v.* "Gregorio XIII, papa," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LIX, Roma 2002, pp. 204-219.

Boschloo 1974 • Anton W.A. Boschloo, *Annibale Carracci in Bologna. Visible Reality in Art after the Council of Trent*, 2 vols., The Hague 1974.

Boschloo 1984 • Anton W.A. Boschloo, *Il fregio dipinto a Bologna da Nicolò dell'Abate ai Carracci (1550-1580)*, Bologna 1984.

Brogi 1985 • Alessandro Brogi, "Il fregio dei Carracci con 'storie di Romolo e Remo' nel salone di palazzo Magnani," in *Credito Romagnolo* 1985, pp. 218-271.

Brogi 2001 • Alessandro Brogi, *Ludovico Carracci (1555-1619)*, 2 vols., Ozzano Emilia 2001.

Brown 1967 • Jonathan M. Brown, "A Ludovico Carracci Drawing for the Palazzo Magnani," in *The Burlington Magazine*, CIX (1967), pp. 710-713.

Bubani 1960 • Augusta Bubani, *s.v.* "Ambrosini (Ambrogini) Floriano," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, II, Roma 1960, pp. 726-727.

Burns 1989 • Howard Burns, "La facciata di palazzo Canossa a Verona: un'invenzione di Giulio Romano?," in *Giulio Romano* 1989, pp. 510-511.

Burns 1995 • Howard Burns, "'Vasti desiderij e gran pensieri': i palazzi veronesi di Sanmicheli," in *Michele Sanmicheli* 1995, pp. 54-79 and notes pp. 273-276.

Burns 2002 • Howard Burns, "'Da naturale inclinatione guidato': il primo decennio di attività di Palladio architetto," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il primo Cinquecento*, ed. by A. Bruschi, Milano 2002, pp. 372-413.

Burns 2006 • Howard Burns, "Michelangelo e il disegno di architettura," in *Michelangelo e il disegno di architettura*, exhibition catalogue (Vicenza-Florence 2006-2007), ed. by C. Elam, Venezia 2006, pp. 19-41.

Cammarota 1986 • Gian Piero Cammarota, "Gabriele Fiorni: uno scultore all'Accademia degli Incamminati," in *Atti e memorie della Accademia Clemantina di Bologna*, XIX (1986), pp. 35-46.

Capoferro Cencetti 1981 • Anna Maria Capoferro Cencetti, "I periti agrimensori in Emilia tra il XV e il XVIII secolo," in *Fonti per lo studio del paesaggio agrario.*, proceedings of the Convegno (Lucca, 3-5 October 1979), Lucca 1981, pp. 405-411.

Carboni 1995 • Mauro Carboni, *Il debito della città: mercato del credito, fisco e società a Bologna fra Cinque e Seicento*, Bologna 1995.

Carpo 1993 • Mario Carpo, *La maschera e il modello. Teoria architettonica ed evangelismo nell'Extraordinario Libro di Sebastiano Serlio*, Milano 1993.

Castronovo 1977 • Valerio Castronovo, *s.v.* "Carlo Emanuele I di Savoia," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XX, Roma 1977, pp. 326-340.

Cattedrale (La) di San Pietro 1997 • *La cattedrale di San Pietro in Bologna*, ed. by R. Terra, Silvana, Cinisello Balsamo (Milano), 1997.

Cavalli 1957 • Carlo Cavalli, "Attività di restauro della Soprintendenza alle Gallerie di Bologna: Bologna, Palazzo Magnani-Salem," in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 42 (1957), pp. 348.

Cavazzoni 1603 (1999) • Francesco Cavazzoni, *Scritti d'arte*, ed. by M. Pigozzi, Bologna 1999.

Ceccarelli 1999 • Francesco Ceccarelli, "Ipotesi per un palazzo estense. Note su di un'architettura di Salasso Alghisi incisa da Domenico Tibaldi," in *Quaderni di Palazzo Te*, 6 (1999), pp. 8-21.

Cervellati 1997 • Pier Luigi Cervellati, "Il restauro del 1997," in *Rolo Banca* 1997, pp. 76-103.

Ceserani 1969 • Remo Ceserani, *s.v.* "Bolognetti Francesco," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XI, Roma 1969, pp. 320-323.

Cevese 2005 • Renato Cevese, "Palladio e le sca-

le," in *Annali di architettura*, 17 (2005), pp. 107-113.

COLONNA 1995 • Stefano Colonna, "Arte e letteratura: la civiltà dell'Emblema in Emilia nel Cinquecento," in *La pittura in Emilia e in Romagna. Il Cinquecento*, Milano 1995, I, pp. 102-128.

COMELLI 1896 • Giovanni Battista Comelli, *Della pianta di Bologna dipinta nel Vaticano e di altre piante e vedute di questa città con un catalogo cronologico delle medesime*, Bologna, Garagnani, 1896 (from "Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna," 3rd series, XIII).

COMELLI 1914 • Giovanni Battista Comelli, *Piante e vedute della città di Bologna*, Bologna 1914.

CONFORTI 2001 • Claudia Conforti, "Roma: architettura e città," in *Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il secondo Cinquecento*, ed. by C. Conforti, R. Tuttle, Milano 2001, pp. 26-65.

CORONEDI BERTI 1869-1874 • Carolina Coronedi Berti, *Vocabolario bolognese italiano*, Bologna 1869-1874 (anastatic reprint Sala Bolognese 1985), II.

CORTESE 1979 • Ennio Cortese, "Artisti e artigiani al Collegio di Spagna nel Cinquecento," in *Studia albornotiana*, 36, 1979 (El Cardenal Albornoz y el Collegio de Espana, ed. by E. Verdura y Tuelles, V), pp. 79-181.

Credito (Il) Romagnolo 1985 • *Il Credito Romagnolo fra storia, arte e tradizione*, ed. by G. Maioli, G. Roversi, Bologna 1985.

CUPPINI 1974 • Giampiero Cuppini, "Palazzo Magnani," in *I palazzi senatori di Bologna. Architettura come immagine del potere*, Bologna 1974, pp. 103-105 and entry by G. Roversi, *ibidem*, pp. 304-305.

CUPPINI 1985 • Giampiero Cuppini, "Palazzo Magnani: valori architettonici e critica attributiva," in *Il Credito Romagnolo* 1985, pp. 133-139.

CUPPINI 1989 • Giampiero Cuppini, "La struttura del potere a Bologna tra XVI e XVIII secolo: i palazzi senatori," in *Storia illustrata di Bologna*, ed. by W. Tega, II, Milano 1989, pp. 201-220.

CUPPINI 2004 • Giampiero Cuppini, *L'architettura senatoria. Bologna tra Rinascimento e Illuminismo*, Bologna 2004.

CUPPINI, MATTEUCCI 1969 • Giampiero Cuppini, Anna Maria Matteucci, *Ville del bolognese*, with M. Fanti, foreword by F. Clemente, C. Volpe, Bologna 1969 (revised and augmented edition).

DALL'OLIO 1999 • Guido Dall'Olio, *Eretici e Inquisitori nella Bologna del Cinquecento*, Bologna 1999.

DANIELI, RAVAIOLI 2006 • Michele Danieli, Davide Ravaioli, *Palazzo Bocchi*, Bologna 2006.

DANIELI, RAVAIOLI 2008 • Michele Danieli, Davide Ravaioli, *Palazzo Fava da San Domenico*, Bologna 2008.

DAVIES, HEMSOLL 1983 • Paul Davies, "David Hemsoll Renaissance balusters and the antique," in *Architectural history*, 26 (1983), p. 1-23.

DE ANGELIS 1997 • Carlo De Angelis, "Istituzioni e città sino alla fine del Seicento (secoli XVI-XVII)," in *Atlante storico delle città italiane: Bologna*, ed. by F. Bocchi, III: Ronaldo Dondarini, Carlo De Angelis, *Da una crisi all'altra (secoli XIV-XVII)*, Bologna 1997, pp. 57-116.

DE CARO 1969 • Gaspare De Caro, *s.v.* "Bolognetti, Alberto," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XI, Roma 1969, pp. 313-316.

DE GRAZIA 1984 • Diane De Grazia, *Le stampe dei Carracci: con i disegni, le incisioni, le copie e i dipinti connessi*, critical catalogue, ed. by A. Boschetto, Bologna 1984.

DELLA LATTA 2005 • Alessandro Della Latta, "Le pelli della corte: arredi di corame alla corte estense con qualche appunto mantovano," in *DecArt*, 4 (2005), pp. 3-23.

DEONNA 1951 • Waldemar Deonna, "Le silence, gardien du secret," in *Zeitschrift für Schweizerische Archäologie und Kunstgeschichte*, 12 (1951), pp. 28-41.

DI SIVO 1999 • Michele Di Sivo, *s.v.* "Gambara, Gianfrancesco," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, LII, Roma 1999, pp. 42-45.

Disegni emiliani 1990 • *Disegni emiliani del sei-settecento. I grandi cicli di affreschi*, ed. by J. Bentini, A. Mazza, Modena 1990.

Dizionario 1965 • *Dizionario Garzanti della lingua italiana*, Milano 1965.

DODI 2002 • Romolo Dodi, "Cenni storico-genealogici sulla famiglia senatoria Magnani; Note biografiche e tavola genealogica della famiglia senatoria Magnani," in *Magnani* 2002, pp. 85-91, 93-133.

Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi 2009 • *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi. Arte e architettura e a Bologna nel secondo Cinquecento*, proceedings of the Convegno internazionale di studi (Bologna, 5-7 December 2006), ed. by F. Ceccarelli, D. Lenzi, Venezia 2009, forthcoming.

Emblemata 1976 • *Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVII. Jahrhunderts*, ed. by G. Henkel, A. Schöne, Stuttgart 1976 (revised edition).

EMILIANI 1989 • Andrea Emiliani, *Le storie di Romolo e Remo di Ludovico, Agostino e Annibale Carracci in Palazzo Magnani a Bologna*, Bologna 1989.

Éscalier (L') 1985 • *L'éscalier dans l'architecture de la Renaissance*, proceedings of the meeting (Tours, 22-26 May 1979), ed. by A. Chastel, J. Guillaume, Paris 1985.

FAIETTI 2009 • Marzia Faietti, "Domenico Tibaldi incisore," in *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi* 2009, forthcoming.

FANTI 1963 • Mario Fanti, *San Procolo: la chiesa, l'abbazia. Leggenda e storia*, foreword by Gina Fasoli, Bologna 1963.

FANTI 1974 • Mario Fanti, *Le vie di Bologna. Saggio di toponomastica storica e di storia della toponomastica urbana*, Bologna, Istituto per la storia di Bologna, 1974.

FANTI 1978 • Mario Fanti, "Spigolature d'archivio per la storia dell'arte a Bologna," in *Il Carrobbio*, IV (1978), pp. 187-204.

FANTI, ROVERSI 1965 • Mario Fanti, Giancarlo Roversi, *Il Santuario della Madonna del Soccorso nel "Borgo di San Pietro" in Bologna*, Bologna 1965.

FAROLFI 1977 • Bernardino Farolfi, *Strutture agrarie e crisi cittadina nel primo Cinquecento bolognese*, Bologna 1977.

FEIGENBAUM 1999 • Gail Feigenbaum, "Per una storia istituzionale dell'arte bolognese, 1399-1650: nuovi documenti sulla corporazione dei pittori, i suoi membri, le sue cariche e sull'accademia dei Carracci," in *Il Restauro del Nettuno* 1999, pp. 353-377.

FIORANI 2004 • Francesca Fiorani, "La Sala Bologna nell'appartamento di Gregorio XIII," in *Tra oriente e occidente* 2004, pp. 179-187.

FIORE 2000 • Francesco Paolo Fiore, "Il 'giudizio' in Sebastiano Serlio," in *Studi in onore di Renato Cevese*, ed. by G. Beltramini, A. Ghisetti Giavarina, P. Marini, Vicenza 2000, pp. 237-249.

FIORE 2001 • Francesco Paolo Fiore, "Introduzione," in Sebastiano Serlio, *L'architettura: I libri I-VII e l'Extraordinario nelle prime edizioni*, Milano 2001, pp. 11-45.

FOSCARI, TAFURI 1981 • Antonio Foscari, Manfredo Tafuri, "Un progetto irrealizzato di Jacopo Sansovino: il palazzo di Vettor Grimani sul Canal Grande," in *Bollettino dei Civici Musei Veneziani*, new series, XXVI (1981), no. 14, pp. 71-87.

FOSCHI 1986 • Paola Foschi, "Un concorso di idee del 1581 per la ricostruzione del ponte sull'Idice della via Emilia," in *Il Carrobbio*, XII (1986), pp. 163-180.

FOSCHI 1990 • Paola Foschi, "Un concorso di idee del 1581 per la ricostruzione del ponte sull'Idice della via Emilia," in Paola Foschi, *S. Giacomo. Un ospitale per pellegrini presso il ponte dell'Idice*, Bologna 1990, pp. 103-148.

FOSCHI 2004a • Paola Foschi, "L'archivio dell'Assunteria d'Ornato di Bologna: regolamenti urbanistici, architetti e periti del pubblico," in *Memoria disegnata: documenti, lettura, conservazione, utilizzo*, proceedings of the Giornate di studi mengoniani (Fontanelice, 15 November 2003), ed. by A.-M. Guccini, Bologna 2004, pp. 177-207 (197-207).

FOSCHI 2004b • Paola Foschi, "Palazzo Riario Aldini Sanguinetti, sede del Museo internazionale e biblioteca della musica: la storia," in *L'Archiginnasio*, XLIX (2004), pp. 287-308.

FRATICELLI 1969 • Vanna Fraticelli, *s.v.* "Tibaldi," in *Dizionario enciclopedico di architettura e urbanistica*, directed by P. Portoghesi, VI, Roma 1969, p. 199.

FREGNA 1977-1978 • Roberto Fregna, "Città e investimenti," in *Storia dell'Emilia Romagna*, ed. by A. Berselli, 3 vols., Bologna 1977-1978, II, pp. 273-316.

FROMMEL 1985 • Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Scale maggiori dei Palazzi romani del Rinascimento," in *L'éscalier* 1985, pp. 135-144.

FROMMEL 1995a • Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Palazzo Stati Maccarani," in *Giulio Romano* 1995, pp. 294-295.

FROMMEL 1995b • Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Roma e l'opera giovanile di Sanmicheli," in *Michele Sanmicheli* 1995, pp. 14-31 and notes pp. 247-249.

GARDI 1994 • Andrea Gardi, *Lo Stato in Provincia: l'amministrazione della legazione di Bologna durante il regno di Sisto V (1585-1590)*, Bologna 1994.

GAUK-ROGER 1996 • Nigel Gauk-Roger, *s.v.* "Domenico Tibaldi," in *The Dictionary of Art*, London 1996, XXX, pp. 803-80.

GAYE 1839-1840 • Giovanni Gaye, *Carteggio inedito di artisti dei secoli XIV, XV, XVI*, Firenze, Molini, I (1326-1500), 1839; II (1500-1557), III (1501-1672), 1840.

GHIRARDI 1997 • Angela Ghirardi, *s.v.* "Fiorini,

Giovan Battista," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XLVIII, Roma 1997, pp. 198-200.

GHIZZONI 2003 • Manuela Ghizzoni, "L'immagine di Bologna nella veduta vaticana del 1575," in *Imago urbis. L'immagine della città nella storia d'Italia*, ed. by F. Bocchi, R. Smurra, Roma 2003.

GIACOMELLI 1989-1891 • Alfeo Giacomelli, "Per una storia del banditismo montano," in *Il Carrobbio*, XV (1989), pp. 131-160; XVI (1990), pp. 191-222; XVII (1991), pp. 163-182.

GIACOMELLI 2002 • Alfeo Giacomelli, "Ut iucunda sic foecunda. Lorenzo Magnani, gli affreschi dei Carracci delle storie di Roma e la fissazione del patrimonio e della tradizione familiare," in *Magnani* 2002, pp. 265-413.

GIACOMINI 2002 • Laura Giacomini, "Tre palazzi privati milanesi e l'architetto Pellegrino Pellegrini," in *Arte Lombarda*, 136, 2002, pp. 74-90.

GIOMBI 1988 • Samuele Giombi, "Umanesimo e mistero simbolico: la prospettiva di Achille Bocchi," in *Schede umanistiche*, Quaderno no. 1, Bologna 1988, pp. 167-216.

GIORDANI 1970 • G. G. Giordani, *Della famiglia de' Campeggi in Bologna*, Bologna 1970.

Giulio Romano 1989 • *Giulio Romano*, essays by E.H. Gombrich, M. Tafuri, S. Ferino Pagden, C.L. Frommel, K. Oberhuber, A. Belluzzi and K.W. Forster, H. Burns, exhibition catalogue (Mantua 1989), Milano 1989.

Glossario 1937 • *Glossario latino emiliano*, ed. by P. Sella, Città del Vaticano 1937.

GOLDTHWAITE 1995 • Richard A. Goldthwaite, *Ricchezza e domanda nel mercato dell'arte in Italia dal Trecento al Seicento: la cultura materiale e le origini del consumismo*, Milano 1995.

GOZZADINI 1851 • Giovanni Gozzadini, *Cronaca di Ronzano e memorie di Loderingo d'Andalò frate gaudente*, Bologna, Società Tipografica Bolognese, 1851.

GOZZADINI 1875 • Giovanni Gozzadini, *Delle torri gentilizie di Bologna*, Bologna 1875.

GOZZADINI 1877 • Giovanni Gozzadini, "Note per studi sull'architettura civile in Bologna dal secolo XIII al XVI," in *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le provincie dell'Emilia*, new series, I (1877).

GRECO GRASSILLI 2005 • Rosaria Greco Grassilli, "Da Annibale e Ludovico Carracci a Lazzaro Casari. I pagamenti agli artisti della cappella Paleotti nella cattedrale di San Pietro in Bologna," in *Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna. Atti e memorie*, new series, LVI, 2005, pp. 331-399.

GREGORI 1990 • Carlo Gregori, "L'elogio del silenzio e la simulazione come modelli di comportamento in Gerolamo Cardano," in *Sapere e/è potere. Discipline, dispute e professioni a confronto nell'Università Medievale e Moderna. Il caso bolognese a confronto*, proceedings of the meeting (Bologna 1989), ed. by L. Avellini, A. De Benedictis, 3 vols., Bologna 1990, III, pp. 73-84.

GRILLI 1991 • Natalia Grilli, *Un archivio inedito dell'architetto Francesco Muttoni a Porlezza*, Firenze 1991.

GROS 2006 • Pierre Gros, *Palladio e l'antico*, introduction by H. Burns, Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, Venezia 2006.

GUALANDI 1840-1845 • Michelangelo Gualandi, *Memorie originali italiane riguardanti le belle arti, Bologna*, 6 vols., Bologna, Marsigli, 1840-1845.

GUIDICINI 1869-1873 • Giovanni Battista Guidicini, *Cose notabili della città di Bologna ossia storia cronologica de' suoi stabili pubblici e privati*, ed. by Ferdinando Guidicini, 4 vols., Bologna, Vitali, 1869-1873, reprint Bologna, Forni, 1982.

GUIDICINI 1876-1877 • Giuseppe di Giovanni Battista Guidicini, *I riformatori dello stato di libertà della città di Bologna dal 1394 al 1797*, 3 vols., Bologna, 1876-1877.

GÜNTHER 2001 • Hubertus Günther, "Dal palazzo di Mecenate al palazzo Farnese: la concezione rinascimentale della casa antica," in *Aspetti dell'abitare* 2001, pp. 219-239.

GÜNTHER 2007 • Hubertus Günther, "La concezione delle case private nel 'De re aedificatoria'," in *Leon Battista Alberti teorico delle arti e gli impegni civili del "De re aedificatoria,"* proceedings of the international meetings of the Comitato Nazionale VI centenario della nascita di Leon Battista Alberti (Mantua 2002-2003), ed. by A. Calzona, F.P. Fiore, A. Tenenti, C. Vasoli, Firenze 2007, pp. 787-813.

HARRIS 2000 • Ann Sutherland Harris, "Agostino Carracci's Inventions: Pen-and-Ink Studies, 1582-1602," in *Master Drawings*, 38 (2000), pp. 393-423.

HUBERT 1993 • Hans W. Hubert, *Der Palazzo Comunale von Bologna. Vòm Palazzo della Biada zum Palatium Apostolicum*, Köln 1993.

HUBERT 1999 • Hans W. Hubert, "Il progetto per il portale bolognese di Galeazzo Alessi," in *Il restauro del Nettuno* 1999, pp. 297-352.

Immaginario di un Ecclesiastico 2001 • *L'immaginario di un Ecclesiastico: i dipinti murali di Palazzo Poggi*, ed. by V. Fortunati, V. Musumeci, second edition, Bologna 2001.

INNOCENTI 1983 • Loretta Innocenti, *Vis eloquentiae. Emblematica e persuasione*, Palermo 1983.

JACOBS 1975 • Sabine Jacobs, *Italienische Zeichnungen der Kunstbibliothek. Architektur und Dekoration 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 1975.

KEAZOR 2007 • Henry Keazor, *"Il vero modo". Die Malereireform der Carracci*, Berlin 2007.

KRUFT 1988 • Hanno-Walter Kruft, *Storia delle teorie architettoniche*. I. *Da Vitruvio al Settecento*, Bari 1988.

KURZ 1951 • Otto Kurz, "'Gli Amori de' Carracci': Four Forgotten Paintings by Agostino Carracci," in *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 14 (1951), pp. 221-233.

LEINWEBER 2000 • Luise Leinweber, *Bologna nach dem Tridentinum. Private Stiftungen und Kunstaufträge im Kontext der katholischen Konfessionalisierung: Das Beispiel San Giacomo Maggiore*, Hildesheim - Zürich - New York 2000.

LEPRI, VITALI 2007 • Luigi Lepri, Daniele Vitali, *Dizionario bolognese italiano - italiano bolognese*, Bologna 2007.

LIMA 2002 • Gaspar Souza Lima, "'Fare il grande' nel piccolo: Michelangelo e il balaustro rinascimentale," in *Studi romani*, 50, nos. 1-2 (2002), pp. 87-99.

LOISEL 2000 • Catherine Loisel, "Il disegno: uno strumento privilegiato per i Carracci," in BOLOGNA 2000, pp. 51-131.

LOISEL-LEGRAND 1997 • Catherine Loisel-Legrand, "Dessins d'Annibale, 1588-1594," in *Nuovi Studi*, 2 (1997), pp. 41-51.

LUGLI 1982 • Adalgisa Lugli, "Le 'Symbolicae Quaestiones' di Achille Bocchi e la cultura dell'Emblema in Emilia," in *Arti a Bologna* 1982, pp. 87-96.

Magnani 2002 • *Magnani: storia genealogia e iconografia*, ed. by G. Malvezzi Campeggi, Bologna 2002 ("Le famiglie senatorie di Bologna," III).

MALAGUTI, MALVEZZI CAMPEGGI 2002 • Luigi Malaguti, Giuliano Malvezzi Campeggi, "Un testamento del Seicento a perenne tutela dei valori del tempo. Il fedecommesso di Lorenzo Magnani," in *Magnani* 2002, pp. 231-263.

MALAGUZZI VALERI 1895 • Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *La chiesa e il convento di S. Michele in Bosco*, Bologna 1895.

MALAGUZZI VALERI 1897 • Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, "L'arte dei pittori a Bologna nel secolo XVI," in *Archivio storico dell'arte*, 1897, pp. 309-314.

MALAGUZZI VALERI 1899 • Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, *L'architettura a Bologna nel Rinascimento*, Rocca San Casciano, Cappelli, 1899.

MALAGUZZI VALERI 1901 • Francesco Malaguzzi Valeri, "Pellegrino Pellegrini e le sue opere in Milano," in *Archivio Storico Lombardo*, XVI (1901), pp. 306-350.

MARAGI 1988 • Mario Maragi, *Moneta e credito a Bologna dal Rinascimento all'unità nazionale*, Bologna 1988.

MARCHI 1997 • Mariangela Marchi, *s.v.* "Fiorini, Pietro," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XLVIII, Roma 1997, pp. 205-206.

MARCHI, TERRA 1983-1984 • Monica Marchi, Roberto Terra, *Domenico Tibaldi architetto (1541-1583)*, degree thesis, Università degli Studi di Firenze, Facoltà di Architettura, Dipartimento di storia dell'architettura e restauro delle strutture architettoniche, 1983-1984.

MARINELLI, SCARPELLINI 1992 • Leonardo Marinelli, Paolo Scarpellini, *L'arte muraria in Bologna nell'età pontificia*, Bologna [1992].

MARTELLI 1989 • Fabio Martelli, "Volgarizzamenti: pittura, ideologia della cultura e temi politici nel '500. Il caso di Bologna," in *Accademia Clementina. Atti e memorie*, new series, XXIV (1989), pp. 49-60.

MARTINI 1883 • Angelo Martini, *Manuale di metrologia ossia misure, pesi e monete in uso attualmente e anticamente presso tutti i popoli*, Torino 1883.

MATTEUCCI, RIGHINI 2000 • Anna Maria Matteucci Armandi, Davide Righini, *La villa del cardinale Filippo Guastavillani*, Bologna 2000.

MAZZA 1988 • Angelo Mazza, in *La Pinacoteca di Imola*, ed. by C. Pedrini, Bologna 1988, pp. 214-215

MENCHETTI 2005-2007 • Francesco Menchetti, "I disegni di Vignola e di Domenico Tibaldi per i canali e i torrenti di Bologna," in *Artes*, 13 (2005-2007), pp. 121-149.

MENCHETTI 2006 • Francesco Menchetti, "Nuo-

vi studi sulla Chiesa di Santa Maria delle laudi e l'Ospedaletto di Bologna," in *Il Carrobbio*, 32 (2006), pp. 65-73.

MENCHETTI 2009 • Francesco Menchetti, "Domenico Tibaldi e la scienza delle acque nel secondo Cinquecento a Bologna," in *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi* 2009, forthcoming.

MESINI 1957 • Candido Mesini, *L'inventario del 1329 dell'Ospedale fondato ed amministrato dalla Compagnia di S. Maria delle Laudi e di S. Francesco in Bologna*, proceedings of the first Congresso di Storia Ospedaliera (Reggio Emilia 14-17 June 1956), Centro Italiano di Storia Ospedaliera, Reggio Emilia 1957, pp. 469-477.

MESINI 1959 • Candido Mesini, "La Compagnia di S. Maria delle Laudi e di San Francesco di Bologna," in *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*, 52 (1959), pp. 1-19.

Michelangelo incognito 2002 • *Il Michelangelo incognito. Alessandro Menganti e le arti a Bologna nell'età della Controriforma*, ed. by A. Bacchi, S. Tumidei, Ferrara 2002.

Michele Sanmicheli 1995 • *Michele Sanmicheli. Architettura, linguaggio e cultura artistica nel Cinquecento*, ed. by H. Burns, C.L. Frommel, L. Puppi, Milano 1995.

MOREL 1988 • Philippe Morel, "Le système décoratif de la Galerie Farnèse: observations sur les limites de la représentation," in *Les Carraches et les décors profanes*, proceedings of the meeting (Rome 1986), Roma 1988, pp. 115-148.

MORRESI 2000 • Manuela Morresi, *Jacopo Sansovino*, Milano 2000.

MORSELLI 1998 • Raffaella Morselli, *Collezioni e quadrerie nella Bologna del Seicento: inventari 1640-1707*, Los Angeles - Torino 1998.

NEGRO 1987 • Emilio Negro, "Cubiculum Artistarum et Cubiculum Juristarum: la decorazione pittorica cinquecentesca delle aule," in *L'Archiginnasio*, ed. by G. Roversi, I: *Il Palazzo. L'Università*, Bologna 1987, pp. 145-158.

NEGRO, ROIO 1997 • Emilio Negro, Nicosetta Roio, *Pietro Faccini (1575/76-1602)*, Modena 1997.

Nuovissimo vocabolario 1991 • *Nuovissimo vocabolario del dialetto bolognese*, ed. by G. Bernabei, Bologna 1991.

OSTROW 1974 • Stephen E. Ostrow, *Agostino Carracci*, Ann Arbor (Mich.) 1974.

OTTANI CAVINA 1988 • Anna Ottani Cavina, "Annibale Carracci e la lupa del fregio Magnani: nuovi elementi per il paesaggio," in *Les Carrache et les décors profanes* (Actes du colloque organisé par l'École française de Rome, Rome 2.-4.10.1986), Roma 1988, pp. 19-38.

OXFORD-LONDON 1996-1997 • *Drawings by the Carracci from British Collections*, exhibition catalogue (Oxford-London 1996-1997), ed. by C. Robertson, C. Whistler, Oxford-London 1996.

Palazzo Magnani 1966 • "Il Palazzo Magnani in Bologna di Domenico Tibaldi (1541-1581): sede della Direzione Generale del Credito Romagnolo," in *Strenna storica bolognese*, 1966, pp. 197-201.

Palladio 1508-2008 2008 • *Palladio 1508-2008. Il simposio del cinquecentenario*, ed. by F. Barbieri, D. Battilotti, Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, Venezia 2008.

PARTSCH 1997 • Susanna Partsch, *s.v.* "Censori, Achille," in *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon*, XVII, p. 523.

PASQUALI ALIDOSI 1670 • Giovanni Nicolò Pasquali Alidosi, *I signori Anziani Consoli, e Gonfalonieri di Giustizia della Città di Bologna Dall'Anno 1456. Accresciuti fino al 1670*, second edition, Bologna 1670.

PASTOR 1925 • Ludovico Barone von Pastor, *Storia dei papi, dalla fine del Medio Evo*, IX, *Gregorio XIII*, Roma 1925.

PASTOR 1928 • Ludovico Barone von Pastor, *Storia dei Papi dalla fine del Medio Evo*, X: *Storia dei papi nel periodo della riforma e restaurazione cattolica. Sisto V, Urbano VII, Gregorio XIV e Innocenzo IX (1585-1591)*, Roma 1928.

PAYNE 1999 • Alina A. Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance. Architectural Invention, Ornament and Literary Culture*, Cambridge - New York 1999.

PERINI 1994 • Giovanna Perini, "Raccolta di testi inediti o rari su Ludovico Carracci," in *Accademia Clementina. Atti e memorie*, new series, XXXIII-XXXIV (1994), pp. 85-104.

Pesi e misure 1898 • *Pesi e misure tavole di ragguaglio fra i pesi e le misure di Bologna ed il sistema metrico decimale*, Bologna 1898.

PIGOZZI 1989 • Marinella Pigozzi, "Domenico Tibaldi: Architetto e teorico. Architettura come metafora," in *L'architettura a Roma e in Italia (1580-1621)*, proceedings of the XXIII Congresso di Storia dell'Architettura (Rome, 24-28 March 1980), ed. by G. Spagnesi, Roma 1989, pp. 315-333.

PIGOZZI 1992 • Marinella Pigozzi, "Bologna. Il porto al Cavadizzo," in *Il Carrobbio*, 15 (1992), pp. 273-285.

PIGOZZI 1999 • Marinella Pigozzi, "Palazzo Magnani. La ricerca di una domus," in *Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Jürgen Winkelmann*, ed. by S. Béguin, Napoli 1999, pp. 267-281 (then in *Bologna al tempo di Cavazzoni. Approfondimenti*, ed. by M. Pigozzi, Bologna 1999, pp. 9-44 [pp. 14-24]).

Pittura bolognese 1986 • *Pittura bolognese del '500*, ed. by Vera Fortunati Pietrantonio, 2 vols., Bologna 1986.

POSNER 1971 • Donald Posner, *Annibale Carracci: A Study in the Reform of Italian Painting around 1590*, 2 vols., London 1971.

PRODI 1959-1967 • Paolo Prodi, *Il cardinale Gabriele Paleotti (1522-1597)*, 2 vols., Roma 1959-1967.

PRODI 1960 • Paolo Prodi, "Lineamenti dell'organizzazione diocesana in Bologna durante l'episcopato del cardinale G. Paleotti (1566-1597)," in *Problemi di vita religiosa in Italia nel Cinquecento*, proceedings of the Convegno di Storia della Chiesa in Italia (Bologna, 2-6 September 1958), Padova 1960, pp. 323-394.

PROSPERI 2004 • Valentina Prosperi, *Di soavi licor li orli del vaso: la Fortuna di Lucrezio dall'Umanesimo alla Controriforma*, Torino 2004.

RAVAIOLI 1995-1996 • Emilio Ravaioli, "Pedagogia della virtù ed esercizio apologetico: una ricostruzione storico-culturale per la committenza artistica di Giovanni Angelelli (1566-1623)," in *Accademia Clementina. Atti e memorie*, new series, XXXV-XXXVI (1995-1996), pp. 117-139.

RAVAIOLI 2002 • Davide Ravaioli, "I palazzi di città," in *Magnani* 2002, pp. 415-457.

RAVAIOLI 2006 • Davide Ravaioli, "L'architettura," in *Palazzo Bocchi*, ed. by M. Danieli, D. Ravaioli, texts by A. Angelini, R. Dodi, Bologna 2006, pp. 21-57.

RAVAIOLI 2009 • Davide Ravaioli, "Precisazioni su Bartolomeo Triachini," in *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi* 2009, forthcoming.

RAVAZZINI 1936 • Giacomo Rovazzini, *Dizionario di architettura*, Milano 1936.

REGGIO 2000 • Sonia Reggio, "Le vicende costruttive e decorative di Palazzo Zani. Alcune precisazioni sugli affreschi di Guido Reni," in *Accademia Clementina. Atti e memorie*, new series, 40 (2000), pp. 17-46.

REINHARDT 2000 • Nicole Reinhardt, *Macht und Ohnmacht der Verflechtung: Rom und Bologna unter Paul V. Studien zur frühneuzeitlichen Mikropolitik im Kirchenstaat*, Tübingen 2000.

RENZI 1971 • *San Michele in Bosco*, ed. by Renzo Renzi, Bologna 1971.

REPHISTI, SCHOFIELD 2004 • Francesco Rephisti, Richard Schofield, *Architettura e Controriforma. I dibattiti per la facciata del Duomo di Milano 1582-1682*, Milano 2004.

Restauro (Il) del Nettuno 1999 • *Il restauro del Nettuno, la statua di Gregorio XIII e la sistemazione di Piazza Maggiore nel Cinquecento. Contributi anche documentari alla conoscenza della prassi e dell'organizzazione delle arti a Bologna prima dei Carracci*, Bologna 1999.

RICCI 1913 • Corrado Ricci, "Il primo disegno di Domenico Tibaldi per la porta del Palazzo Pubblico di Bologna," in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 7 (1913), pp. 282-286.

RICCI 2003 • Maurizio Ricci, "Architettura, committenza privata, ideologia: la 'facciata con ordini' a Bologna 1506-1530," in *Bollettino d'arte*, 6, 88 (2003), no. 123, pp. 25-38.

RICCI 2007a • Maurizio Ricci, "Disegni vecchi e nuovi relativi a Palazzo Magnani in Bologna," in *Palladio*, 39 (2007), pp. 37-46.

RICCI 2007b • Maurizio Ricci, "Per una riconsiderazione critica dell'opera di Domenico Tibaldi architetto. La sede della Gabella Grossa ed il palazzo Bentivoglio in Borgo della Paglia a Bologna," in *Bollettino d'Arte*, 6th series, XCII (2007), pp. 69-100.

RICCI 2008 • Maurizio Ricci, "Palladio e gli 'amici' bolognesi: note su una lettera a Francesco Morandi del 18 ottobre 1572," in *Palladio 1508-2008* 2008, pp. 117-122.

RICCI 2009 • Maurizio Ricci, "Domenico Tibaldi e Floriano Ambrosini nel cantiere di palazzo Bentivoglio. Nuovi documenti e vecchi disegni rivisitati," in *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi* 2009, forthcoming.

RICCOMINI 1972 • Eugenio Riccòmini, *Ordine e vaghezza. Scultura in Emilia nell'età barocca*, Bologna 1972.

RICCÒMINI 2006 • Eugenio Riccòmini, *L'Ercole*

trionfante. I tre Carracci a casa Sampieri, Bologna 2006.

RIGHINI 2000 • Davide Righini, "Il programma iconografico delle sale interne. Temi e significati," in Anna Maria Matteucci Armandi, Davide Righini, *La villa del Cardinale Filippo Guastavillani*, Bologna 2000, pp. 110-126.

ROBERTSON 2008 • Clare Robertson, *The Invention of Annibale Carracci*, Cinisello Balsamo 2008.

ROCA DE AMICIS 1985 • Augusto Roca De Amicis, "Il 'Discorso… nel disegniare et edificare le chiese' di Domenico Tibaldi," in *Storia architettura*, 8 (1985), pp. 43-54.

ROCA DE AMICIS 2009 • Augusto Roca de Amicis, "Spazi centrali e centralizzanti nell'architettura sacra di Domenico Tibaldi," in *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi* 2009, forthcoming.

Rolo Banca 1997 • *Rolo Banca 1473. Palazzo Magnani*, Bologna 1997.

Roma (La) di Leon Battista Alberti 2005 • *La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti. Umanisti, architetti e artisti alla scoperta dell'antico nella città del Quattrocento*, exhibition catalogue (Rome, 24 June - 16 October 2005), ed. by F.P. Fiore, with A. Nesselrath, Milano 2005.

ROMANELLO 1991 • Marina Romanello, *s.v.* "Dolcini, Bartolomeo," in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, XL, Roma 1991, pp. 439 foll.

ROMANO 1976 • Ruggiero Romano, "La storia economica: dal secolo XIV al Settecento," in *Storia d'Italia*, Part 2: *Dalla caduta dell'Impero romano al secolo XVIII*, Torino 1976, II, pp. 1811-1931.

ROTONDÒ 1962 • Antonio Rotondò, "Per la storia dell'eresia a Bologna nel secolo XVI," in *Rinascimento*, 2nd series, 2 (1962), pp. 107-154.

ROVERI 1994 • Elisabetta Roveri, "Il palazzo dei Ruini," in *Palazzo Ranuzzi Baciocchi. Sede della Corte d'Appello e della Procura Generale della Repubblica*, Bologna 1994, pp. 51-64.

ROVERSI 1963 • Giancarlo Roversi, "La chiesa e il convento di S. Bernardo, già S. Maria dei Gaudenti nel 'Borgo dell'Argento'," in *Strenna storica bolognese*, XIII (1963), pp. 253-298.

ROVERSI 1985 • Giancarlo Roversi, "Palazzo Magnani: 'Vero modello del più maestoso che fonder volesse un gran monarca'. Storia, arredi e opere d'arte," in *Il Credito Romagnolo* 1985, pp. 142-216.

ROVERSI 1986 • Giancarlo Roversi, *Palazzi e case nobili del '500 a Bologna. La storia, la famiglia le opere d'arte*, Bologna 1986.

RUBENSTEIN 1979 • Betty Rogers Rubenstein, *The Palazzo Magnani: An Iconographic Study of the Decorative Program*, Ph.D., Florida State University 1979, unpublished.

RUBENSTEIN 1982 • Betty Rogers Rubenstein, "An example of neo-romanism in 16th century in Bologna," in *Le arti e Bologna e in Emilia dal XVI al XVII secolo*, proceedings of the XIV Convegno Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte C.I.H.A. (Bologna, 10-18 September 1979), ed. by A. Emiliani, Bologna 1982, pp. 135-140.

SANTANGELI VALENZANI 2005 • Riccardo Santangeli Valenzani, "La torre Mesa," in *La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti* 2005, pp. 270-273.

SCOLARO 1997 • Michela Scolaro, "Le origini di Palazzo Magnani e il fregio dei Carracci con le storie di Romolo e Remo," in *Rolo Banca* 1997, pp. 21-75.

SCOTTI 1985 • Aurora Scotti, "Scale milanesi del Cinquecento," in *L'éscalier* 1985, pp. 145-151 and figs. 225-232 pp. 289-290.

Scuola dei Carracci 1994 • *La scuola dei Carracci dall'Accademia alla bottega di Ludovico*, a cura di E. Negro, M. Pirondini, Modena 1994.

Scuola dei Carracci 1995 • *La scuola dei Carracci. I seguaci di Annibale e Agostino*, a cura di E. Negro, M. Pirondini, Modena 1995.

SEZNEC 1940-1972 - Jean Seznec, *The survival of the Pagan Gods. The Mythological Tradition and Its Place in Renaissance Humanism and Art*, Princeton 1972 (translation of the first French edition, 1940).

SIMONCINI 1987 • Giorgio Simoncini, "Notizia sulla 'architettura di Pellegrino de Pellegrini pittore et architeto'," in *Saggi in onore di Guglielmo de Angelis d'Ossat*, ed. by S. Benedetti, Roma, Multigrafica, 1987 ("Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura," new series, pp. 379-384.

Spazio (Lo), il tempo, le opere 2001 • *Lo spazio, il tempo, le opere. Il catalogo del patrimonio culturale*, ed. by A. Stanzani, O. Orsi, C. Giudici, Cinisello Balsamo 2001, cat. 110 (*Modello*).

STANZANI 1988 • Anna Stanzani, "La decorazione murale," in *Dall'avanguardia dei Carracci al secolo barocco*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna, Museo Civico Archeologico, 1988), ed. by Andrea Emiliani, Bologna 1988, pp. 253-274.

STANZANI 1989 • Anna Stanzani, "Un committente e tre pittori nella Bologna del 1590," in EMILIANI 1989, pp. 169-192.

STANZANI 2006 • Anna Stanzani, "Annibale frescante a Bologna, nei palazzi Fava, Magnani e Sampieri," in BOLOGNA-ROMA 2006-2007, pp. 431-447.

Storia Chiesa Bologna 1997 • *Storia della Chiesa di Bologna*, ed. by P. Prodi, L. Paolini, 2 vols., Bologna 1997.

SULZER 1992 • Dieter Sulzer, *Traktate zur Emblematik: Studien zu einer Geschichte der Emblemtheorie*, ed. by Gerhard Sauder, St. Ingbert 1992.

TAFURI 1992 • Manfredo Tafuri, *Ricerca del Rinascimento. Principi, città, architetti*, Milano 1992.

TAMBORRINO 1997 • Rosa Tamborrino, "Bologna: XV-XVI secolo. Società d'arte, potere e significati dello spazio urbano," in *Fabbriche, piazze, mercati. La città italiana nel Rinascimento*, ed. by D. Calabi, Roma 1997.

TERRA 1997 • Roberto Terra, "La fabbrica cinquecentesca," in *La cattedrale di San Pietro* 1997, pp. 44-55.

TERRA 2007 • Roberto Terra, "Architettura sacra e spazio liturgico nell'età post-tridentina: il rinnovamento della cattedrale di Bologna," in *Le cattedrali dell'Emilia Romagna. Storia, Arte, Liturgia. Lo stato dell'adeguamento delle chiese cattedrali della Regione Ecclesiastica Emilia-Romagna alla riforma liturgica del Concilio Vaticano II*, ed. by G. Della Longa, A. Marchesi, M. Valdinoci, Rovereto 2007, pp. 70-92.

TERRA, THURBER 2002 • Roberto Terra, Timoty Barton Thurber, "Il palazzo arcivescovile di Bologna nell'età della Controriforma: modelli e strategie di rinnovamento architettonico," in *Domus Episcopi. Il Palazzo Arcivescovile di Bologna*, ed. by R. Terra, San Giorgio di Piano (Bologna) 2002, pp. 51-81.

TERRA, THURBER 2003 • Roberto Terra, Timoty Barton Thurber, "Continuità e rinnovamento della cattedrale di Bologna nell'epoca della Controriforma," in *La Cattedrale scolpita. Il romanico in San Pietro a Bologna*, exhibition catalogue (Bologna, Museo Civico Medievale, 13 December 2003 - 12 April 2004), ed. by M. Medica, S. Battistini, pp. 201-221.

TERRA, THURBER 2009 • Roberto Terra, Timoty Barton Thurber, "I progetti di Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi per la ricostruzione della cattedrale di Bologna e il programma edilizio del cardinale Gabriele Paleotti," in *Domenico e Pellegrino Tibaldi* 2009, forthcoming.

THOENES 1999 • Christof Thoenes, "Postille sull'architetto nel "De re aedificatoria'," in *Leon Battista Alberti. Architettura e cultura*, proceedings of the meeting (Mantua, 16-19 November 1994), Firenze 1999, pp. 27-32.

THURBER 1997 • Timoty Barton Thurber, "Tra 'magnificentia' e 'comodità': la ricostruzione della cattedrale di Bologna dal tardo Cinquecento all'inizio del Seicento," in *La cattedrale di San Pietro* 1997, pp. 56-65.

THURBER 1999 • Timoty Barton Thurber, "Architecture and civic identity in late sixteenth-century Bologna: Domenico and Pellegrino Tibaldi's projects for the rebuilding of the cathedral of San Pietro and Andrea Palladio's designs for the façade of the basilica of San Petronio," in *Renaissance Studies*, special issue: *Civic Self-Fashioning in Renaissance Bologna: Historical and Scholarly Contexts*, XIII (December 1999), 4, pp. 455-474.

TONELLI 1975 • Gualtiero Tonelli, *"Cubiculum artistarum". La stanza dell'università degli artisti nell'Archiginnasio di Bologna*, Bologna 1975.

TÖNNESMANN 1983 • Andreas Tönnesmann, *Der Palazzo Gondi in Florenz*, Worms 1983.

Tra oriente e occidente 2004 • *Tra oriente e occidente. Città e iconografia dal XV al XIX secolo*, proceedings of the III Convegno internazionale di studi "Iconografia delle città europee dal XV al XIX secolo" (Naples 2003), ed. by C. de Seta, Napoli 2004.

TRENTI 2008 • Giuseppe Trenti, *Voci di terre estensi: glossario del volgare d'uso comune (Ferrara - Modena) da documenti e cronache del tempo, secoli 14°-16°*, Vignola 2008.

TUMIDEI 2002 • Stefano Tumidei, "Alessandro Menganti e le arti a Bologna nella seconda metà del Cinquecento: alla ricerca di un contesto," in BOLOGNA 2002, pp. 55-110.

TUTTLE 1975 • Richard J. Tuttle, "Le opere di Galeazzo Alessi nel Palazzo Comunale di Bologna," in *Galeazzo Alessi e l'architettura del Cinquecento*, proceedings of the Convegno internazionale di studi (Genoa 1974), Genova 1975, pp. 229-237 (now in TUTTLE 2001, pp. 121-139).

TUTTLE 1977 • Richard J. Tuttle, "Per l'iconografia della fontana del Nettuno," in *Il Carrobbio*, 3 (1977), pp. 437-445.

TUTTLE 2001 • Richard J. Tuttle, *Piazza Maggiore. Studi su Bologna nel Cinquecento*, Venezia 2001.

TUTTLE 2002 • Richard J. Tuttle, "Palazzo Farnese, camino della Sala Grande; Camino di cardinale Ranuccio Farnese," in *Jacopo Barozzi da Vi-*

gnola, ed. by R.J. Tuttle, B. Adorni, C.L. Frommel, C. Thoenes, Milano 2002, pp. 200-202, cat. 81a-b, 82a-b.

Vignola 2002 • *Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola*, ed. by R.J. Tuttle, B. Adorni, C.L. Frommel, C. Thoenes, Milano, Electa, 2002.

VITALI 2000 • Samuel Vitali, "Sul rapporto tra testo e immagine nel fregio Magnani," in BOLOGNA 2000, pp. 43-50.

VITALI 2001 • Samuel Vitali, "A new document for the Carracci and Ruggero Bascapè at the palazzo Magnani in Bologna," in *The Burlington Magazine*, 143 (2001), pp. 604-613.

VITALI 2003 • Samuel Vitali, "Der Palazzo Magnani in Bologna als Zeugnis und Instrument sozialen Aufstiegs im Kirchenstaat," in *Modell Rom? Der Kirchenstaat und Italien in der Frühen Neuzeit*, ed. by D. Büchel, V. Reinhardt, Köln-Weimar-Wien 2003, pp. 101-117.

VITALI 2004a • Samuel Vitali, *Romulus in Bologna. Die Fresken der Carracci im Palazzo Magnani*, Ph.D., Istituto di Storia dell'Arte dell'Università di Zurigo, 2004.

VITALI 2004b • "Tra 'biografia dipinta' e ciclo emblematico: le 'Storie di Romolo e Remo' dei Carracci in Palazzo Magnani a Bologna," in *Ritratto e biografia: arte e cultura dal Rinascimento al Barocco*, proceedings of the meeting "Biografia e ritratto paradigmatico nell'arte italiana ed europea dal Rinascimento al Barocco" (Siena, 8-9 October 2003), ed. by R. Guerrini, M. Sanfilippo, P. Torriti, Sarzana 2004, pp. 97-116.

VOLPE 1972 • Carlo Volpe, *Il fregio dei Carracci e i dipinti di Palazzo Magnani in Bologna*, Bologna 1972.

WATSON 1993 • Elizabeth See Watson, *Achille Bocchi and the Emblem Book as Symbolic Form*, Cambridge 1993.

WINKELMANN 1986a • Jürgen Winkelmann, "Giovanni Battista Ramenghi detto il Bagnacavallo junior," in *Pittura bolognese* 1986, II, pp. 429-447.

WINKELMANN 1986b • Jürgen Winkelmann, "Giovanni Francesco Bezzi detto il Nosadella," in *Pittura bolognese* 1986, II, pp. 457-474.

WINKELMANN 1986c • Jürgen Winkelmann, "Orazio Samacchini," in *Pittura bolognese* 1986, II, pp. 631-682.

WITTKOWER 1952 • Rudolf Wittkower, *The Drawings of the Carracci in the Collection of Her Majesty the Queen at Windsor Castle*, London 1952.

WITTKOWER 1968 • Rudolf Wittkower, "Il balaustro rinascimentale e il Palladio," in *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio*, 10 (1968), pp. 332-346 (then in Rudolf Wittkower, *Palladio e il palladianesimo* [1974], Torino 1984, pp. 53-70).

ZIRONI 1892 • Enrico Zironi, *Usi costumi linguaggi o gerghi dei muratori specialmente nel bolognese*, Bologna 1892 (anastatic reprint Sala Bolognese 1980).

ZUCCHINI 1943 • Guido Zucchini, "San Michele in Bosco di Bologna," in *L'Archiginnasio*, XXXVIII, nos. 1-6 (1943), pp. 18-70.

ZUCCHINI 1947 • Guido Zucchini, *Artigiani a Bologna nei secoli XIV, XV e XVI*, Bologna, Deputazione di Storia Patria, 1947.

ZUCCHINI 1954-1955 • Guido Zucchini, "Un manoscritto autografo dell'architetto Pietro Fiorini," in *L'Archiginnasio*, XLIX-L (1954-1955), pp. 60-99.

ZUCCHINI 1957 • Guido Zucchini, "Un disegno inedito di Domenico Tibaldi," in *La Mercanzia*, XII, 11, 1957, pp. 948-949 (then in *Edifici di Bologna e altri studi sull'iconografia della città*, ed. by G. Roversi, Bologna, 1976, pp. 53-58).

Index of names

Page numbers in italics refer to the illustrations.

Ackerman, J. 82
Alberti, Cherubino *42*, *43*
Alberti, Giovanni *42*, *43*
Alberti, Leon Battista 36, 37, 48
Alciati, Andrea 127
Alessi, Galeazzo 39, 78, 83
Algarotti, Francesco 83
Alicorni, Vincenzo degli 46, 48, 49, 62, 79, 91, 129
Allè, Filippo 17
Allegri, Antonio (also known as Correggio) 118
Ambrosini, Floriano 28, 33, 74, *74*, 82, 138, 142, 143, 147
Antonelli, A. 13
Aretusi, Cesare 102
Augustine, saint 104
Avila, Francisco de 22
Baglione, Cesare 26, 91, 92, *93*, 94, 96, 102
Bagnacavallo junior 92
Bagnoli, Bernardo 94, 96
Bascapè, Ruggero 33, 100, *102*, *103*, 129, *130*, 133, 142, 147
Basoli, Antonio 94, *95*
Bassani, Petronio 95, 96
Bedini, Giovanni 46
Bedon, A. 82
Bellati, Girolamo 39
Bellori, Giovan Pietro 104
Bentivoglio, family 13, 14
Bentivoglio, Annibale II 13, 19
Bentivoglio, Giovanni II 42
Bentivoglio, Sante 42
Bentivoglio, palace 39, 48, 49
Bernia, Giovan Paolo 33
Bevilacqua, Federico 91
Bezzi, Giovanni Francesco (also known as Nosadella) 27, 36
Bianchetti, Achille 22
Bianchetti, Alamanno 15, 19, 22, 27
Bianchetti, Ludovico 27
Bianchini, Marcantonio 19
Bocchi, family 23
Bocchi, Achille 106, 127, *127*, 128
Bocchi, palace 79, 138
Bolognetti, family 14, 17, 23, 28
Bolognetti, Alberto 22
Bolognetti, Alessandro 129
Bolognetti, Camillo 40
Bolognetti, villa 40
Bombaci, family 23
Bonasone, Giulio 127, *127*
Bonasoni, Camillo 33
Bonfiglioli-Rossi, palace 114
Borghese, family 28
Borghese, Camillo 18, 19
Borgognini, family 14, 17, 18, 22, 44
Borgognini, Camillo 44
Boschetti, Girolamo 18, 19
Bramante, Donato 60, 76, 83
Buoncompagni, family 96
Burns, H. 78
Campeggi, family 15, 17, 22, 27, 28, 137, 141, 146
Campeggi, Isabella 112
Campeggi, Ridolfo 129
Campeggi (formerly Sanuti in San Mamolo), palace 49
Caprara, palace 26
Caprari, Geronimo 33
Caraglio, Jacopo *109*, 119
Carracci, family 13, 26, 27, 28, 33, *34-35*, 52, 60, 63, 67, *90*, 94, 100, 102, 104-119, *104-119*, 120, 124, 129
Carracci, Agostino 33, 48, *52*, *53*, *110*, 115, 117, 119, *121*, 124, *125*, 127, 146
Carracci, Annibale *100*, 116, 117, 118, 119, *121*, 124, 128, *128*, 141, 146
Carracci, Ludovico 27, 116, 117, 118, 119, *121*, 124, 128, 146, 151
Cartari, Vincenzo 124, *126*, 127, 128
Casali, Francesco Maria 127
Casario, Lazzaro *12*, 94, 95, 96, *96*, 129
Castagna, Giovanni Battista *see* Urban VII, pope
Castiglionchio, Lapo di 109
Cavallina, Lucia 15
Censori, Anchise 96
Cesi, Bartolomeo 26, 27, 28, 120, *122*, *123*, 124, 127, 128, *136*, 147, *150*, 151
Claudian 127
Clement VIII, pope 22
Colonna, Ascanio 14
Conti, Natale 129
Correggio *see* Allegri, Antonio
Dalla Fava, Ottaviano 33
Dall'Armi, Giovanni 17
Dall'Armi-Marescalchi, palace 26
Dattari, Scipione 40, *42*, *43*
Dell'Abate, Niccolò *107*
Della Porta, Gabriele 40
Della Rovere, Girolamo 19, 22
De Lucca, Pietro 120
Dodi, R. 13
Dolcini, Bartolomeo 27
Dotti, Carlo Francesco 38
Droghi, Marcantonio 17
Du Pérac, Etienne 82
Faccini, Pietro 28, *121*, 124
Falconetto, Giovanni Maria 76
Fantuzzi, family 15, 19, 22, 28, 94
Fasano, Antonio 94, 95
Fava da San Domenico, palace 94, 113, 118, 138
Fava della Madonna di Galliera, palace 94
Ferratini, Gaetano 70, *71*
Fiore, F.P. 82
Fiorini, Gabriele 128, 129, *130*, 142, 147, 151
Fiorini, Giovanni Battista 102, 147, 151
Fiorini, Pietro 39, 96, 147, 151
Fiorino *see* Magnanini, Lorenzo
Fontana, Lavinia 26, 27, 120, *120*, 127, 128, 146
Fontana, Prospero 91, 111, 127
Frommel, Ch.L. 52, 78
Gaddi, palace 49
Galliani, Francesco 17
Gambara, Gianfrancesco 22
Gessi, palace 40
Ghirardacci, Cherubino 40
Ghisilieri, Filippo Carlo 40
Giacomelli, A. 13, 18, 19, 22, 23, 27, 110
Giavani, Luigi *67*
Giordani, Gaetano 146
Giulio Romano 74, 76, 78, 79, 82, 83, *109*, 119
Gozzadini, Camillo 19
Grassi, Fulvio 19
Gregory XIII, pope 19, 20, 23, 27, 39, 40, 83, 96
Grimani, Vettor 64
Guastavillani, villa 138
Guidotti, family 120
Guidotti, Federico 19
Horace 128
Jacob, S. 70
Jaconello, Battista Alessandro 110
Julius II, pope 111
Julius III, pope 111
Kurz, O. 124
Lamo, Pietro 42, 48
Landi, Giovanni Antonio *38*, *39*, 49, *56*, 78, *78*, 129, *131*
Latini, Giovanni 96, *101*, 115
Laureti, Tommaso 27, 82
Leinweber, L. 24
Leo X, pope 111
Ligorio, Pirro 82
Livy 108
Loisel, C. 115, 128
Lucretius 128
Lugli, A. 127
Lupari, family 15, 23
Maecenas 64
Maffia (or Maffei), Antonio 96
Magli, Piero 44, 46, *47*, 96
Magnani, family 13-28, *14*, *16*, *27*, 42, 46, 129, 137
Magnani, Lodovico, Lorenzo's father 95
Magnani, Lodovico, Lorenzo's son 48, 129
Magnani, Lorenzo *12*, 13-28, *14*, *16*, *25*, 33, 40, 42, 48, 67, 95, *96*, *12*, 100, 105, 110, 111, 112, 120, 124, 128, 129, 133, 137, 138, 140, 142, 143
Magnani, Vincenzo, Lorenzo's cousin 112
Magnani, Vincenzo, Lorenzo's nephew 138
Magnanini, Lorenzo (also known as Fiorino) 91, 92, *94*, 96, *101*, 115
Malvasia, family 24
Malvasia, Carlo Cesare 27, 28, 33, 67, 91, 92, 94, 104, 113, 116, 120, 124, 146
Malvasia, Cornelio 111
Malvezzi, family 15, 17, 20, 22, 23, 49
Malvezzi (then Campeggi in San Donato), palace 48, 94, 146

Malvezzi (then de' Medici in San Donato), palace 42
Marchesi, Andrea 48
Marchesi, Giacomo 48
Marchesino, Ascanio 40
Marescalchi, Giovanni Battista 91
Marescalchi, Gregorio 46, 91
Marescalchi, palace 78
Marescotti, Emilio 15
Marescotti, palace 14
Martelli, Tommaso 46, 96
Mascherino, Ottaviano 67, 92
Masini, Antonio di Paolo 151
Massari, Lucio 114
Mazza, Giuseppe 48
Mazzola, Francesco (also known as Parmigianino) 92
Mazzoli, Bernardino 91, 96
Mazzoni, Giulio 24
Menganti, Alessandro 39
Michelangelo Buonarroti 36, 79, 82, 83
Milizia, Francesco 83
Mirti, Fabio 22
Montalbani, Vincenzo 36
Morandi, Antonio (also known as Terribilia) 36
Morandi, Francesco di Antonio (also known as Terribilia) 38, 40, 42, *44*, 44
Muttoni, Francesco 60, 62, *63*
Nappi, Cesare 17
Nosadella *see* Bezzi, Giovanni Francesco
Oretti, Marcello 92, 94, 129
Orsi, Guido Ascanio 19
Ostrow, S. 120, 124
Ovid 105
Paleotti, family 94, 96, 102
Paleotti, Camillo 19
Paleotti, Gabriele 33, 37, 39, 40, 108, 124
Palladio, Andrea 38, 40, 49, *49*, 63, 64, *66*, *67*, 76, 78, *79*, 83, 142
Pallotta, Giovanni Evangelista 18, 19
Pannolini, family 46, 143, 147
Parmigianino *see* Mazzola, Francesco
Paselli, palace 138
Passerotti, Bartolomeo 92
Payne, A.A. 82
Pepoli, family 20, 22
Pepoli, Giovanni 20
Peretti da Montalto, Alessandro 18, 19, 20, 22
Peruzzi, Baldassarre 49, 52, 76, 142
Pigozzi, M. 70, 78, 94
Pio da Carpi, Rodolfo 36
Pissarri, Carlantonio 124
Plutarch 104, 105, 106, 108, 109, 113
Poeti, Galeazzo 19
Poggi, family 24
Poggi, palace 94
Poliziano 13
Pollaiuolo, Antonio 105
Porto, Iseppo da 63
Procaccini, Camillo 26, 36, 91, 92, 94, 96
Procaccini, Ercole 26, 36, 91, 92, 94
Ranuzzi, Lodovico 15
Raphael 76, 119
Ravaioli, D. 42, 44, 94, 95, 96
Razzali, Jacopo 22
Razzali, Serafino Olivier 22, 23, 28
Riario, family 27
Riario, Ercole 40
Ricci, M. 42, 49, 74, 94
Rinieri, Giacomo 14
Roca, Tommaso 48
Roversi, G. 13, 96, 100, 146
Rubenstein, B.R. 129
Ruini, family 23
Sabatini, Lorenzo 40, *42*, *43*, 91, 92
Salviati, Antonio Maria 18, 20
Samacchini, Orazio 13, 24, 26, 91, 94, 127, 138
Sampieri, Astorre 28, 129
Sampieri, palace 138
Sangallo, Antonio da, the Younger 52, 143
Sangallo, Giuliano da 64, *69*, 76
Sanmicheli, Michele 78, 83
Sansovino, Francesco 49
Sansovino, Jacopo 49, 64, *68*, 76, 83, 138
Saraceni, Cristoforo 15
Savoy, family 22
Savoy, Carlo Emanuele I of 19
Segni, palace 120, 121, 124, 146
Seneca 127
Serlio, Sebastiano 49, 63, 64, 79, 82, 83, *137*, 138
Seznec, J. 124
Sixtus V, pope 18, 19, 20, 22
Solimei, Bernardino 138
Sozzini, Fausto 23
Spada, Lionello 114
Spinelli, Giuliano 91, 96
Spinola, Leonardo 64
Stanzani, A. 110, 127
Tassi, Bartolomeo (also known as Triachino) 42, 44
Terribilia *see* Morandi
Tiarini, Alessandro 91
Tibaldi, Cristoforo, Domenico's cousin 33, 36
Tibaldi, Cristoforo, Domenico's uncle 36
Tibaldi, Domenico 26, 28, 33-83, *40*, *41*, *42*, *43*, *46*, *47*, *74*, 96, 143
Tibaldi, Domenico, Domenico's uncle (?) 36
Tibaldi, Galeazzo, Domenico's uncle 36
Tibaldi, Giovanni Battista, Domenico's cousin 33, 36
Tibaldi, Giovanni Tommaso, Domenico's son 33
Tibaldi, Pellegrino, Domenico's brother 33, 36, 39, 60, 62, 64, 82, 83
Tibaldi, Tibaldo, Domenico's father 36
Torfanini, Bartolomeo 111
Torfanini, palace 26
Torri, Antonio 79
Torri, Giulio 79
Triachino *see* Tassi, Bartolomeo
Tuttle, R.J. 100
Ubaldini, Mariotto di Giovanni 44, 91
Urban VII, pope (Giovanni Battista Castagna) 18, 19, 20, 22, 28
Urbini, S. 127
Urceo, Codro 13
Valsecchi, Francesco *67*
Vasari, Giorgio 49, 78
Venturoli, Angelo 48, 49, 60, 62, 120, 124, 143, 146
Venturoli Mattei, Mario 70
Vignola, Jacopo Barozzi da 52, 78, 79, 83, 138, *138*, 142
Virgil 124, 127, 128
Vitali, S. 42, 44, 46, 48, 141, 142, 146
Vitruvius 36, 52, 82, 137
Vittoria, Alessandro 138
Vizzani, family 23, 28
Vizzani, Giasone 19, 138
Vizzani, palace 26, 138
Volpe, C. 94, 120, 124
Xylander, Wilhelm 109
Zaltieri, Bolognino 124, *126*
Zanetti, Antonio 102
Zani, palace 26, 74, *74*, *75*, 142, *144-145*
Zorzi, Adamo 100, 138, 151
Zorzi, Gherardo 100, 138
Zorzi, Giovanni Battista 100, 138
Zucchini, G. 70

Photographic campaign by Marco Baldassari, Bologna.

Archivio del Comune di Porlezza, sezione disegni Architetto Muttoni, Porlezza
Archivio Fotografico del Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe della Pinacoteca Nazionale di Bologna, Bologna
Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Civici di Imola, Imola
Archivio Fotografico dei Musei Vaticani, Vatican City
Archivio Fotografico della Soprintendenza Speciale per il Polo Museale Napoletano, Naples
Archivio Guidotti Magnani, Bologna
Archivio di Stato di Bologna, Bologna
Archivio di Stato di Milano, Milan
Archivio Storico del Consorzio della Bonifica Renana, Bologna
Sergio Bettini, Bologna
© Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City
Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio, Bologna
Collezioni d'Arte e di Storia della Fondazione Cassa di Risparmio in Bologna, Bologna
Fondazione Collegio Artistico Venturoli, Bologna
Fondazione Musei Civici Veneziani, Venice
Foto Rcr di Lucio Rossi & C., Parma
Museo de la Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, Madrid
RIBA Library Drawings Collection, London

Publication of reproductions from the State Archives in Bologna was licensed by authorisation n. 879 of 28 January 2009, protocol n. 454.
Publication of reproductions from the State Archives in Milan was licensed by protocol 5948/28.13.11, serial n. 37/08 dated 30 October 2008.

Use of reproductions from the State Archives and the Monuments and Fine Arts Services was authorised by the Ministry for Culture and Heritage. No part of this book may be reproduced in any form or by any electronic or mechanical means.

The Publisher is prepared to fulfil all duties on copyright for iconographic sources not mentioned herein.

We wish to thank Elisabetta Michelato of CISA Palladio in Vicenza, the main offices for the Places of Worship Estate Administration (FEC) in Rome, the Curatorial Staff of the Kunstbibliothek in Berlin, and the Curatorial Staff of the Národní Galerie in Prague.

Printed in Italy
April 2009