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INVESTIGATING AND WRITING ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY:  
SUBJECTS, METHODOLOGIES AND FRONTIERS

Papers from the Third EAHN International Meeting

Edited by Michela Rosso

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## INVESTIGATING AND WRITING ARCHITECTURAL HISTORY: SUBJECTS, METHODOLOGIES AND FRONTIERS



apragmatic dimension that also abided by the rules of engineering and science, and a spiritual aspect which expressed philosophical concepts and was embellished by ornaments and scripted notes through the geometric mode. The totality of the space is, then, defined as subtle and seamless union of both aspects.

Inscriptions became an integral part of the conception of space at the first stages of design. This is well demonstrated through the drawings of Akbar Mirza, the nineteenth century qjar architect. The space (as plan) is drawn within the space of inscriptions. With no scalar distinction, script and space are viewed as inseparable companions on edifices.

1 Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1992).

2 al-Buzjani, Abu al-Wafa Muhammad, and Alireza Jazbi, *Persian Geometry: Applied Geometry Abul-Wafa Al-Buzjani [Farsi Translations with Additions]* (Tehran: Sororous Publications, 2005). Translation from Farsi by Hooman Koliji.

3 Ibn Khaldun et al., *The Muqaddimah, an Introduction to History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969).

4 Gülru Necipoglu and Mohammad Al-Asad, *The Topkapi Scroll: Geometry and Ornament in Islamic Architecture* (Santa Monica, CA: Getty Center for the History of Art and the Humanities, 1995), 177 (from al-Bayhaghi).

5 Ibn Arabi, *Al Futuhat*, quoted in Samer

Akkach, *Cosmology and Architecture in Pre-modern Islam: An Architectural Reading of Mystical Ideas* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2005), 69.

6 The prevalent use of Arabic term *Me'mar*, however, contextualized the architect's magical work with geographical and societal bounds, an act of conceiving built environments for people of arid lands. *Me'mar* shares a semantic root with *omran* meaning bringing life and water to a place. Ibn Khaldun (1332-1406) mentioned of *ilm al-omran* (lit. science of the society) and associated *omran* with understanding humanity and life. Both of these terms are derived from the root *a.m.r* indicating prolonging life, or to live a long life. *Me'mar*, an adjective, conveys a person who endeavors to bring a long life to a place.

## 1.4.4 Architects, Craftsmen and Marble Decoration in Eighteenth-Century Piedmont

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### ABSTRACT

In eighteenth-century Piedmont, marble played an important role in interior decoration thanks to its chromatic and ornamental values as much as its quality as a precious material. Following the example of Filippo Juvarra, architects explored and exploited these potentialities in interior design, while patrons both appreciated and demanded these materials. Widely employed in royal residences (such as the Galleria Beaumont by Benedetto Alfieri in Turin), marble decoration achieved its highest expression in ecclesiastical interiors, in the form of floors, balustrades and altars. This kind of decoration was either realized under the direction of an architect who provided the design and precise instructions, or was independently executed by a workshop of stonemasons (*marmorari*) by presenting to patrons their own models, and choosing and furnishing the marbles to be used. The meeting between these two work systems, that gave rise to very different products related to experiences, territories and local histories, is the focus of this paper: did architects and 'marmorari' influence each other? A comparison between the representational techniques used by Lombard craftsmen and by the *Studio regio* of architecture reveals how workmen, designers and patrons communicated their design ideas. While Lombard stonemasons carried on the workshop tradition, focusing on the decorative effect of marble polychromy, Juvarrian school architects tried to exploit this quality according to an architectural conception of space and form, sometimes collaborating with other decorators (painters or plasterers) able to reproduce the same aesthetic qualities of marble at a lower cost. This topic, relatively neglected by scholars, will be considered through individual case studies with a focus on the collaboration between the Lombard craftsmen and the architects of the Savoy court active in eighteenth-century Piedmont.

### KEYWORDS

Marble, decoration, architects, stonemasons, altars, Piedmont

In eighteenth-century Piedmont, marble was a very popular medium for interior decoration, being appreciated for its preciousness, durability and ornamental qualities. Used for chimneypieces, tables and floors in domestic residences, marble was also the principal material chosen to embellish the interiors of churches, and to build altars, balustrades, basins and fountains. This phenomenon, developed in tandem with the court building sites under the direction of architect Filippo Juvarra at the beginning of the century, is even more relevant because it involved the local initiative of churches in the towns and provinces, where nobles, confraternities and communities were willing to spend a lot of money to enrich the chapels and altars under their patronage. In this way patrons became acquainted with a variety of stones and their aesthetic qualities. In Piedmont, hundreds of marble altars were built during the eighteenth century, often as the focal point of a larger decorative programme that includes wall coverings, floors and balustrades.

#### **THE SKILLS OF THE STONEMASONS, THE DIRECTION OF THE ARCHITECTS, THE DEMANDS OF THE PATRONS**

If in certain cultural contexts craftsmen had been responsible for the design of the decorative work they were charged with making, after the arrival of Juvarra in Turin architects increasingly assumed this role, even down to the choice of materials. Architects were therefore obliged to deal with highly specialized teams of quarrymen and stonemasons from Lombardy and Ticino, including the Apriles, the Buzzis, the Casellas, the Giudices, the Marcheses, and the Pellagattas.<sup>1</sup>

This relationship has not been fully investigated in the literature on marble decoration which instead has focused on the responsibilities of architects, relegating craftsmen to the subordinate role of mere executors. But this underestimates the professional role of the stonemason. In fact, the relationship that developed between these two actors was often a collaborative process. Moreover, stonemasons, as well as plasterers or woodworkers, were carriers of a distinct language and able to work independently without the mediation of other professionals, creating all kinds of decorative stonework for which they provided their own designs and estimates.

Drawings made by craftsmen are useful for examining the relationship between architects and marble workers – even if we have to notice that, despite the number of commissions in which stonemasons were involved, their drawings are now widely dispersed: they rarely entered national institutions and have often been removed from the places in which they were originally deposited, like the archives of communities and parishes. Historically, craftsmen's drawings were not considered valuable in the same way as those of

architects: their 'function' was often regarded as being exhausted after the execution of the work for which they were produced. Moreover, there is a problem of attribution, because stonemasons did not sign their own projects except when they were part of a contract with a patron.

Eighteenth century Lombard stonemasons' drawings often present only half of the altar elevation, using watercolour to connote, more or less approximately, the quality of the materials to be used. Unlike architects, there was no standard graphic convention resulting in different varieties of representation: for example, the design for the main altar of Quaranti in Monferrato (1770) combines the right half of the elevation with the left half of the plan, so containing in a symmetrical image on a single page all the information about the project, including the design of the balustrade, the scale, and the list of marbles 'marchati con numero'.<sup>2</sup> It is also possible that stonemasons made up for their lack of drawing skills with the help of an artist or draughtsman. At least one case is documented: in 1734, for the balustrade of the high altar for the parish church at Ticineto, the stonemason Carlo Cesare Pellagatta presented a drawing prepared by his friend and collaborator Silvano, a *quadraturista*.<sup>3</sup> With this in mind, the exceptional design signed by the stonemasons Giacomo Pellagatta and Francesco Colombara for the altar of the Ursulines at Varallo (1766) may have been prepared by a different hand while still reflecting the practices of the workshop.<sup>4</sup>

Unlike stonemasons who made the work they designed, architects refined graphic techniques in order to control the execution of a project. This was particularly true of Filippo Juvarra, who introduced new practical methods of building control and site rationalization to Turin. In this way, the final design for the high altar of Superga (1729-30), traced through an elaborate sequence of sketches, adopts a precise normative standard to present, explain and verify the complex work of building marble altars: drawn in a strictly geometrical scale, in plan and elevation, the altar is half coloured to simulate the marbles, and half shaded in grey wash to suggest the volume of the structure, to indicate the sequence of plans, and to note the position of each element.<sup>5</sup> Juvarra combined orthographic projection with its emphasis on form and shadow, a technique perfected in Rome, with the traditional practice of colouring altar projects to study the ornamental effect and indicate the marbles to be worked. His purpose was to provide the maximum amount of information regarding form and materials on a single sheet, combining the presentation drawing with the working drawing.<sup>6</sup>

This technique was adopted by Juvarra's pupils, albeit not exclusively. In fact, many architects preferred to colour the entire elevation of the altar to create an effect strongly focused on the ornamental properties of the marble. Bernardo Vittone, for example, in his drawings for the chapel of S.

Anthony of Padua in the Franciscan church of Turin (about 1750)<sup>7</sup> and for the S. Valerico altar in the Consolata (1764)<sup>8</sup> used both techniques indiscriminately. However, the Juvarrian model remained the most influential: in 1792, when Filippo Castelli presented the project for one of the side altars of the new church at Livorno Ferraris (near Vercelli), although the style of the composition was neoclassical, the graphic presentation remained the same.<sup>9</sup>

Under the influence of Juvarra, the representation of polychrome marbles in architects' drawings reached levels of verisimilitude and aesthetic refinement far superior to those produced by stonemasons. A greater familiarity with watercolour techniques allowed architects to reproduce the ornamental properties of marble without having to resort to explanatory legends. The identification of different varieties was based on a set of norms codified in the Roman studio of the architect Carlo Fontana, which Juvarra introduced to Piedmont and adapted to local stone types. During the eighteenth century the discovery of new varieties of stone were immediately promoted for ornamental purposes: the *bardiglio* of Valdieri, for instance, extracted after 1738, shows up on project sheets identified by a cerulean hue, as in Francesco Martinez's drawing for the altar of the Superga crypt (about 1774).<sup>10</sup> A useful historical source for identifying marbles is provided in an ambitious design of 1786 by Giuseppe Viana for the new civic tower at Turin: here the architect planned to cover the entire structure in marble and sums up each 'qualità de' marmi del Paese da impiegarsi nella costruzione' in a legend that takes the form of different marble tiles.<sup>11</sup> All the main varieties of local marble that had become part of the ornamental vocabulary of Piedmontese architects are recorded: alabaster of Busca, green of Susa, *persichino* of Garesio, *seravezza* of Limone (clear and dark), *seravezza* of Moiola, *bardiglio*, grey of Frabosa, and the white marble of Pont and Foresto.<sup>12</sup>

The degree of accuracy in these architect's drawings is not limited to the imitation of colours and grains, but is so precise as to suggest the laying of the panels *a macchia aperta*; that is, book-matched marble slabs creating symmetrical patterns, as illustrated by a collaborator of Juvarra in the shafts of the pilasters and the frames for the interior decoration of the SS. Trinità church in Turin.<sup>13</sup> Similar effects were in great demand and architects supplied precise instructions. Carlo Andrea Rana, for example, ordered that the *seravezza* of Limone for the base of the side altars of the new parish church at Strambino (near Ivrea) was to be put in place 'con la macchia obliqua',<sup>14</sup> while the oculus in the middle of the urn under the Rosario altar in the same church was to be 'di diaspro di Sicilia segato e disposto in maniera che formi [una] mandorla con la cornice attorno giallo di Verona'.<sup>15</sup>

The care that some architects devoted to the proper execution of their work

was equivalent to that of a demanding patron. The Rosario association of Strambino, for instance, invested a fortune in building a marble chapel for the new parish church.<sup>16</sup> Rana, who prepared the plan, submitted a variety of finished designs, noting in the margins the particular arrangement of marbles for the chapel's altar (Figure 1).<sup>17</sup> Rana was undoubtedly a scrupulous designer, attentive to detail: in this, he was in accord with the treasurer of the Rosario association, who followed its construction assiduously and queried the architect from time to time. Frequently, the solutions agreed are recorded on the drawings: a piece of paper pinned to the design for marbleizing the chapel's pedestals and pilasters includes instructions made by the architect in 1781.<sup>18</sup> These drawings, rich in notes and reminders, reveal the nature of the construction process but also, and more importantly, the traces of dialogue that existed between architect, craftsman and patron. Once signed by all three parties, drawings assumed a clear contractual purpose, as attested at the time of certifying the work. The expense of marble decoration motivated patrons to take precautions, requiring craftsmen to follow the detailed instructions written by architects, who in turn provided full size profiles to show how each part should be arranged.<sup>19</sup> The same patrons may also have ordered the execution of wooden scale models, painted in faux marbles: this made it possible to anticipate the finished result during the design phase.<sup>20</sup>

### THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN ARCHITECTS AND CRAFTSMEN

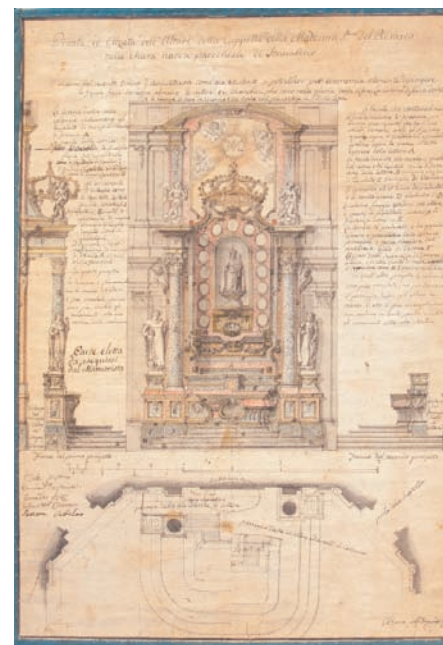
Architects and craftsmen necessarily discussed the material aspects and technical details of all building projects: the shape of a decoration, the profile of a frame, or the veneer of a column. In 1753, for instance, when a call for tenders for six marble mantelpieces in the Palace of Venaria was announced, the stonemasons raised technical concerns; as an official of the 'Azienda Fabbriche e Fortificazioni' recorded, they queried the use of two of the marbles specified (the *persichino* and the Busca alabaster), 'a motivo che secondo l'illustrazione non volendosi ammettere alcun benché minimo tassello, ciò resta assai difficile', and suggested instead Valdieri marble as it was easier to carve.<sup>21</sup>

Due to their professional experience, craftsmen were often involved in the formal aspects of a design commission: alternative solutions could emerge in discussion and modify an architect's original design. For example, Rana's extremely detailed instructions for the Rosario chapel in Strambino do not seem to leave any liberty for the craftsman charged with making it; nevertheless, in 1781, the stonemason Simone Catella came to an agreement with the architect for some adaptations. Technical and practical considera-

tions induced him to propose the insertion of 'qualche cosa o di bronzo, o di marmo, secondo che giudicherà Monsù Rana',<sup>22</sup> replacing the points of the marble stars designed by the architect for the chapel floor because they were too thin and fragile and might break – in the end they selected little roses in bronze.<sup>23</sup> In 1758, the stonecutter who created the new pilasters for the cathedral at Vercelli following the design of the royal architect Benedetto Alfieri, considered them too narrow compared with the columns. The architect Luigi Barberis, who supervised the construction on behalf of Alfieri, was willing to modify the design according to the craftsman's opinion: 'per la ragion addotta dal piccapietre che sarebbero troppo svelte, e la gussa dell'immo, e summo scapo di dette lezene sarebbe forzosa di troppo'.<sup>24</sup> The professional lives of some stonemason families in the east of Piedmont in the mid-eighteenth century reveal how the relationship and mutual influence between craftsmen and architects was often crucial for commercial success. Until the early decades of the eighteenth century, the production of marble decoration in outlying areas (like the Monferrato) was dominated by the Lombard atelier of the Pellagattas, who established five workshops across Piedmont and Lombardy (in Milano, Casale Monferrato, Alessandria, Viggiù and Vercelli).

The Pellagattas produced their projects autonomously. Their altars are characterized by a taste for decorative effects: curled and sagging corbels, elaborate tablets, leaves and indented small festoons, soft volutes, long steps articulated by vegetal motifs, and geometrical decorations with a mixtilinear contour. On the other hand, for architects, the design of an altar was based on the language of architectural orders. Compared with the architectural style promoted by court architects, the designs of stonemasons, widely appreciated at the middle of the century in the Eastern Piedmont region, began to appear outmoded, even in those areas traditionally linked to Lombardy. When the Pellagattas were obliged to follow an architect's guidelines, as in Desana (1764) or in Calliano (1765) after a design by Bernardo Vittone (Figure 2), in Moncalvo under the direction of Ottavio Magnocavalli (1758), or in St Ubaldo in Alessandria with Giuseppe Caselli (1760), they do not appear to have embraced the opportunity to update their decorative language. In fact, despite a growing demand for Turinese models, they continued to promote a formal repertoire loyal to their atelier's tradition. As a result, the business suffered, and a family fortune accumulated over years of commissions was lost.<sup>25</sup>

By way of contrast, another Lombard atelier, the Bottinellis, emerged as leaders in marble decoration simply because they understood and assimilated the decorative language of the architects they worked for (Benedetto Alfieri, Luigi Barberis, Giovanni Battista Ferroggio), and so satisfied the taste



**Figure 1.** Carlo Andrea Rana, Project for the Rosario altar in Strambino, plan, front and side elevation, about 1774. *Source:* Strambino, Archivio parrocchiale.

of their patrons. Francesco Bottinelli learned the Turinese style from Barberis, a designer in Alfieri's studio since 1758. This collaboration probably began on the construction site of the cathedral at Vercelli before continuing at Casale Monferrato and in Turin.<sup>26</sup> Working with architects, the Bottinellis proved able to absorb the new style, moving cleverly – depending on the circumstances and tastes of their patrons – between the Lombard tradition, as in Borgo San Martino (1772), and the modern Turinese style, such as in their project for the high altar of the Confraternity of Jesus at Casale Monferrato (1791).<sup>27</sup>

A good example of this relates to the design for the Cuccaro church altar in Monferrato, in 1790: Canon De Conti, mediator for the priest from Casale, preferred the

design supplied by the Bottinellis to that of the Pelagattas, finding it 'assai plausibile e di gusto' and better in terms of 'forma' and 'distribuzione dei marmi'.<sup>28</sup> This preference for Bottinelli's design, expressed by an educated man like De Conti, shows, at the end of the century, how models and taste in marble decoration had evolved.

These exchanges between architects and craftsmen also concerned the quality of materials. Lombard stonecutters traditionally promoted marbles extracted from their own region. In Turin, however, Juvarra introduced a new design tonality that stimulated the search for local stones that could replicate the variety available in Rome. In the 1770s, when the new Turin style was introduced, architects and patrons preferred 'quei marmi che sogliono usarsi nella città di Torino'.<sup>29</sup> As a consequence, except for certain materials like the red of France or the yellow of Verona, which have no equal in Piedmont, the Lombard varieties generally lost their appeal. Craftsmen such as the Bottinellis, who adapted to the new styles and materials, enjoyed a commercial monopoly on the new marble varieties being extracted and sold.





**Figure 2.** High altar of the parish church at Calliano (detail), 1765. Carving by Pellagatta, stonemason, after a design by Bernardo Vittone. *Source:* Elena Di Majo, 2010.

As such examples demonstrate, the study of marble decoration highlights different professional attitudes in the relationship between craftsmen and architects: some stonemasons proved to be unable (or maybe just not willing) to transform their working methods through collaborations with architects; others, learning from architects, assimilated their models, even their graphic techniques.

This was not a one-way exchange and architects themselves learned from the professionalism of their own projects' executors: Vittone's design for a chapel dedicated to the 'Addolorata' proposed a Lombard style balustrade as an alternative to a classical model.<sup>30</sup> The terms of this mutual exchange, especially when collaborations gave rise to long-term working relationships (like Vittone and the Giudices, or the Bottinellis and Barberis), requires further research – to determine, for example, how the stonemasons' expertise influenced the choice of marbles chosen by architects. Although court architects played an increasing role in the design of marble decoration, craftsmen must not be considered as mere executors, but as fully-fledged actors in a fully collaborative process.

1 See Vera Comoli Mandracci (ed.), *Luganensium Artistarum Universitas. L'archivio e i luoghi della Compagnia di Sant'Anna tra Lugano e Torino* (Lugano: Giampiero Casagrande, 1992); Giorgio Mollisi and Laura Facchin (eds.), *Svizzeri a Torino nella storia, nell'arte, nella cultura, nell'economia dal Quattrocento ad oggi* (Lugano: Edizioni Ticino Management, 2011).

2 'marked with numbers'. Fontanile, Archivio parrocchiale, San Giovanni, cart. 5. Cf. Elena Ragusa and Angelo Torre (eds.), *Tra Belbo e Bormida. Luoghi e itinerari di un patrimonio culturale*, exhibition catalogue (Asti: Provincia di Asti, 2003), 325.

3 Ticineto, Archivio parrocchiale, Ippolito Trabucchi, *Memoriale*, c. 101.

4 Varallo, Pinacoteca civica, Fondo Gilardi, n. 554. We wish to thank Giuseppe and Paolo Sitzia, who are preparing an article on this altar.

5 Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale (hereafter BNT), Ris. 59.2, no. 15.

6 See Giuseppe Dardanella, "Altari piemontesi: prima e dopo l'arrivo di Juvarra," in Andreina Griseri and Giovanni Romano (eds.), *Filippo Juvarra a Torino. Nuovi progetti per la città Torino* (Turin: CRT, 1989), 153-228; Id., "Disegno e colore negli altari di Filippo Juvarra," in Vera Comoli Mandracci, Andreina Griseri and Beatriz Blasco Esquivias (eds.), *Filippo Juvarra architetto delle capitali, 1714-1736*, exhibition catalogue (Milan: Fabbri, 1995), 256-67.

7 Turin, Museo Civico di Arte Antica - Palazzo Madama, inv. 4845/ds.

8 Turin, Archivio storico della città (henceforward ASCT), Carte sciolte, no. 815.

9 Turin, Archivio di Stato (hereafter AST), Corte, Archivi privati, Castelli-Berroni, Disegni e stampe, cart. 2, fasc. 33.

10 AST, Corte, Carte topografiche e disegni, Palazzi Reali e altre Fabbriche Regie, Superga, Regi Sepolcri, no. 19.

11 'quality of country marble to be used in the construction'. ASCT, Carte sciolte, no. 4332/F. Cf. Roberto Caterino, "Prototipi funzionali e fabbriche simboliche per l'architettura dello Stato e della città," in Giuseppe Dardanella and Rosa Tamborrino (eds.), *Guarini, Juvarra e Antonelli. Segni e simboli per Torino*, exhibition catalogue (Cinisello Balsamo: Silvana Editoriale, 2008), 163-5, fig. 8.11.

12 On Piedmontese marbles used in decoration see Maurizio Gomez Serito, "I marmi colorati piemontesi nella decorazione," *Atti e rassegna tecnica della società degli ingegneri e architetti in Torino*, LIII-1 (January 1999), 15-25; Elena Di Majo, "L'industria dei marmi nel Piemonte del Settecento," in Giuseppe Dardanella (ed.), *Sculture nel Piemonte del Settecento. «Di differente e ben intesa bizzarria»* (Turin: Editris duemila, 2005), 119-30.

13 BNT, Ris. 59.2, no. 3.

14 'with the grains slanted'. Strambino, Archivio parrocchiale (henceforward APS), Costruzione, Fogli scolti: *Istruzione per l'altare di marmo eletto per le cappelle laterali della nuova chiesa di Strambino*, about 1780.

15 'of Sicilian jasper cut and placed in order to make an almond and framed by yellow of Verona'. APS, Cartella Disegni: *Istruzioni per la formaz[ion]e dell'Altare, Balaustrata, e Lavatojo per la Capp[ell]a del Rosario*, 1774.

16 See Elisa Rossi Gribaudo, *La Chiesa di Strambino nel secondo centenario 1764-1964* (Ivrea: Tipografia E. Giglio Tos, 1964).

17 APS, Cartella Disegni: *Pianta ed alzata dell'altare della Cappella della Madonna SS.ma del Rosario nella Chiesa nova parrocchiale di Strambino*, about 1774. Reproduced by Ferdinando Viglieno Cossalino, *Carlo Andrea Rana architetto in Piemonte* (Ivrea: Fratelli Enrico editori, 1969), fig. 54.

18 Viglieno Cossalino, *Carlo Andrea Rana*, fig. 68.

19 See Elena Di Majo and Michela Goi, "Disegni e parole per comunicare in cantiere: le istruzioni," in Dardanello and Tamborrino, *Guarini, Juvarra e Antonelli*, 107-11.

20 These models were made in order to 'osservare ciò che dal disegno non può comparire, la figura, ed aspetto che danno non solo li marmi delle diverse qualità, e colori ad impiegarsi in detto altare, ma di più il complesso del medesimo tutto unito' (to observe what in the drawing cannot be displayed, the shape and the appearance, not only the marbles of different qualities and colours to be employed in that altar, but also the whole). Asti, Archivio diocesano, Confraternita di San Rocco, *Libro degli Ordinati 1756-1798*, c. 24 (May 29, 1763). On the practice of models, documented in Piedmont for marble altars since the end of the seventeenth century, see Giuseppe Dardanello, "Altari nel Piemonte meridionale," in Giovanni Romano and Gelsomina Spione (eds.), *Una gloriosa sfida. Opere d'arte a Fossano, Saluzzo e Savigliano*, exhibition catalogue (Cuneo: Marcovaldo, 2004), 324-69.

21 'because according to the illustration, that does not admit any dowel, it remains very difficult to do'. AST, Guerra, *Relazioni a Sua Maestà*, register no. 5, 1753, 255.

22 'something made in bronze or marble, Mr Rana will judge'.

23 APS, Costruzione: *Variaz[io]ne concordata col S.r Catella riguardo le opere da farsi per la Capp[ell]a*, August 29, 1781. Cf. the drawings published by Viglieno Cossalino, *Carlo Andrea Rana*, fig. 63-4.

24 'for the reason given by the stonemason that they would be too slim, and the cavetto of the lower and upper scape of these pilasters would be too forced'. Vercelli, Archivio Capitolare, Memorie della fabbrica della chiesa, scatola XIII: Letter to abbot Langosco, June 18, 1758.

25 Elena Di Majo, "I Pellagatta e i Bottinelli di Viggiù. Famiglie di scalpellini lombardi in Monferrato," *Polittico. Studi della Scuola di Specializzazione e del Dottorato di Ricerca in Storia delle Arti dell'Università di Pisa*, n. 6 (2012), 119-51.

26 Ibidem.

27 Elena Di Majo, "Un altare 'assai plausibile e di gusto'. Altari lapidei in Monferrato nel XVIII secolo," *Monferrato Arte e Storia*, n. 25 (2013), 5-22.

28 'Very plausible and refined, in terms of shape and selection of marbles'. Casale Monferrato, Archivio storico comunale, Fondo De Conti, faldone 27, fasc. 204, *Schizzo di lettere per affari domestici*, n. 201, November 28, 1790.

29 'those marbles they use to employ in Turin'. Desana, Archivio parrocchiale, vol. 3, *Manutenzione chiesa antica*, May 14, 1764.

30 ASCT, Simeom, D 1700. Cf. Nino Carboneri and Vittorio Viale (eds.), *Bernardo Vittone architetto*, exhibition catalogue (Turin: F.lli Pozzo-Salvati-Gros Monti, 1967), 32, cat. 72.

## 2. REPRESENTATION AND COMMUNICATION