

1. Roma, Il Gesù, ca. 1575.

Odit populus Romanus privatam luxuriam,  
publicam magnificentiam diligit  
(Cicero, *Pro L. Murena oratio*, 76)

### Introduction

In 1964, when I began to study Palladio, five modern books (two in German and three in Italian) and a few articles on the architect had been published. Today he may be the subject of more research than any architect in history, and publications of recent years has continually reoriented my views of his significance, especially on works of the last decade of his life (1570-80), and on their impact on the architecture of the subsequent centuries. I was especially intrigued by the publication of drawings for church façades proposing innovations first given dynamic expression by Michelangelo – the colossal order and the freestanding portico – that were rejected by the architect's Venetian and Bolognese clients and remained unknown for over four centuries. Palladio did not include churches among the illustrations in his treatise, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, of 1570.

My interpretation of the portico drawings, all but one of which were unknown when I published my book on Palladio, was expanded by recent studies of the concept of public magnificence in architecture, which originated in antiquity and was revived in the ethical literature of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Renaissance philosophers dealt with social behavior in the tradition of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* and influenced Venetian patricians who employed Palladio to design two of the most spectacularly sited churches of his career. Their point of view in regard to public and private magnificence, however, differed radically from that of the members of Vicentine aristocracy whom Palladio served in the last years of his life, who were less concerned with observing restraint in the expression of magnificence and incorporated this new vocabulary into public and private buildings in Vicenza and in the chapel of the Barbaro family in Maser.

### Church façades

The church façade is a peculiar architectural form that is not much influenced by liturgy; it relates to the interior only by providing a central entrance portal to the nave, often with a window



above it (ill. 1). Larger buildings most often were provided with portals on either side accessing side aisles. In most longitudinal Italian Renaissance churches the interior presents to the façade a basic form inherited from the Middle Ages – a tall central vessel flanked by lower aisles, and rows of chapels alongside them. This made the basic problem of designing a façade one of successfully coordinating the high nave with lower side aisles and still lower chapels. Renaissance architects usually employed volutes or other curvilinear forms, which had no precedent in antiquity, to effect a transition between the different heights of the central and lateral elements. Palladio favored half-pediments echoing the full pediment crowning the center (ill. 2).

In the classical tradition, the canon of the orders called for fixed proportions originally based on the human body, so that high elevations required wide columns and pilasters and lower elevations alongside called for thinner vertical elements. The difference between the Ancient Roman and Renaissance and Baroque façades are illustrated in ill. 3, in which the tall columnar order of the ancient temple of Antoninus and Faustina in the Roman forum reaches the pediment while that of the Baroque church behind requires two superimposed orders because of the height difference between the nave and the side aisles.

The façades of many Italian church fronts of the period retained bare brick walls, primarily

2. Roma, Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, AD 146/San Lorenzo in Miranda, 1636.

3. Venezia, San Francesco della Vigna, 1562.



because construction had to start at the altar end in order to provide services, and typically, funds or energy would be exhausted before a façade could be built.

The façade addresses primarily the exterior environment – a square, a street (or in Venice a canal) and, in the countryside, landscapes of different conformations. In his *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* of 1570 (IV, 1, p. 5), Palladio opened the chapter on “Tempii” by addressing the placement of the façade and its symbolic civic role:

Ma noi [...] eleggeremo quei siti per i Tempij, che saranno nella più nobile, & più celebre parte della Città, lontani da' luoghi disonesti, e sopra belle & ornate piazze, nelle quali molte strade mettano capo; onde ogni parte del Tempio possa esser veduta con sua dignità, arrechi divotione, & meraviglia à chiunque lo veda e rimiri. E se nella Città ui saranno colli, si eleggerà la piu alta parte di quelli. Ma non vi essendo luoghi rievati, si alzerà il piano del Tempio dal rimanente della Città, quanto sarà conveniente; e si ascenderà al Tempio per gradi: conciosia che il salire al Tempio apporti seco maggior divotione, & Maestà. Si faranno le fronti de' Tempij, che guardino sopra grandissima parte della Città; accioche paia la Religione esser posta come per custode, & protettrice de' Cittadini.

(But we [...] should choose sites for temples in the most dignified and prestigious part of the city, far away from unsavory areas and on beautiful and ornate squares where many streets end, so that every part of the temple can be seen in all its majesty and arouse devotion and awe in whoever sees and admires it. And if there are hills in the city, one should choose the highest part, but if there are no elevated positions, one should raise the floor of the temple up from the rest of the city as much as is practical, and one will climb the steps of the temple, so that

the ascent induces a greater sense of devotion and majesty. Temple fronts should be constructed overlooking the most impressive part of the city so that it seems that religion has been placed there like a guard and protector of the citizens).

The drawings for portico'd churches are:

- four (D, E, F, and G), in the Museo di San Petronio in Bologna, and a portico proposal for that basilica discovered in 1971 by John Harris in the Worcester College Library in Oxford, validating a workshop variant of the same acquired by the Canadian Centre for Architecture;
- one in the Royal Institute of British Architects [RIBA] (XIV, 12) for San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice (a half-façade elevation with a columnar porch) first identified in 1949 by Rudolf Wittkower, and one (Venezia, Archivio di Stato, Miscelanea Mappe, 857: a plan not by Palladio) of the entire monastery in the Venetian archives with a variant by a different hand of the porch design, discovered by Vladimir Timofiewitsch in 1962 and recently further authenticated by Andrea Guerra;
- four for the Chiesa del Redentore in Venice (RIBA, XIV, 13, 14, 15, 16), a plan, section and elevation with a portico and one façade elevation without, destined for a central-plan project previously believed to have been for a different Venetian church (but shown recently by Vittorio Pizzigoni to be the central-plan proposal of Palladio discussed in the records of the Venetian Senate).

The three portico façades with freestanding columns, influenced by the ancient Pantheon in Rome (ill. 8) and by the one proposed by Michelangelo for St. Peter in the Vatican (ill. 9) – which Palladio must have known from the 1569 engravings of the plan, section and elevation by Étienne Dupérac – indicate Michelangelo's commitment to a façade-type closer to those of an-



4. Bologna, San Petronio, façade as abandoned in 1518.

cient Rome and more imposing than in preceding practice.

Because I wanted to visualize these projects as they would have affected their urban settings, I asked Scott Schiamberg, the architect who became my collaborator, to develop reconstructions from the drawings set into photographs of the sites as they are today.

#### *Bologna, San Petronio*

The Gothic church of San Petronio faces the civic piazza in the center of Bologna (ill. 4). Construction of the façade had been started by the architect Domenico Aimo da Varignana in 1518, but was halted after the completion of only the lower portion. At mid-century, several of the most distinguished architects of the time were invited to submit proposals incorporating the existing lower order and continuing above in the Gothic style. Though they were committed adherents to *all'antica* practice, they – and most of the profession throughout the Renaissance and Baroque period – adhered to the principle that unfinished work be either removed or completed in its original style.

The involvement of Palladio is mentioned for the first time in a letter sent from Venice by Fabio Pepoli, to his son Giovanni in Bologna, his successor as *Presidente perpetuo* of the *Fabbrica* in May of 1572, reporting that he had shown the architect the preceding designs and that Palladio had insisted on removing the portion completed by Varignana and proposed “un altro foggia d’ordine” [“another sort of order”], by which he must have meant classical.

After visiting Bologna in July, Palladio dictated a statement to the officers of the *Fabbrica* that preservation of the lower order “staria una

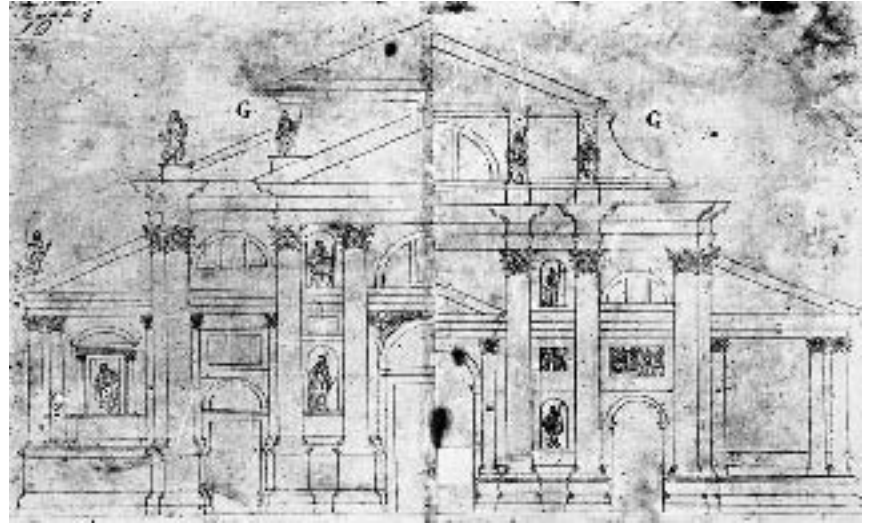
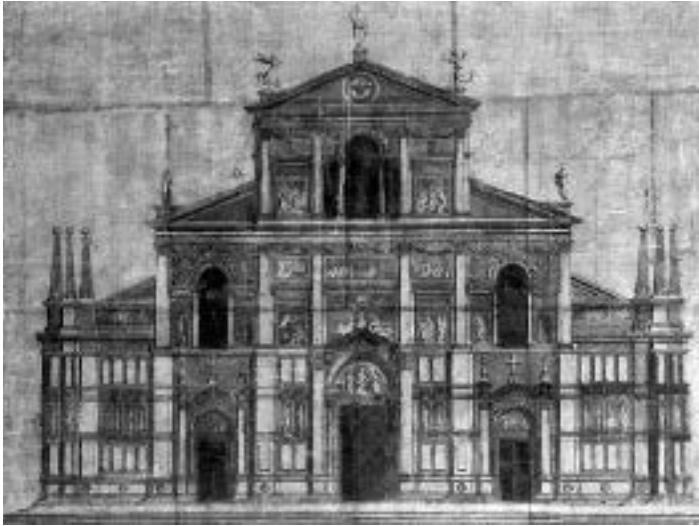
cosa [...] appresso di bene” [“would be an almost good thing”]. Accordingly, the earliest of Palladio’s proposals, executed with the collaboration of the chief architect of the Basilica, Francesco Terribilia, was one preserved in the Museo dell’Opera of San Petronio (ill. 5). It proposed classical pilasters framing the entrance portal and classical columns at the side portals, but the former did not observe classical proportions and provided no entablature. Above this were to be two orders of purely classical design (the overall height was chosen arbitrarily, because at that time the nave had not been vaulted).

Palladio approved the elevation sent by Terribilia, and promised to produce templates for the profiles but, for unrecorded reasons, the commission was canceled for a period of five years. In November 1577, when Pepoli wrote to Palladio that certain architects whom he had consulted opposed combining medieval and classical styles, he received in the following January a long and heated counter-argument which concludes (probably in response to an unrecorded suggestion by Pepoli) approval of a freestanding portico. But as late as January of 1579 the portico was still being discussed and Palladio was giving it his somewhat ambivalent support, calling it

[...] bellissima, oltre le molte commodità, grandezza e meraviglia, e apporteria quasi quasi ch’io mi lascierei indurre a laudar l’opinione di quelli che desiderano il detto portico.

([...] most beautiful, and in addition to its many conveniences, grandeur and marvel, moves me almost to the point of being persuaded to praise the opinion of those who desire the said portico).

There is no record of when he produced the Oxford elevation (ill. 7) but it probably followed the four *all’antica* projects (Museo dell’Opera E, F,

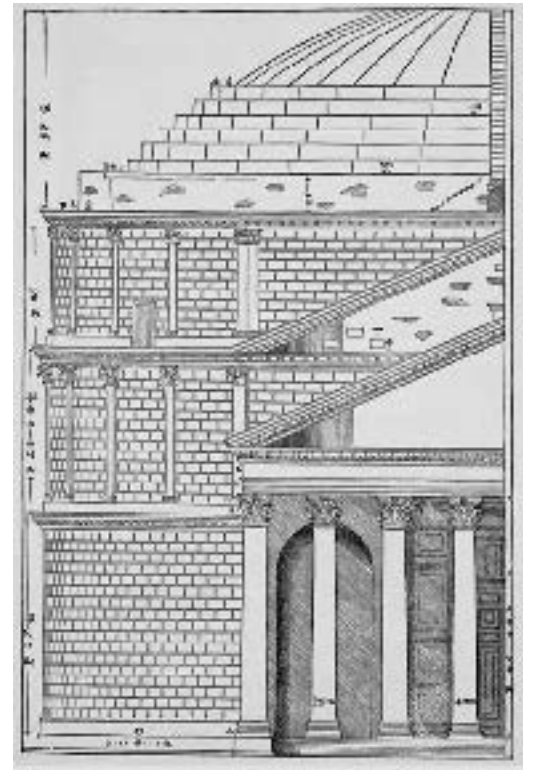
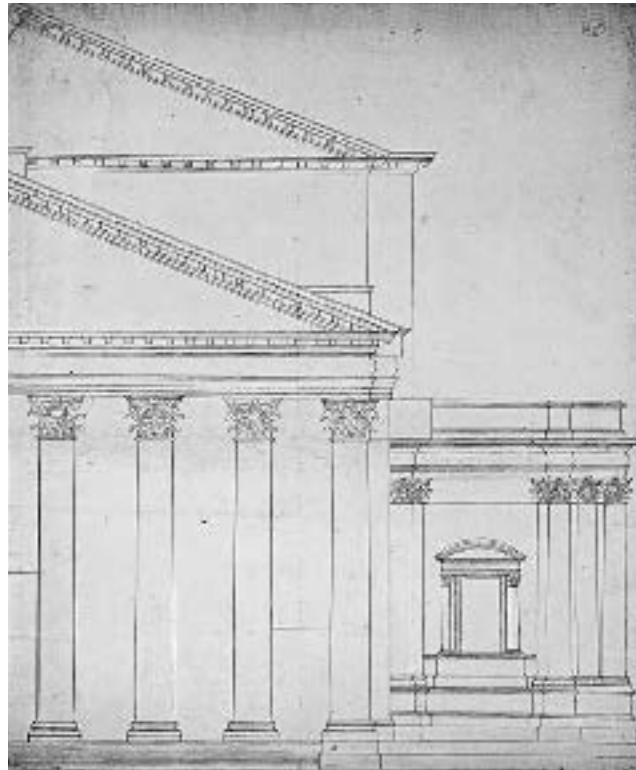


5. Francesco Morandi, also called *il Terribilia*, and Andrea Palladio, façade project for San Petronio, Bologna, 1572 (Bologna, Museo di San Petronio, n. 9).

6. Andrea Palladio, two façade projects for San Petronio, Bologna, 1578-79 (Bologna, Museo di San Petronio, n. 12).

7. Andrea Palladio, portico project for San Petronio, Bologna, 1578-79 (Oxford, Worcester College Library, HT 68).

8. Andrea Palladio, *Pantheon in Rome*, from *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, 1570, IV, 20, pp. 76-77.



both with three superimposed orders, and G, ill. 6), which has two alternative proposals for a façade employing colossal orders.

The development that began with the initial, partly Gothic proposal imposed upon Palladio (ill. 5) and continued toward the undated, entirely classical E, F and G (ill. 6), and finally, to the portico project (ills. 7, 10), reveals Palladio's ongoing ambition to articulate a satisfactory *all'antica* integration of a high central nave and lower side aisles. The only Renaissance precedent for devising a classical façade for a basilica of such height that the customary two-story arrangement could not be adopted was Michelangelo's portico proposal for St. Peter in the Vatican (reconstructed from engravings after his designs in ill. 9). Drawings E and F retain the three-order system of the original project and employ a curvilinear buttress-like element to bind the outer to

the side-aisle bays; the profusion of relatively small pilasters, columns and half columns cause a lack of focus. Drawing G (ill. 6) contains different solutions on either side of a central vertical line, both proposing a colossal order of half-columns supporting an attic with a thermal window on the left and a pediment on the right, while offering different resolutions of the problem of proportion. The half-columns are the same height, but those on the left are supported by a high podium like that of Palladio's façade of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice (1564, ill. 3), raising the capitals well above those on the right. The capitals of the latter are so low that they cause the entablature to be excessively high. The better-integrated solution on the left is close to that of the final façade of the Redentore in Venice.

Palladio's portico design with freestanding

9. Reconstruction of Michelangelo's project for San Pietro in Vaticano (ca. 1562) by K. Conant and J. Coolidge based on three engravings of 1569 by Étienne Dupérac.

10. Reconstruction of Palladio's project for San Petronio, Bologna, by the author and S. Schiambberg with M. Kane, based on drawing in ill. 6.



columns (ills. 7, 10), the final proposal of the series, must have been hastily drawn; the external walls at the end are not wide enough to contain the portal and its frame shown in profile, and the elevations fronting the side chapels extend beyond the outer walls of the church. Altogether, these drawings reveal Palladio's steady advance toward a radical revision of the concept of the church façade.

While the Bolognese suggestion of a portico had not initially been among the solutions for San Petronio offered by Palladio – and in fact, had taken him by surprise – he evidently was attracted to it not only because it followed ancient precedents but because it eliminated the problems of scale I have described. But it was rejected by all the major officials concerned except Giovanni Pepoli – as firmly by the Bolognese and the Vatican as it had been in Venice. The

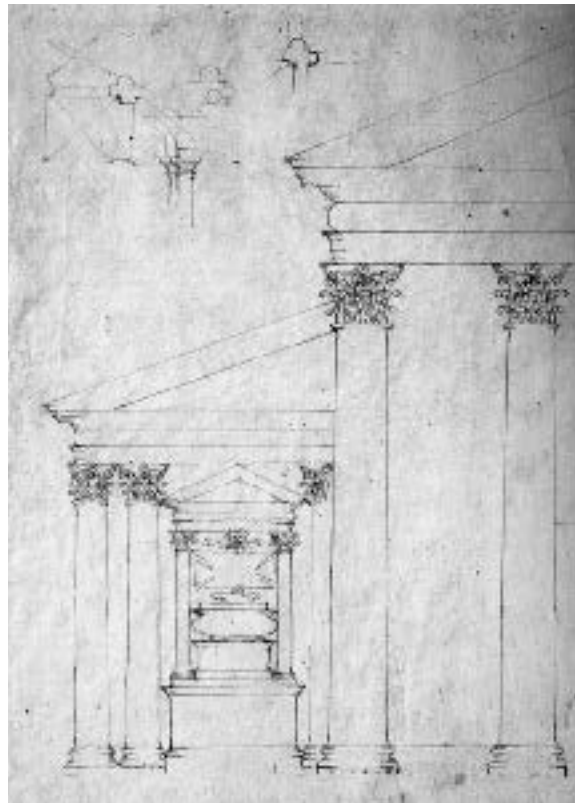
reason given by Camillo Bolognino, the Vatican administrator charged with overseeing the design, was that the portico would impinge on the public space of the piazza, but the true cause was probably the reference to Roman temples. The cautiousness of this response was to be expected in the years following the Council of Trent. While the portico façade had received the approval of San Carlo Borromeo in his book of 1577 on church design and furnishings, his concept of a “portico”, which he describes as having freestanding columns and extending over the width of a church, is unlikely to have meant a pedimented porch like those of Palladio. Several late-Cinquecento Milanese churches, and surviving church plans, where Borromeo closely controlled the diocese, had one-story pedimented columnar porches of modest depth and, with only one exception, covered only the central bay.



11. Venezia, San Giorgio Maggiore, façade, 1597-1611.

12. Reconstruction of Palladio's project of San Giorgio Maggiore, Venezia, by the author and S. Schiamborg with M. Kane, based on ill. 13.

13. Andrea Palladio, portico façade project for San Giorgio Maggiore, Venezia, here dated late 1570s (London, Royal Institute of British Architects [RIBA], XIV, 12).



*Venice, San Giorgio Maggiore*

The Benedictine church and monastery of San Giorgio Maggiore had occupied an island at the end of the Giudecca, across from the Piazzetta of San Marco since medieval times. It was refurbished in the fifteenth century, but following a reform promoted by the Abbot of the Paduan monastery of Santa Giustina, the Order decided in 1565 to build afresh and to alter its functions, accomodating the performance of a major state ceremony as well as adjusting to new liturgical developments, notably the provision of a large retrochoir behind the altar, screened from the congregation (music played a central role in the Benedictine liturgy).

Recent studies suggest that the existing façade (ill. 11) constructed in 1597-1610 did not follow his lost wooden model of 1565 mentioned in documents from the period of the church construction. I share this opinion for reasons detailed in the notes below.

Palladio's façade project would have been the most prominent urban monument of his career by virtue of its majestic classicism and its site, which faces the Piazza San Marco and the Doge's Palace across the lagoon. Two late sixteenth-century paintings with a view of the rough brick under-layer of the façade as it must have appeared at Palladio's death show an oculus above the portal (see p. 80 ill. 1). It was executed under Palladio's supervision in 1571-74, presumably following the 1565 model. It was covered over by the existing façade; the inner frame of the window is preserved on the interior.

Though Andrea Guerra, in his admirable recent studies, and the majority of commentators following Wittkower have agreed that the RIBA drawing was prepared for the 1565 model, there is no confirmed evidence for this conclusion. It seems more likely to have the construction of the oculus in the unfinished façade the early 1570's, and to be contemporary to the final step in the evolution of the design submitted in 1578 for the façade of San Petronio (ill. 7).

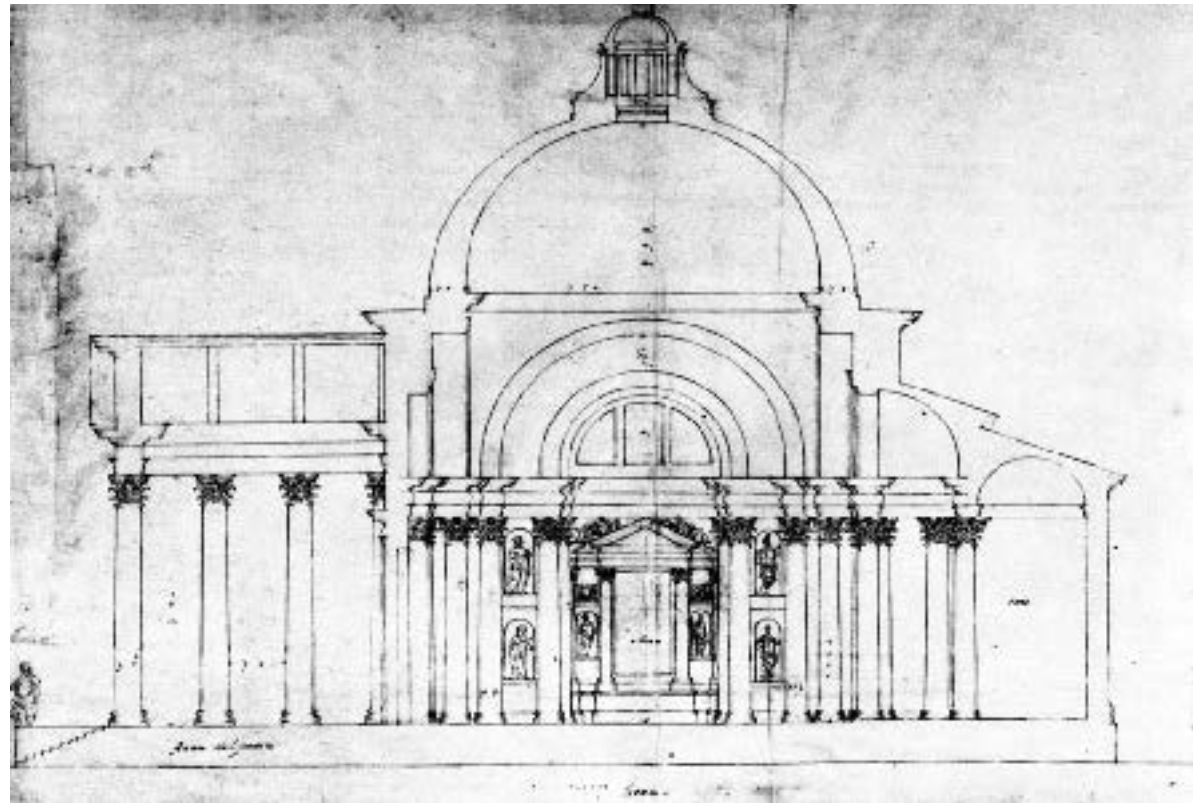
Guerra also revealed the surprising information that in 1595 the Abbot Alabardi ordered 24 columns for a *quadriportico* before the church – apparently an atrium reflecting medieval pre-Gothic types. This constitutes a decisive rejection of the portico proposals, and of Palladio's principle that church façades be a prominent embellishment to the city. It probably would have closed off any view of the church from the canal.



14. Reconstruction of the Redentore, Venezia, by the author and S. Schiamborg with M. Kane, from drawings in London (RIBA, XIV, 13, 14, 15).

15. Venezia, Il Redentore, 1577.

16. Andrea Palladio, longitudinal section of the Redentore, Venezia, 1576-77 (London, RIBA, XIV, 14).



### Venice, the Redentore

The church of the Redentore, one of the most original and impressive ecclesiastical monuments of the Renaissance, is the best-documented example of the engagement of the Venetian Republic in architectural patronage (ill. 15). Because the history of its construction is addressed by Tracy Cooper in her accompanying article, I review it briefly here. During the fall of 1575, a devastating plague hit the city, destroying a quarter of the population. It was seen as God's punishment for venality and, as the disease receded in the following year, survivors formed processions of repentance and the Senate vowed to memorialize the city's sal-

vation by founding a church dedicated to Christ the Redeemer. The committee of three set up to select an architect and to choose a site had members favorable toward Rome and toward the *all'antica* style – members of old patrician families, who had, a generation earlier, brought from Rome Jacopo Sansovino, designer of the Biblioteca on the Piazzetta of San Marco. Palladio was selected, immediately, due no doubt to the support of his client and collaborator Marcantonio Barbaro, brother of the Patriarch-Elect Daniele, patron with Marcantonio of Palladio's villa at Maser, who had employed Palladio to illustrate his edition of the treatise of Vitruvius.

The question of locus was more difficult; it had to be the property of a monastic order with sufficient members to perform services and preferably with property visible from a distance. The Capuchin order was chosen, much to its distress, since it was the most committed to humility, and insisted on the exclusion of private chapels and tomb monuments, while the Senators intended to express magnificence. Palladio's first design proposed a central plan – a square space supporting a very large dome and entered through a monumental portico – and now identified with the four drawings preserved in the collection of the RIBA (ill. 16), was rejected by a majority of the Senators because of its style and its unsuitability – particularly in its lack of a secluded choir – as a monastic church. The architect, required to produce a longitudinal project, brilliantly resolved the unique demands: a secluded and undecorated choir, an elevated tribune space under the dome large enough to hold the entire Senate on the occasion of the annual fulfillment of its original vow, and a façade design, approved in February 1577, which was the most successful resolution of the Renaissance dilemmas of the flat façade.

Ultimately, the only central-plan ecclesiastical building with a portico realized by Palladio was the small chapel for the Barbaro villa in Maser (ill. 17), an instance of private magnificence commissioned by Marcantonio Barbaro.

#### *Magnificenza and Venice*

Palladio's work in Venice was primarily ecclesiastical because he did not hold one of the civic appointments as *proto* although, following the death of Jacopo Sansovino, he was the *de facto* architect of the city. In his *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* of 1570 (IV, 3, p. 7) he had written of the requirement that churches (which he called temples) be magnificent, with ample porches and with more columns than other buildings, though not more so than those appropriate for the size of the city:

Deuono hauere I Tempij I portici ampij, & con maggior colonne di quello, che ricerchino le altre fabbriche, & stà bene che essi siano grandi, e Magnifici (ma non però maggiori di quello, che ricerchi la grandezza della Città) & con grandi, e belle proportioni fabricati. Imperoche al Culto Diuino, per ilquale essi si fanno, si richiede ogni magnificenza, e grandezza. Deuono esser fatti con bellissimi ordini di colonne, e si deue à ciascun'ordine dare i suoi proprij, e conuenienti ornamenti.

(Temples must have wider porticoes and taller columns than those needed in other buildings, and it is appropriate that they should be large and splendid – but not, however, larger than the size

that the city warrants – and that they be built with ample and beautiful proportions, because all grandeur and magnificence is required for divine worship, which is what they are built for. They must be built with beautiful orders [ordine] of columns, and each order must be given its appropriate and suitable ornaments).

Tracy Cooper's accompanying article employs newly discovered documents that illuminate Palladio's original construction of *magnificenza* as a distinctively Venetian manifestation. Venice was a republic. It exercised control over most of Northeast Italy, and the Venetian patriariate was entirely detached from the hereditary powers and variations of rank (Counts, Dukes, Archdukes, Princes, Kings) of aristocrats within the structure of absolute monarchies. The Venetians were nobles only in the sense of having inherited their membership in a privileged class and in the governing body, and this membership was no longer open to other Venetians. But they were all of equal rank, and they elected the Doge, to a lifetime term in office; he could not pass his position on to descendants. They even appointed members of their group to the highest ecclesiastic office, Patriarch of Aquileia, the equivalent of an archbishopric, much to the annoyance of the Popes. The majority of Venetian nobles were industrious and successful merchants in the sixteenth century; many owned large and mostly profitable holdings on the *terraferma*; some engaged Palladio to design villa residences – displaying *magnificenza*, often by employing porticoed entrances modeled on the façades of Roman temples.

The display of magnificence was a subject that drew the attention of ancient writers on ethics. The fourth book of Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics* influenced all of the Renaissance works on the subject. Kornelia Imesch has discussed two treatises addressing the ethical implications of the privileges enjoyed by the Venetian patriarchy, in a penetrating study. One, published in 1498, was Giovanni Pontano's *I trattati delle virtù sociali: de liberalitate, de beneficentia, de magnificentia, de splendore, de conuientia*. The more valuable source for the interpretation of Palladio's late urban buildings, Paolo Paruta's *Della perfectione*, was published in Venice in 1579, precisely at the time when the architect was engaged in the construction of the Redentore. The text is in the form of a symposium involving living members of the Venetian nobility, one of whom is Daniele Barbaro, a patron of Palladio in the building of the villa at Maser, and the author of a translation and commentary on the treatise of Vitruvius for which Palladio provided illustrations and undoubtedly advice. The Barbaro represented in





17. Maser (Treviso), Villa Barbaro, chapel, 1580.

18. Vicenza, Loggia del Capitaniato, 1571.



the symposium explains the virtue of magnificence as follows:

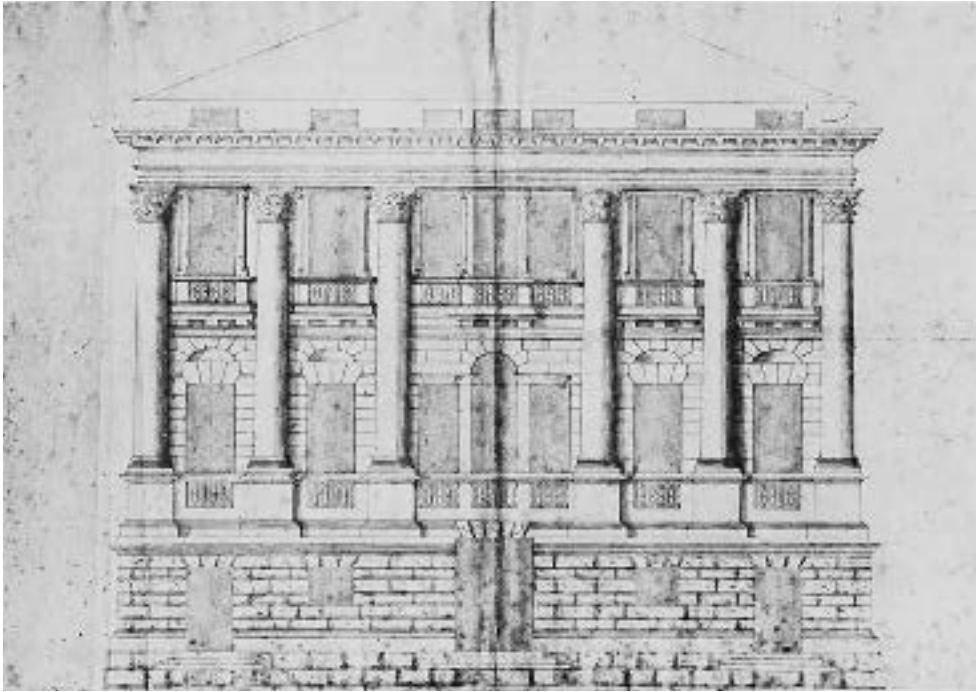
Alla magnificenza si conviene il fare le cose grandi, come suono il nome stesso. ... Però il mondo che tale estrinsiche dimostrazioni ha in grandissima venerazione, & che più prezza quelle virtù, che si sanno più in palese conoscere, ha in costume d'usare il nome di Magnifico, come titolo di grandissima honore: senza che, per uero dire, io anchora stimo, che per se medesima possa riputarsi Grandissima uirtù, come quelle che s'adopera intorno à cose grandi, & difficili. [...] La Magnificenza, come è nobile virtù, così non fa di se degna qualunque operatione: ond'ella non ha occasione di spesso dimostrarsi; ma in quelle cose solamente si adopera, le quali rare volte si fanno; come sono i conviti, le nozze, le fabbriche; ove convien di spendere senza havere consideratione alla spesa; ma solamente alla grandezza, & alla bellezza dell'opra: peroche di rado ci viene occasione di spendere in così fatte cose. (Magnificence calls for the making of grand things, as the name suggests... wherefor the world, which awards its greatest veneration for such extrinsic displays, and prizes most those virtues that are most widely known, is accustomed to use as the greatest honor the [patron with the] title of Magnificent, placing it, to tell the truth, in my estimation among those one applies to grand and difficult acts. Magnificence, as a noble virtue, cannot itself make just any activity worthy: indeed it doesn't show itself often, but only on those occasions which occur rarely, like feasts, weddings, and buildings, on which it is proper to spend with-

out considering the cost, but only the grandeur and beauty of the work. But the occasion to spend on such things rarely comes to us).

Although Barbaro was greatly respected in Venice, not all the participants in Paruta's symposium accepted his definition of magnificence, despite its call for *decoro*, because it appeared to support the kind of *magnificentia* that Cicero had represented as offensive to the Roman public. Monsignor Michele della Torre, Archbishop of Ceneda, speaks of the need for a greater restraint in the display of wealth,

Signor Ambasciatore, non vi prendere in ciò Maggior fatica, che purtroppo ci è chiaro, a' nostri tempi esser introdotta, massimamente tra gli uomini italiani, una maniera di vivere piena di volontà e di delizie: la quale, quando s'abbia ad interpretare come opere di magnificenza, credo, che ci è meglio sarebbe che noi mancassimo di così fatto virtù. E per certo assai mi meraviglia, che voi, che con tanto biasmar solete tutti gli estremi nell'altri operationi ove se cammina à maggior perfectione; in questo che ci è strada al vizio, possiate stimare l'estremità degna di laude.

(Monsignor Ceneda [answering another speaker] then replies: Signor Ambasciatore, you are not taking into account a major problem, which regrettably has emerged in our time, and especially among Italian men, namely a way of life full of willfulness and pleasures which, when interpreted as works of magnificence, show that we would be better off not having such a virtue. And I certainly marvel that you [gentlemen], who are accustomed to denigrate all



19. Andrea Palladio, project for Palazzo Piovene in Vicenza, c. 1570 (Vicenza, Musei Civici, Pinacoteca, D 27r).

20. Vicenza, Palazzo Valmarana, 1565.

21. Vicenza, Palazzo Porto-Breganze (partially constructed), 1570-75.

extremes in other aspects of behavior in which one seeks greater perfection, in this instance, which is for us a path to vice, can value such extremities).

The fictional Ceneda must have approved of the decision of the majority of the Venetian Senate to reject the central plan and pedimented portico of Palladio's first project for the church of the Redentore in Venice. Nonetheless, the construction of the existing longitudinal design, budgeted by the Senate at 10,000 ducats as recorded in its minutes, and "not made of marble", ultimately cost eight times that figure.

#### Vicenza, the Loggia

The city council of Vicenza called Palladio in 1571 to design the Loggia del Capitaniato (ill.

18) – official chambers for the presiding representative of the Venetian Republic with a meeting hall above for the City Council – directly across the Piazza dei Signori from the architect's first civic building, the Basilica (1549). The Venetians provided some funding, and the Vicentines doled out modest amounts of money at intervals – they regarded the Venetians as colonial oppressors – and probably Bollani, the Venetian Captain during the building process, contributed more than the citizens. Its design was majestic and daring – departing in details from proper *all'antica* practice – but the brick columns and walls observed the modesty called for by Paruta. While early Palladio scholars assumed that Palladio had intended to extend the building to the West, the plan suggests that it was complete, except for the western façade, in its present form.

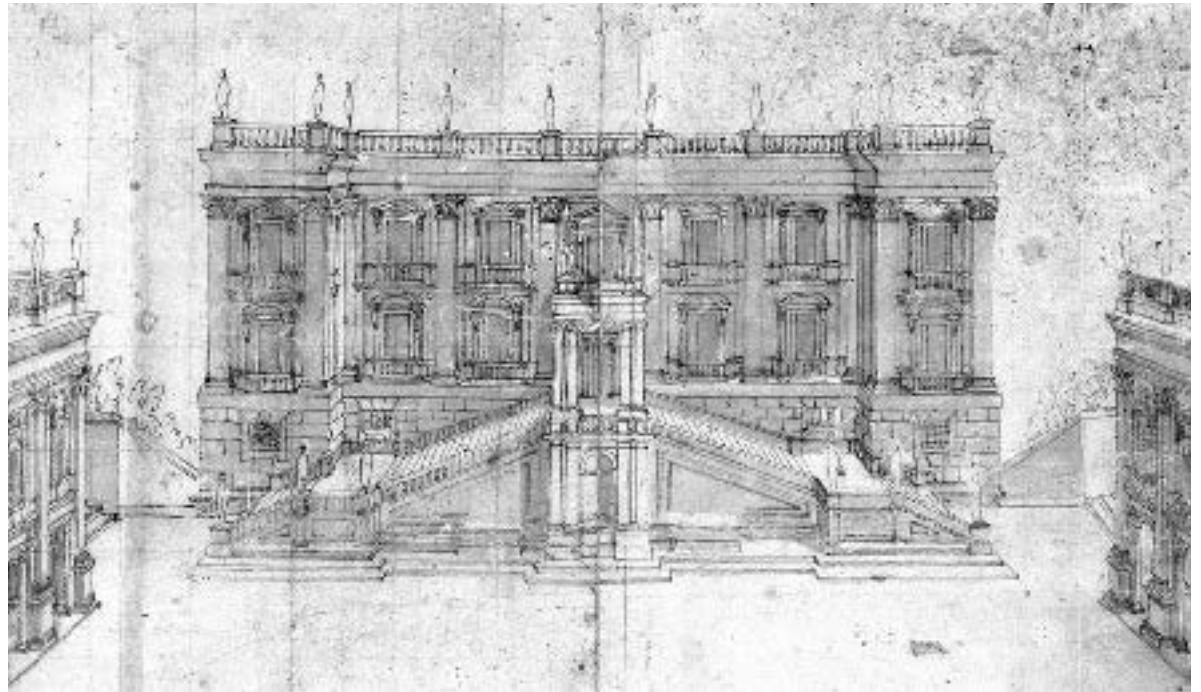
#### Valmarana and Porto-Breganze Palaces

The *magnificenza* represented in these two palaces was unlike any grand residence in Venice where, in the sixteenth century, the colossal order was never employed, and where even such imposing façades as those of the Cornaro Ca' Grande and the Palazzo Giustinian retained three superimposed orders and the late Gothic Venetian tripartite vertical division which accentuates the central portion with a waterfront loggia on the lower floor below a clustered bank of windows illuminating a large reception hall on the *piano nobile*. The Vicentine palaces can be described as a preamble to a more triumphal, aristocratic and Imperial interpretation of magnificence, one that advertised the superiority of the clients and cast aside the demand for modesty, generosity toward the

22. Étienne Dupérac, Palazzo del Senato in Rome, drawing after Michelangelo, c. 1568-69 (Oxford, Christ Church Library, inv. 1820).

23. Vicenza, Teatro Olimpico, 1580.

24. Vicenza, Teatro Olimpico, statue of Leonardo Valmarana.



community and economy called for by Paruta. Palladio's drawing for a waterfront palace façade probably for the brothers Guido and Giovanni Piovene (ill. 19), though only 12.30 meters wide, would have been as monumental as the more ambitious palaces of the Valmarana family and the unfinished Porto-Bregranze (ills. 20, 21).

#### *The Colossal Order*

Like Palladio's late portico façades, almost all commentators on Palladio's use of the colossal order refer to the influence of Michelangelo's employment of it on the elevations of St. Peter in the Vatican and the Conservators' Palace on the Capitoline Hill. In the most extensive and

perceptive study of the origins of the order and of Michelangelo's dramatic use of it, Arnaldo Bruschi traced its origin in the fifteenth century through its maturation in many studies for St. Peter by Antonio da Sangallo – including the wooden model – and others in the circle of Bramante. He suggests that Michelangelo's project for the façade of the Palazzo del Senatore on the Campidoglio – recorded by Étienne Dupérac in a drawing in Christ Church Library, Oxford (detail, ill. 22) in a much more expressive style than the one engraved by the artist in 1569 – preceded the design of the Conservators' Palace. Though this drawing probably was made just before the engravings, recent studies have suggested that the original design



may have been as early as the 1540's, when the stairs and lower level of the Palazzo del Senatore were constructed.

#### *Vicenza, the Teatro Olimpico*

The interior design of Vicenza's Teatro Olimpico (ill. 23) provides a key to the contrast of the principles that controlled the design of private palaces in the two cities. The theatre was constructed by the wealthy members of the Accademia Olimpica as the central feature of the newly founded Academy, founded in 1555. Its membership was not restricted to the well-born – Palladio himself, the son of a miller and still close to poverty, was a charter member, in recognition of his mastery of ancient architecture. But his design, based on the ancient Roman theatre described by Vitruvius, was embellished by an ambitious array of sculpture celebrating military prowess, the Labors of Hercules, and full-length sculpted portraits of the noble sponsors in niches on three levels of the *scenae frons* and the walls enclosing the auditorium. The families of virtually all the patrons of Palladio's Vicentine palaces are represented. Most revealing, the statue of Leonardo Valmarana (ill. 24), son of the clients of Palladio's Palazzo Valmarana which, in recognition of his having provided the largest contribution to the building expenses and having been elected the *Principe* of the Academy, occupies the central niche of the rear circle directly facing the arch of the *scenae frons*. Leonardo, who had been educated in Madrid at the court of the King of Spain and Hapsburg Emperor Charles V, is portrayed not as he actually looked, but with the features of the (much older) Charles him-

self, and with the emperor's attributes – a laurel crown, a scepter, the necklace of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and a globe in hand (indicating worldly dominion). Leonardo received a large annual sum as a hereditary Palatine Count. His sponsorship of the Theatre represents one of the first steps toward providing Catholic European rulers of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a suitable architectural expression of their power.

Private theaters in ancient Rome, though discouraged during the Republic, provided an original impetus for the concept of urban magnificence, initially in the Hellenistic East and then in the later years of Augustan Rome. The Elder Pliny cites the example of a luxurious theater of 58 BCE in the villa of M. Scaurus, which was even larger than those of the Empire, and extravagant in its use of lavishly costly columns and decoration. Members of the Accademia Olimpica may well have been cautious about revealing the opulence of the theatre to the Vicentine public, since the exterior of the building is totally devoid of decoration.

#### *Selection*

I first discussed the relevance of the theory of selection in the study of evolution to the study of the history of art in an essay of 1965, *Art and Evolution*. As I began to write the present study, I was reading, by chance, Michael Pollan's book *The Botany of Desire*, which sparked my interpretation of how Palladio's ambition to realize a new vision of public *magnificenza* in the Venetian churches (and in his proposal for the Rialto bridge) failed in Venice and Bologna and succeeded in Vicenza. The primary reason for this difference was that the majority of his clients in the first instance were republican men of affairs committed to the principle of moderation to which Paolo Paruta had given expression, while those in Vicenza were aristocrats who had no problem with the conspicuous display of wealth and privilege. Pollan explains that selection does not occur solely as a result of changes in the environment, but requires a capacity to respond to the changes – in short, a cooperation. The flower is propagated by bees because it has produced pollen agreeable to them; the oak drops acorns that appeal to squirrels who carry them abroad to bury them for future nourishment. The organism or a plant is equivalent to an architect's design proposal, and the environment that accepts *or* rejects it is the system of beliefs, values and opinions of the client or group of clients. The evolution of styles throughout the history of art has been controlled not only by the innovations – mutations – of artists, but by the reception these innovations have met in their social milieu.

26. Vienna, Karlskirche, designed by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, 1739.

27. Paris, Place de la Concorde, 1735.

28. William Thornton, project for United States Capitol, 1794.



*Postscript: the afterlife of the portico façade and colossal order*

For over two centuries following the innovations of Michelangelo and Palladio, their brilliant conceptions served Roman Catholicism and absolute monarchies as symbols of their hegemony in every major city of the West. The Superga memorial in Turin (ill. 25), commanding the city from a height, exploited the dramatic symbolism

of the pedimented portico and the commanding dome, the Karlskirche in Vienna (ill. 26), designed by Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach (1739), is equally emphatic, adding a pair of triumphal columns ornamented with scenes in the life of San Carlo that echo the column of Emperor Trajan in his Forum in Rome, which celebrates a military triumph. Paradoxically, the church was dedicated to Saint Carlo Borromeo,

29. Charlottesville, University of Virginia, designed by Thomas Jefferson, 1817, in print published after 1853.

30. San Francisco, City Hall, 1915.



whose architectural treatise and patronage emphasized modesty. The Place de la Concorde, also in Paris (ill. 27), was commissioned from Jacques-Ange Gabriel in 1754 by Louis XV, whose equestrian statue was placed at its center. It became Place de la Révolution after the overthrow of the monarchy, and later returned to its royal designation. Ultimately it acquired its present name in an overt attempt to overcome its absolutist symbolism. The colossal order of its public buildings and the Roman portico of the Church of the Madeleine behind it are indebted to the visions of Michelangelo and Palladio.

The innovations that Palladio adapted from Michelangelo survived long after the fall of emperors and kings – and paradoxically in the first democratic republic of modern times, the United States of America. Born in an almost unpopulated continent rich with wilderness, vast plains, awesome mountains and virgin forests, the new nation was impelled to borrow its symbols from others with more ancient traditions, and could express pride in its institutions only by borrowing from the architecture of absolutism

on display in every major city of the West.

The first American architects were either trained in Europe, like William Thornton, an English gentleman who designed and executed the first project for the US Capitol (ill. 28, 1794) or, like Thomas Jefferson, learned from European books; his initial work was inspired by a luxurious (but not consistently faithful) version of Palladio's *Four Books of Architecture* first published by Giacomo Leoni in London in 1715. The dominant feature of Jefferson's design of the University of Virginia (ill. 29, 1817-26), of which he was the major founder, was the portico'd library, called the Rotonda, based on the Pantheon.

Although American architects, initially H.H. Richardson, Louis Sullivan and Frank Lloyd Wright, ultimately conceived versions of *magnificenza* more appropriate to a democracy, the classical tradition survived into the last century. The City Hall of my native San Francisco of 1915 (ill. 30), completed only four years before I was born, expresses essentially the message of autocratic power: the portico, the colossal order, and the cupola derived from St. Peter in the Vatican.

English translation of the *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* used in the text: Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture*, trans. R. Tavernor and R. Schofield, Cambridge, MA, 1997.

#### *Michelangelo and the portico façade*

Michelangelo's intention to construct a portico before the entrance of St. Peter in the Vatican is most thoroughly investigated by Ch. Thoenes, *Michelangelos St. Peter*, in "Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana", 37, 2006 (2008), pp. 80 ff. It was first adumbrated in a rapid sketch (Città del Vaticano, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vat. Lat. 3211, fol. 92v) made in the first period of the architect's engagement with the Basilica (1546-47?) of a partial plan alongside other structures in the palace, showing five columns on the front (the central one of which must have been due to the sketchiness of execution, since it would have impeded access to the portal) and additional one on each side. A recent discussion of the sheet by V. Zanchettin ("Chi segue altri non li va mai manzi": Michelangelo, Palladio e l'ordine della basilica vaticana, in *Palladio 1508-1580: il simposio del cinquecentenario*, proceedings of an itinerant symposium [Padova-Vicenza-Verona-Venezia, 5-10 May 2008], eds. F. Barbieri et al., Venezia pp. 123-129, and Id., in *Palladio*, exhibition catalog [Vicenza, 20 September 2008-6 January 2009; London, 31 January-14 April 2009], eds. G. Beltramini and H. Burns, Venezia 2008, cat. no. 92, p. 180 and photograph) confirms the date proposed by Thoenes – on the grounds of the 1547 dating of the fragment of a sonnet on the same surface by Enzo Noè Girardi in his study of Michelangelo's poetry. Other evidence of the portico plan is provided by a drawing in Naples (Biblioteca Nazionale, ms. XII D 74, fol. 22v, reproduced in Thoenes, *Michelangelos...*, cit., Fig. 24) in which four freestanding columns support a pediment, and by three engravings of 1569 by Étienne Dupérac, upon which the reconstruction by John Coolidge and Kenneth Conant in ill. 9 was based.

#### *Bologna, San Petronio*

J.S. Ackerman, *Palladio's Lost Portico Project for San Petronio in Bologna*, in *Essays in the History of Architecture Presented to Rudolf Wittkower*, eds. Douglas Fraser et al., Bristol 1967, pp. 111-115, and Id., *Disegni di Palladio per la facciata di San Petronio*, in *Una Basilica per una Città: sei secoli in San Petronio*, proceedings of the symposium (Bologna, 1-3 October 1990), eds. M. Fantì and D. Lenzi, Bologna 1994, pp. 251-257. J. Harris, *Three Unrecorded Drawings from Inigo Jones's Collection*, in "The Burlington Magazine", XCII, 1971, pp. 34-37. The issue of patrons and architects of completing Gothic buildings in their original style is examined by R. Wiltkower, *Gothic versus Classic: Architectural Projects in Seventeenth-Century Italy*, London 1974. Documents and drawings numbered D, E, F, and G in the Museo di San Petronio relating to Palladio's involvement in the design of the San Petronio façade have been reproduced by G. Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti di Andrea Palladio*, Venezia 1967, pp. 105-114. The most relevant of these are cited below. The drawings and documents are convincingly interpreted by H. Burns, "Sarà delle belle fazzate de chiesa che

siino in Italia" (*Andrea Palladio, 1572. I disegni cinquecenteschi per San Petronio nel contesto architettonico e teorico del tempo*, in *La Basilica incompiuta: progetti antichi per la facciata di San Petronio*, exhibition catalog (Bologna, 4 October 2001-6 January 2002), eds. M. Faietti and M. Medica, Bologna 2001, pp. 28-43. The late Richard Tuttle provided assistance in acquiring the photograph and graphic material upon which Scott Schiamburg and I based the reconstruction. 24 May, 1572. Fabio Pepoli in Venice to his son Giovanni Pepoli, (mis-identified by most commentators as his cousin) and successor as *Presidente perpetuo* of the *Fabbrica* in Bologna, reporting that he has met with Palladio, to whom he showed recent proposals for the façade, of which Palladio disapproved though granting that "tiene per manco cativo quel di Terribilia" ["he finds Terribilia's the least bad"] (the chief architect of San Petronio), and that he has asked the architect to visit Bologna.

17 July, 1572. Palladio in Bologna to the Officers of the *Fabbrica* reporting that he has studied façade designs by Francesco Terribilia and Domenico Tibaldi (probably drafts of a project similar to ill. 5), which Palladio found "fatto con buonissimo giudizio" ["done with good judgment"], except that he dislikes the pyramids and *intagli* (reliefs?). Palladio says that in preserving the completed lower order "si puoteva far sopra quell basamento cosa che staria appresso di bene" ["one could do something almost acceptable above the base"], but that he would like to make a drawing in "quel miglior modo" ["in that preferable style"] (classical). 5 September, 1572. Giovanni Pepoli to Palladio in Vicenza, informing him that a drawing by Terribilia incorporating Palladio's proposal ("secondo l'ordine datogli da V.S." [following the style that you proposed to him]) has been sent to him and that it has been shown to Camillo Bolognino – whom the (Bolognese) Pope has appointed his representative in San Petronio matters. Bolognino has asked that the niches be eliminated, a request that Pepoli does not wish to accept.

18 October 1572. Palladio in Venice to Terribilia, responding to his latest drawing, approving pediments over the portals and replacing the side-aisle windows with niches, but suggesting minor changes (replacing the pyramids with figures, removing other niches, the appearance of which in drawing D in the San Petronio Archive [ill. 5] implies that the former criticism was rejected and the latter accepted).

For undisclosed reasons, the design process and correspondence is suspended for five years.

22 November, 1577. Giovanni Pepoli to Palladio in Vicenza informing him that architects have arrived, gathered by Ferrante Vitellio, to protest abandonment of a wholly medieval design, insisting that it was "Impossibile accomodar sul tedesco questo vecchio (=antico)" [impossible to combine the ancient and the Gothic style].

11 January, 1578. Palladio defends the existing design in which Corinthian and Composite orders are placed above the original base as in ill. 5, but responds favorably to the suggestion that a portico design be considered.

24 November, 1578. Camillo Bolognino,

in Rome, to Giovanni Pepoli, reporting that he has called in Giacomo della Porta to review the existing design and has received enthusiastic support from him, and is himself very pleased.

10 December, 1578. Bolognino to the *Confaloniere di Iustitia* in Bologna, responding to the latter's proposal of a portico, saying that although he, Bolognino, is no expert in architecture, he is concerned about the loss of the open space and increase of pedestrian traffic. Giovanni Pepoli is probably portico proponent.

20 December, 1578. The Humanist scholar Camillo Paleotti writes from Bologna to his fellow *fabbricieri* of the basilica to say that he is still a proponent of the portico, even more than previously. 12 January, 1579. Palladio in Vicenza to Pepoli, stating that the façade (e.g., flat) is beautiful and that Vitruvius discussed ancient façades without porticoes, but adding that porticoes were not often built in recent times. Nonetheless, a portico could be "bellissima, oltre le molte commodità [...]", adding that at the entrances "si potrebe riformar in qualche parte solamenti quei basamenti" ["one could transform in part only those bases"]. This last may indicate an interest in preserving the original portals and reliefs of Jacopo della Quercia.

27 January, 1579. Palladio in Vicenza to Pepoli, stating that he is sending designs for the portico and that the construction would cost more than the (conventional) façade. He indicates that he has made walls at the end of the portico to buttress the church at the points at which the nave and side aisles meet. There would be a vault over the porch columns like that of Santa Maria Rotonda (the Pantheon) since he has made the intercolumniation of the same proportion. He would put *portoni* at the ends of the *loggia* ornamented with half-columns, though they could be made without ornament which would do just as well.

14 March, 1579. Filippo Boncompagni, Cardinal of San Sisto in Rome to Pepoli, reporting the Pope's opposition to the portico ("non si debbe altrimenti fare il portico" ["one should not anyhow build the portico"]), and suggesting that concerns about the structural problems of the nave be solved by covering it with a (wooden) *soffitto* rather than a vault.

31 October 1579. Bolognino in Rome to Pepoli restating his opposition to the portico adding that many other architects have disapproved who have done churches without a portico, as has Palladio, and adding that the last façade project is fine. He reports the opposition of the Pope to a proposed portico at the church of the Santa Casa in Loreto.

8 June, 1580. Cardinal San Sisto in Rome to Pepoli, reporting that *Nostro Signore* is willing to consider that *the* façade "non sia totalmente lavorata alla tedesca [...] et però si lauda il finirla in modo che parte sia del tedesco per accompagna il cominciato, et ancor habbia del moderno [...] in modo che parte sia del Tedesco" ["need not be entirely Gothic [...] but indeed he praises the plan to complete it in such a way that part should be Gothic to conform with what has been started, and still have the modern"] in order to accommodate what was begun and also to have the 16 November, 1580. Copy of a decision of the meeting of the Bologna *Reggimento* to return to the drawings of

Tibaldi and Terribilia, and requesting the submission of a combination of the two. August, 1580. Palladio dies. 19 November, 1580. From *Liber Partitorem*, 1576-1582, Bologna, Archivio di Stato. The *Congregazione degli Assunti* decides that the façade should be entirely Gothic.

#### *Venice, San Giorgio Maggiore*

The drawing XIV, 12 in the Royal Institute of British Architect [henceforth RIBA] was first recognized by R. Wittkower (*Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London 1949, p. 85, Fig. 33b, previously published in the "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes") who identified it as a sketch for the wooden model documented in 1565. His opinion is shared by Andrea Guerra in recent intensive investigations of the façade project (*Moveable Façades: Palladio's Plan for the Church of San Giorgio Maggiore in Venice and His Successive Vicissitudes*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 61, 2, 2002, pp. 282 f., supplemented in his entries in *Palladio*, cit. [cf. *supra* Michelangelo and the portico façade], pp. 172-175, and in M. Borgherini, A. Guerra, P. Modesti [eds.], *Architettura delle facciate: le chiese di Palladio a Venezia. Nuovi rilievi, storia, materiali*, Venezia 2010), adding that lines incised by metalpoint indicate the outlines of the nave vault and piers of the nave and side-aisles as constructed, and prove that the portico project would have accommodated the window-oculus that already had been a feature of the existing unembellished front. The oculus, which was documented as under construction in the early 1570s, appears in two late sixteenth-century paintings showing it on the unfinished façade. The identification of the RIBA drawing with the model was accepted by most scholars as a definitive solution of 1565 after the discovery by Wladimir Timofiewitsch of a plan of the entire monastery showing a portico'd facade (*Eine Zeichnung Andrea Palladios fuer die Klosteranglen von San Giorgio Maggiore*, in "Arte Veneta", XVI, 1962, pp. 160-163). In 1977, Christoph Frommel (*Palladio e la chiesa di San Pietro a Roma*, in "Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio", XIX, 1, 1977, pp. 107-124) compared the two drawings, proving conclusively that the one in the RIBA conformed with the interior of the church as built. After Tracy Cooper alerted me to the absence of confirming documentation for associating the RIBA drawing with the 1565 model (in *litteris* and in her book *Palladio's Venice: architecture and society in a Renaissance republic*, New Haven-London 2005, pp. 141-44 and note 206), I reexamined my original assumptions: I do not find the fact that the oculus would have fit under the portico – which Guerra cites in support of the 1565 dating – to be relevant. Indeed, the portico would negate the function of the oculus to illuminate the nave, and furthermore, such oculi were not consistent with the architect's approach to antiquity that I have defined in his late work. Given that the oculus was put in place in 1571-74 I believe that RIBA, XIV, 12 was drawn between that time and Palladio's death in 1580.

Further support for dating the drawings in the late 1570s comes from Palladio's statement of January 12, 1579 in the

archive of San Petronio in Bologna responding to the proposal by local authorities that he design a portico façade there. Though the architect hesitantly approves of the portico concept, it is evident that he is surprised by it and that it is not a solution that he is likely to have chosen in the mid-1560s, at a time when he was supervising the construction of the façade of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice (ill. 3) preparing the San Giorgio model. Apart from the interpretation of the two drawings proposing porticoes, the Cinquecento images that depict the oculus confirm that it was a feature of the 1565 model. This assures that at least the central portion of the existing façade on which Simone Sorella began construction in 1594-96 – which covered the oculus over – did not follow Palladio's design.

#### Venice, the Redentore

The standard monograph on the church of the Redentore by Wladimir Timofiewitsch (*Corpus Palladianum. 3: La chiesa del Redentore*, Vicenza 1969) was significantly expanded by Cooper, *Palladio's Venice...*, cit. [cf. *supra* Venice, San Giorgio Maggiore], pp. 237-257 (Figs. 242-245 reproduce Palladio's four drawings in the RIBA). D. Howard, *Venice Between East and West: Marc'antonio Barbaro and Palladio's Church of the Redentore*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", 62, 3, 2003, pp. 306-325. V. Pizzigoni, *I tre progetti di Palladio per il Redentore*, in "Annali di architettura", 15, 2003, pp. 165-177, demonstrated conclusively that the four central-plan church designs in the RIBA were for the Redentore project. In chapter II, "De ecclesiae forma" (*Instructiones fabricae et suppellectilis ecclesiasticae*, p. 12), Borromeo advises

that the proper form of a church is the cruciform and that *edificii rotundi* were employed by (Roman) idolators and are less used by Christians.

#### Venetian society and politics

Manfredo Tafuri pioneered in an approach to Venetian Renaissance architecture based on political, social and economic interpretations in two influential books: *Venezia e il Rinascimento. Religione, scienza, architettura*, Torino 1985, and *Ricerca del Rinascimento: principi, città, architetti*, Torino 1992. D. Howard, *Palladio and Venetian Republicanism*, in *Palladio 1508-2008...*, cit. [cf. *supra* Michelangelo and the portico façade], pp. 294-299.

#### Magnificenza

I am particularly indebted to Tracy Cooper's contribution to the definition of *magnificenza* at the Palladio symposium at Columbia University in the Fall of 2008 and to the thorough and definitive book of K. Imesch, *Magnificenza als architektonische Kategorie: Individuelle Selbstdarstellung versus aesthetische Verwirklichung von Gemeinschaft in den venezianischen Villen Palladios und Scamozzis*, Oberhausen 2003. I thank Kurt Forster for alerting me to this work. The roots of the application of the concept in antiquity are discussed by H. von Hesburg, *Publica Magnificentia: eine antikleisische Intention der frühen augusteischen Baukunst*, in "Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts", 107, 1992, pp. 125-147, citing two ancient references to the concept, Cicero, quoted in my subtitle, and Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis historia*, XXXVI, 6. 114. This study is discussed by Mantha Zarmakoupi in her forthcoming book on luxury villas in the Bay of Naples. The

discussion of *magnificenza* was resumed in fifteenth-century Florence; see J.R. Lindow, *The Renaissance Palace in Florence: Magnificence and Splendour in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, Aldershot 2007, and A.D. Fraser Jenkins, *Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", 33, 1970, pp. 162-170.

#### Vicenza

See the new biographical study of Palladio by G. Beltramini, *Palladio privato*, Venezia 2008, which also chronicles the lawless violence in Vicenza in Palladio's time. P. Preto, *L'atteggiamento della nobiltà vicentina dopo la Lega di Cambrai nelle relazioni dei Rettori*, in *Atti del Convegno Venezia e la Terraferma attraverso le relazioni dei rettori*, Trieste, 23-24 October 1980, Milano 1981, pp. 433-438. G. Zau-pa, *Andrea Palladio e la sua comittenza: Denaro e architettura nella Vicenza del Cinquecento Roma*, Roma 1990.

#### Teatro Olimpico

On Leonardo Valmarana, see L. Magagnato, *Il Teatro Olimpico*, ed. L. Puppi, with contributions by M.E. Avagnina, T. Carunchio, and S. Mazzoni, Milano 1992, esp. p. 119 and notes 93 and 94. I. Deborre, *Palladios Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza: Die Inszenierung einer lokalen Aristokratie unter venezianischer Herrschaft*, Marburg 1996, esp. pp.108-117.

#### Vicenza and the colossal order

See A. Bruschi, *Michelangelo in Campidoglio e l'invenzione dell'ordine gigante*, in "Storia dell'architettura", IV, 1, 1979, pp. 7-28. Palladio's opportunity for familiarity with the Michelangelo versions is dis-

scussed by Zanchettin, "*Cbi segue altri non ti va mai inanzi*"..., cit. [cf. *supra* Michelangelo and the portico façade], pp. 123-129, and Id., in *Palladio*, cit. [cf. *supra* Michelangelo and the portico façade], p. 182. The identification of the palace elevation in ill. 19, originally identified by Giangiorgio Zorzi in 1965 and rejected in subsequent literature, has been revived by Howard Burns in the same catalog, p. 311; see also H. Günther, *Palladio e gli ordini di colonne*, in *Andrea Palladio: nuovi contributi*, 7<sup>th</sup> international seminar on architectural history (Vicenza 1-7 September 1988), eds. A. Chastel and R. Cevese, Milano 1990 pp. 182-197. A. Ghisetti Giavarina, *Note sull'ordine gigante nell'illusionismo dell'architettura romana e nelle sperimentazioni rinascimentali*, in *Classicismo e modernità*, proceedings of the symposium (Pescara, 31 January 1995), ed. A. Ghisetti Giavarina, San Salvo 1996, pp. 21-34, chronicles the many instances of an order embracing two stories prior to Bramante and his disciples, none of which attained the expressive force of Michelangelo and Palladio.

I believe that Palladio's employment of the colossal order in the illustrations of Palazzo Iseppo Porto in Vicenza (*Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, II, 8-10) was not planned for the original palace of 1550, of which only the façade wing was constructed, but, like many of his woodcuts, was redesigned for the publication of the book, in this case in the late 1560s.

#### Selection

J.S. Ackerman, *Art and Evolution*, in G. Kepes (ed.), *The Nature and Art of Motion*, New York 1965, pp. 32-40. M. Pollan, *The Botany of Desire: a plant's eye view of the world*, New York 2001.