Palladio's Rome

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"Being aware of the great desire in everyone to acquire a thorough understanding of the antiquities in, and other worthy features of, so celebrated a city, I came up with the idea of compiling the present book, as succinctly as I could, from many completely reliable authors, both ancient and modern, who had written at length on the subject."

—Andrea Palladio, *L'antichità* (1554), fol.1.

Abstract

Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) published in 1554 two enormously popular guides to the churches and antiquities of Rome. This paper will examine the significance of these two works to Palladio's understanding of ancient architecture, and to the meaning of his own work as an architect. The origins of the Rome guidebook tradition will be outlined, and Palladio's attempt to modernise the standard medieval guides in the light of the contemporary pilgrim's requirement for a more logical itinerary to the 'eternal city.' The paper will attempt to show that Palladio's neglected guides are nothing less than central to our full appreciation of one of the most celebrated architects of all time.

Introduction

Our recent book, entitled *Palladio's Rome*, brings together for the first time in translated form the publications on Rome of one of the most famous figures of the Italian Renaissance, whose influence was both immediate and long lasting.[1] The architecture of Andrea Palladio (1508–1580) is so well known that it seems surprising that his works on the monuments of ancient and medieval Rome should be relatively unfamiliar, and therefore be downplayed as sources for our understanding of his concerns. This is all the more so since the material represents such an important record as to his understanding of antiquity. Palladio's *L'antichità di Roma di M. Andrea Palladio, raccolta brevemente da gli autori antichi, & moderni* first appeared in 1554 and by the middle of the eighteenth century had run to more than thirty editions. The most recent reprint was in 1988.[2] It was republished in Oxford in 1709 in a Latin translation, and was translated into English with omissions and appended to the third edition of James Leoni's translation of Palladio's *I quattro libri dell'architettura* in 1742. In this position it enjoyed a status as nothing less than Palladio's 'fifth' book.[3]

Comprising about sixty pages in its pocket-sized octavo format, the text is organised into brief descriptions of the appearance and history of the ancient ruins, written for travellers who flocked to Rome to witness its marvels at first hand. It includes sections on the bridges, hills, water supply, aqueducts, baths, circuses, theatres, forums, arches, temples, and columns of the ancient city, as well as legendary buildings such as the Golden House of Nero. Palladio avoids repeating earlier authors' censure of buildings of vanity and luxury—such as the Golden House which had been criticised by Pliny the Elder. Instead he describes their opulence in the same matter-of-fact terms used for utilitarian structures of unquestionable virtue such as aqueducts and cisterns, which Pliny praises. In this way the text offers a more neutral catalogue of ancient archetypal structures, prefiguring modern methods of classification by type used by scientific archaeology. In this approach Palladio followed his peers, men such as Pirro Ligorio whose *Libro..., delle antichità di Roma* was published in Venice in 1553, with categorised accounts of the circuses, theatres and amphitheatres of ancient Rome.[4]

Rome's monumental ruins were, together with its law and literature, perhaps the most powerful legacy from pre-Christian times. This realisation is summed up by the inscription on the frontispiece of another influential work on Rome, the third book of Sebastiano Serlio's treatise, published in Venice in 1540, which reads 'How great Rome was, the ruins themselves reveal.' Serlio took this inscription from Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novæ et veteris urbis Romæ* of 1510. Albertini relates that Cardinal Galeotto Franciotto della Rovere, the nephew of Pope Julius II, encouraged him to correct the "fabulous nonsense" in existing guidebooks to Rome. In trying to achieve this aim he juxtaposed categorised descriptions of ancient and modern Rome just as Palladio would do—albeit through two separate guides.[5]

For in the same year as *L'antichità* first appeared, but slightly later if his own account is to be believed, Palladio published a companion volume—a guide to Rome's churches entitled *Descritione de le chiese, stationi, indulgenze & reliquie de Corpi Sancti, che sono in la città de Roma*.[6] For this guide he chose the same Rome publisher as before, Vincentio Lucrino. Lucrino was less prominent than the leading Rome publishers with whom Palladio later collaborated such as Antonio Blado and the Dorico brothers, Valerio and Luigi.[7] Two views and one map of

Rome, issued as prints and sold to tourists, can be credited to him during the 1550s and 1560s. He was no doubt drawn to publish Palladio's books through the expectation that they would generate similar financial gain to the maps. Palladio, on the other hand, may have chosen Lucrino because of his Church connections, in particular with the Jesuits, whose sanction was desirable for such works.[8] Although frequently reissued without the introductory letter and bound with other guides, *Le chiese* was however never to be republished, or translated, in its original form with Palladio's name on the title-page.[9] In contrast, *L'antichità* was to appear in a second edition in Venice, published by Matteo Pagan in the same year as its Rome printing, 1554. Just as the publication in Rome of the guides to that city was intended by Palladio as a means to further his reputation at the very heart of the Catholic Church, so the publication of *L'antichità* in Venice was no doubt intended to help establish its author's reputation in Venetian circles. After all, in publishing a work on Roman antiquity in Venice he followed in the honourable footsteps of fellow-architects Ligorio and Serlio.

Palladio's opening remarks in *Le chiese* emphasise the intended order of the two books and their relationship as a pair, dealing in turn with the secular and the sacred, or more accurately with the Pagan and the Christian—and, for the most part, with the ancient and the modern. He notes that:

"Since I have described the antiquities of Rome, with as much care and brevity as I could manage, in another book of mine, I also wished to describe for your more complete satisfaction and pleasure the sacred things in that city and their current circumstances; because the accounts of them which have been written in the past do not in many respects correspond to the facts today, since being holy objects they have become altered and moved from one place to another owing to the wars, fires, and ruination to which they have been subjected, and to the building of new churches, hospitals and confraternities."[10]

In consequence the topical overlap between the two works is limited and concerns the consecration of ancient buildings such as the Pantheon. About the same length as *L'antichità*, *Le chiese* was written to provide pilgrims with a religious itinerary and on occasions includes Palladio's judgement as to the relative artistic value of the works being visited. Both were intended to be read as guidebooks and were consequently unillustrated, thereby allowing the visitor to appreciate the city's monuments through Palladio's words alone. Since both guides introduced structures later cited in the *Quattro Libri*—for example the bronze columns in St John Lateran, and ancient Rome's Senate houses—they should be seen as valuable, if somewhat neglected, precursors to that most famous and influential of Renaissance books on architecture.[11]

Palladio's Visits to Rome

In early 1541, just after the outset of his architectural career and a year after the publication of the third volume of Serlio's treatise which was on the antiquities of Rome, Palladio had first visited the city accompanied by his patron, Gian Giorgio Trissino. Serlio's book, with its striking woodcuts of the most important monuments—in plan, section and elevation—must

surely have caught Palladio's imagination and, with Trissino's help, guided him on subsequent trips as to what buildings to study and how they should be drawn.[12] For here, according to his early biographer, Paolo Gualdo, "Palladio measured and made drawings of many of those sublime and beautiful buildings which are the revered relics of Roman antiquity."[13] Indeed although these drawings were mostly produced from on-site measurements, some were copied from studies by Serlio and Ligorio.[14] The influence of the city on Palladio's intellectual development was immediate and marked, testified by the pronounced Roman character of his design for the Palazzo Thiene in Vicenza as but one example.[15] This short trip—Palladio was back in Vicenza by the Autumn—was to be the first of five visits to Rome. He returned between September 1545 and February 1546, and between March 1546 and July 1547—both visits once again with Trissino, as confirmed by Gualdo –, and then again in November 1549, and finally in 1554.[16]

Palladio undertook only relatively minor works whilst in Rome. The ciborium in the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia of 1546–47 is thought to be by him, although it goes curiously unmentioned in the description of the church in his guide.[17] His visit in November 1549 was possibly to advise on the Basilica of St Peter's, but once again he does not boast of this in his guide.[18] He probably saw Sangallo the Younger's recently-built giant model for the building. Rome's principal merit was in offering Palladio first-hand experience of its wonders and of how architects were adapting these monuments to imbue them with spiritual virtue, in new works by such as Bramante, Peruzzi, Raphael, and Michelangelo. In consequence the city was of enormous importance for Palladio's study of *all'antica* architecture.

Palladio produced not only many detailed drawings of the ruins of Roman antiquities, but also imaginative reconstructions, most of which were probably drawn between 1545 and 1547, and on his last visit, in the year of publication of both guidebooks, 1554.[19] Both books are thought to have been written on this last visit, when he was accompanied by Ligorio and Daniele Barbaro—*L'antichità* most likely between February and July and *Le chiese* thereafter.[20] Barbaro served as Patriarch-Elect of Aquileia and on the Council of Trent of 1551. This involvement of Palladio's new mentor with the Catholic Church can only have helped focus his attention on its relics, indulgences, architecture and history as outlined in *Le chiese*.

Palladio's Guidebooks, the Edition of Vitruvius and the *Quattro libri*

Palladio's early drawings of ancient Roman remains, his work on *L'antichità* and his drawings for Barbaro's edition of *Vitruvius* of 1556 were inter-related. For example, included in the Vitruvius was Palladio's imaginative reconstruction of the Roman house with its pedimented elevation. He also published studies of the latter in the *Quattro Libri*,[21] while his plan of the Venetian monastery of Santa Maria della Carità was based on the ancient house. This understanding was not derived from any actual remains of ancient palaces or houses, which for the most part lay as yet undiscovered, but on ancient authors. His description of Nero's Golden House in *L'antichità* was based on those by Suetonius and Pliny, and his section 'On other Houses, notably those for Citizens' reflects this special interest in the ancient house as described by Vitruvius. Palladio justified his use of the temple pediment on domestic

architecture by arguing in the *Quattro Libri* that the form of the ancient temple, as the house of the gods, was derived from primitive dwelling types.[22] The same origins are traced by him in *L'antichità* when discussing domestic residences. Here he starts with the Palatine hut of Romulus, as the physical and symbolic origin of the city and its architecture, only then progressing to more opulent residences which are sourced, for the most part, again in Pliny. In this way consistent lines of thought can be traced across his works.

Palladio's studies in Rome—of which *L'antichità* formed an important part—are the foundation of his and Barbaro's attempt to construct a 'true' *all'antica* architectural style, in the wake of contemporary Mannerist ornamental "abuses" as he termed them, with respect to ancient models.[23] It is significant that Bramante's 'Tempietto' of 1502–10 stands alone as the sole modern example of excellence in the *Quattro Libri*, just as for the most part Palladio does not praise contemporary churches in *Le chiese*. In *Le chiese* his focus is mostly on liturgical artworks, relics and icons, rather than on architects and architecture—aside, that is, from a church's foundation story, or legends such as Honorius I's use of the bronze tiles from the Capitoline temple of Jupiter to cover St Peter's. His reference to Vignola's Sant'Andrea as a "chapel built with great skill and beauty for His Holiness, Our Lord Pope Julius III", stands out as a notable exception in approving a modern *all'antica* work.[24]

His cautious—even conservative—attitude to the achievements of his age is underlined by the fact that despite mentioning works by a number of the more celebrated Renaissance architects and artists—including Bramante, Raphael, and Vignola—he does not cite them by name apart from a single reference to Michelangelo, when describing his tomb design for Julius II. His approach is similar in *L'antichità*, where he includes structures from the Middle Ages like the Tor de'Conti and Torre della Milizia, but buildings from the more recent, early Renaissance are omitted—apart that is from a brief mention of the Belvedere and the Vatican, and the paintings of Michelangelo. Quite obviously the guidebooks were not architectural treatises intended to provide models of good practice along the lines of the *Quattro Libri*.[25] In *Le chiese* Palladio notes that Santa Costanza is "circular in form", but not that it had become a celebrated 'model' for contemporary church design as illustrated by Serlio in the third book of his treatise.[26] In *Le chiese* Santa Costanza's virtues lie in its roots in early Christianity, alongside—but not in preference to—many other churches in the book's itinerary. The concluding churches on Palladio's routes are no more important than their predecessors. Guided by Palladio the pilgrim is, after all, on a journey that does not end in any particular earthly church, not even St Peter's. Spiritual virtues were clearly more important here than physical ones.

Just as the text of Vitruvius was checked and deciphered through drawings of ancient monuments, so in the preparation of both guidebooks Palladio went beyond desk-bound reading in using the emerging techniques of antiquarians such as Ligorio and Serlio, namely direct on-site surveys.[27] For instance in *Le chiese* he tells his readers that he has taken information concerning the foundation of certain churches from ancient plaques to be found in the buildings themselves.[28] These plaques are, in many instances, still in existence. Good examples are the two long inscriptions on the façade of the church of Santa Maria del Popolo in the Piazza del Popolo. Following on from a source-list of modern authors on Rome, Palladio continues in *L'antichità*: "But I did not rest there. I also wished to see and measure

everything with my own hands in minute detail."[29] The accuracy of his study needed emphasis, since a great many of the monuments were half-buried under centuries of accumulated earth and debris. In his Preface to *L'antichità*, Palladio echoes Raphael's concern for the state of the monuments expressed in the latter's famous letter to Pope Leo X.[30] Palladio notes that "many very noble and grand edifices were built in Rome—both as an eternal memorial to that people's valour and also as an exemplar to posterity—of which not much can be seen still standing today owing to the wars, fires and structural collapses that have occurred over the many years in that city and which have ruined, gutted and buried a large part of these remains."[31] Even the Forum was deeply buried, with the famous Arch of Severus visible only above its pedestals.[32] Palladio comments in his section 'On the Campidoglio' that "in the courtyard there are many antique marbles beautifully and ornamentally arranged, which were recently found in the Forum, beneath the Arch of Severus."[33]

Given that Palladio wrote or completed *L'antichità* while on his last visit to the city in 1554, unsurprisingly there is a close correlation between the monuments he chose for the guide and those he had drawn, or was drawing, at this time. His descriptions in *L'antichità* can thus be read as a commentary to his surviving drawings of the same structures. He produced drawings of Hadrian's villa, for example, in the same year as the publication of the guide, which briefly cites the beauties of the villa. In *L'antichità* he listed a multitude of building types which were the subject of measured drawings. For example, he produced many drawings and reconstructions of the huge Roman bath complexes of Titus, Nero, Constantine, Trajan, Diocletian, Caracalla and Agrippa, which are also cited in the guide.[34] Equally common to both drawings and text are porticoes (for example those of Octavia, Saturn, Antoninus and Faustina, the Septizonium, and the Claudian), temples (those of Janus, of Peace, and the Pantheon), mausoleums (that of Augustus), columns (that of Trajan), theatres (those of Marcellus, Castrense and Balbus, and the Colosseum), villas (that of Hadrian), bridges (the Nomentano), forums (the Boarium, and of Nerva), arches (those of Constantine, Septimius Severus, Gallienus, and Titus), basilicas (that of Maxentius), gates (the Maggiore), and palaces (the Domus Augustana). Some of these structures, such as the Forum of Nerva, the Portico of the Temple of Concord and the Pantheon, were later illustrated in the *Quattro Libri*, further underlining the neglected role played by *L'antichità* in the eventual composition of the 'Four Books.'

That Palladio was greatly moved by his visits to Rome is shown by the opening letter to Giacomo Angarano, his patron for the first book of the *Quattro Libri* where he notes that he had "travelled many times to Rome … where I have seen with my own eyes and measured with my own hands the fragments of many ancient buildings, which … provide, even as stupendous ruins, clear and powerful proof of the *virtù* and greatness of the Romans."[35] The frontispiece of each of his four books on architecture depicts *Regina Virtus*—or 'Virtue the Queen'—as mother of the arts. In antiquity, virtue meant 'excellence' and 'good action', which the well-rounded individual was to direct for the benefit and enhancement of civic life.[36] Palladio continues that he has found himself "moved and inflamed by my profound study of *virtù* of this type." Roman monuments thus provided clear evidence of ancient *virtù*, a virtue that merged with early Christian virtues evident in Rome's churches. In this way, far from being unrelated as some commentators have maintained, both of Palladio's guidebooks can be seen to form part of a single Christian vision, emphasising the compatibility of the ancient Pagan city with the modern Christian one.[37] Both guides thereby formed two sides of the same

coin. As if to underline this continuity of virtue, Palladio does not miss the opportunity in *Le chiese* to mention when a church has been converted from or built on the foundations of Roman buildings, such as San Adriano, "in ancient times it was the Treasury", or SS. Cosma e Damiano, "in ancient times it was the Temple of Romulus."[38]

Palladio's Sources: Early Guidebooks to the City of Wonders

In serving to highlight the magnificence of the ancient, pre-Christian era alongside the Christian splendours of his own, modern age, both Palladio's guidebooks had a topographical antecedence in the works of Alberti and Raphael, and in the many medieval guidebooks to the city. Alberti's *Descriptio Urbis Romae* was written around 1444.[39] It is very short, about 1,200 words, with a table of references relating to the locations of ancient monuments. Alberti notes that: "Using mathematical instruments, I have recorded as carefully as I could the passage and *lineamenta* of the walls, the river and the streets of the city of Rome, as well as the sites and locations of the temples, public works, gates and commemorative monuments, and the outlines of the hills, not to mention the area which is occupied by habitable buildings, all as we know them to be in our time."[40] Alberti continues by describing a method for drawing to scale a plan of Rome taking the Capital, the seat of law and government of the city, as its approximate centre.[41] He makes clear that "from the centre of the city, that is, from the Capitol, the distance to any one of the gates nowhere exceeds 6,140 cubits; and finally that the circumference of the built walls is about 75 stades."[42] Despite Alberti's claims to accuracy, he echoed fifteenth-century views of Rome, such as that by Alessandro Strozzi, which idealised the city as a circular form enclosed by its walls and centred on the Capitol.

Alberti's more precise plan is in fact an orthogonal projection, a type of drawing which is subsequently recommended by Raphael in his famous letter to Leo X appealing for the preservation of the ancient monuments of Rome, in the wake of recent and earlier destruction.[43] Leo X had appointed Raphael inspector of Rome's ancient ruins and Raphael set about reconstructing the plan of the ancient city by means of surveys and excavations. His letter was drafted around 1519 with the assistance of the Mantuan diplomat and author Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529) and the collector and epigraphist Angelo Colocci (1474–1544). It sets out the method for recording the ancient monuments in plan, elevation and cross-section. Colocci produced sketches for a translation of Vitruvius, and the letter to the pope may well have also been intended to serve as a preface to the Italian translation of Vitruvius which Raphael is known to have promoted.[44] Raphael's letter set the tone for subsequent interest in Rome's monuments, and for Palladio's researches and orthogonal scale drawings in particular.

Palladio follows the promise of his title—*Antichita raccolta brevemente de gli auttori antichi e moderni*—and lists his sources in *L'antichità*, citing the ancient authors "Dionysus of Halicarnassus, Livy, Pliny, Plutarch, Appian of Alexandria, Valerius Maximus, Eutropius", and the moderns "Biondo, Fulvio, Fauno and Marliani."[45] Unsurprisingly, his list includes some of the main authorities on ancient Rome. In these Palladio would have read of the caryatids which had once stood in the Pantheon, the magnificent but destroyed Temple of Peace and an

obelisk once used as the gnomon for Augustus's sundial. Indeed his entries in *L'antichità* on the ancient Colossi and the houses of Roman citizens are taken directly from Pliny. Palladio's list does not include all his ancient sources, however. He also makes passing reference to Sextus Julius Frontinus' *De aquis urbis Romae*. And the brief description of Hadrian's villa is taken almost word for word from the *Historia Augusta* written around the fourth century.

Palladio's ancient sources were less concerned with Rome's monuments than they were with the people who built them and the deeds they celebrated, and were of particular relevance in his retelling of the legendary foundation of Rome at the outset of *L'antichità*. On the other hand his modern sources were for the most part concerned with the city's built fabric. Flavio Biondo's *De Roma instaurata* was written in Rome in 1446 and republished in Italian translation in Venice in 1542. The first work by Andrea Fulvio on the antiquities of Rome was the *Antiquaria urbi*s of 1513, a poem dedicated to Pope Leo X. His subsequent work, *Antiquitates urbis*, is a eulogy on Rome's antiquity. This was published in Rome in 1527, ironically just before the city was sacked by the troops of the Holy Roman Emperor Charles V, and in Italian translation by Paolo del Rosso in 1543. A further study of the antiquities of Rome was brought out by Lucio Fauno. His *Delle antichità della città di Roma* was published in Venice in 1548, and the Latin translation came out the following year. Bartolomeo Marliani's popular *Antiquae Romae topographia* was first published in Rome in 1534 and issued a further six times before 1554. Marliani boasts that he measured the Aurelian walls of Rome himself, step by step. These modern sources paved the way for Palladio's own works on the city, in their subject matter, methodology and popularity.

As a relatively frequent visitor to Rome in the 1540s, Palladio had first-hand experience of the guidebook genre—no doubt stimulated by the fact that Trissino had an interest in this.[46] Through such guides he could not have helped but be inspired to explore the marvellous nature of the city. He says in his Preface to *L'antichità* that he was particularly spurred on to write his own guide after reading the *Le cose meravigliose di Roma*, or *The marvels of Rome*. This was a popular guide of thirty-two short chapters describing the ancient sites or wonders of the city, for which the earliest existing manuscripts date from the twelfth century and which was republished in different versions many times.[47] Alongside this medieval *Mirabilia* guide there existed the tradition of indulgence books which were initially lists of the indulgences available to pilgrims visiting the seven principal churches but later became full-blown guides to a great number of the churches in Rome.[48] While the early *Mirabilia* concentrated on ancient monuments and fables, referring to churches only to locate a presumed site, the later, expanded indulgence books appended histories and descriptions of a total of eighty-four churches, short histories of the Roman emperors up to Constantine, and a brief history of the city.[49]

Having examined the ruins at first-hand, however, Palladio's research methods were, as noted, more compatible with those of modern, scientific archaeology, and echoing Albertini he came to see the *Mirabilia* as "packed full of astounding lies" as he puts it in *L'antichità*.[50] For example, the *Mirabilia* describes the Colosseum as a Roman temple of the sun.[51] But although Palladio's emphasis on his scholarship in consulting authorities both ancient and modern underlines his originality in the guidebook tradition, he still relied on this tradition for sections of his guidebooks' text on the life of Constantine, for example, and he himself was not immune from making mistakes such as with the Pons Aemilius, mentioned under two separate names,[52]

perhaps because he did not come from Rome. Nevertheless, far from being disengaged from the material, as some commentators have maintained, Palladio's total commitment to his works is thus made clear from the outset in both his Prefaces.[53]

Palladio's Narrative Structure and Four Pilgrimage Routes

Fig 1

Fig 2: Route 1

Fig 3: Route 2

Palladio's Four Routes
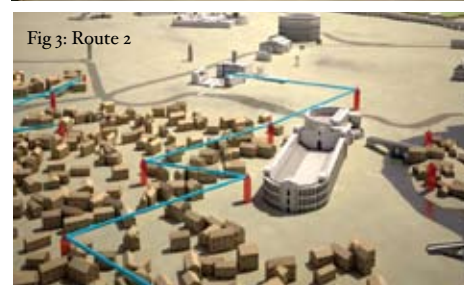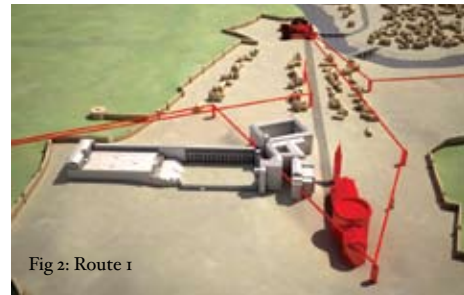
Palladio's four routes through Rome [© CASA, Bath University]

Palladio's *L'antichità* followed the works of Serlio and Ligorio in emphasising the civic importance and virtue of the ancient monuments of Rome arranged by 'type.' However the structure of *Le chiese* differs in that, being organised into four sections, the work highlights four preferred, or ideal, routes through the city. These have been visualised using a computer model built in the Centre for Advanced Studies in Architecture (CASA) at Bath University (Fig 1).[54] The effect of these routes was to divide the modern city into quadrants. In his introduction to Le chiese Palladio emphasises the novelty and utility of his pilgrimage routes, when compared to earlier guides, and the effort involved in arranging them by ordering one hundred and twenty-one churches. He observes, "And because these holy things are scattered among many churches and cemeteries in Rome, I thought that in order to allow everyone the possibility of visiting them easily in their current locations without long meanderings, I would describe them in a new order and sequence—and all who follow this will be led to give no little praise for this my effort."[55]

Where earlier guidebook routes in the *Mirabilia* tradition followed a haphazard order, Palladio's text takes the tourist on four logical journeys covering most of the main churches of the city. Beginning, naturally enough, with Rome's seven principal churches, the first route links the two churches on the Tiber Island to nine in Trastevere and nine in the Vatican Borgo ending at Santa Maria in Traspontina (Fig 2). The next sequence, the longest, begins at the Porta del Popolo, the northern entrance to Rome, includes fifty-two churches and ends at the

Fig 4: Route 3

Fig 5: Route 4

Capitoline Hill (Fig 3). The third and fourth itineraries both begin at the Capitol, one heading north towards the mountains and the other, south towards the ancient city (Figs 4, 5). Where the city's wonders had been revealed to the medieval tourist through a degree of hunting and, as Palladio puts it, "meanderings", now they were to be laid out in a logical sequence compatible with a more rational age.

Palladio's arrangement of the ancient monuments by 'type' in *L'antichità* followed the example of the *Mirabilia*. He begins, logically enough and again reflecting the *Mirabilia*, with the walls of the city, turning next to the Roman gates through which his readers 'enter' the city, moving on to the principal streets and roads, and then crossing the Tiber via its bridges to view the legendary seven hills. The essential physical features and monumental structures within the city are then each dealt with in an encyclopaedic manner, starting with the water supply, sewer, aqueducts and cisterns. It is as if Palladio—ever the architect—is rehearsing the original laying-out of the great city. Then come the necessary public buildings for pleasure: hot-baths, lakes for naumachiae, racetracks, theatres and amphitheatres; after which are those for utility, namely the markets. These are followed by military monuments in the city, starting with triumphal arches. As with Alberti's map of Rome and traditional topographical views of the city, Palladio's city has an implied circularity to the extent that he begins with its "circumference", described as *del circuito*, while in the physical centre of the book on page 16 out of 32 he describes the Capitol—the city's symbolic centre and the physical centre of Alberti's map. This is curiously reflected in the 1742 translation where, now arranged under chapters, the Capitol ends up as chapter forty-one out of eighty. Despite its fundamental difference in structure, *Le chiese* also uses the Capitoline as the hub of the system of routes leading to and from the outer walls in the different quadrants of the city.[56] In his concluding remarks Palladio deals with temples, villas and pastures outside the ancient city boundary— a boundary emphasised by the final part, on 'How many times the City of Rome was Taken.'

Conclusion: From Books to Buildings

Both guidebooks provide valuable and rare clues as to Palladio's interests associated with, but in some ways lying outside, those normally linked to architecture.[57] In *L'antichità* he is concerned with the rituals and priesthood of the ancient Romans, for example. And in *Le chiese* his enthusiastic recital of the traditional stories of magical phenomena associated with the various churches testifies not only to his strong Christian faith but also to his unrecognised belief in—or, at the very least, his interest in and knowledge of—the supernatural. Here, in preference to any architectural or artistic details but reflecting the fantastical tales of the *Mirabilia* tradition, there is the story of fabulous events such as the spring at San Lorenzo in Fonte and the three fountains at Sant'Anastasio which "miraculously sprang up" at the points where Saint Paul's head bounced.[58] And equally strong, evidently, was his faith in the famous—although much disputed—relics of the Catholic Church, which are listed throughout, and in the indulgences which a penitent could gain through specific prayer. Palladio's *Le chiese* underlines the importance to him of the liturgical calendar—reflected in his own Christian name, Andrea, which celebrated his birth on St Andrew's Day, the 30th of November.

Just as Palladio's guide to Rome's churches for the most part eschewed describing their physical details in favour of long lists of inspirational relics and indulgences, so his guide to its antiquities went beyond their physical remains—a normal guidebook topic—to include information on Roman society such as the rearing of its children, its military victories and losses and so on. Moreover, of the monuments cited by Palladio in *L'antichità*, some had disappeared for good, as with the demolished column in the Forum in honour of Caesar for example, some were described only in ancient sources, namely Roman houses in Pliny, and some were never even part of the city fabric, namely the column of Constantine erected in Constantinople in 330 AD. This underlines the fact that Palladio saw his guide to the ancient Roman city as less to do with its surviving physical attributes, as would be expected from a standard 'guidebook', than with its invisible ones of virtue and 'history.' For with its emphasis on Roman culture and lost buildings, *L'antichità* was not just a pocketbook—as has often been maintained—but was also a work of antiquarian scholarship.[59] As such it should be read as intending to inspire a wider civic—that is, not just architectural—virtue and grandeur which his buildings were also attempting to restore.[60] The act of binding illustrations of these buildings with those of Roman monuments in the *Quattro Libri* makes this relationship clear.

Ultimately Palladio's guides represent two types of history and indeed guidebook: namely a medieval one comprising myths and legends, and a more rational, modern one founded on site analysis, written evidence and classification by 'type.'[61] The books are thus 'transitional' in character, reflecting in some ways their author's own transformation from 'di Pietro' the stonemason—rooted as the stonemasons training was in medieval craft legends—to 'Palladio' the architect—whose training was rooted in Renaissance humanism and the study of Vitruvius.[62]

In his guide to ancient Rome, Palladio's narrative begins with the city's foundation, progresses through its principal civic and architectural achievements and ends with its fall. This cycle was destined to recur in his own lifetime. The sack of the city by Charles V in 1527, when Palladio was nineteen, closely followed the apparent 'rebirth' of antique architecture under the High Renaissance masters. Echoing Serlio's praise for Bramante, Palladio makes clear that the

'Tempietto' features in *Le chiese* and in the *Quattro Libri*, "since Bramante was the first to make known that good and beautiful architecture which had been hidden from the time of the ancients till now."[63] And in relating 'How many times the City of Rome was Taken', Palladio's list in *L'antichità* concludes: "finally, in the year 1527 on the 6th of May, at the hands of the imperial army. It was thus that Rome, conqueror of the world, was despoiled and derided by barbarians."[64] The "cruelty" (as he put it in the *Quattro Libri*) of the Barbarians was the exact opposite of Roman *virtù* and magnanimity or 'Greatness of Soul'—in the 1527 sack even the Vatican was despoiled. Trissino's epic poem *Italy Freed from the Goths* of 1547 had described an archangel called 'Palladio' who was an expert on architecture and instrumental in expelling the 'barbarians' from Italy.[65] There can be little doubt that his architect-namesake—in reflecting the Palladium, the ancient protector of Rome—saw the publication of both his guides seven years later as helping to revive the city in the wake of the uncertainties insinuated by the Protestant Reformation in general and this most recent sack in particular. After all, the indulgences and relics that were central to the city's vitality as a pilgrim-centre, and which Palladio celebrates in *Le chiese*, lay at the heart of the Reformer's animosity to Rome's practices.[66] The *Quattro Libri* would express the same spirit of revival, from Bramante's revelation of true Roman architecture, "hidden from the time of the ancients till now", to the correction of abuses "imported by the barbarians."[67]

Palladio's fame rests in no small part on the series of remarkable villas he built in the countryside of the Veneto and adjacent provinces, but the countryside is not the 'site' of history—the city is. And in later life Palladio became preoccupied with the renewal of the *imago urbis* not of Rome but of another city, Venice.[68] His guidebooks to Rome show that he saw the purpose and meaning of a city—defined as in ancient times by walls and lagoons—as dependent on its function as a repository of civic order, military glory and ecclesiastical piety. These virtues were conveyed through a city's monuments which, rather like books, told the story of its origins and subsequent glory—in the *Quattro Libri* Palladio notes that the wisdom and courage of the "ancient Roman heroes ... one reads about with awe in the histories" and "one can observe in part in the ancient ruins themselves."[69] It follows that Palladio's guidebooks to Rome can also be read as 'guides' to the meaning behind his own civic buildings. For they underline why he sought to fuse Pagan and Christian forms in his Venetian churches, with their temple fronts and domes, and to adapt Roman archetypes in his Basilica and Theatre at Vicenza, two designs at the opposite chronological poles of his career.

Read together, Palladio's guides tell the story of Rome as the archetypal eternal city. Through witnessing its marvels, the pilgrim-visitor was to be inspired by the actions of its early heroic citizens and the piety of its later, medieval Saints. Just as the antique ruins revealed past glory, so for Palladio the churches and their relics bore vital witness to the legends of martyrdom and magic associated with the early Church. And just as Rome had been the centre of the ancient world, so it was perfectly fitting that—with a little help from his guides—it should be nudged into the centre of the modern, Christian one. 'Palladio's Rome' is thus a union of ancient glory and modern *virtù*, as his final words in *L'antichità* on the eternal nature of the city make clear: "And even though she was taken and destroyed many times, nevertheless the glory and majesty of Rome still stands, not as widely spread but founded upon a stronger stone, namely Christ. She is the head of religion and is the seat of His Vicar, upon which worthily sits Julius III, an honour and glory to the pontifical name."[70]

Endnotes

1. See Puppi, L., *Andrea Palladio: Scritti sull'architettura* (1554–1579), Vicenza, Nen Pozza Editore, (1988), in which both guides are transcribed without commentary. Olivieri correctly treats the guidebook to the churches as a statement of Palladio's Utopian and spiritual ideals. See Olivieri, A., *Palladio, le corti e le famiglie*, Vicenza, Istituto per le ricerche di storia sociale e di storia religiosa, (1981), pp.99–104. See also Palladio, A., *Palladio's Rome: A Translation of Andrea Palladio's Two Guidebooks to Rome*, trans. Hart, V., and Hicks, P., New Haven and London, Yale U.P., (2006) (all textual translations are from this edition, listed below as either *Churches or Antiquities*).

2. Puppi, *Scritti*. For a complete bibliography of editions, see Schudt, L., *Le Guide di Roma*; *Materialien zu einer Geschichte der römischen Topographie*, Vienna, B. Filser, (1930; reprint 1971). See also E.D. Howe's translation of the *Descritione* de *le chiese* (omitting the list of the stations): *Andrea Palladio: The Churches of Rome*, Binghamton, N.Y., Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, State University of New York, (1991), p.139, n.2. In the first edition of *L'antichità* held in the British School at Rome (classmark 600 639, with the bookplate of Thomas Ashby), a pencil note in English in the flyleaf claims that notes (and underlinings) throughout the book are in Palladio's hand. These thus far unauthenticated notes, twelve in number, are very brief and are truncated because the book has been trimmed

3. See the introduction in R. Tavernor and R. Schofield, *The Four Books on Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass. and London, MIT Press, (1997), p.xvi (page references below in square brackets for *I quattro libri dell'architettura* are to this translation). The translation is not present in the 1965 Dover facsimile reprint of the *Quattro libri*, based as it is on Isaac Ware's edition of 1738.

4. See Mandowsky, E., and C. Mitchell, *Pirro Ligorio's Roman Antiquities*, London, Warburg Institute, University of London, (1963); Howe, *Churches*, p.10; Van Eck, C., *British Architectural Theory* 1540–1750, Aldershot, Ashgate, (2003), p.244, n.24

5. Albertini, F., *Opusculum de mirabilibus novæ et veteris urbis Romæ*, Rome, I. Mazochium, (1510), p.5. On Albertini see Howe, *Churches*, pp.32–3.

6. Both guides were reproduced in facsimile in Peter Murray's *Five Early Guides to Rome and Florence*, Farnborough, Gregg, (1972), and were transcribed by Puppi, *Scritti*, and on CD-ROM in the collection entitled 'Art Theories of the Italian Renaissance', published by Chadwyck-Healey in 1997 (the CD-ROM transcription of *L'antichità* is from the Venice edition of 1554). The *Descritione de le chiese* alone was translated by Howe in 1991 (Howe, *Churches*). A copy of the 1554 *Le chiese* survives in the library of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London. On other copies see Howe, *Churches*, pp.32, 149, n.3.

7. On Lucrino see Barberi, F., 'I Dorico, tipografi a Roma nel cinquecento', *La Bibliofilia*, vol.67, (1965), pp.221–61; Howe, *Churches*, pp.26–9.

8. See Howe, *Churches*, p.28.

9. See Howe, *Churches*, pp.xi–xii, 19, 38–46.

10. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Churches*, p.1.

11. See for example Tavernor, R., 'Palladio's 'Corpus': *I quattro libri dell'architettura*', in *Paper Palaces: The Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, ed. V. Hart and P. Hicks, New Haven and London, Yale U.P., (1998), pp.233–46.

12. On Palladio's debt to Serlio in reconstructing the Mausoleum of Romulus, for example, see Tavernor, R., *Palladio and Palladianism*, London, Thames and Hudson, (1991), p.77. See also Lewis, D., *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio*, Washington, D.C., International Exhibitions Foundation, (1981), pp.42–3, no.21. See the English translation of Serlio's text by V. Hart and P. Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on*

    Architecture, vol. 1: Books I–V of Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva, New Haven and London, Yale U.P., (1996) (page references below in square brackets for Serlio's treatise are to this translation).

13. Gualdo, P., 'La vita di Andrea Palladio', ed. G.G. Zorzi, *Saggi e Memorie di Storia dell'Arte*, vol.2, (1958–59), pp.91–104; Lewis, *Drawings*, p.3.

14. On Palladio's reliance on drawings by Serlio, see Puppi, L., *Andrea Palladio* London, Phaidon Press, (1975), pp.10, 13.

15. Ackerman, J., *Palladio*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, (1966), p.95; Tavernor, *Palladianism*, pp.29–32; Boucher, B., *Andrea Palladio, The Architect in his Time*, New York and London, Abbeville Press, (1994), pp.29, 48–59.

16. See Puppi, *Palladio*, pp.13, 23, n.71, 276. Howe, *Churches*, p.4, assumes that Palladio made Rome his base between 1545 and 1547, thereby counting only four trips (in contradiction of Gualdo).

17. See Puppi, *Palladio*, pp.27, 265, no.24, 266, no.25; Howe, *Churches*, pp.11–12. RIBA XVII 18V. Howe also mentions, although discounts, the tradition that Palladio designed a two-storey loggia in the garden façade of the palace of the dukes of Tuscany (pp.13–14), and the façade of Santa Maria at the Collegio Romano (p.14).

18. See Gualdo, 'La vita'; Lewis, *Drawings*, p.3. See also Puppi, *Palladio*, p.276, n.30.

19. See Lewis, *Drawings*, especially chapters 5–6, pp.129–50.

20. Burns, H., L. Fairbairn and B. Boucher, *Andrea Palladio 1508–1580: The Portico and the Farmyard*, London, Arts Council of Great Britain, (1975), p.91; Puppi, *Palladio*, p.441. But see Howe, *Churches*, pp.9, 143, n.38.

21. *QL*, II. vii, [pp.109–11].

22. *QL*, I, foreword, p.5 [p.5], II, xvi, p.69 [p.147]. See Tavernor, *Palladianism*, pp.44, 50–5.

23. *QL*, I, xx, p.51 [p.55].

24. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Churches*, pp.34–5.

25. See Hart and Hicks, *Paper Palaces*.

26. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Churches*, p.57.

27. See Burns, Fairbairn and Boucher, *The Portico and the Farmyard*, pp.84–5; Mitrovic, B., 'Palladio's Canonical Corinthian Entablature and the Archaeological Surveys in the Fourth Book of *I quattro libri dell'architettura', Architectural History*, vol.45, (2002), pp.113–27.

28. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Churches*, p.2

29. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Antiquities*, fol.1.

30. See Palladio, *Two Guidebooks*, appendix.

31. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Antiquities*, fol.1.

32. See the drawings of the mid-1530s by Maarten van Heemskerck; Filippi, E., *Maarten Van Heemskerck*, Milan, Berenice, (1990), nos 7, 8, 24 (fols. 6r, 9r, 12r). See also Burns, Fairbairn and Boucher, *The Portico and the Farmyard*, pp.84–5.

33. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Antiquities*, fol.17v.

34. See Ackerman, *Palladio*, pp.172–5. See also Palladio's *Fabbriche Antiche Designata Da Andrea Palladio Vicentino E Date In Luce Da Riccardo Conte Di Burlington* (inscribed 1730, but possibly printed as late as 1740).

35. *QL*, I, letter, p.3 [p.3].

36. See the introduction in Tavernor and Schofield, *Four Books,*, p.ix. See also Tavernor, *Palladianism*, p.20.

37. Howe, *Churches*, p.1, notes, for example, that Palladio's "motivations for publishing *Le chiese* are difficult to comprehend, as the production of a traditional guidebook for the Christian pilgrim to Rome appears an uncharacteristic and unusual undertaking."

38. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Churches*, p.49.

39. This text was translated by Giovanni Orlandi into Italian in 1968 (then again with changes in 1974) and into French by Martine Furno in 2000. For the first full English translation, see Alberti, L.B., 'Leon Battista Alberti's Delineation of the City of Rome', trans. P. Hicks, in 'Leonis Baptistae Alberti Descriptio urbis Romae', *Albertiana*, vol.6, (2003), pp.125–215.

40. Alberti, 'Rome', p.197.

41. See Tavernor, R., *On Alberti and the Art of Building*, New Haven and London, Yale U.P., (1998), pp.13–14.

42. Alberti, 'Rome', p.197.

43. See Palladio, *Two Guidebooks*, appendix.

44. See Rowland, I., 'Raphael, Angelo Colocci, and the Genesis of the Architectural Orders', *Art Bulletin*, vol.76, (March 1994), pp.81–104.

45. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Antiquities*, fol.1.

46. Howe, *Churches*, p.20.

47. Anonymous, *Mirabilia urbis Romae: The Marvels of Rome, or a Picture of the Golden City*, trans. F.M. Nichols, London, Ellis and Elvey, (1889). See Krautheimer, R., *Rome, Profile of a City, 312–1308*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, (1980), pp.198, 355. The authorship of the *Mirabilia* is unknown, although Krautheimer credits Benedict the Canon.

48. *Indulgence books included the Indulgentiae, Mirabilia et indulgentiae, Indulgentiae ecclesiarum urbis Romae* and *Mirabilia urbis Romae nova*. See Howe, *Churches*, p.35.

49. See, for example, the confusingly titled *Mirabilia romae*, published by Antonio Blades in Rome in 1516 (in fact an indulgence book) and its Italian translation *Le cose maravigliose della citta di Roma*, published by Guglielmo da Fontaneto in Venice in 1544.

50. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Antiquities*, fol.1.

51. Nichols, *Mirabilia*, p.62.

52. See Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Antiquities*, fol.4r, n.65.

53. On arguments in favour of Palladio's disengagement, see Puppi, *Scritti*.

54. This computer model was produced in collaboration with Professor Alan Day, of CASA at Bath University, UK.

55. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Churches*, pp.1–2.

56. See Howe, *Churches*, p.37.

57. Burns notes that "There is disappointingly little information about his personality or beliefs and feelings about anything other than architecture"; Burns, Fairbairn and Boucher, *The Portico and the Farmyard*, p.69.

58. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Churches*, pp.53, 64.

59. Most commentators describe the books as 'guides.' Howe concludes by emphasizing that *Le chiese* "was a book which never was intended to reside in a library, but rather to remain in then pockets of travellers"; Howe, *Churches*, p.46. Boucher, *Palladio*, p.24, describes *L'antichità* as a "checklist of famous Roman monuments" and fails to mention *Le chiese*.

60. See Tavernor, *Palladianism*, p.9.

61. On Palladio's tendency to collect 'types', see Puppi, *Palladio*, p.20.

62. The 'latter' Palladio was most famously studied in Wittkower, R., *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London, Warburg Institute, University of London, (1949).

63. QL, IV, xvii, p.64 [p.276]. Here closely echoing Serlio's Book Three, p.XXXVI [p.127], where Bramante was said to have "brought back to life (you might say) the fine architecture which, from the ancients to this time, had lain buried."

64. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Antiquities*, fol.32r.

65. See Tavernor, *Palladianism*, p.18; introduction in Tavernor and Schofield, *Four Books*, p.xi.

66. See Howe, *Churches*, pp.22–4.

67. *QL*, I, xx, p.51 [p.55].

68. See Puppi, *Palladio*, p.38.

69. *QL*, IV, letter, p.3 [p.161].

70. Palladio, *Two Guidebooks: Antiquities*, fol.32r.

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