VOLUME I

THE CHALLENGE *of* TRADITION

1750–1900

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TERRY KIRK

the architecture of MODERN ITALY

The Architecture of Modern Italy

Italy 1750
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
Simplon
Lombardy
Veneto
Belluno
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Treviso
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Trieste
Venice
Padua
Turin
Mantua
Piedmont
Parma
Ferrara
Modena
Bologna
Genoa
Liguria
Faenza
Carrara
Pistoia
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Florence
Urbino
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Ancona
Tuscany
Papal States
ADRIATIC SEA
Montalcino
Follonica
Perugia
Elba
Civitavecchia
Tivoli
Rome
Subiaco
Terracina
Minturno
Gaeta
Caserta
Naples
Portici/Herculaneum
Kingdom of
Two Sicilies
Amalfi
Paestum
SARDINIA
TYRRHENIAN SEA
Palermo

The Architecture of Modern Italy

Volume I: The Challenge of Tradition, 1750–1900

Terry Kirk

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Contents

Acknowledgments 9

Introduction 10

Chapter 1

Architecture of the Italian Enlightenment, 1750–1800

The Pantheon Revisited 14
Rome of the Nolli Plan 20
Alessandro Galilei and San Giovanni Laterano 22
Nicola Salvi and the Trevi Fountain 24
Luigi Vanvitelli and the Reggia at Caserta 28
Fernando Fuga and the Albergo dei Poveri 40
Giovanni Battista Piranesi 47
Giacomo Quarenghi 59
The Grand Tour and the Impact of Archeology 62
Collecting and Cultural Heritage 65
The Patronage of Pope Pius VI 73
Giuseppe Piermarini and Milan in the Eighteenth Century 77
Venice's Teatro La Fenice and Conclusions on Neoclassicism 83

Chapter 2
Napoleon in Italy, 1800–1815

Napoleon's Italic Empire 86
Milan 91
Venice 98
Turin 101
Naples 105
Trieste 107
The Neoclassical Interior 110
Rome 112
Napoleon's Interest in Archeology 120
Political Restoration and Restitution of Artworks 123
Napoleonic Neoclassicism 125

Chapter 3
Restoration and Romanticism, 1815–1860

Giuseppe Jappelli and the Romantic Ideal 126
Villa Rivalry: The Borghese and the Torlonia of Rome .136
Italian Opera Stage Design and Theater Interiors 143
Antonio Canova's Temple in Possagno 147
Pantheon Progeny and Carlo Barabino 153
Romanticism in Tuscany 156
Alessandro Antonelli 160
Construction in Iron 166
Architectural Restoration of Monuments 169
Revivalism and Camillo Boito 176

Chapter 4
Unification and the Nation's Capitals, 1860–1900

Turin, the First Capital 186
Florence, the Interim Capital .190
Naples *Risanata* 196
Milan, the Industrial Capital 199
Cathedral Facades and Town Halls 204
Palermo and National Unification 217
The Last of Papal Rome 219
Rome, the Capital of United Italy 222
Monumental Symbols of the New State 231
A New Urban Infrastructure for Rome 241
A National Architecture 246
Rome, a World Capital 252

Bibliography 260

Credits 275

Index 276

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INTRODUCTION

"Modern Italy" may sound like an oxymoron. For Western civilization, Italian culture represents the classical past and the continuity of canonical tradition, while modernity is understood in contrary terms of rupture and rapid innovation. Charting the evolution of a culture renowned for its historical past into the modern era challenges our understanding of both the resilience of tradition and the elasticity of modernity.

We have a tendency when imagining Italy to look to a rather distant and definitely premodern setting. The ancient forum, medieval cloisters, baroque piazzas, and papal palaces constitute our ideal itinerary of Italian civilization. The Campo of Siena, Saint Peter's, all of Venice and San Gimignano satisfy us with their seemingly unbroken panoramas onto historical moments untouched by time; but elsewhere modern intrusions alter and obstruct the view to the landscapes of our expectations. As seasonal tourist or seasoned historian, we edit the encroachments time and change have wrought on our image of Italy. The learning of history is always a complex task, one that in the Italian environment is complicated by the changes wrought everywhere over the past 250 years. Culture on the peninsula continues to evolve with characteristic vibrancy.

Italy is not a museum. To think of it as such—as a disorganized yet phenomenally rich museum unchanging in its exhibits—is to misunderstand the nature of the Italian cultural condition and the writing of history itself. To edit Italy is to overlook the dynamic relationship of tradition and innovation that has always characterized its genius. It has never been easy for architects to operate in an atmosphere conditioned by the weight of history while responding to modern progress and change. Their best works describe a deft compromise between Italy's roles as Europe's oldest culture and one of its newer nation states. Architects of varying convictions in this context have striven for a balance, and a vibrant pluralistic architectural culture is the result. There is a surprisingly transparent top layer on the palimpsest of Italy's cultural history. This book explores the significance of the architecture and urbanism of Italy's latest, modern layer.

This book is a survey of architectural works that have shaped the Italian landscape according to the dictates of an emerging modern state. The idea of Italy had existed as a collective cultural notion for centuries, but it was not until the late nineteenth century that Italy as a political state became a reality. It was founded upon the strength of the cultural tradition that brought together diverse regional entities in a political whole for the first time since antiquity. The architecture and the traditions it drew upon provided images and rallying points, figures to concretize the collective ideal. Far from a degradation of tradition—as superficial treatments of the period after the baroque propose—Italy's architectural culture reached a zenith of expressive power in the service of this new nation by relying expressly on the wealth of its historical memory. Elsewhere in Europe, the tenets of a modern functionalism were being defined, tenets that are still used rather indiscriminately and unsuccessfully to evaluate the modern architecture of Italy. The classical tradition, now doubly enriched for modern times by the contributions of the intervening Renaissance, vied in Italy with forces of international modernism in a dynamic balance of political and aesthetic concerns. An understanding of the transformation of the Italian tradition in the modern age rests upon a clarification of contemporary attitudes toward tradition and modernity with respect to national consciousness.

Contemporary scholarship has demonstrated the benefits of breaking down the barriers between periods. Notions of revolution are being dismantled to reconstruct a more continuous picture of historical development in the arts. Yet our vision of modern Italian architecture is still characterized by discontinuities. Over the last fifty years, scholars have explored individual subjects from Piranesi to the present, and have contributed much to our knowledge of major figures and key monuments, but these remain isolated contributions in a largely fragmentary overview. Furthermore, many of these scholars were primarily professional architects who used their historical research to pursue timely political issues that may seem less interesting to us now than their ostensible content. My intention is to strive for a nonpolemical evaluation of cultural traditions within the context of the modern Italian political state, an evaluation that bears upon a reading of the evolution of its architecture.

The Architecture of Modern Italy surveys the period from the late baroque period in the mid-eighteenth century down to the Holy Year 2000. Its linear narrative structure aligns Italy's modern architectural culture for the first time in a chronological continuum. The timeline is articulated by the rhythms of major political events—such as the changes of governing regimes—that marshal official architecture of monuments, public buildings, and urban planning and set the pace for other building types as well. The starting point of this history will not be justified in terms of contrast against the immediately preceding period; indeed, we set ourselves down in the flow of time more or less arbitrarily. Names and ideas will also flow from one chapter to the next to dismantle the often artificial divisions by style or century.

This study is initiated with Piranesi's exploration of the fertile potential of the interpretation of the past. Later, neoclassical architects developed these ideas in a wide variety of buildings across a peninsula still politically divided and variously inflected in diverse local traditions. The experience of Napoleonic rule in Italy introduced enduring political and architectural models. With the growing political ideal of the *Risorgimento*, or resurgence of an Italian nation, architecture came to be used in a variety of guises as an agent of unification and helped reshape a series of Italian capital cities: Turin, then Florence, and finally Rome. Upon the former imperial and recent papal capital, the image of the new secular nation was superimposed; its institutional buildings and monuments and the urban evolution they helped to shape describe a culminating moment in Italy of modern progress and traditional values balanced in service of the nation. Alongside traditionalist trends, avant-garde experimentation in Art Nouveau and Futurism found many expressions, if not in permanent built form then in widely influential architectural images. Under the Fascist regime, perhaps the most prolific period of Italian architecture, historicist trends continued while interpretations of northern European modernist design were developed, and their interplay enriches our understanding of both. With the reconstruction of political systems after World War II, architecture also was revamped along essential lines of construction and social functions. Contemporary architecture in Italy is seen in

the context of its own rich historical endowment and against global trends in architecture.

Understanding the works of modern Italy requires meticulous attention to cultural context. Political and social changes, technological advance within the realities of the Italian economy, the development of new building types, the influence of related arts and sciences (particularly the rise of classical archeology), and theories of restoration are all relevant concerns. The correlated cultures of music production, scenography, and industrial design must be brought to bear. Each work is explored in terms of its specific historical moment, uncluttered by anachronistic polemical commentary. Primary source material, especially the architect's own word, is given prominence. Seminal latter-day scholarship, almost all written in Italian, is brought together here for the first time. Selected bibliographies for each chapter subheading credit the original thinkers and invite further research.

1.1 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Pantheon, Rome. Engraving from *Vedute di Roma*, c. 1748

Chapter 1

ARCHITECTURE OF THE ITALIAN ENLIGHTENMENT, 1750–1800

THE PANTHEON REVISITED

The Pantheon is one of the most celebrated and most carefully studied buildings of Western architecture. In the modern age, as it had been in the Renaissance, the Pantheon is a crucible of critical thinking. Preservation of the Pantheon had been undertaken in the seventeenth century and continued in the eighteenth during the pontificate of Clement XI. Floodwater stains had been removed and some statues placed in the altars around the perimeter. Antoine Derizet, professor at Rome's official academy of arts, the Accademia di San Luca, praised Clement's operation as having returned the Pantheon "to its original beauty." A view of the interior painted by Giovanni Paolo Panini recorded the recent restorations. From a lateral niche, between two cleaned columns, Panini directs our vision away from the Christianized altar out to the sweep of the ancient space. The repeated circles of perimeter, marble paving stones, oculus, and the spot of sunlight that shines through it emphasize the geometrical logic of the rotunda. Panini's painted view reflects the eighteenth-century vision of the Pantheon as the locus of an ideal geometrical architectural beauty.

Not everything in Panini's view satisfied the contemporary critical eye, however. The attic, that intermediate level above the columns and below the coffers of the dome, seemed discordant—ill proportioned, misaligned, not structurally relevant. A variety of construction chronologies were invented to explain this "error." The incapacity of eighteenth-century critics to interpret the Pantheon's original complexities led them to postulate a theory of its original

1.2 Giovanni Paolo Panini, Pantheon, c. 1740

state and, continuing Clement XI's work, formulate a program of corrective reconstruction.

In 1756, during the papacy of Benedict XIV, the doors of the Pantheon were shut, and behind them dust rose as marble fragments from the attic were thrown down. What may have started as a maintenance project resulted in the elimination of the troublesome attic altogether. The work was carried out in secret; even the pope's claim of authority over the Pantheon, traditionally the city's domain, was not made public until after completion. Francesco Algarotti, intellectual gadfly of the enlightened age, happened upon the work in progress and wrote with surprise and irony that "they have dared to spoil that magnificent, august construction of the Pantheon. . . . They have even destroyed the old attic from which the cupola springs and they've put up in its place some modern gentilities." As with the twin bell towers erected on the temple's exterior in the seventeenth century, Algarotti did not know who was behind the present work.

The new attic was complete by 1757. Plaster panels and pedimented windows replaced the old attic pilaster order, accentuating lines of horizontality. The new panels were made commensurate in measure to the dome's coffers and the fourteen "windows" were reshaped as statue niches with cutout figures of statues set up to test the effect. The architect responsible for the attic's redesign, it was later revealed, was Paolo Posi who, as a functionary only recently hired to Benedict XIV's Vatican architectural team, was probably brought in after the ancient attic was dismantled. Posi's training in the baroque heritage guaranteed a certain facility of formal invention. Francesco Milizia, the eighteenth century's most widely respected architectural critic, described Posi as a decorative talent, not an architectural mind. Whatever one might think of the design, public rancor arose over the wholesale liquidation of the materials from the old attic. Capitals, marble slabs, and ancient stamped bricks were dispersed on the international market for antiquities. Posi's work at the Pantheon was sharply criticized, often with libelous aspersion that revealed a prevailing sour attitude toward contemporary architecture in Rome and obfuscated Posi's memory. They found the new attic suddenly an affront to the venerated place.

Reconsidering Posi's attic soon became an exercise in the development of eighteenth-century architects in Rome. Giovanni Battista Piranesi, the catalytic architectural mind who provided us with the evocative engraving of the Pantheon's exterior, drew up alternative ideas of a rich, three-dimensional attic of clustered pilasters and a meandering frieze that knit the openings and elements together in a bold sculptural treatment. Piranesi, as we will see in a review of this architect's work, reveled in liberties promised in the idiosyncrasies of the original attic and joyously contributed some of his own. Piranesi had access to Posi's work site and had prepared engravings of the discovered brick stamps and the uncovered wall construction, but these were held from public release. In his intuitive and profound understanding of the implications of the Pantheon's supposed "errors," Piranesi may have been the only one to approach without prejudice the Pantheon in all its complexity and contradiction.

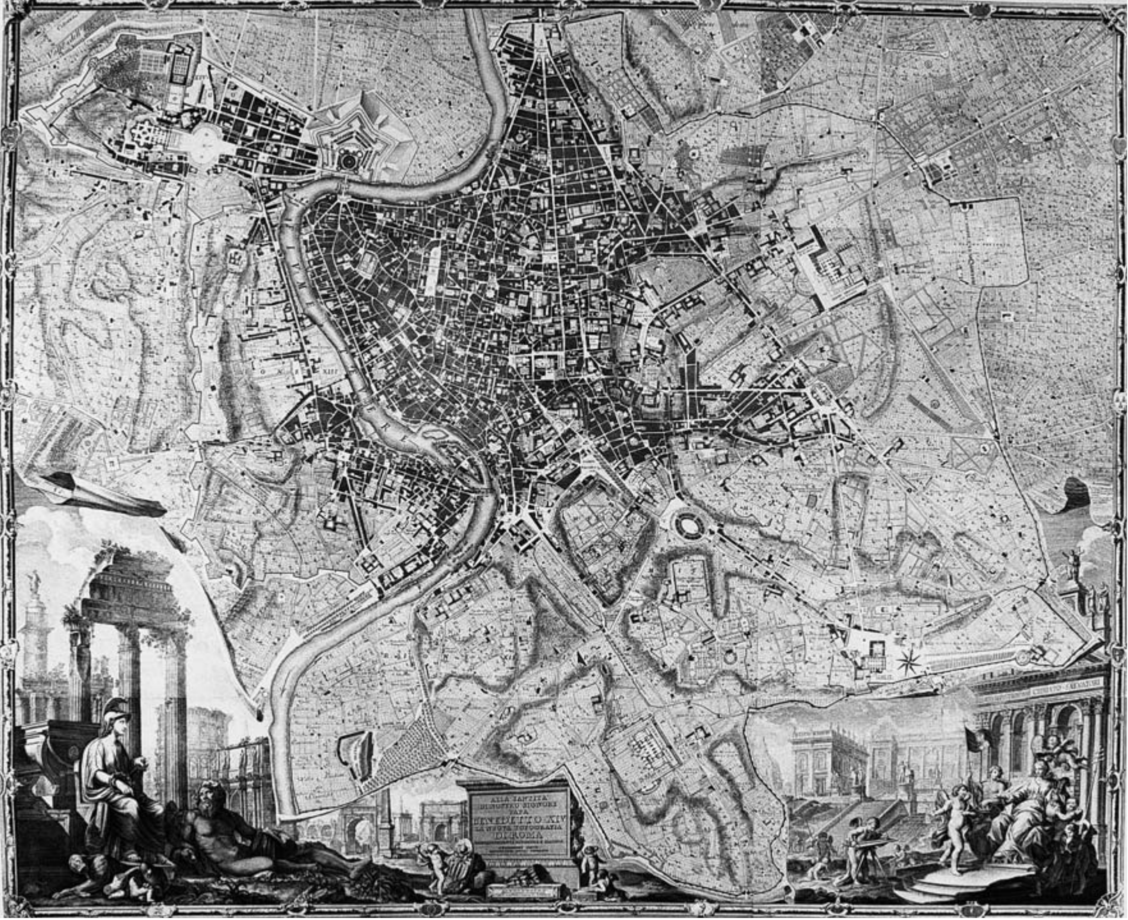
The polemical progress of contemporary architectural design in the context of the Pantheon exemplifies the growing difficulties at this moment of reconciling creativity and innovation with the past and tradition. History takes on a weight and gains a life of its own. The polemic over adding to the Pantheon reveals a moment of transition from an earlier period of an innate, more fluid sense of continuity with the past to a period of shifting and uncertain relationship in the present. The process of redefining the interaction of the present to the past, of contemporary creativity in an historical context, is the core of the problem of modern architecture in Italy and the guiding theme of this study.

1.3 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Pantheon, design for the attic, 1756

ROME OF THE NOLLI PLAN

The complex layering found at the Pantheon was merely an example of the vast palimpsest that is Rome itself, and there is no better demonstration of this than the vivid portrait of the city engraved in 1748. The celebrated cartographer Giovanni Battista Nolli and his team measured the entire city in eleven months using exact trigonometric methods. At a scale of 1 to 2,900, the two-square-meter map sacrifices no accuracy: interior spaces of major public buildings, churches, and palazzi are shown in detail; piazza furnishings, garden parterre layouts, and scattered ruins outside the walls are described with fidelity. Buildings under construction in the 1740s were also included: Antoine Derizet's Church of Santissimo Nome di Maria at Trajan's Column, the Trevi Fountain, Palazzo Corsini on Via della Lungara. In the city's first perfectly ichnographic representation Nolli privileges no element over another in the urban fabric. All aspects are equally observed and equally important. Vignettes in the lower corners of the map, however, present selected monuments of ancient and contemporary Rome: columns, arches, and temples opposite churches, domes, and new piazzas. *Roma antica* and *Roma moderna* face one another in a symbiotic union.

The Nolli plan captures Rome in all its richness, fixing in many minds the date of its publication as the apex of the city's architectural splendor. It is an illusory vision, however, as Rome, like all healthy cities, has never been in stasis. Nolli's inclusion of contemporary architecture emphasizes its constant evolution. His plan is neither a culmination nor a conclusion but the starting point for contemporary architecture. The architecture of modern Italy is written upon this already dense palimpsest.



1.4 Giovanni Battista Nolli, *La Nuova pianta di Roma*, 1748

ALESSANDRO GALILEI AND SAN GIOVANNI LATERANO

One of the contemporary monuments featured in Nolli's vignettes was a new facade for the church of San Giovanni Laterano. The basilica, along with its baptistery, was erected by the Emperor Constantine in the year 315. It was, and still is, the pre-eminent liturgical seat in the Christian capital, where the relics of Saints Peter and Paul—specifically, their heads—are preserved. The popes resided at the Lateran through the Middle Ages and it remains today the cathedral of the city of Rome, though it does not enjoy a pre-eminent urban position or architectural stature; indeed its peripheral site along the city's western walls and eccentric orientation facing out across the open countryside make the maintenance of its rightful stature, let alone its aging physical structure, extremely difficult. The Church of Saint Peter's, on the other hand, also Constantinian in origin, had been entirely reconceived under Pope Julius II in the Renaissance and became the preferred papal seat. Meanwhile, the Lateran remained in constant need of repair, revision, and reform. Pope Sixtus V reconfigured the site by adding an obelisk, a new palace and benediction loggia on the side and later Pope Innocent X set Francesco Borromini to reintegrate the body of the church, its nave, and its double aisles, but his plans for the facade and eastern piazza were left unexecuted. Dozens of projects to complete the facade were proposed over the next seventy-five years until Pope Clement XII announced in 1731 an architectural competition for it.

Clement XII's idea of a competition was a novelty for Rome, with a published program and projects presented anonymously before an expert jury. It would indeed provide an opportunity for exposure of new ideas and for stimulating discussion. In 1732, nearly two dozen proposals were put on display in a gallery of the papal summer palace on the Quirinal Hill. All the prominent architects of Rome participated, as well as architects from Florence, Bologna, and Venice. Participants drew up a variety of alternatives ranging, as tastes ran, between a stern classicism to fulsome baroque images after Borromini. Jury members from the Accademia di San Luca found the projects that followed Borrominian inspiration excessively exuberant and preferred the sobriety of the classical inheritance, and Alessandro

Galilei emerged the winner. These expressed opinions delineated a polemical moment dividing the baroque from a new classicism.

Galilei was a remote relation of the famous astronomer and followed the papal court from Florence to Rome. Galilei had been active in the rediscovery of classic achievements in the arts and letters in the eighteenth century re-examining Giotto, Dante, and Brunelleschi with renewed appreciation. For example, when asked in 1723 for his opinion on a new baroque-style altar for the Florentine baptistry, Galilei favored preserving the original Romanesque ambience of the interior despite the tastes of his day. A renewed classical sense stigmatized the frivolities of the rococo as uncultivated, arbitrary, and irrational. Clement XII's competition for San Giovanni may merely have been a means to secure the project less flagrantly for Galilei and to introduce a rigorous cultural policy to Rome.

Roman architects petitioned the pope, livid that their talent went unrewarded, and Clement responded with, in effect, consolation prizes to some of them with commissions for other papal works. Construction on the Lateran facade was begun in 1733.

Galilei's facade of San Giovanni Laterano is a tall and broad structure in white travertine limestone. The structure is entirely open to the deep shadowed spaces of a loggia set within a colossal Corinthian order. In a manuscript attributed to Galilei, the architect articulates his guiding principles of clear composition and reasoned ornament, functional analysis and economy. Professional architects, Galilei insists, trained in mathematics and science and a study of antiquity, namely the Pantheon and Vitruvius, can assure good building. Galilei's handling of the composition has the rectilinear rigor and interlocking precision one might expect from a mathematician. The ponderous form is monumental merely by the means of its harmonious proportions of large canonical elements. It is a strong-boned, broad-shouldered architecture, a match for Saint Peter's. It demonstrates in its skeletal sparseness and subordination of ornamentation the rational architectural logic attributed to Vitruvius. Galilei's images are derived primarily from sources in Rome: the two masterpieces of his Florentine forefather Michelangelo, Saint Peter's and the Palazzo dei Conservatori at the Capitoline. Galilei's classicism is a constant strain among architects in Rome who built their

monumental church facades among the vestiges of the ancient temples. Galilei refocused that tradition upon Vitruvius and in his measured austerity contributed a renewed objectivity to Roman architecture of the eighteenth century.

Galilei's austere classicism is emblematic of a search for a timeless and stately official idiom at a point in time where these qualities were found lacking in contemporary architecture. Reason, simplicity, order, clarity—the essential motifs of this modern discussion—set into motion a reasoned disengagement from the baroque. With Galilei's monumental facade, guided in many ways by the pressures of Saint Peter's, the Cathedral of Rome takes its rightful position, as Nolli's vignette suggests, a triumphal arch over enthroned *Roma moderna*.

NICOLA SALVI AND THE TREVI FOUNTAIN

Alongside serious official architectural works on major ecclesiastical sites, eighteenth-century Rome also sustained a flourishing activity in more lighthearted but no less meaningful works. The Trevi Fountain ranks perhaps as the most joyous site in Rome. Built from 1732 to 1762 under the patronage of popes Clement XII, Benedict XIV, and Clement XIII, the great scenographic water display is often described as the glorious capstone of the baroque era. This is indeed where most architectural histories (and tourist itineraries) of Italian architecture end. It is one of those places, like the Pantheon, where the entire sweep of Rome's culture can be read.

The history of the Trevi Fountain reaches back to antiquity. The waters that feed the fountain today flow through the Aqua Virgo aqueduct originally constructed by Agrippa in 19 B.C. The aqueduct passes mostly underground and was obstructed in the Middle Ages to prevent barbarian infiltration, so it was easily repaired in the Renaissance. The water inspired a succession of baroque designers with ideas for a fountain. As at San Giovanni, a similar architectural competition was opened by Clement XII. With Clement's own favored Florentine architect, Galilei, already loaded up with projects,

1.5 Alessandro Galilei, San Giovanni Laterano facade, Rome, 1732–35

1.6 Nicola Salvi with Luigi Vanvitelli, then Giuseppe Panini, Trevi Fountain, Rome, 1732–62. Engraving by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, from *Vedute di Roma*, c. 1748

the pope took this opportunity to calm the waters over the Lateran competition with a bit of artistic diplomacy. Nicola Salvi, born and bred a Roman, was awarded the commission in 1732.

Salvi was endowed with a remarkably broad education in literary and artistic culture that earned him positions in a range of Roman intellectual societies, including the Virtuosi del Pantheon, a sort of well-rounded genius club that met in the temple. His participation in the Lateran competition featured his ability for flexibility and fusion, both innovative and traditionalist, combining qualities of architectural grandeur drawn from ancient and baroque examples. The same balance and profundity is found in his singular masterpiece, the Trevi Fountain.

The Trevi Fountain is an architectural, sculptural, and aquatic performance that spills off the flank of a pre-existing palace into a low, irregular piazza. A colossal Corinthian order on a rusticated base sews the broad facade together around a central arch motif that marks the terminus of the Aqua Virgo. Sculptural figures and panels in relief adorn the central section. The figure of Ocean on an oyster-shell chariot rides outward and gestures commandingly to Tritons and their sea horses in the churning water below. The water rushes in at eye level on the piazza across a cascade of rough-hewn travertine blocks tumbling down from the palace's rustication into a deep-set pool. Sweeping steps bring us down to the water while rich sculptural flourishes draw our eye upward to the papal arms above.

Salvi has deftly combined formal references to imperial arches of triumph and the colossal order of the Renaissance, elements featured in both vignettes of Nolli's map, with the scenographic unity characteristic of the baroque. The architectonic structure is packed with all the sculptural decoration it can hold, not more. The sculptures were contracted to various artists who despite their legal protests were forced to subordinate their work to Salvi's commanding architectural scansion.

One stumbles upon the site on this edge of the eighteenth-century city quite by surprise, as the engraved image by Piranesi of the fountain and the piazza shows. Attracted perhaps by the splashing sounds, we are drawn into a delightful episode in the urban fabric. The jump in scale of Salvi's construction provides a powerful impact

for this unexpectedly grand public event, like the grandiose architectures of contemporary festivals or the fantasies of the lyric opera stage. Here water has taken center stage in an engaging spectacle of cascading forms. Water is the source of salubrity and fertility and nourishes all growing things, represented by all the accompanying sculptures here and focused by Ocean's magisterial presence. Classical allegory is the basis here of a contemporary philosophical program typical of Enlightenment interests in the natural sciences. Thirty species of flora minutely described and artfully disposed upon the rocks emphasize an encyclopedic spirit. The natural and the artificial, the tectonic and the fluid, are intermingled in continual transformation one into the other. The themes of this poem in stone and water suggest an exaltation of water's vital energy in the cycle of self-renewal, time and decay, ruin and regeneration.

At Levi, Christ turned water into wine; at the Trevi, Clement XII turned wine into water: construction of the fountain was financed with proceeds from the lottery and a tax on wine. Salvi hired a learned and sensitive building contractor for the work, Nicola Giobbe, and he also relied on close collaboration with Luigi Vanvitelli. When Salvi's health gave way following a stroke in 1744 (due to too many subterranean visits to the aqueduct, it was thought), the direction of the work was eventually shifted to Giuseppe Panini, son of the famous painter, who oversaw its completion in 1762.

The response to the Trevi Fountain was overwhelmingly positive. Salvi was catapulted to fame, receiving invitations to finish up the cathedral of Milan with a new facade and build a palace for the royal family in Naples. Even the stern critic Milizia who preferred utilitarian works conceded that the Trevi was "superb, grandiose, rich and altogether of a surprising beauty. . . nothing in this century in Rome is more magnificent." The Trevi Fountain cannot be considered either a precursor of neoclassical rigor nor a pure product of baroque exuberance. Salvi's subtle shift toward a knowledgeable, historicist ensemble is evidence of a significant transformation in architectural ideas at this moment in the mid-eighteenth century. The Trevi is a culmination of a grand cultural

tradition in Roman architecture and yet subtly innovative in its Enlightenment philosophical implications. The Trevi Fountain was the most widely influential modern construction in its day, emulated by architects across Europe. It enthuses still today an almost fanatical fascination among all who encounter it.

LUIGI VANVITELLI AND THE REGGIA AT CASERTA

Clement XII's consolation prize of the Trevi Fountain commission to Salvi was coupled with another commission to the second runner-up in the Lateran competition, Luigi Vanvitelli. Vanvitelli was the son of a Dutch landscape painter working in Italy, Gaspar Van Wittel, who Italianized his son's last name. Luigi trained like many in his day in scenography yet found employ in civil engineering. His participation in the competition for the facade of the Lateran assured his reputation although the bulk of his work continued to be in rather utilitarian tasks. He built the bastions and quarantine hospital in the pope's Adriatic port of Ancona, his consolation prize, and reorganized Michelangelo's Church of Santa Maria degli Angeli in Rome, itself a reintegration of the ancient Baths of Diocletian, which stirred criticism comparable to the contemporaneous Pantheon restorations. As head architect of the building commission at Saint Peter's, called the *Fabbrica*, his restoration project of Michelangelo's dome was contested yet successful. In Vanvitelli, the indispensable professional qualifications of engineer and architect, scenographer and coordinator were recognized by, among many, King Carlos III of Naples.

Naples and the southern reaches of the Italian peninsula, ancient Magna Graecia, had been ruled over by a succession of foreign powers. The early eighteenth century brought the Bourbon monarchy to Naples under Carlos III. Born the son of King Felipe V of Spain and Elisabetta Farnese, Carlos inherited not only the traditions arcing back through the French Bourbons to King Louis XIV, his great-grandfather, but also through his maternal line to the Farnese and Medici dynasties of Italy. Carlos III became, in 1734, the

absolute monarch of the new and autonomous Kingdom of Two Sicilies which bordered the papal states to the south. Naples, which for over two centuries had languished, was now under Carlos's rule to be promoted to rank with Madrid, Paris, and Rome. Carlos instigated ameliorative policies in architecture, urbanism, and regional infrastructure that became a primary function of his reign. By ordering landed aristocrats to be physically present at the capital's urban court, Carlos stimulated the local economy in construction while simultaneously directing Naples toward a more cosmopolitan image. The king set the example by supporting the arts, undertaking archeological excavations at the buried ancient city of Herculaneum, and building several royal palaces.

Carlos had lived in many of his parents' residences, yet the structures available to the new monarch in Naples were not up to those standards either in the nature of their planning or in their less-than-imposing scale. At Portici, the Herculaneum excavation site on the bay of Naples, he began a great royal palace more for the good fishing than the promise of archeological finds the site promised. On a hill above Naples at Capodimonte he had a hunting lodge built that outstripped in its ambitious scope that modest program. Both palaces were in large part the work of a Sicilian architect, Giovanni Antonio Medrano, but both projects proved insufficient in Carlos's eye on aesthetic, representational, and functional grounds.

Finding local architects lacking, Carlos turned to Rome's prominent architectural culture for the professionals he required. Nicola Salvi was first on his wish list, but with the architect in ill health and concerned for the ongoing fountain project, he deferred, recommending instead his collaborator Vanvitelli. Benedict XIV may have been loath to see not only Vanvitelli but also another of his prized architects, Ferdinando Fuga, summoned by the powerful new monarch to the south, but the pope sent them along at the close of the Holy Year of 1750 as a diplomatic payment of cultural tokens.

Carlos set his two new architects to the major buildings of his two-fold economic and political scheme: two palaces for opposite ends of the sociopolitical scale, the Reggia or royal court palace at Caserta from Vanvitelli and the *regium pauperum hospitalium*, or royal poor-man's hospice at Naples from Fuga. Following schemes of his

French Bourbon forefathers, Carlos consolidated the charitable institutions for the poor in a grand architectural project, like Jacques-Germain Soufflot's Hotel Dieu in Lyons, and brought together the governing institutions of the upper realm in an ambitious work comparable to the palace at Versailles.

Like Versailles, the site of Carlos's new Reggia lies several dozen kilometers beyond the capital city limits at Caserta, amidst the king's favorite hunting grounds. More crucially, the site was safe from civil unrest, coastal attack, and volcanic eruption. For the entirely unimpeded site Vanvitelli drew up his first ideas for a great palace, but so did the king: as a contemporary noted, "with compass and slate in hand, Carlos drew out the first sketches of the great palace." Carlos's specific design directives can be deduced by noting all the changes Vanvitelli subsequently adopted and conscientiously adhered to in his second project proposal: a square construction with four internal courtyards and a great central dome. This design had many inspirations: the project Carlos's father had commissioned for Buen Retiro outside Madrid, as well as El Escorial; elements from his mother's Palazzo Pitti in Florence; the Palazzo Farnese in Rome; the Farnese ducal residence at Colorno; and most importantly, the Louvre, Versailles, and their gardens. Vanvitelli procured all this pertinent comparative material and dutifully shaped the project according to the royal vision. In 1751, he was summoned to the Portici residence where in a private audience, Vanvitelli tells us, the king and the queen delighted over his solutions, each asking questions and voicing desires for the apartments, the gardens, the fountains and, Queen Amalia extemporized, on a whole new, orderly city to rise up around. *Maestà*, the courtier-architect obsequiously responded, "this lesson that you deign to give me will be kept well in mind and executed without alteration."

On 20 January 1752, the foundation stone for the Reggia at Caserta was laid with pompous ceremony. This and the entire palace project were minutely described by Vanvitelli in a lavish publication of 1756 distributed by the royals to visiting dignitaries. As the architect puts it, the fourteen engraved plates and elucidating text broadcast the sublimity of Carlos's idea, which feared no comparison with the great palaces of Europe or antiquity. Vanvitelli's text is a

guide to the sculptural elements and their monumental architectural vessel. Like the founding legends of western European civilization expounded by the Neapolitan philosopher Giambattista Vico, the rhythms, repetitions, gestures, and metaphors of Caserta are Vanvitelli's architectural poems of the ideal of Bourbon absolutism.

Vanvitelli coordinated the ongoing spectacle of construction of palace and gardens, along with the aqueduct that would serve them. A 40-kilometer conduit, the Acquedotto Carolino, passes through mountains, like the Aqua Virgo, and over valleys on arches modeled on the Roman-era Pont du Gard in France. Aqueduct building, the stuff of ancient emperors, provided aesthetic and functional benefits to the palace as well as to the city of Naples—a grand watercourse was to connect Carlos's two great works in a single stream.

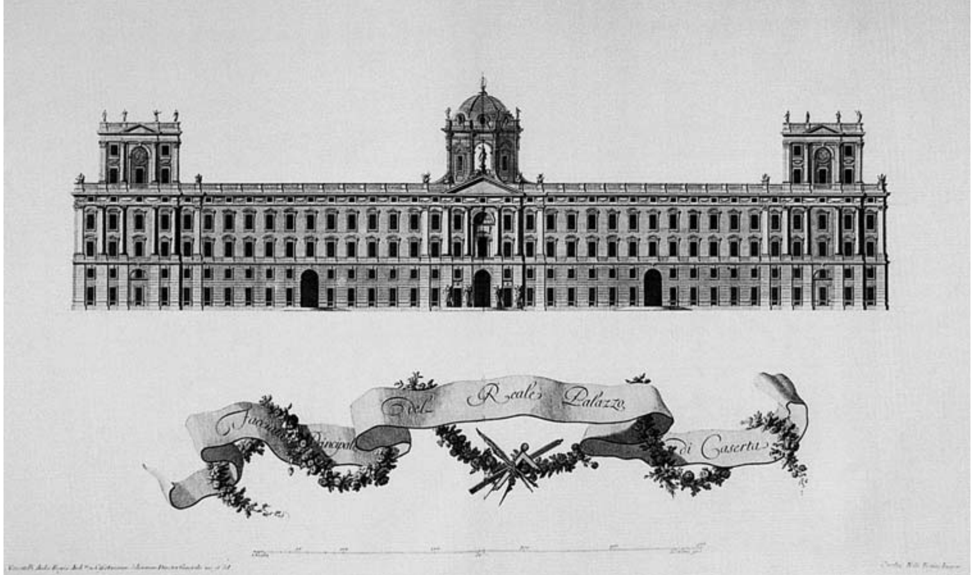
The Reggia's ground plan measures over 250 by 200 meters, a magnificent rectilinear block of stately proportions. Two ranges of state rooms bisect within to define four rectangular courtyards. Its 1,200 rooms are arranged according to a rational geometric disposition that conjoins the symmetry, distribution, and dimension of the great palaces of Renaissance reason and Vico's notion of geometry as the visible manifestation of monarchic rule. The facade is articulated with a colossal Composite order. Its thirty-seven bays are broken up in central and terminal pavilions originally to have been accented with a cupola, corner towers, and acroterial sculpture, references to Carlos's Farnese inheritance and boyhood homes. Unlike Louis's Versailles, the walls of Caserta are not dissolved in windows; instead, Vanvitelli, like Galilei before him, exalts the rectilinear solidity of construction and achieves a sweeping monumentality worthy of the Sun King's descendant. Vanvitelli has balanced Carlos's French memories with the requisites of Italian design tradition.

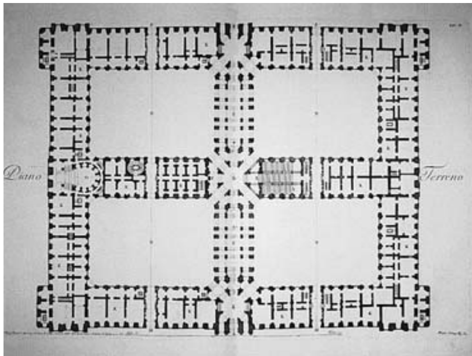
The facade of the palace announces its monarchic functions. The deep central niche on the upper floor, which emphasizes the wall's solidity, is ideal for royal appearances. As Vanvitelli declared, the central area of the palace "must show off those characteristics that might give to those who enter some notion of the Personage who resides there." The various statues and inscriptions planned for the entrance declare his virtues: Justice, the measure of our well-being,

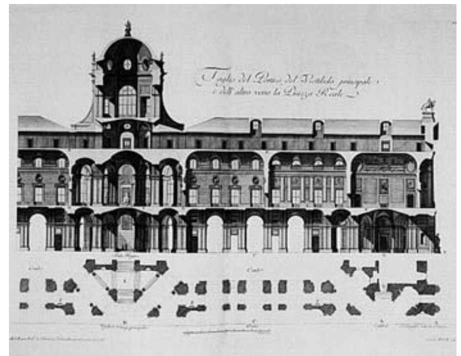
and Peace, which increases our prosperity, Clemency that sustains the miserable, and Magnificence that sustains the arts "as was known," Vanvitelli wrote, "of Rome in the times of Augustus, Trajan, Hadrian, in Paris in the celebrated reign of Louis XIV, and now in Naples." The towers, which were not executed due to later financial constraints, would have lightened the facade's horizontality with bright vertical accents. For the central cupola the architect may have been thinking of Saint Peter's, but this suggestion would have been overridden by the patron's own more pertinent reference to El Escorial. Here, this cupola does not mark a chapel within the palace. Whereas Felipe erected a palace for the lord, Carlos, his son, erects a palace for the realm, inverting ecclesiastical models and confirming a theme of divinization of the monarch. The crowning construction was to have been a pierced belvedere, an airy temple seen from the vast piazza and axial road approaching the palace, rising high and framing the equestrian statue on the pediment as if the royal simulacrum were in triumphal procession.

Entering the palace, the visitor's eye is drawn along a central axis through the ground floor and clear out the back to the garden. This is a grand covered street, a triumphant way that threads three vestibules each of which radiates diagonal glimpses into the courtyards. Many sources for Vanvitelli's inspiration for these surprising and dramatic vestibules have been suggested, but only Vanvitelli's first training in scenography can explain the effect of infinite space achieved by the fleeting diagonal planes across the rectangular courtyards. Every view to and through the Reggia suggests the infinite power of its resident, even the interior vistas. That power is also manifest in the materials used in the construction. The dozens of monolithic columns that punctuate the great masses of supporting wall, especially in the vestibules, were a particular passion of Carlos, both for their representational value as achievements of the classical past and for their local provenance from archeological sites across his realm. Even the materials manifest the monarch's sovereignty across space and time, territory and its history.

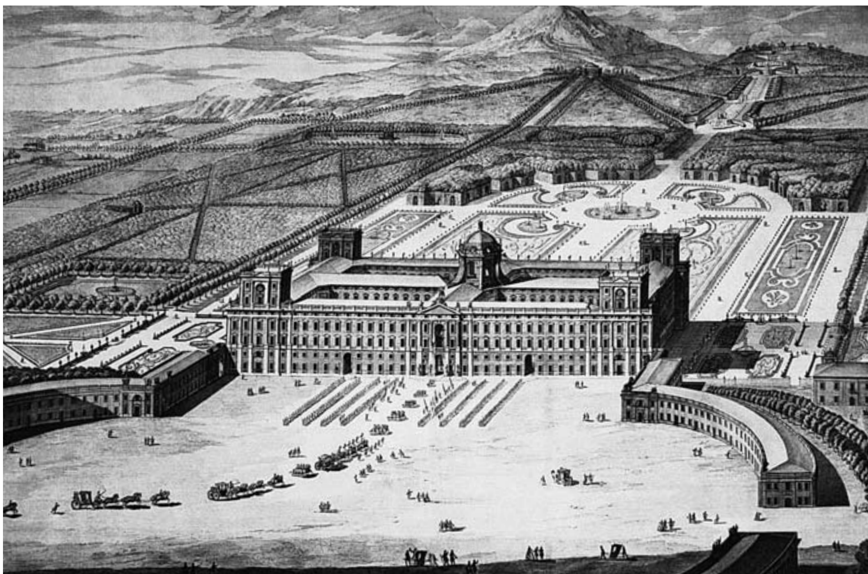
These connections are made explicit in the few but significant sculptural elements realized at Caserta. At the central ground floor vestibule is a colossal figure of resting Hercules, loosely adapted from







1.7–1.9 Luigi Vanvitelli, Reggia, Caserta, 1751–. Front elevation, ground floor plan, partial longitudinal section, from *Dichiarazione dei disegni del reale palazzo di Caserta*, 1756



1.10 and 1.11 Luigi Vanvitelli, Reggia, Caserta, 1751–. *Scalone d'onore* and aerial view from *Dichiarazione*, 1756

the ancient "Farnese Hercules." According to Vico, Hercules plays a major role in the origin of civilization and in many ways: wanderer to foreign shores, tamer of beasts and land, huntsman and planter, builder of gardens and cities. This reflects Carlos in all his endeavors. The stair climbs its first ramp between lions and up to a tall scenic wall with a statue symbolizing Royal Majesty. Here, approaching petitioners are exhorted to truthfulness and meritoriousness by flanking allegories. The stairs bifurcate and continue to climb within this large space vaulted by two domical shells, the first pierced to reveal the second painted empyrean of Apollo's realm. A musicians' gallery tucked away above allows for ethereal accompaniment to the ascent. Here, Vanvitelli maintains an extraordinary equilibrium of baroque theatricality and classical measure.

The upper vestibule is similar to the one directly below, but bathed in intense light. Approached at oblique angles, this vestibule is invested with a centrifugal force that sends the visitor off to the four corners of the palace. Carlos ordered Vanvitelli to model the chapel after Jules-Hardouin Mansart's at Versailles by emphasizing the structural integrity of the free-standing polychrome marble shafts. Vanvitelli also paired the columns as Claude Perrault had done on the recent facade at the Louvre. Vanvitelli too strikes a balance between the forces of tradition and the drive for innovation.

The royal apartments emanate from the central vestibule, the king's toward the principal facade, the queen's toward the gardens, in a strict subdivision of title and gender. The visitor proceeds through sequences of antechambers to the royal presences, shaping, as at Versailles, the rituals of absolute monarchy through the controlled movement of its courtiers. Although the decoration of these interiors fell to the successors of Carlos and Vanvitelli, the *fuga di stanze*, or flight of aligned rooms along its 250-meter axes is more impressive than any later gilding. The court theater on the ground floor was completed entirely under Vanvitelli's direction. Within its tiny 10-meter breadth, completely subsumed like the chapel within the overall geometry of the building, Vanvitelli's colossal columnar order unifies the space. Placed on the ground floor, the stage may be opened at the back to a garden vista.

The gardens at Caserta are an integral element in the experience of Bourbon self-imagery. Parterres and boxwood extend the geometry of the palace's architecture outward. The central axis, noted upon our first approach, shoots thousands of meters up the hillside; the abundant waters of the aqueduct cascade toward us, bursting rambunctiously from a mountain cataract, stepping down enormous water chains and flowing into long, low pools. Vanvitelli's son, Carlo, strove to complete the key features of the sculptural program of his father's gardens. The Ovidian themes of fertility and metamorphosis that Vanvitelli listed in his publication were carefully determined as a Vichian mythopoeic historiography of the land. The fountain sculptures reference both the king's passion for hunting here and the site's historical association with the virginal goddess of the hunt, Diana. At the top of the park, a dramatic ensemble of statues play out the scene of Actaeon's fateful encounter with the goddess in her bath who in her ire flings drops of water onto the hapless hunter who is transformed into a stag and devoured by his dogs. In other ensembles along the water chain, Adonis departs on his fatal hunt and Venus uses his blood to seminate the earth with anemones. The statues describe the region's mythic foundations in the acts of gods.

All elements of this monarchic project are concatenated along the water's course, garden, palace, and on to the new city of Caserta. In front of the palace, a vast elliptical piazza opens, delineated by the severe forms of barracks and service buildings. Its geometry begs a comparison to Bernini's piazza at Saint Peter's but here the architectural gesture is stern and military beneath the monarch at his loggia controlling with his gaze this place and the model town that expands from it, the center of a wisely governed realm. From here a radiating *trevium* and an orderly grid of streets were planned with decorous, uniform blocks to guarantee light and air to the residential units. Contemporary interests in urban planning exhorted the monarch to the organization of cities, a duty that brings with it not only considerable public utility but also effective political propaganda.

Caserta was designed not to replace the capital city but, like Versailles, to rise alongside as an ideal image of the monarch's rule.

1.12 Luigi Vanvitelli with Carlo Vanvitelli, Reggia, Caserta, 1751–.
Garden fountains

The axis of the palace and garden was to continue over the horizon to Naples along a single road carrying with it the waters of the aqueduct in flanking canals. The union of monumental aesthetic and functional utility characterizes the particular strengths of Vanvitelli's vast plan and the absolute power of Carlos's rule. Contemporaries hailed Caserta as the greatest project of its kind. Milizia gushed with praise calling it "a rare complex of grandeur, of regularity, of rhythm, of variety, of contrasts, of richness, of facility, of elegance." Antoine-Chrysostôme Quatremère de Quincy, the French critic, lauded its unity of conception and unity of execution, others its sublime effect of symmetry and expansion, huge dimensions, and controlled singular vision. While concepts of the sublime were being developed across Europe, Vanvitelli himself described Caserta as "a true mirror in which His Royal Highness can see himself . . . and the sublime Ideas conceived by his magnificence," and claimed that it would "show to Italy, and to all Europe, what sublimity the thoughts of his Majesty reach."

Vanvitelli was the last architect of such absolutist ambition and Caserta the swan song of the absolutist rule that sustained such visionary building. Caserta is as much connected to the traditions of the Renaissance and the baroque as it is a response to the innovating classical shift of Vanvitelli's generation. But Caserta stands, even in its abbreviated form, as a confirmation of the highest aspirations of late-eighteenth-century culture and a prototype for a whole line of "megapalaces," buildings of power, logic, largeness, magnificence, and manipulation.

In celebration of his achievements, the festival decorations erected in the streets and squares of his capital presented Carlos III as a modern Hercules, the mythic builder of a new civilization. Far from abandoning the city to its own squalor, the king began to set out systems of urban improvement for the city of Naples, encouraging private building. He commissioned a map of the city, like Nolli's of Rome, a clear testimony of an urban consciousness. He built the Teatro San Carlo, repaired churches like Santa Chiara, established public museums for the Herculaneum finds and the Farnese sculpture collection, supplied warehouses, barracks, and hospices, and opened an ancient-style forum, the Foro Carolino.

Vanvitelli brought to Naples what Carlos most needed, a grand architectural imagery—clear, solid, geometric, with its severe grandeur and rich magnificence "fusing," as the visiting Frenchman Jérôme Richard summarized in 1764, "the majestic beauty of ancient architecture with the pleasantness of modern architecture." Vanvitelli's impact in the hitherto provincial world of Neapolitan architects was, as he immodestly said himself, "a lesson in proper modern architecture." As Michelangelo had done for Rome itself in the sixteenth century, Vanvitelli defined an imperial idiom for his day that dismantled regional inflections through the Herculean force of classicism. Vanvitelli's command of objective functional requirements may certainly have predisposed him to classical solutions, reducing the perceived excesses of baroque space with the rigor of columns, but his classicism is neither self-consciously historicist nor artificially aesthetisized but the result of a continuously evolving and solid Italian tradition in architecture almost two millennia in the making.

Carlos's ameliorative policies and architectural visions were stopped short by his ascension to the Spanish throne and departure for Madrid in 1759, leaving behind the regency of his eight-year-old son, Ferdinando IV. Vanvitelli's career, which depended upon Carlos, was in jeopardy under Ferdinando's lax interest and his regent's stringent spending. During his reign, only Caserta's theater was inaugurated, along with some small apartments on the main floor. Efforts to build up parts of the new town, then to be called Ferdinandopoli, were undertaken, although not to Vanvitelli's original plans. Ferdinando, however, established a worker's colony specializing in silk production nearby at San Leucio in 1769, and examples of its work line the walls of the Caserta apartments. The collective community at San Leucio figures as the Bourbon monarchy's most effective socioeconomic effort—it sustained local crafts, educated its inhabitants, and eliminated the need to import silk. The notions of social ameliorative policies had been at the core of Bourbon works, and Carlos had all along a second grand project under way in town.

FERNANDO FUGA AND THE ALBERGO DEI POVERI

While Vanvitelli developed the worldly Caserta, to Ferdinando Fuga fell a more mundane but no less instrumental element of Bourbon rule: the Albergo dei Poveri in Naples. Born a Florentine, Fuga came to Rome to study at the Accademia di San Luca. He had proposed a project for the Lateran facade as early as 1722 and participated in the Trevi competition as well. His fortunes brightened when the Florentine pope Clement XII made him architect of the papal palaces. Fuga enlarged the Corsini properties along Via della Lungara, and for the papal summer palace at the Quirinal he extended the Via Pia wing to an indeterminate length with what is called simply the long sleeve, "La Manica Lunga." He finished the stables at the Quirinal, built a prison at San Michele a Ripa, extended the hospital of Santo Spirito and designed its cemetery. The Palazzo della Consulta, 1732–37, a multipurpose building opposite the Quirinal Palace, is his most representative work, combining a carefully coordinated plan behind a lively polychrome facade.

The pope's big spending throughout the papal states was understood as an opportunity to revive a slumped economy. Monumental facades for unfinished churches, public fountains, administrative offices, hospitals, even land reclamation and port reconstruction were the signs of papal magnanimity, *magnificienza*, well-balanced schemes for social well-being. A rich intellectual climate, drawing in Clement's case from Tuscan circles, sustained this development. For example, Lione Pascoli, the pope's economist, developed a utilitarian understanding of architectural programs as efficacious instruments of social policy. There was in Pascoli's notion little concern for style or form beyond clearly ordered space and structure. Corsini's enlightened circle advanced an erudite return to the order of Renaissance and classical topoi and a rationalization in all ways of thought. Fuga, like Alessandro Galilei and Nicola Salvi, propelled these values as architectural principles in his work.

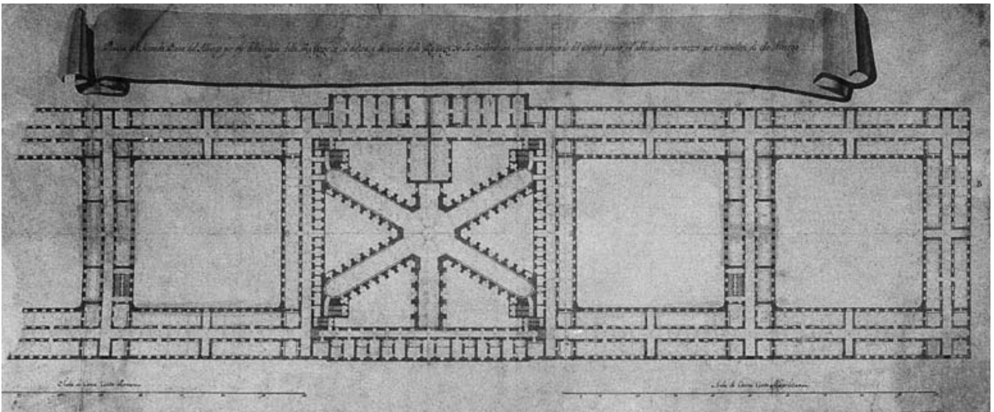
Under Clement's successor, Benedict XIV, Fuga's career did not falter. Indeed, the full range of his talents was exercised, from the most spirited light baroque splendor of the new arcaded facade for Santa Maria Maggiore to a sober Doric-style pavilion for serving

coffee in the Quirinal gardens. They called it with self-conscious cosmopolitan airs a *caffèaus*. This addition to the garden provided the pope with a casual location for encounters, for example, with King Carlos III of Naples in 1744, for which the palace throne room would have been unwantedly officious. Fuga's accomplishments were even more obvious than Luigi Vanvitelli's for they demonstrated capabilities of adaptation to a wide variety of circumstances and program, to site and to patrons' tastes while solving difficult functional and representational problems with brilliance and economy. Already in 1748, Carlos had hand-picked Fuga, at the height of his fame, for a mammoth job in his building scheme for Naples.

Regium totius regni pauperum hospitalium, the royal hospice for all the realm's paupers, better known as the Albergo dei Poveri, was not a second prize to Vanvitelli's Reggia but an integral component of Carlos's social, political, and architectural vision that in fact may predate the maturation of the ideas for Caserta.

The population of Naples had grown dramatically in the eighteenth century, necessitating a reorganization of its antiquated charitable institutions. In the first years of Carlos's reign, the idea of a large, single, specifically designed hospice for the poor and orphaned, like Rome's San Michele a Ripa, was guided by a clear program for the moral and economic health of the capital. The Neapolitan hospice was to have been the largest in Europe, planned to accommodate and sustain, equip and reintegrate eight-thousand souls at a time. The Albergo dei Poveri addresses both the aesthetics of magnificence in civil architecture and the functionality of a framework for social sustenance.

Because the project relied upon the growing technical proficiency of economic planners and even medical experts, Fuga's job as architectural designer was enriched if complicated by the opinions of many special consultants. As in the case of Luigi Vanvitelli's evident qualifications, Carlos needed above all decisive project managers. Fuga was given power of executive decision on the means of production, which did not put him in an easy relationship to the local workmen. They took every opportunity to make the Florentine architect's work more difficult. Fuga often fled to Rome, leaving the Albergo to young assistants. Although Fuga forged no



1.13 Ferdinando Fuga, Caffèaus, Palazzo Quirinale, Rome, 1741–43.
Giovanni Paolo Panini, *King Carlos III of Naples Visiting Pope Benedict XIV in the Quirinal Gardens Caffèaus in 1744*, 1746
1.14 Ferdinando Fuga, Albergo dei Poveri, Naples, 1751–. Second-floor plan

school or theory of architecture, he left behind in Naples a *modus operandi* of a high level of professionalism. Already in 1748, Fuga's project was ready to go. An enormous square, 276 by 268 meters, was to be divided four-square by cross branches within, much like Caserta, but larger. A church space was placed so that its dome might rise from the facade plane for greater visibility. Not one but three nave spaces were to be fit within the body of the wings—left, right, and down the center. Fuga could have drawn from a plethora of sources for his plan, but we should not underestimate the influence that Carlos had upon this project "with compass in hand." As the royal vision of things directed Vanvitelli's work, so too Fuga considered Carlos's basic archetype for magnificence. The four-square configuration with dome and towers of Fuga's first design proposal recalls the same rigorous geometry and elemental components that Carlos gave to the architects of all his projects, confirming the related nature of his architectural endeavors. The original site designated to accommodate such a mammoth construction was, however, too low and swampy and was rejected for hygienic reasons. That it was close to the military installations of the port was also a problem for reasons of security, though it is unclear whether it would be the poor or the port in danger. With the designation in 1751 of a new site along the Via Foria, Fuga had to rework the plans.

Complications such as this frustrated Fuga, but nothing could have been more of an aggravation to him than to have seen Vanvitelli at this time invited to the more seductive and flattering Caserta project. It was clear that Carlos was more interested in Caserta after Vanvitelli's private audiences at Portici, and Fuga reacted bitterly. Vanvitelli criticized the Albergo plans and perhaps, by his authority, triggered further changes shouldered by Fuga. In turn, Fuga tried to wrench the Caserta commission from Vanvitelli by criticizing the impractical nature and lack of economy of the designs. The rivals bragged to one another about their buildings, exaggerating their comparative sizes.

In May 1751, plans for both the Reggia and the Albergo dei Poveri were presented to the monarch, Vanvitelli in his first encounter, Fuga already having re-adapted the building to the new site on the slope beneath the Capodimonte lodge. The higher site

afforded the desired light, air, and requisite salubrity encouraged by medical consultants. Water slews and aqueducts from the hill behind, perhaps to have been linked to the Acquedotto Carolino, would supply the site. The cornerstone was laid on 7 December 1751, coinciding again with one of Vanvitelli's preliminary design deadlines for the Reggia at Caserta.

The new site for the Albergo, however, required a horizontal reconfiguration of the plan on the slope along five aligned courtyards. The longitudinal development of Fuga's second plan more closely resembles the Roman hospice at San Michele a Ripa on which Fuga had worked. The resemblance moreover to Soufflot's recently completed Hôtel Dieu in Lyons is a particularly compelling connection, even more since the great French architect was actually in Naples during the gestation of the Albergo project and may have been consulted for his expertise. Fuga's new building, however, was to be three times the size: 634 meters long, eight stories high, and containing over 750,000 cubic meters of interior space. A single central entrance on the Via Foria facade brings all beneath the *Regium totius* inscription into a vestibule where, according to more Latin inscriptions, men and boys are directed to the left, women and girls to the right. This immediate and irrevocable division by gender, akin to the front and back apartments for the king and queen at Caserta, is emphatically, graciously, and more obviously indicated to the illiterate by the statuesque gestures of the images of King Carlos and Queen Amalia to show the way. Routes through the building maintain strict segregation of sexes and ages with special skip-floor stair columns and interrupted corridors that carefully restrict movement within. Fuga conceived the systematic circulation spaces to eliminate all promiscuity in every sense. Paths of movement are regulated in invariable schedules of eating and sleeping, working and praying. There is within the Albergo dei Poveri a rigorous geometric control of movement through space dissimilar only in quality to the ritualized movement of the royal court through Vanvitelli's equally considered Caserta plan.

Segregation was only the first part of the Albergo's program of controlled movement. Once divided, the users were brought together in the central symbolic space of a church. Experts on religious

reform, such as the Neapolitan philosopher Ludovico Antonio Muratori, expounded upon the efficacy of evangelical instruction in combating indigence. Hence, at the heart of Fuga's Albergo, the central of the five courtyards was to be filled with a church with five radiating naves, four on the diagonals with their separate entrances on the corners of the courtyard for the four categories of inmate, men, women, boys, and girls, the central nave for the public entering from the front vestibule. Each space was focused upon the central domed tribune area without affording views from the fenced-in individual naves to the whole complex. The controlled visibility and focus on the altar was a feature Fuga had also employed at his prison in Rome. Here the fully radiating plan, a multiplication of his first three-naved version, recalls models the architect could have brought in, such as Michelangelo's unexecuted although well-studied plan for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rome, and others that Carlos III and Soufflot could have suggested. The structures of the naves closely resemble the heavily buttressed Gothic vessel of the Church of Santa Chiara in Naples, which Carlos was then having Fuga restore as a royal funerary chapel.

From the Albergo's sparse nave spaces, the inmates would be encouraged to participate by visiting one of the confessionals built between the wall's buttresses. Special passageways through the walls allowed the priests to access these confessionals, themselves not mingling among the inconstant of soul. Bathrooms were conveniently located nearby for the inconstant of body. As by then a century of French development in the building types of confinement had taught, the centralizing gaze assured patients of the presence of providence, but the conscious surveillance of their peripheral positions from the center would, according to Enlightenment philosophy of mind and body, invest the individuals therein with a responsible consciousness. They would become through prayer and work agents of their own reform and reintegration to society. The architectural design would guarantee it.

If the building's plan fulfills the functional necessities of its social goals, the facade addresses, within the limits of economy, the aesthetics of civic architecture and magnificence. The facade was originally to have been 101 bays long, longer than the Manica

Lunga, each of its five segments larger than the Palazzo Farnese in Rome, and so sparse in its ornamentation as to bring to mind the unadorned mass of the Palazzo Farnese in Parma, once young Carlos's ducal seat. Fuga employed the lowest, most economical pilaster strips and trabeation lines to delineate wall cells and rhythm for suggestions of central and terminal pavilions. The wall is stripped down to its barest essentials. The triangular pediment that only meekly ornaments the mighty face was added by later architects who shied from Fuga's severity.

The Albergo dei Poveri, even in the small fraction of the building eventually completed, exercises an immense visual power at its scale—larger than the eye can take in. The Albergo impresses itself upon the city and the region not by any alignments that were sacrificed at this site but merely by the scale of its conception. Fuga's achievement of sober grandiosity and equilibrated articulations has made the most monumental effect from the most parsimonious means. The true monumentality of the Albergo dei Poveri is expressed in a perfect match of his form and its program. Although largely incomplete, it is the most ambitious utopian attempt of the Enlightenment.

After thirty years of fitful construction, it was clear that the economic support of Ferdinando's regency would not see the building completed. "At less expense and in shorter time, one could have eliminated all poverty in the abundant Realm of Naples. It's a continual refrain," Milizia complained, "that with these Hospices one does not eliminate the poor. But this is not the business of the Architect but of good Government." In 1764, a famine pressed the building into partial service, and the central church space was never built, nor were the workshops for the education of the inmates. The program never rehabilitated or reintegrated anyone, and the Albergo became known crudely as a *reclusorio*, jokingly as a *seraglio*, and effectively as a prison for the poor. Fuga's Albergo passed immediately from a utopian vision to a grandiose ruin, inhabited by a variegated society of squatters. The palace for the proletariat did not ameliorate the situation in Naples as Milizia predicted but defined with greater clarity the distance between it and the palace of the privileged at Caserta.

Architecture in both Carlos's great building projects was employed judiciously as an instrument to stabilize and regulate society. If Caserta is the last in the line of symbols of absolute rule, the Albergo dei Poveri is the progenitor of architectural instruments of social control in the centuries to follow.

GIOVANNI BATTISTA PIRANESI

Into this context of shifting patterns of making and thinking about architecture, Giovanni Battista Piranesi burst upon the scene as a wholly innovative interpreter of his cultural heritage. Although Piranesi built little, through his protean production of architectural images he became the initiator of an influential train of thought that courses through the architecture of modern Italy.

Piranesi was educated in Venice, where the Palladian heritage combined with his own family traditions in stonecutting and hydraulic engineering. The architectural culture of the time was dominated by the polymath Carlo Lodoli, thirty years Piranesi's senior, who led the debate among Venetians on the relationship between past antiquity and present architecture. Lodoli's criterion of functional and material rigor repudiated the validity of the Vitruvian canon as codified, for example, in Palladio's masterly drawings. Ornament, not to be denied its communicative usefulness, would be conscientiously applied to architectural structure in a purely decorative manner: "nothing that doesn't appear to represent what is actually its function." While the French theorist Antoine Laugier hypothesized theoretical principles in a primitive hut, Lodoli discussed instead concrete achievements in ancient engineering of the Etruscan civilization. Lodoli found material beauty in an architecture born of necessity and usefulness and fostered in the minds of his followers an image of, as he is to have said, "an eternally youthful flowering of architecture."

Piranesi's first practical engagement with architecture came in the theater. The complex perspectival illusions of the eighteenth-century stage were Piranesi's basic training, which he also put to use

making urban views, *vedute*, of Venice he sold to tourists. Both modes of expression, scenography and *vedutismo*, emphasize the personal experience of architectural space and led to Piranesi's production of the architectural fantasies, or *capricci*, popular at the time. Piranesi's etchings proved a highly fertile experiment nurturing a visual and visceral approach to architecture. Picturing theatrical space, emphasizing point of view, charging lighting effects, and creating episodic sequences of changing views encouraged a reconsideration of the very mode of perceiving and re-creating the reality of architecture. "Perspective," wrote Piranesi in his first publication, is "the source of architecture's most important beauty," and by perspective, *prospettiva*, he meant the viewing of form in space. In an analysis of his architectural views and, eventually, his built work, we will see that in his visual fashion Piranesi challenges traditional ways of seeing architecture.

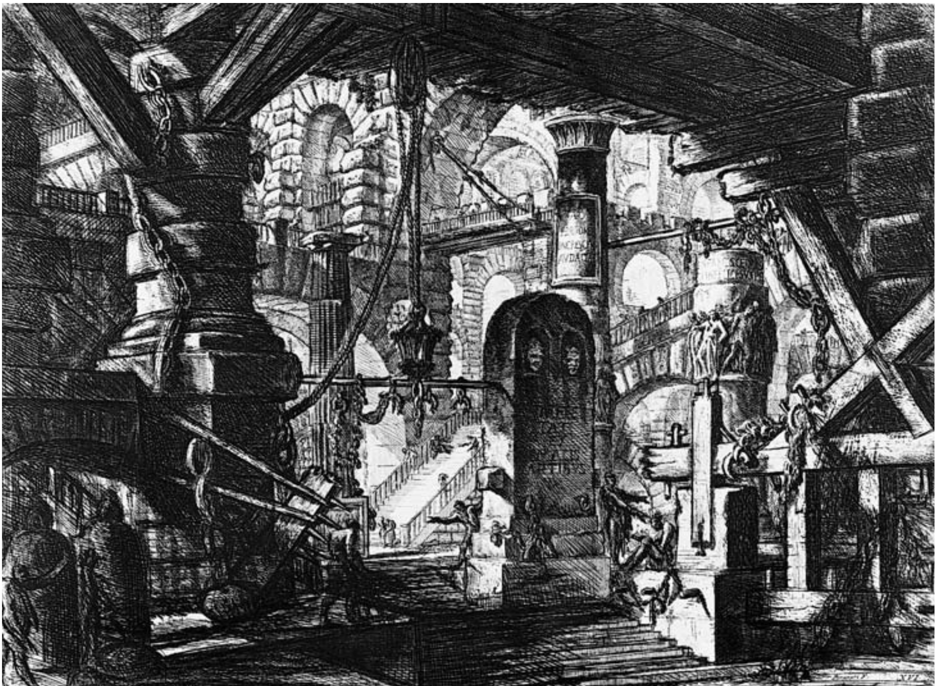
In 1740, Piranesi had the chance to go to Rome for the first time thanks to a connection to the powerful Rezzonico family. He was struck by Rome: the drama of its monumental baroque spaces, the scale and texture of the looming ruins, and the painterly play of the Roman sun. He engraved the Trevi Fountain and assisted Giuseppe Vasi in the production of *vedute* for the market of tourists, architectural students, and intellectuals in Rome. Piranesi met both Nicola Salvi, his master builder Giobbe, and Luigi Vanvitelli, whom he praised in his own volume of etched views, *Prima parte di Architettura e Prospettive* of 1743. He aspired to inherit from them the position of papal architect.

In the meantime, Piranesi was drawn to Rome's ruins. "Those living speaking ruins filled my spirit with images such as even the masterfully wrought drawings of the immortal Palladio, which I kept before me at all times, could not arouse in me. So the idea came to me to tell the world of some of these buildings." Piranesi set to work to activate the antiquarian world of Roman buildings and ruins as a challenge to contemporary art and life. His *veduta* of the Pantheon provides us with an impression heightened by the towering scale of the building in its environment, the stark contrasts of light and textures, and, in a scenographic touch, a contrast of the eminent nobility of the ancient structure against the squalid details around it.

In characteristically uncircumspect brashness, Piranesi rebuffed the mediocrity of contemporary architects and patrons with the expressly pedagogical thrust of his images.

With little opportunity at twenty-three years of age to build, the *architetto veneziano*, as Piranesi signed his works, turned to the production of architectural images to bridge the gap between ancient grandeur and contemporary work. This was not a new idea, but his was a new method. Reaching across Europe from his shop, strategically located opposite the French Academy on Via del Corso, Piranesi's etchings of ancient vestiges living in the modern city inspired an entire generation to see Rome in a new sensibility of innovative inquiry. Contrary to the philological tradition in archeological research, Piranesi's etchings of familiar sites stressed the visual values of perspective and chiaroscuro, of overall composition and material construction, ornament, architectural organism, and urban context. His approach is charged with a novel sense of immediacy by his interpretive genius for archeological remains. The grandeur of public building ensembles was evident to Piranesi down to the smallest corroded fragment. Piranesi did not seek to reactivate the functionality or purity of ancient forms but the visual, visceral impact of the ruins, which move us precisely because they are signs of a closed historical cycle beyond our power to reclaim. Piranesi's is a speculative archeology, akin not to the early Renaissance intellectual method of considering past achievement but, if anything, to the empathetic attitudes of the later mannerists Pirro Ligorio and Baldassarre Peruzzi, whom Piranesi extolled by name.

Piranesi acknowledged the divergence of his images from Vitruvian and Palladian views on ancient architecture. He begs us to understand that in antiquity, as much as among the moderns, architects fruitfully diverged from their works of theory into realms of unfettered imagination to open a dialog between past and present. As Vico proposed, myths, fantasy, and individual genius were fundamental in reviving a dimension of historical truth. Both Vico and Piranesi demonstrated that the heroic origins of Roman magnificence, both moral and formal, lay in Etruscan, Italic virtue, not the Greco-Vitruvian classical tradition.



1.15 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Ruins of the Forum of Nerva, Rome. From *Vedute di Roma*, c. 1748
1.16 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Invenzioni capric[ciosi] di carceri*, plate XIV, 1760

Piranesi was, as few others, a profound architectural thinker on the past who was also an active creator in the present, both archeologist and artist, analyzer and synthesizer of his cultural heritage. His *Invenzioni capric[ciosi] di carceri* are an example of this unique fusion. Fourteen plates first produced in 1745 on the popular stage theme of prison scenes were drawn from his rich experience of ruins to forge a poetic architectural vision without precedent. These experiments in the visualization of architectural space press to radical conclusions the compositional, or decompositional, impulses unleashed by his training in scenography. "Before terror, audacity grows," reads an equivocal inscription in the etching. The *Carceri* are not conventional perspective scenes. Piranesi disintegrates the traditional quantitative control of space by collapsing Euclidean geometry. The scenes are characterized by multiple viewpoints, random episodes, spatial distortions, an ambiguity of scale, and disproportionate fragments. Robert Adam, the young English architect then in Rome, described them as "amazing and ingenious fantasies . . . the greatest fund for inspiring and instilling in any lover of architecture that can be imagined." Piranesi's vertiginous visions liberate the mind from the traditional architectural order in a systematic critique of the syntax of architecture itself.

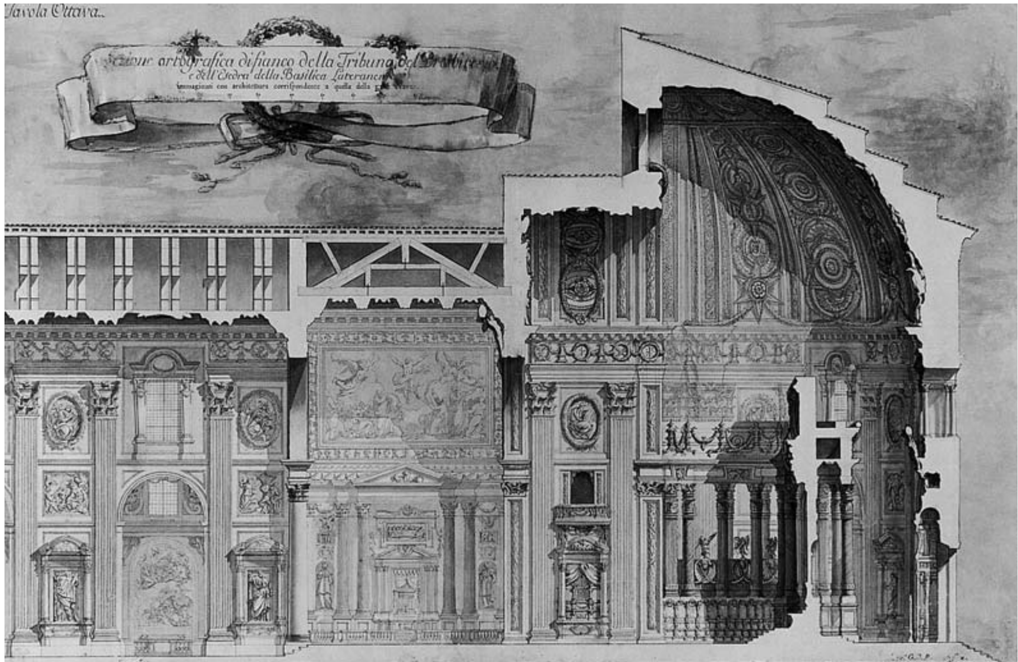
Piranesi's contemporaries, however, engaged him on a more prosaic level. Among the scholars and architects re-evaluating antiquity's heritage, two foreigners, Julien-David Leroy and Johann Joachim Winckelmann, stand out in polemical contrast to Piranesi for their arguments of the superiority of Greek artistic culture to any Roman derivation. The Greco-Roman controversy was a debate on the origins of architecture tinged by the aesthetic shift from the rococo toward an astringency of taste. It also took on nationalist meaning. Piranesi pugnaciously defended Roman genius by connecting it to autonomous Etruscan, as opposed to Greek, origins and found in local Italic sources the origins of a Lodolian functionalist austerity, an impetuous and rather peevish retort to the foreigners. Piranesi's Roman position, although never rigorous or definitive, is advanced in his publication of 1761, *Della Magnificenza ed Architettura de' Romani*, dedicated to the reigning Rezzonico pope, Clement XIII, and *Il Campo Marzio dell'Antica Roma* of the following

year. In the first publication, he conjoined the moral and the material by celebrating the magnificence of the Romans as a people and their public works of architecture and engineering. The second publication demonstrated the mythic proportions of the ancient city. Piranesi's defense of the indigenous origins of architectural genius is qualitatively different from his French and German rivals' positions because Piranesi defends his own national patrimony thus becoming an early champion of *Italianità* or *Romanità*, as the patriotic sentiment in the arts will come to be called.

In order to evolve a contemporary system of architecture, Piranesi embraced indeed a more widely based study of the past. At the height of his polemic exchanges, Piranesi published his most explicit critique of contemporary attitudes toward architecture, his *Parere su l'Architettura*, illustrated with more loosely drawn images of immense variety and vitality tapping the widest array of sources, from Etruria to Egypt. The *Parere* defended an all-inclusive historicism that can be summed up in one strange word Piranesi liked to use: *sbizzararsi*, or to let yourself go in a momentary and explosive moment of capriciousness. Piranesi was finally given the opportunity to put his ideas to the test in an architectural project for an actual site.

In the 1760s, attention returned to the continuing renovation of San Giovanni Laterano. Pope Clement XIII confronted the care of the only remaining Constantinian part left at the Lateran: the apse. The pope seems to have solicited drawings for a new apse and high altar from the head of the Vatican *Fabbrica*, Carlo Marchionni. Piranesi, counting on his Venetian connections, also worked up a series of drawings to present. He proposed rebuilding the liturgical focus of the basilica with a barrel-vaulted choir and a broad semicircular presbytery area with an ambulatory behind a columnar screen, the whole crowned with a dramatically illuminated half dome.

All the surfaces of Piranesi's project are covered with profuse ornament. The sources of his invention range from the elevated altar screens of Palladio's Venetian churches to the mannerist ornament of Peruzzi and Ligorio. The spatial complexities, leaps of scale, intense lighting effects explored in his etchings, especially the *Carceri*, can be seen to bear upon his project for San Giovanni. Given the context of Piranesi's work on the interior, Borromini is by far the most decisive



1.17 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, San Giovanni Laterano, project for a new apse, Rome, 1763–67

source of influence and guidance for Piranesi. The *Parere* was republished at this time in a second edition in which Piranesi praised the baroque master. Piranesi's ornament is drawn, like Borromini's, from arcane sources of antiquity, exceptional examples used in a syntactical looseness with the polemical intention of distancing the architect from canons and unleashing an intensely personal and creative vocabulary.

Piranesi's contemporaries did not understand him. Luigi Vanvitelli thought him mad. "If they really will let Piranesi build anything, we'll see what the mind of a crazy man with no foundation can produce." Vanvitelli, the stately classicist, was not propelled by the same passions that drove Piranesi. Rebuilding the apse at San Giovanni was not at this time undertaken, perhaps because of the uncertain stability of the ground. Perhaps the project was not pursued because of its high costs, as the pope's treasurer Gianangelo Braschi noted, or because of Rezzonico's own shifting tastes. The aging pope eventually hired the coolly neoclassical sculptor Antonio Canova for his tomb in Saint Peter's. Piranesi's ideas for the Lateran remained on paper and the beautiful finished drawings that show what he could do as an architect were eventually presented not to the pope, who may never have requested them in the first place, but to his twenty-six-year-old nephew Giovanni Battista Rezzonico, Piranesi's only effective patron.

During the gestation of the Lateran project, a less monumental but more concrete commission would become Piranesi's only major built work: Santa Maria del Priorato in Rome. This is the only commission of which Piranesi speaks directly in any of his written works, in *Diverse maniere di adornare camini* published in 1769, which he dedicated to Rezzonico. The young Rezzonico, made Grand Prior of the Order of the Knights of Malta by his uncle only a few years earlier, hired Piranesi in 1764 to lay out the order's estate and restore the priory's funerary chapel on the Aventine hill. As at the Lateran, the goal of this project was to intervene in an ailing pre-existing structure and at the same time transform it into a more dignified setting. The small church, the surrounding villa garden terraces, and a new entrance piazza providing access and introduction to the site are the elements that Piranesi "renewed rather than merely restored," as he stated.

The Martial Order of Knights Hospitaller moved their funerary chapel to this quiet place in the fourteenth century from the Church of Saint Basil of Capadoccia, which once stood upon the ruins of Augustus's Temple of Mars. The Aventine hill was attractive to the order in this phase of its history for its reserved geographical position above the riverbank opposite the Ripa port and the San Michele hospice, and for the various accreted memories of the hill itself. The knights' tombs were placed in a modest chapel erected in the sixteenth century. Over the next two hundred years, the gardens and adjoining villa structures were embellished. A planted avenue of arched ilex shrubs famously frames a view to the cupola of Saint Peter's all the way across the city, spied today by tourists who peek through the gate's keyhole. Besides this long, purely visual connection, the site and access to the church itself are particularly eccentric. There is no clear approach up the steep slope of the hill, nor any comprehensive view of the complex once arrived.

Piranesi's project was conceived in a series of discrete events starting with an introductory piazza and culminating in an apotheosis at the altar of the church interior. The Piazza dei Cavalieri di Malta is not a normal piazza in the urban sense, like Vanvitelli's Foro Carolino, because its perimeter is defined not by buildings or colonnades but by a low boundary wall that only loosely delimits the void on three sides. Here, Piranesi invites us to meditate on the brotherhood of knights. At this site outside the city limits returning ancient soldiers consigned their arms for purification and safekeeping. Piranesi relives that memory imaginatively in connection to the valorous warriors' return to Rome. Reliefs on the boundary wall and entrance screen to the gardens feature ornaments inspired by those on the base of the Column of Trajan. Pairs of obelisks, used in Piranesi's Venice to honor the success of naval leaders, here with prows and rudders, specify the knights' campaigns defending the seas. Emblems regarding the patron, the Rezzonico double-headed eagle and towers, are also woven in among a plethora of lyres, cameos, birds' wings, and pan pipes, drawn from Piranesi's own recherché collection. Each symbol pertains to more than one of four themes: antique or martial, the patron or the artist. The wreathed eagle is at once the Rezzonico seal and an ancient symbol of glory from imperial monuments, and also included in

Piranesi's synoptic table of exemplary Etruscan decorative inventions published in *Diverse maniere*. Simultaneous saturated readings of these motifs communicate the site's ancient history and the history of the knights; they eulogize the order's heroic past while introducing a funeral note, acknowledge the Grand Prior patron, and all the while advance the artist's own polemical agenda on contemporary creativity.

Piranesi shored up the foundations of the chapel, its facade, and its vault, often embedding ancient materials found on the site. He applied to the reconfigured facade a series of compounded motifs molded in inexpensive white stucco reprising the themes announced at the piazza. Sheathed swords are hung high on the pilasters as quiet trophies of battle. Beside the door, weightless strings of symbols hung as garlands bring together a deceptively nonlinear sequence of motifs again combining the Maltese and martial, Rezzonico and Piranesian. The Ionic capitals are carved with figures of sphinxes flanking Rezzonico towers elaborated, Piranesi informs us, from examples in the Villa Borghese antiquities collection and illustrated in his *Magnificenza*. His *ordine ionico moderno* is the product of a creative transformation of ancient examples and natural elements into abundant ornament held in congruence to its architectural frame. There is a comparable plastic treatment of the manipulated motifs around the oculus where a fluted sarcophagus, wings, reeds, pipes, prows, and paddles appear all at once transformed and unified in as compactly integrated a meaning as in its formal composition. The inventions of ornamental incrustations are called by Piranesi and his workmen *scherzi*, a joking playfulness that brings to mind earlier *capricci* and the tradition of mannerist grotesques and similar to many passages in the plates of his enigmatic *Parere*. Like the reliefs in the piazza, the facade is imaginatively enlivened with etched collages of diverse motifs equivocal and fragmentary that communicate encoded messages along Piranesi's route through Maltese memory. The interior presents, finally, the complete and climactic expression of all the episodic meanings. By extending and elevating the presbytery and puncturing the apse with a window in the back and the crossing with a lantern, Piranesi subtly reconfigured the spatial and lighting effects of the interior, incurring no structural alterations to the original chapel. A progressively enriched ornament intensifies the sensation of the space. Along the

1.18 and 1.19 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Santa Maria del Priorato, Rome, 1764–66

vault's crown a central panel of superabundant symbols composed with the intensity of a collector's cabinet of precious objects brings together all references to the order, its religious duties, and military achievements. The priory altar is a fitting climax of the episodes that lead to it. Saint Basil is hoisted in apotheosis upon the nude form of a perfect sphere emerging from a pile of sarcophagi and ships prows. The iconography of the piazza, the facade and the nave is reiterated here in a compounded three-dimensional *capriccio* of enormous scale. The immense variety of Piranesi's brain explodes at the altar in monstrous potency. Pope Clement XIII visited the church in October 1766 and was impressed—or pressed—enough to grant Piranesi the knighthood of the *Sperone d'Oro* he so avidly desired.

Piranesi's articulated speculations on design caught up with his fervent practice with the publication of *Diverse maniere di adornare camini* in 1769. In it he concocted elaborate chimneypieces precisely because this element had no ancient precedent. These plates are lessons in composition and decoration that draw on the widest variety of sources to get architecture "out of the old monotonous track." Piranesi elaborates upon the extraordinary variety possible with the creative license: "Mankind is too fond of variety to be always pleased with the same decorations. We are alternatively pleased with the gay and the serious, and even with the pathetic, even the horror of a battle has its beauty, and out of fear springs pleasure." This text was published in three languages and contains images of the interiors Piranesi executed in Rome for the Rezzonico clan, none of which survive today. Here are also the only surviving records of the interior of his Caffè degli Inglesi, an Egyptian extravaganza painted for the cosmopolitan community at Piazza di Spagna. With the artistic license, Piranesi defended the "Sanctuary of Art" against the reduction of architecture to mere building. He adopted as his battle cry this line from Sallust: *Novitatem meum contemnunt, ego illorum ignavium*, "They condemn my novelty, I their timidity."

Piranesi's license frees us to address the fullness of historical legacy as the font of an imaginative process. Academies, however, swayed by a growing austerity of taste in reaction to the rococo and in response to discoveries in classical archeology, painted Piranesi's reputation black. His influence was more subtle than a mere taking

up again of antiquity but was in the character with which antiquity was taken up. Piranesi's rich imaginative approach to his cultural heritage would guide architects for generations to come.

GIACOMO QUARENGHI

At the same time as Piranesi was working on Santa Maria del Priorato, a similar commission for the rehabilitation of a small church in Subiaco outside Rome was undertaken by Giacomo Quarenghi. The two events demonstrate the variegated nature of the process of renewal in mid-eighteenth-century architecture. Quarenghi, like Piranesi, came to architecture through interests in *veduta* painting and arrived in Rome from his native Bergamo during the Rezzonico papacy in 1763. His first teachers, Derizet and Posi, didn't impress him as much as Palladio. After having happened upon a fresh re-edition of Palladio's *Quattro libri di architettura*, Quarenghi tells us he burned all his drawings and returned to the ancient ruins "from which one can learn the good and perfect manner." Quarenghi's goal of a renewal of architecture through a study of the past may have been similar to Piranesi's but his method was entirely different, trusting the good sense of Renaissance masters and his own sense of reason.

In 1768, the Benedictines, under the protection of a Rezzonico cardinal, decided to modernize the interior of their Gothic abbey church of Santa Scholastica at Subiaco. When the solicited project proved too costly and too Borrominian to the congregation, some of the monks from Bergamo had "a new project of Simple Architecture" prepared by their fellow countryman, Quarenghi. He measured the irregular medieval interior and, in 1770, initiated the reconstruction of Santa Scholastica. The nave walls were straightened and wrapped with semicircular chapels. Thermal-style window openings in the austere barrel vault bring light across the smooth interior surfaces simply and sparingly decorated. As for Piranesi, Quarenghi casually informed his stuccoist that the bas-relief details could be pulled from one of the madman's recent books.

1.20 Giacomo Quarenghi, Santa Scholastica, Subiaco, 1770–76

Quarenghi was theoretically inclined toward Piranesi's "Grecian" rivals, particularly Winckelmann and Anton Raffael Mengs. Both had drafted treatises on the simple and noble beauty of ancient art the year Quarenghi arrived in Rome. Quarenghi translated these ideals into architecture. Palladio's clarity of wall, mass, volume, and light also helped to define Quarenghi's forms. At Santa Scholastica, there is a solemn simplicity, a quiet but secure rhythm of volumetric essentials.

The realization of such a serene space, however, was fraught with enervating conflict for its irascible architect. Quarenghi had to threaten his stuccoist with legal action for not having followed his instructions, and he wrangled with the administration over the simple rectangular statuary niches that he wanted even though there were no funds for statues to put in them. "I tried to give the architecture a noble and severe character," Quarenghi tenaciously wrote in Winckelmannian terms, using "only ornament adapted to the idea of the church." The interior was readied for the visit in 1773 of Gianangelo Braschi, Subiaco's titular cardinal, who was unimpressed. Subiaco is also rather remote and Quarenghi's work there had only a limited impact. When it was finally inaugurated in October 1776, Braschi was pope, and Quarenghi was soon looking elsewhere for work.

In 1779 the Russian ambassador to Rome was dispatched to round up "two good Italian architects" for Catherine the Great because, she complained, "all of mine have become too old or too blind or too lazy." Quarenghi jumped at the opportunity. At thirty-five and with only Subiaco to show for himself, he left Rome for St. Petersburg. In a few years, Quarenghi delineated classical St. Petersburg with granite buildings more austere, sharp, and simplified than at Subiaco. Nineteen public institutions were erected: academies, baths, theaters, palaces, commercial "galleries," even a church for the Knights of Malta.

If Piranesi's work was strictly personal but fervently native, Quarenghi's architecture was international and ultimately impersonal in its pared-down simplicity. In Russia, he was introduced to the severe and grandiose drawings of the contemporary French architect, Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, which he

assiduously studied. Quarenghi developed the qualities of a style called "Neo-Classical." Although they are derived from an experience of Italian architecture, the style seems to have been assembled elsewhere. Only from a vantage point outside Italy could the classical continuity seem "neo."

THE GRAND TOUR AND THE IMPACT OF ARCHEOLOGY

Foreign influence on Italian culture intensified in the eighteenth century in the form of high-style tourism. The careful study of the roots of Western civilization in antiquity flourished among Europe's educated classes of diplomats, aristocrats, patrons, and artists, for whom a visit to Italian soil was obligatory. Their "Grand Tour" culminated with an extended stay in Rome, which became a sort of open international academy. English, French, Germans, Danes, Dutch, Russian, Poles, Swedes, and eventually Americans all came to Italy claiming its treasures as an international cultural heritage. Indeed, the Grand Tour had become a vast social phenomenon of intellectual and cultural exchange in a new atmosphere of cosmopolitanism. Such attention would have enormous consequences upon the Italians' self-consciousness and evaluation of their own history.

Veduta painters, like Gaspar Van Wittel, Luigi Vanvitelli's father, flourished. Giovanni Paolo Panini welcomed the world to his Rome with panoramic paintings of ancient and modern sites. It was in this international economic context that Piranesi worked. So thrilling were Piranesi's visual images, so sublime the sense of monumentality communicated through his widely circulated prints, that many travelers who prepared their itineraries upon them found the actual sites a disappointment. As Piranesi's images suggested, ancient ruins required imagination if they were to be brought to life, especially as modern archeological excavation was not yet developed into a modern science. Whereas Panini painted the cosmopolitan piazzas of the contemporary city, foreign painters like Nicolas Poussin imagined Elysian Fields with Arcadian shepherds. Prevailing theories in art, codified in the European academies, dwelled upon the concept of a

classical ideal of recognizable, recurrent schemata and established traditional images. The Grand Tourist expected to find them in Italy. Under such intense and inspired scrutiny, Italy and especially Rome developed a cultural consciousness. The idea of Italy was formed in the light of tourists' mental images of it.

Italians also had their Grand Tour. Carlo Rezzonico, another papal relation, traveled the breadth of Europe in the 1780s admiring art, architecture, gardens, and natural landscapes, even Gothic buildings. Italians traveled less assiduously to other Italian cities. There was less urgency and far less diligence in examining the vestiges of one's native culture, especially in the case of well-documented architecture. When Italians traveled abroad, more likely they traveled, like Quarenghi, to practice their professions in the host countries, not to learn from them. Music masters, librettists, scenographers, singers, painters, plasterers, architects, and urban planners brought to the European courts Italian classical traditions. Many, like the artisans Robert Adam brought back with him to London, stayed abroad for their entire careers. Through the export of objects and skilled labor, Italy was the producer of classical beauty and culture for all of Europe, a heady proposition for eighteenth-century Italians but one that created among them a brain drain.

Beyond Rome, the Grand Tourist was drawn to Naples with the promise of recent archeological discoveries such as Herculaneum and Pompeii. The bronzes, marbles, inscriptions, coins, papyruses, and all sorts of quotidian objects dug up were stored in the closed cabinets of Carlos III's "Museo Ercolense" at Portici. By 1755, the king established an academy to care for the finds and their eventual publication. When the more easily excavatable site at Pompeii was gradually unearthed in the 1760s, it offered the Grand Tourist the opportunity to contextualize a mental image of the classical world in actual environments.

Direct experience of Herculaneum's objects and Pompeii's spaces was disorienting for most early visitors. The fresh, unfiltered impressions fell so far outside the prevailing aesthetic that most of the unearthed artifacts were deemed negligible. Carlos III, who had aspirations to utilize the finds in interior decorations, was paradoxically responsible for their meager immediate impact. He

imposed strict rules on the visitor to the Bourbon museums and archeological sites: sketching was prohibited and time was limited. The academy he established exercised a monopoly on all visual imagery and was slow to publish the six volumes of *Le Antichità di Ercolano.* Moreover, they were not for sale but, like Carlos's other publicity folio on Caserta, were proffered as calculated diplomatic gestures. Only when Ferdinando IV transferred the treasures to Naples, refitting the old university building for the purpose in 1777, could one identify the birth of a real public archeological museum. Archeology, if it can be so called under Bourbon rule, was placed in the service of governing and had scant effect on contemporary architectural imagination.

Grand Tourists to Naples continued on to Paestum. The Doric temples of the ancient Greek colony were not well known but had not been entirely forgotten. Carlos III thought of purloining their columns for a royal palace project, but the very stout proportions of their archaic order did not appeal to his taste, nor to anyone else's until Soufflot approached them, free of prejudice, in 1750. Only Soufflot was able to get permission to draw there on site; others had to content themselves with the engravings and cork models tendered exclusively through the king's authorized dealers.

The Doric appealed almost exclusively to foreign visitors at first. Piranesi, evidently the only Italian ready for such a jolt, ventured in the last year of his life to prepare a publication of Paestum views that was published in French in 1778. Johann Wolfgang Goethe, visiting nine years later, confessed a certain stupefaction before the stones, which he didn't immediately recognize as architecture at all. "Our eyes and, through them, our whole sensibility have become so conditioned to a more slender style of architecture that these crowded masses of stumpy conical columns appear offensive and even terrifying." It proved hard to "see" the Doric order of the Paestum temples except as a theoretical alternative, a line of enquiry pursued in French treatises, like Laugier's, and built in English garden follies. The Doric column became an emblem of architecture's primal origins and was almost exclusively a foreign purview.

The only use of the Doric in Italy in the late eighteenth century was by a Frenchman. At the Villa Giulia of Palermo, the city's first

public gardens (where Goethe was want to read from Homer), a botanical academy building was designed by Léon Dufourny. Dufourny, a student of Julien-David Leroy, had recently returned from ten months in the field measuring the Doric temples of Sicily, and eagerly accepted the invitation to design "the first major edifice in which the Doric order, buried amongst the ruins of the temples of Greece and her colonies, is recuperated in all its purity." The building, which incorporates a lecture hall, library, and herbarium, features Doric columns at the entrance. Dufourny, who upon returning to his native Paris founded a museum of the history of architecture, had initiated in Palermo the significant ideological movement to recompose principal theories of architecture in light of archeological investigation.

The Palermitano architect Giuseppe Venanzio Marvuglia, enthused by Dufourny's ideas, added flanking pavilions to the botanical academy. He also designed a villa in Palermo in the Chinois manner for Ferdinando IV, *La Favorita*, which has a "Fountain of Hercules" in the garden consisting of a single free-standing Doric column. Marvuglia's variegated production belies a less theoretical focus than his foreign contemporary, suggesting that the concerns of Italian architects were quite different from the interests of the rather radical foreigners present in Italy at the time.

COLLECTING AND CULTURAL HERITAGE

In Rome, the popes could not monopolize the archeological culture as the Bourbon king managed, so they sought to intervene with creative policies for the protection and potentializing of this cultural heritage. With intense demand for antiquities, especially among the British, economic incentive aggravated the likelihood of illicit digging for new items and of Roman aristocrats selling off their collections for cash. Pope Clement XIII, through his commissioner of antiquities, Ridolfino Venuti, renewed the enforcement of limiting excavation licenses to registered agents, the right to entail one third of everything found by them, and strict export regulations. The

consequent amassing of objects in papal possession helped to boost the initiative of a public art museum in Rome. An account of the relationship between private and public collecting in Rome illustrates the crucial importance of formulating a policy for the protection of this heritage.

Cardinal Alessandro Albani, the papal nephew, maintained a high profile that was manifest in a superb collection of antiquities, pieces of which were sold conspicuously, for example, to King Augustus III of Poland in 1728. Alarmed, Pope Clement XII purchased as a precautionary measure against their dispersal all of Albani's remaining pieces for display in Michelangelo's buildings on the Capitoline Hill. The Palazzo Nuovo was opened as a public museum according to the Corsini pope "for the curiosity of foreign visitors and dilettantes and for the use of scholars." Albani began to amass a second collection of finds from Hadrian's Villa. His honorable image as a protector and promoter of the arts is largely accepted by historians today, but contemporaries interpreted his actions as bald speculation on Rome's cultural assets. Albani trafficked in antiquities, often collaborating with Baron Stosch until the latter was expelled from Rome on charges of espionage. Albani's interest in antiquities is obvious on the financial level as it is on the aesthetic level. Indeed, he delighted in the works. The exquisite images of Emperor Hadrian's homosexual lover Antinous were tucked away in the intimate spaces of his villa, where he could spy them in private.

In 1747, a new villa was planned for his second collection at a suburban site along the Via Salaria. Nolli surveyed the land for him and may have also designed the parterres and hemicycle included in the upper corner of his map. A two-floor *palazzina* was begun at the other end of the garden in 1755. This is a narrow building, much like the Palazzo Nuovo at the Capitoline that houses Albani's first collection. Low wings extend left and right and finish in pavilions whose small temple facades are entirely constructed of ancient elements. Caryatids, herms, statues, reliefs, decorative masks, columns, basins, and colored marbles fill every available space in profusion. The designer was the papal architect Carlo Marchionni, a man of extraordinary compositional virtuosity, but Albani himself is often

given credit. The emulation of the Palazzo Nuovo could have been the cardinal's idea, worked out with facility and success by the able Marchionni. Like Nolli before him, Marchionni was one in a succession of experts the cardinal hired to create this precious reliquary of vestiges of ancient Rome.

The Villa Albani was admired for its exceptional fusion of the ancient and the modern, right down to the nature of the statues' restoration. The current specialist in the field, Bartolomeo Cavaceppi, reintegrated—made whole again—the ancient fragments with new and virtuosically carved additions. Ancient works were in turn fluidly assimilated in a wholly contemporary setting with, as an inscription at the villa says, a *romano animo*, a Roman spirit. Winckelmann praised the Villa Albani as "a most modern place . . . the most beautiful building of our time." The sycophantic talk was, perhaps, required of Winckelmann as he too was on Albani's payroll, hired in 1758 to advise on the disposition of the collection.

Without genuine ruins on the property nor a proper view to any, Albani's team concocted a sham ruin on the grounds. The artifice, the first of its kind in an Italian villa, was praised precisely for its English—and hence cosmopolitan—inspiration. Its curious disintegrated composition suggests the influence, if not the direct intervention, of Piranesi. The engraver featured thirty-four pieces from Albani's collection among his publications, perhaps jockeying for the enviable position left vacant after Winckelmann's death in 1768. Piranesi may also have designed some over-door reliefs and a fountain for the gardens. He flatteringly included an engraving of the villa in his *vedute* series. Piranesi's strong aestheticizing approach to antiquity and his keen business acumen may have appealed to Albani, but in the end the cardinal hired Giovanni Battista Visconti and his son Ennio Quirino to write the catchy copy for the collection's catalog. Venuti, Winckelmann, and then the two Viscontis all had better qualifications than Piranesi; they were all in turn the papal Commissioner of Antiquities and could be counted on to cover Albani's commerce at the highest level.

The Villa Albani was a sumptuous showroom of antiquities, staffed by professional publicists who hyped the objects and raised

1.21 Carlo Marchionni and others, Villa Albani, Rome, 1755–63. Engraving by Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma*, c. 1769

their value considerably. The pieces, like the caryatids, were not so integral to the structure that they could not easily be extracted and sold. Pope Clement XIII, who visited the villa in the summer of 1763, recognized another Albani lode ready for liquidation. This pope, in strapped finances, could do nothing, but his successor, Clement XIV would.

The necessity of government intervention against the wholesale spoliation of Rome's cultural heritage led Clement XIV to institute a veritable public trust at the Vatican in 1770. The Museum Clementinum, later expanded by his successor Pius VI (hence Museo Pio-Clementino), is a direct response to the threat of cultural dispersal triggered by the pressures of the Grand Tour and speculation on artistic goods. We witness here the birth of the modern public art museum distinguished from the private collections for its accessibility to the general public as well as the intention of the collection as a long-term cultural depository.

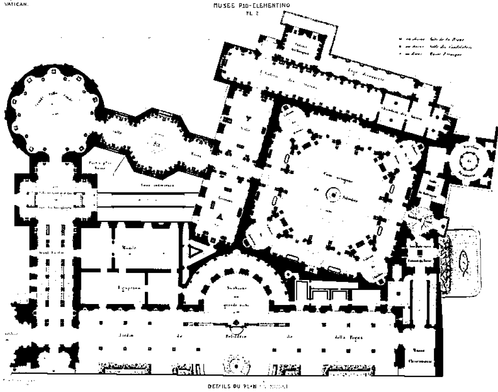
The papal collections had been, like Carlos III's Herculaneum museum, preserved in closed cabinets along the corridors leading to the Belvedere Villa on the Vatican Hill. The hallways grew unexpectedly crowded when Clement XIV, like Clement XII before him, felt compelled to purchase Roman collections on the block. An acquisition policy was put into place, funded by the lottery, guided by the Viscontis, and fulfilled by antiquities dealers including Cavaceppi and Piranesi. Meanwhile, choice works flowed in from the exercise of papal prerogative on excavation finds all across the territory as well as eminent domain over any bishop's collection. During Clement XIV's papacy, forty-seven statues, fifty-nine busts, seven sarcophagi, sixteen vases and candelabra, twenty-three animal figures, twenty-eight ancient altars, forty-one reliefs, and 124 inscriptions were acquired.

In 1771, a reorganization of the Belvedere Villa was projected by the in-house architect, Alessandro Dori. The original Renaissance loggia was rearranged and outfitted with statues on pedestals, busts on shelves, and generous ornament in a manner similar to that of Villa Albani. A portico was applied to the unadorned walls of the pre-existing courtyard of the Belvedere complex. The vaulted, top-lit portico provides adequately sumptuous cover for the statues. There is

no reason to suppose that at this first phase of the museum's development the elegant architectural handling was designed to be anything substantially different from the Villa Albani, a perfectly modern reliquary that might extol the integrity of this world capital's cultural assets. Dori died only a year into the project. Marchionni was busy, so the museum project was continued and completed in 1774 by Dori's successor, Michelangelo Simonetti.

When Gianangelo Braschi, Clement XIV's treasurer and perhaps the driving force behind the project, was elected Pope Pius VI in 1775, he directed Simonetti to organize the complex with new rooms and new routes. The courtyard's oblique cross axis was extended through a series of new monumental galleries. The former jumble of incidental spaces and clashing axes were elegantly reconfigured into the semblance of a coherent plan and a coherent institution, promptly renamed Museo Pio-Clementino. Ancient models, such as the Pantheon, were adapted freely by Simonetti to the museum's spatial requirements and although the architecture is in no way a reconstruction of ancient forms, hypothetical or otherwise, the gracious volumes effectively draw out the nature of the ancient art on display. As with Albani at his villa, Pius availed himself of a curatorial team headed by Giovanni Battista Visconti, and Simonetti could be counted upon to carry out the team's directives. Indeed, Giacomo Quarenghi, bitter that he had not impressed Braschi at Subiaco, spat that they had advanced a common "Measurer named Simonetti who now passes for a famous Architect." For the first time in Rome, architecture had conformed in theme and function to the display of specific works of art in a secular setting, not the other way around. The Museo Pio-Clementino is not a lavish reliquary as captivating as its treasures, but a space designed to elicit appropriate responses consonant with the art. With a print series of interior views, a gallery guide, and eventually a complete catalog of the collection, the Museo Pio-Clementino became Rome's first planned public art museum, the most durable and successful promotion of visual culture in eighteenth-century Europe, unmatched in its artistic patrimony.

The museum's first major visitor was King Gustav III of Sweden on New Year's Day, 1784. Because the visiting monarch was a



1.22 and 1.23 Alessandro Dori, then Michelangelo Simonetti, Museo Pio-Clementino, Rome, 1771–84. Plan from Paul Letarouilly, *Le Vatican et la Basilique de Saint-Pierre de Rome*, 1882; painting by Bénigne Gagnereaux, *King Gustav III of Sweden visiting the Museo Pio-Clementino*, 1785.

Lutheran, Pius VI opted diplomatically to "happen upon" him in a casual manner, strolling through a cosmopolitan place, much as Benedict XIV used his coffeehouse in the Quirinal gardens for Carlos III's visit. The moment was immortalized in a painting commissioned by the traveling sovereign from a French painter in Rome, Bénigne Gagnereaux. The painter significantly altered Simonetti's architecture, however, making the vaults more lofty and eliminating the rotunda's clerestory level beneath the dome, thereby avoiding the problem posed by the Pantheon's attic. Pius asked for a copy of this painting, a most complete portrait of him in his institution, international host and cultural guardian.

Pius's efforts had an effect on the plebeian crowds who were offered free entrance during Holy Week and on the aristocratic elite who hurried to update their own holdings. The efficacy of Pius's model is seen in the revitalization of the Villa Borghese. Prince Marcantonio IV Borghese inherited this patrimony in 1763, the year Villa Albani was completed, and undertook a complete revamping to maintain the pre-eminence of his family's cultural stature. His team of mostly foreign designers was coordinated by Antonio Asprucci, assisted by his son Mario. The prince participated in the design process with on-site visits and open-ended discussions with his idea men to assure the project's up-to-date qualities. The villa interiors were enriched with columns and a profusion of colored marbles, vault paintings, and furniture to complement the art works. The Aspruccis struck a measured and melodic marriage between the solemnity of the antique and the extravagance of the baroque. The Egyptian room of 1786 is typical. Ancient fragments of porphyry, granite, and basalt were reintegrated on an Egyptian theme, and new statues and decorative elements were commissioned. Of course, Egyptian things were no novelty in Rome. There were the obelisks in the piazzas, a special cabinet in the Capitoline museum, even Albani had a reference to the Nile in his garden, and Piranesi referred to Egypt in his English caffè and *Camini* prints, but never before had Egypt been re-examined with such intensity and precision.

The interior work was a clever attempt to boost the collection without buying any new pieces. Borghese could not outbid Albani

or Pius VI, so he found ways to reposition his existing collection, including a replanting of the gardens. Marcantonio helped delineate the serpentine outline of an artificial lake and select the sites for several new "ruins." On a man-made island in the lake, Mario Asprucci concocted a Temple to Aesculapius, and Christoph Unterperger, the animal painter at the villa, mocked up a Temple to Faustina reusing real ancient architectural fragments. Charles Percier, a young Parisian student at the French Academy, designed an aqueduct carried on stout Doric columns, and Asprucci *padre*, the ancient-style hippodrome called the "Piazza di Siena." Marcantonio brought in the Scottish landscape painter Jacob More to make sure everything in this picturesque garden was right.

Marcantonio rendered the Villa Borghese not only a more gentle but also a more public place. Continuing a family tradition, he opening many of the grounds' minor structures for popular reception, festivities, and relaxation. At the Villa Borghese of the late eighteenth century, collecting, interior decoration, architecture, and landscape design all conjoined to enhance the continuity of Roman culture under enlightened aristocratic patronage.

THE PATRONAGE OF POPE PIUS VI

Pope Pius VI pursued a wide program of arts patronage. The Braschi pope had been the financial advisor on the Lateran apse project and the Museum Clementinum, and the titular cardinal at Santa Scholastica. By the time his turn as pope came, he had firm ideas about cultural heritage, in particular the mediation between forces of tradition and necessities for innovation. The Basilica of Saint Peter had no proper sacristy. Michelangelo hadn't planned one, and there was no satisfactory solution in any of the proposals that had been pouring in since then. Pius put the job of developing a new project to his *Fabbrica* architect, Carlo Marchionni, by then seventy-four years old. The new sacristy stands a dozen meters to the south of the basilica's exterior wall, connected by bridges at the level of the

cathedral floor. The rich materials employed were supposed to have been representations of the wealth of the papal states and the genius of her artisans, but the structural iron elements Marchionni used had to be imported. Marchionni's skill is seen in the handling of the material and decorative complexity of the sacristy surfaces, a virtuosic synthesis of High Renaissance and baroque motifs from Michelangelo to Bernini, earlier masters at Saint Peter's.

Marchionni's task was complicated by the proximity of Michelangelo's exterior, which was many times larger, richer, and more interesting than the sacristy needed to be. He treated the three essential parts of his construction, the blocky canons' residence, the vaulted sacristy proper, and the linking galleries, with increasing surface decoration and in declining elevation as they cascade quietly toward the basilica. Its careful proportions and self-effacing asymmetry have proven a masterly deferential gesture. But what makes the project work is the historicism of Marchionni's outlook. Pius required a sacristy consonant with the layered complexity of the cathedral's own evolution across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In a mixture of styles and details, Marchionni created an architectural amalgam commensurate with the history of the cathedral itself.

While the new sacristy is a distinctive and distinctively sumptuous symbol of Pius's patronage, this former accountant also pursued a wide range of invigorating programs employing art, architecture, and even hydraulic engineering to glorify his papacy and Rome. New bells and clocks for Saint Peter's facade, repairs to the Lateran nave ceiling, a new wing for the Santo Spirito hospital, a tapestry workshop at San Michele, and a cotton warehouse in the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian all underscored his progressive "Christian Enlightenment." Pius's imperial display is most evident in the triumphal arches erected in his honor, from a temporary one designed by Francesco Milizia to commemorate his election, to a permanent one in Subiaco, his former abbey seat.

But the project most redolent of Pius's attempts to achieve imperial glory was his plan to drain the Pontine Marshes. The inland bogs, just 100 kilometers south of Rome along the Appian

1.24 Carlo Marchionni, Sacristy, Saint Peter's Cathedral, Rome, 1776–84
1.25 Cosimo Morelli, Palazzo Braschi, Rome, 1790–

Way, troubled both Julius Caesar and Pope Julius II, who had put their best men to devising ways to reclaim the 800 square kilometers of swamp. Pius VI, with modern science at his command, had a drainage canal dug and a highway, the Linea Pio, laid. Terracina, the dreary medieval town overlooking the area, was revamped with a papal residence and public buildings for trade and commerce. Even a museum was planned to display the artifacts dredged up below. Pius IV combined the agricultural and the antiquarian in a complete program of economic and spiritual recovery of a long fallow land.

But it would be myopic to call the Pontine Marsh reclamation a clamoring success for the region. Pius's own nephew turned out to be the primary economic beneficiary. Nepotism was still a papal prerogative and Pius, who had no brothers with sons of the Braschi name, encouraged his sister's offspring to hyphenate theirs. Luigi Braschi-Onesti was made a duke, married to a Roman noblewoman and set up for display in the papal limelight. A palace was built, the Palazzo Braschi. Architects of the capital rushed to offer their services even before the site was purchased in 1790. Cosimo Morelli, official architect of the papal legations, designed the palazzo to fill the boundaries of the roughly triangular site to maximum volume with no particular attention to Piazza Navona behind it. Like Marchionni and probably under similar directives, Morelli undertook a historicist amalgam of all that made the Roman Renaissance palazzo great, then rather perfunctorily he knocked everything up a notch. The effect of its extra tall floors and obvious details is an aesthetic equivalent of the duke's fabricated stature in Roman society. Despite the shortcomings of the overall conception, the staircase within justifies Morelli's reputation. The scenographic masterpiece is studded with ancient sculpture and granite columns.

The Palazzo Braschi is the last in a long line of nepotistic papal palaces in Rome. The consciousness of its constructed role required of Morelli a historicist operation perhaps less brilliantly achieved than Marchionni's but of the same ilk. While Pope Pius VI was building the Palazzo Braschi in Rome, French revolutionaries were dismantling the Bastille in Paris. But Pius, who was bereaved by

Louis XVI's beheading, should not be seen in the clarity of historical hindsight as a pathetic anachronism but as a man convinced that the traditions of Rome would never wane.

GIUSEPPE PIERMARINI AND MILAN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Milan, under Hapsburg rule from Vienna, was guided by the best of Enlightenment governing policies. Although Empress Marie Therese's attitude was paternalistic, her effect on intellectual and artistic life in Lombardy was undeniably positive. Archduke Ferdinand, her son, was dispatched to wed Maria Beatrice d'Este, and when he arrived in Milan he found the city lacking in buildings he thought worthy of his image. He promptly set about rectifying this situation. In a half-century of Hapsburg administration, palaces, villas, thoroughfares and gardens, academies of learning, and public theaters came into being. Pietro Verri wrote to his brother, "since you have left Milan many changes have occurred that could not have been imagined before. . . . They're tearing down [the church of] La Scala to build a theater. At [the Jesuit monastery of] the Brera they're setting up a painting school. . . . In no other country have there been as many changes over these twelve years while no other country is so contrary to change as ours." Ferdinand wanted his own palace on the order of Shönbrunn, or Caserta, for Milan, so a serious headhunting campaign for an architect began. Luigi Vanvitelli was brought to Milan in 1769 to consult on the conversion of the Palazzo Ducale, whose medieval structures needed a complete overhaul. Vanvitelli, used to working on a *tabula rasa*, told them to knock everything down, but Wenceslaus Kaunitz, the minister who held the purse strings in Vienna, vetoed the idea. Vanvitelli had little patience for petty patrons but satisfied his contract by leaving behind one of his trusted minions, Giuseppe Piermarini.

Piermarini had gone to Rome in 1755 to study with Paolo Posi, but he found his work less than satisfying and drew up some of his

own solutions for the Pantheon's attic. Vanvitelli's reputation attracted him to Naples, where he worked on secondary projects and not, it seems, on the Reggia at Caserta. But in this industrious atmosphere he learned the indispensable tools of the trade: patron relations and the cosmopolitan classicism that appealed to them. Thus, Vanvitelli could boastfully claim to the Milanese, perhaps a bit nonplused by his bait-and-switch, that Giuseppe "will make it known that my tutelage has not been in vain in his learning the most difficult profession of architecture." Indeed, Vanvitelli sowed Europe with his pupils, sending Antonio Rinaldi and Luigi Rusca to Russia, and Francesco Sabbatini to Spain along with his own sons, Francesco and Pietro.

Piermarini was duly invested in 1769 as the Imperial Royal Architect of Hapsburg Lombardy over which he held a kind of architectural monopoly. He supervised dozens of projects while his example significantly raised the standards of professionalism in the region. Piermarini understood implicitly Kaunitz's economic limits, and managed to provide both infrastructural and stylistic coherence to Milan.

The restructuring of the Palazzo Ducale in 1773 is indicative of Piermarini's strengths. Pre-existing foundations were used to reconfigure the old building with a generous forecourt opening toward the cathedral. A distribution of half-columns and pilasters lend the exterior a stately economy, with balanced horizontal and vertical accents. Interior decorations, finished in 1778 by Piermarini's trusted stuccoist Giocondo Albertolli, lend verve exactly where the architecture is in danger of becoming monotonous. Piermarini also built Ferdinand a country house in Monza outside Milan with a tree-lined avenue 15 kilometers long to link the Villa Reale to the capital.

In the spirit of Hapsburg enlightened rule, Piermarini was also put in charge of the reform of key cultural institutions, both administratively and architecturally. For the new Accademia Virgiliana at Mantua, in which all that city's scientific, literary, and artistic groups were conglomerated, Piermarini restructured the building with its baroque theater behind a classical facade. Similar decrees changed Milan's old educational institutions of the arts. In 1776, the expropriated Jesuit monastery of the Brera was designated as the seat

for a new Accademia di Belle Arti. Piermarini was in charge not only of the architectural adaptation but also the building of the faculty. He gathered a distinguished group of professionals including Albertolli for the chair of *Ornato*, a concept of artistic decorum on the measure of everything from domestic interiors to urban planning. Through his power over these institutions, Piermarini systematically engineered the regeneration of the region's architectural practice.

Milan's entire urban structure became a venue for the Hapsburg program in architectural and social improvements. The city's system of canals was improved; roads were straightened, widened, and leveled. The road from Vienna and the Corso di Porta Orientale were embellished with new toll gates and public gardens. By 1778, Milan was endowed with its first comprehensive urban design, drawn up principally by Piermarini and Albertolli. Throughout Italy, the state—in the person of its ruler—usually took the lead in building and planning, but only in Milan do we find also a social class independent and prosperous enough to respond in spontaneous private initiative. Whether they were poor charges in Fuga's Albergo dei Poveri or in Marie Therese's wealthy Milan, the Enlightenment approach was the same: to stimulate subjects to become active agents of their own reform. Piermarini took on many private commissions that are each shining examples of how enlightened rule stimulated independent initiative. With Piermarini's expertise, Prince Alberigo Barbiano di Belgioioso d'Este, protector of the Brera and captain of the archduke's royal guard, was happy to do his part. For his new palazzo, he dumped several rather splendiferous proposals in favor of Piermarini's more contained classical design. Within the dense medieval fabric of the city, before a narrow but regular piazza, Piermarini produced for Belgioioso a miniature Caserta. The facade is underscored by continuous horizontal striations while the pilasters draw vertical accents at its three entrances for a discrete tripartite scansion. Here, the elements of the Reggia are subtly rearranged to modest but entirely effective results. Piermarini's sense of control is carried throughout the building in evenly distributed rooms largely decorated by Albertolli. The Palazzo Belgioioso has smaller and more domestic spaces than in the patrician palaces of the previous generation, and its style served as a model for generations to come.

1.26 Giuseppe Piermarini with Giocondo Albertolli, Palazzo and Piazza Belgioioso, Milan, 1772–81. Engraving by Domenico Aspari, *Vedute di Milano*, 1788
1.27 Giuseppe Piermarini, Teatro alla Scala, Milan, 1776–78. Painting by Angelo Inganni, 1852
1.28 Teatro alla Scala. Interior view during a recital by Renata Tebaldi, 1974

Belgioioso may also have gotten Piermarini the commission for what would be the architect's most famous work: the Teatro alla Scala. The world-renowned theater lies at the heart of Enlightenment Milan, a cultural locus and catalyst of paramount importance. The origins of this theater lie in the burnt ruins of an earlier theater once located within the old Palazzo Ducale. This popular auditorium burned during Piermarini's renovation work on the palace, in February 1776. No one was particularly surprised. Theater fires were frequent, and the archduke purportedly didn't like the idea of such a venue in the palace in the first place. The fire, perhaps an arson, provided the opportunity to modernize not only the theater's interior appointments but also its urban profile.

In the eighteenth century, Milanese theaters were managed by clubs of private individuals, usually noble devotees, who were given opera boxes, or *palchi*, in exchange for financing. In the case of the former Teatro Ducale, the *palchettisti* included Alberigo Belgioioso. In March 1776, the *palchettisti*, discreetly guided by Archduke Ferdinand, formulated a proposal for a new theater to be built of masonry at a new site by Piermarini. Authorization came through Kaunitz in July, Piermarini's first plans were ready in September, and construction began in December. Twenty months later, on 3 August 1778, the Teatro alla Scala was completed.

The name of the theater derives from the ducal chapel of Santa Maria della Scala, which was demolished by the duke expressly for the purpose of locating the new theater on its site (hence "*alla* [at the] Scala"). The overlay of secular culture on religious memory is particularly indicative of Enlightenment operations in Milan. This site was a step out of the shadow of the Palazzo Ducale and into the tangle of streets where the theater could become the focus of a new urban center. Indeed, in anticipation of traffic congestion, the city's *Ornato* commission insisted on a *porte-cochère* at the theater's doorstep. The Scala exterior displays a balance of horizontal and vertical elements that tend toward an economical minimalism. The *porte-cochère*, however, was given a greater monumentality at the request of the *palchettisti* and its less convincing impression reveals the uneasy interplay between patrons' requests and the architect's refined design sense. Piermarini may have learned how to deal graciously with

clients but he didn't match Vanvitelli in finessing their ideas into great architecture. The exterior lost that shimmering coherence of the Belgioioso palace. Pietro Verri opined that the theater looked good on paper but rather forced in reality. But no one had reservations over Piermarini's superb interior.

The scientific nature of Enlightenment endeavor made theater design one of its distinctive hallmarks. Piermarini, as was his method, gleaned examples from the already prodigious technical literature on theater architecture, acoustic engineering, and fireproof construction. Various treatises on the subject posited the traditional half-round ancient model revived by Palladio against the innovative science of acoustics that called for elliptical, horseshoe, and bell shapes. In a lavish commemorative volume on La Scala, a Vanvitellian promotional touch, Piermarini published a synoptic table comparing all the major theaters of Italy. For La Scala, Piermarini synthesized the current technical knowledge in the rather unusual curve of the auditorium. It is clear he did not invent anything new here, but everyone confessed that it proved a perfect solution. Masonry construction was used in the auditorium structure, leaving wooden surfaces only on the box divisions and fronts and the coved ceiling. Ornament, controlled for acoustic purposes, was originally designed by Albertolli in harmony with Piermarini's quiet classicism, but it has been altered repeatedly over the decades. The distribution was praised on both sides of the proscenium arch. There are spaces for a multitude of interrelated functions serving their purposes with varying degrees of pageantry or economy: opera and ballet production, scenery and costume workshops, gaming rooms and caffès, shops and offices. The Teatro alla Scala established a model of methodological mediation in the building type and was imitated by countless others across Italy. The original aspiration of the *palchettisti* to make a theater "by its magnificence and by its size . . . superior to any other in Italy" has indeed been excelled by La Scala's status today as a world-famous cultural institution.

Piermarini brought the spirit of classicism to life in Milan. His role in the progress of Lombard architecture is comparable to Vanvitelli's in Naples: giving rigor to the baroque with classical

discipline. This was brought about through formal, constructive, and procedural clarification not only in architecture but also in decoration, urbanism, and education. Piermarini renewed Milan through the classical traditions while addressing its current needs to lift it to capital rank.

VENICE'S TEATRO LA FENICE AND CONCLUSIONS ON NEOCLASSICISM

An overview of Italian architecture of the late eighteenth century testifies to the vigorous continuity of tradition combined with the innovations brought on by the Enlightenment. A glance to late-eighteenth-century Venice provides an idea of the classical renewal in architecture. In Palladio's homeland, one needn't think of a "neoclassicism" at all but of an unbroken tradition. Giannantonio Selva is a typical product of the Palladian heritage. Selva was a student of mathematics who traveled more widely than most in his day. From the ruins of Paestum to the gardens at Stowe, England, Selva was witness to the gamut of eighteenth-century cultural phenomena. His mental bank of images paid out in a career in theatrical scenography. When in 1787 the Venetian gentlemen's club *Nobile Società* undertook the initiative to build yet another theater in that city, they held a competition and Selva won. A site was found in the city's tight fabric at Campo San Fantin. There was hope of creating a new cultural center there.

A competition program detailing the complex's various functional requirements was published in 1789 and distributed through academies all across Italy, attracting dozens of projects. The *Società* members favored Selva, even though, as other competitors brought to their attention in a lawsuit, it did not fulfill the program requirements. The Teatro "La Fenice" was built from scratch in eighteen months and inaugurated on 16 May 1792. The exterior of the theater, confined as it is to a short end facing the small *campo*, has sober Palladian rhythms and is noteworthy in its rejection of

extraneous surface decoration. Selva's auditorium was modeled without apology on Piermarini's La Scala, and again excellent acoustics and financial gain resulted. There are four levels of wooden-fronted *palchi*, instead of La Scala's five, and broad box partitions to accommodate the local tradition of dining during a performance. La Fenice's original interior decorations were neoclassical but lightened by a rococo touch, but they were altered, as was the custom, by each successive scenographer on staff.

The creation of a theater displays all the complex crosscurrents of the age—Palladian traditions, scientific advance, commercial interests, lingering rococo taste—and the creation of a self-image of modern society all blended into one elusive, ever changing expression. La Fenice would have been better named "La Chimera" rather than "the Pheonix."

The architectural forms of late-eighteenth-century classicism, from Galilei to Selva, are clearer in structural representation, simpler in volumetric clarity, and more linear and planar than the earlier baroque. Francesco Milizia, who promulgated his ideas through rigorous criticism of contemporary architecture, spelled out principles of composition, structure, and ornament more severe than contemporary tastes. His principles helped to redefine an architecture for the public weal that was commodious, solid, and grand.

A tendency toward purer architectural form made the re-emerging classical style once again, as it was in the Renaissance, adaptable to a wide range of new building types. The strong, forthright forms of public architecture provided the appropriate impact for the underlying pedagogic aim of the arts during the Enlightenment. The reforms of Bourbon Naples, of Hapsburg Milan, even papal Rome, were manifest in contemporary architecture of more stoic, secular images. As Diderot explained in his *Encyclopédie*, the edifying effect of the arts would make virtue more attractive. Museums and theaters were of paramount importance in the *risorgimento*, or resurgence of the arts, as contemporaries called it.

This was not a "revolutionary" architecture. In most cases patron, artist, and style were lodged firmly within the continuities of the old regimes. The term "neoclassicism" seems out of place in Italy, where scientific reconstruction of architectural principles independent of

Renaissance precedent were rare and the idea of a "true style" was expressed only by foreigners looking for it. This was a perennial return to a hardly absent classicism. The essence of tradition—recognizable schema established by recurrent use—exerts a remarkable force on the Italian consciousness. The result was a judicious balance of tradition and innovation at Caserta, La Scala, Villa Albani, Museo Pio-Clementino. The Roman palimpsest of Nolli's map favored cultural continuity. As Salvi's Trevi Fountain shows, to trace upon the layered surface of Italian cities one is profoundly influenced by what lies below.

2.1 Giuseppe Camporese, Andrea Vici, and Paolo Bargigli, *Festa della Federazione*, in Piazza of Saint Peter, Rome, 20 March 1798. Painting by Felice Giani

Chapter 2

NAPOLEON IN ITALY, 1800–1815

NAPOLEON'S ITALIC EMPIRE

Napoleon Bonaparte brought the ideals and imagery of the French Revolution to Italy. In March 1796, as an offensive army commander against the Austrian empire in Lombardy, he entered Italian territory to secure free passage across Piedmont from the Savoyard monarch. A chain of rebellions in the neighboring regions of Reggio Emilia and the papal legations of Ferrara and Bologna spurred Napoleon to further territorial consolidations. By the end of the year, a Cisalpine Republic was formed and Pope Pius VI was dispensed with in an armistice at Bologna. The subsequent Treaty of Tolentino, signed on 19 February 1797, demanded disarmament, concessions, and passage south to Bourbon domain. A republic in Rome was proclaimed on 15 February 1798, and the pope was finally exiled to France, where he died the following year. His nephew scampered to meet the French but was promptly taken hostage. Napoleon was hailed as the liberator of Italy, galvanizing hitherto scattered or incomplete movements of reform in a sweeping political maneuver. The French Revolution and Napoleon's meteoric appearance sparked an enthusiastic spirit of transformation that lit up Italy.

The force of the revolution politicized the arts in a way that they had never been in the eighteenth century. Republican ideals were projected onto the forms of established classicism. Napoleon himself did not discriminate in artistic matters, but he clearly understood art's pedagogic value. He promoted art institutions and established procedures of state patronage that would disseminate images across the land. Classicism, or neoclassicism as he would see it, contained simultaneously the rational underpinnings of a military engineer and the efficacious imagery of a propagandist.

Nowhere better than in the staged political festivals is the synthesis of classical art and revolutionary politics under Napoleon

more clearly demonstrated. Public festivals were effective instruments in transmitting ideology and releasing social tensions while shaping the collective consciousness. In republican Rome, grand allegorical processions were performed, illustrating crucial episodes of the revolution. *Tableaux vivants* of the fall of the Bastille were reenacted on the grounds of the Villa Borghese, and forests of *Alberi della Libertà*, poles erected and laden with the symbols of revolutionary spirit, rose up everywhere.

On 20 March 1798, a *Festa della Federazione* was staged in the piazza of Saint Peter's. The event was ostensibly mounted by the "Roman Consuls" to pledge their union as a French *département*. Lavish adornments included a "patriotic altar" designed by three architects, Giuseppe Camporese, Andrea Vici, and Paolo Bargigli with the help of numerous sculptors. The "altar" consisted of a majestic stepped dais, 30 meters in diameter with four Doric columns of *papier-mâché* and trumpeting figures on globes. At the center, a statue symbolizing Rome stood between *Liberté* and *Egalité*, like three graces of the revolution. St. Peter's facade was clouded by burning urns; its bells were drowned out by patriotic hymns sung by legions of citizens. There was no passive participation in this fashioning of a collective consciousness. Although the forms were ephemeral, they were significant for their secularization of architectural ideas and their influence on built reality in Italy.

The French rhetoric of liberty and equality marked a promising advance in Enlightenment progress. A rationalist spirit was turned on to political and religious institutions by a secularist and materialist intellectual class seeking the benefits of free enterprise. In reality, Italians were free only as far as French foreign policy would allow, as was most evident in the south where plutarchies formed in the absence of any bourgeoisie. The Neapolitan republic lasted only 150 days, yet the experience of political action was invaluable. Trenchant *campanilismo*, the sense of local allegiance defined metaphorically by the distance at which one's parish church bells could be heard, was dismantled for the first time in modern Italian history and replaced with a sensation of a national consciousness.

Concerted forces of the old order—King Ferdinando IV, who retreated to Sicily, and General Suvarov, head of an Austro-Russian

army—temporarily regained control, but by May 1800 Napoleon was once again in Italy. He retook Lombardy, reconstructed the Cisalpine Republic, and eventually marched through all the peninsula's regions including Austrian Tyrol and along the Istrian coast toward Trieste. Contrary to his first ebullient apparition of 1796, Napoleon's new goals for Italy were to establish more stable, long-lasting changes to the civil landscape. His legal code was applied uniformly across the former patchwork of customs, and a territorial organization set up with prefects assigned to public works projects, such as the new Simplon alpine pass. In January 1802, the "Repubblica Italiana" was named, and two years later, at Napoleon's coronation as emperor, Italy became a kingdom. Napoleon appointed his siblings to governing positions across his empire. Joseph, Napoleon's elder brother, was made king of Naples and then later of Spain; Elisa, his sister, became the grand duchess of Tuscany; and a stepson, Eugène de Beauharnais, viceroy at Milan. Pauline was wed to a Borghese prince in Rome, and Caroline Bonaparte's husband, Joachim Murat, succeeded Joseph at Naples. In the regions not significantly prepared in Enlightenment reform, the applications of Napoleonic administration came as a shock. While Naples' Albergo dei Poveri was finally if incompletely up and running, all the good will of Murat could do little to bridge effectively the gulf of social and economic differences in his charge.

Not all of Napoleon's policies promoted Italy's best interests. The concessions exacted of Rome by the Treaty of Tolentino specified the removal of one hundred artworks among the paintings and statues of its public collections at the Capitoline and Vatican. Dominique-Vivant Denon, Napoleon's art advisor in Paris, selected pieces from Albani's and Braschi's collections for a Musée Napoléon at the Louvre. Pauline made many works available from the Borghese collection for her brother's purchase. When the convoys from Venice, Florence, and Rome arrived in Paris, triumphal processions were staged and the citizens of Paris applauded themselves as guardians of the art of the free world. The conflict between the revolutionary rhetoric of freedom and liberty and this cultural spoliation did not escape Napoleon's critics, particularly Quatremère de Quincy, who protested that works of art and their historical context of origin could not be separated.

2.2 Arrival of a convoy of statues and works of art at the Champs de Mars for the Musée Napoléon, Paris, 1798. Engraving by De Vinck

For Italians, being for the first time on the bitter end of such a triumphal procession sharpened a consciousness of the fragility of their cultural heritage. Artworks, the icons of history itself, had become commodities to be sold or stolen. In return, the modernity Napoleon promoted in the form of reasoned urban development was perhaps of far greater importance for Italy's continued livelihood. The architecture and urbanism Napoleon left behind describes the benefits.

MILAN

When Napoleon arrived in Milan, a considerable upheaval in Milanese society was expected. After the benevolent Hapsburg rule, the Milanese had much to lose, not so much in terms of their historical patrimony, but in advancements in social progress. Napoleon, however, continued many of the programs of public works improvement begun under Austrian rule, and private initiative soon picked up. Viceroy Beauharnais, like Archduke Ferdinand before him, pursued public building projects to elevate and affirm Milan's capital status.

Beauharnais gathered an entirely new group of architects to carry out the projects. Piermarini's monopoly now broken, Jacobin radicals from all over flocked to take up the opportunities offered in Milan. Piermarini's subtlety, his pilasters and linearism, became anathema; a bold, columnar architecture reflected the new political order. Luigi Canonica, Piermarini's student, adapted the Brera program of instruction to a more simplified formal repertory. Giuseppe Bossi, second in command at the Brera, impelled young designers to careers of political action through the arts. Architecture was a means of achieving social goals, he claimed, inciting civil virtues to unify the people. For Bossi, the forms of antiquity manifested the politically correct symbolism of republican virtue. Paraphrasing Napoleon, Bossi declared that a state cannot have life without the arts, and further clarified his position by contrasting the present resurgence of the classical style against the muddled Middle

Ages, in which, many held, there was no art and no nation.

A *Festa della Federazione* was also staged in Milan, complete with a triumphal arch, patriotic altar, and liberty trees. Monuments to Napoleon's triumphs were planned: a commemorative column modeled on Trajan's, and a Temple to Immortality with columns "in the Paestum order." Indeed, the Milanese praised Napoleon and aimed to prove themselves worthy of his approbation. Projects of economic and urban development were drawn up by the local governors, including a new forum. They claimed that in this public form, "decorum and calm will reign. The Foro Bonaparte will present a spectacle of Roman Magnificence. To the pomp and display of the ancients will be united the good taste and amenities of the moderns." The initiative was wholly homegrown and Napoleon never intervened in the project. In fact, this enterprise coincided with the Cisalpine state's bid for independence, a move Napoleon would never allow. The Milanese projects can thus be seen as a tactic of architectural self-expression intended to gain Napoleon's favor and their promised independence.

After the battles for Milan's liberation, Napoleon commanded the demolition of its obsolete fortification at the Castello Sforzesco. The dismantled bastions were used to fill the surrounding moats, providing a cleared and level ground for political festivities. The remaining fortress was to be converted for civil functions and the core of the new forum. Within a month, Luigi Canonica devised a basic program that combined military, commercial, and commemorative functions, and the building commission was swept away by the galvanic vision of an unsolicited project from a radical newcomer, Giovanni Antonio Antolini.

Antolini had studied in Rome and had attempted a sacristy project for the Vatican, but was assigned only minor works in the Pontine. Cosimo Morelli, a fellow Romagnolo, helped the younger man attain projects in the Tiber basin managing bridges and dams. He also studied the Doric order. In search of better opportunities, he rushed to the liberated territories at Napoleon's advent and put his ideas to work on an ephemeral arch of triumph in Faenza. Antolini then headed for Milan to design their *Festa della Federazione* and found steady employment, again, in hydraulic engineering on the

city's canals commission. The Foro Bonaparte project was drawn up when Antolini was nearing forty-five, confident in his vision but anxious to see it realized.

Antolini's proposal called for a colonnade of stripped Doric columns forming a circular precinct around the castle, 570 meters in diameter. The route from the Simplon pass enters Milan at this point. The castle, refurbished with a colossal marble portico, was to be accompanied by a ring of fourteen monumental public buildings linked along the colonnade. A customs house, an exchange, a theater, communal baths, a museum, a "pantheon," and eight citizens' assembly halls called, didactically, *scuole* or schools, animated the vast program of "modern amenities" of commerce and socialization. The specificity of Antolini's proposal as depicted in the superb engravings of Alessandro Sanquirico, scenographer at La Scala, appeared palpable to the commission.

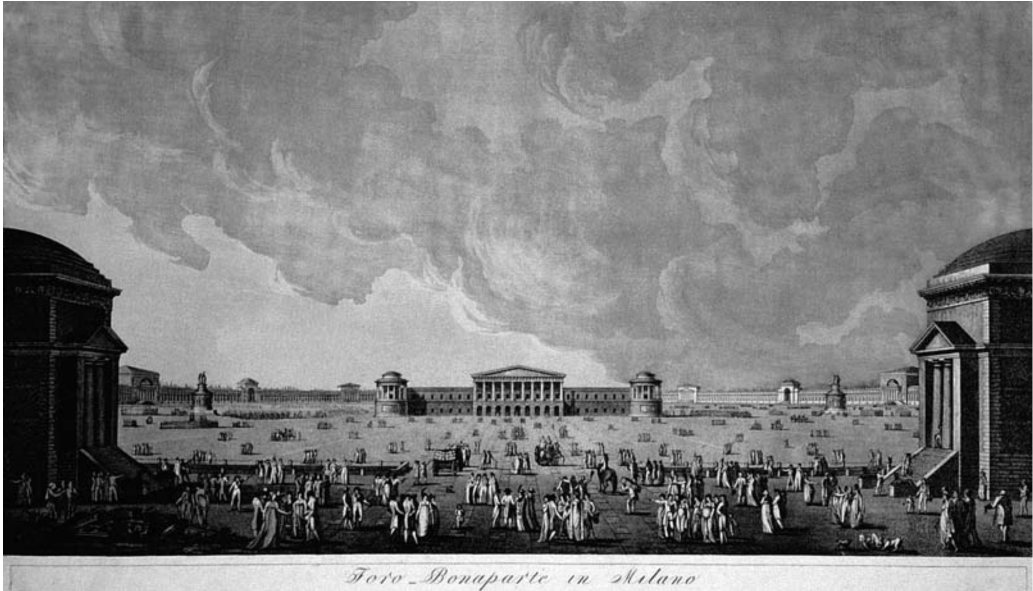
Antolini's vision was not embroidered with academic refulgence but simplified in neoclassical stringency. The volumes were articulated, the surfaces made austere, and the space rigorously symmetrical. Antolini was clearly influenced by the ancient forms Jacques-Louis David employed for his famous *Oath of the Horatii*, which had once been exhibited in Rome. The commissioners' report expounded on the project's inherent heroic profile, its stout Doric proportions equated with stolid republican virtues. The metaphoric value of the column made clear in the festival ephemera was joined to the rational functionalism of permanent useful construction, thus uniting the Doric style to public utility. Similar to Ledoux's salts complex at Chaux, then under construction but still unpublished, the Foro Bonaparte combined science, art, and commerce. Antolini's gigantic proposal was a large-scale urban plan guided by a clear governing ideology and its architectural form was considered an active promoter of society. Antolini presented his project in Paris in May 1801. Unlike Etienne-Louis Boullée's visionary drawings to which Antolini's work might easily have been compared, the Foro Bonaparte was imminently realizable. Milanese confidence in the project preceded the presentation, and on 30 April 1801 the cornerstone was placed. The ceremony, orchestrated by Paolo Bargigli, included a Doric temple, burning urns, and a truncated

Column of Trajan surmounted by a statue of Napoleon. Speeches noted that the project would promote commercial strength and social stability. In June 1802, construction was halted by the Parisian supervisors who had assessed its escalating costs. At the same time, Napoleon was seeking to present a more moderate governmental imagery in architecture, as proposed to him by Charles Percier and Pierre Fontaine, his official architects. The commission was asked to rework the Foro project under more utilitarian and less celebratory aims.

The Milanese were embarrassed by the reprimand, and enthusiasm for Antolini suddenly shrank. He was shunted off to Bologna where, as a doddering professor of architecture, he ruminated unceasingly before his bemused students on the lost opportunity "to give a proper order and form to the fundamental ideas and to create the theoretical metaphysics of architecture." Nonetheless, Antolini's unexecuted plan exerted a magnetic influence on Milanese urban planning. Despite its rejection, the Foro Bonaparte was included in the 1807 city map as if completed. The area, however, would be laid out in far more modest fashion and cost by Luigi Canonica.

Under a revised financial scheme, just disencumbering the castle was deemed a sufficient recognition of the progress the French brought to Milan. Canonica carried on the project with Piermarinian professionalism closely following economized directives. He traveled to Paris to study the examples of Napoleon's official architecture. Canonica cannot boast any masterpieces among the city gates, houses, villas, and dozen theaters he built, including an enlargement of La Scala, but his ubiquitous work brought Percier and Fontaine's adaptable architecture to the Italian cityscape.

In the end, only the most minimal suggestions of the original forum idea were executed by Canonica. Ten thousand trees were planted in substitution for a colonnade, and behind the castle, a vast parade ground, the *piazza d'armi*, was opened at the entrance of the Simplon route. Napoleon decreed the construction of an ancient-style arena in 1806 and Canonica worked it into the Foro Bonaparte plans. The wide, low grandstands were constructed from the rubble of the former bastion. With a capacity of up to four thousand



2.3 Giovanni Antonio Antolini, Foro Bonaparte, Milan, 1801. Engraving by Alessandro Sanquirico, 1806
2.4 Luigi Canonica, Arena, Foro Bonaparte, Milan, 1806–7
2.5 Luigi Cagnola, Arco delle Vittorie napoleoniche (now Arco della Pace), Milan, 1807–38

citizen-spectators, it was the largest such structure since antiquity. A triumphal arch served as an entrance and a stately "pulvinar," or imperial tribune, was made of reclaimed ancient columns. A screen of shade trees completed the ellipse.

The encouragement of an imperial imagery coincided with Napoleon's crowning as Emperor of Italy on 26 May 1805. The Milanese, anxious to please their exacting overlord, were confident that a triumphal arch "in imitation of those decreed by the Senate and built by the people of Rome for the Caesars" would effectively commemorate this occasion. A celebratory archway could double as a utilitarian city gate and as such ranked among the indispensable projects impervious to cutbacks.

In 1806 Luigi Cagnola designed a temporary structure in celebration of Viceroy Beauharnais's marriage to Amalia Augusta of Bavaria. The edifice was admired and led to Cagnola being commissioned for Milan's second permanent arch. Cagnola was an erudite aristocrat with a cultivated interest in the arts. He collaborated on an illustrated translation of a Winckelmann text and designed Ledoux-inspired toll houses for his own pleasure. His diplomatic career in Vienna was terminated with the rise of the French, so the future marquis retreated to Venice to study Palladian architecture. Cagnola returned to his native Milan under the second republic to take a seat on the city council and *Ornato* board. He was primarily interested in issues of celebratory urban decor, but his personal tastes coincided with Canonica's.

Cagnola's triumphal arch for Napoleon, the "Arco delle Vittorie napoleoniche," was begun in 1807 at the entrance to the Foro Bonaparte. Urbanistically, it was the only construction that recalls Antolini's original ideas and archeological spirit. Building materials from new quarries were meticulously selected, as were the collaborating sculptors from the Brera. Like many projects conceived under Napoleonic rule, the arch was completed by later governors with some slight but significant alterations to its name and iconography.

Continuities across successions of regimes were common in the slow development of urban plans. The Napoleonic *Ornato* board, consisting of Canonica, Cagnola, Albertolli, and Paolo Landriani, a

2.6 Giovanni Perego, Palazzo Belloni (now Rocca Saporiti), Milan, 1812

scenographer from La Scala, integrated Antolini's forum and open piazzas at the Teatro alla Scala and the Duomo in their 1807 plans of the city. The design of piazzas with avenues lined with uniform facades coincided with Parisian development under Napoleon. In Italy a constant exchange of ideas among designers of scenography and urban architecture was prevalent. The art of scenography, a staple of eighteenth-century architects and nineteenth-century academies, animated public space first through public spectacles and then in permanent urban architecture. Gaetano Belloni, manager at La Scala, hired Giovanni Perego, Landriani's student in theater design and decorator of La Scala's interior appointments, to design his palace in 1812. Its showy display of columns demonstrates the interplay of stage design and architecture recurrent in Napoleonic-era concepts of the city.

VENICE

Napoleon consolidated his power in Venice in 1805, during his later imperial phase, and arrived in the city two years later. Giannantonio Selva orchestrated the pageant of Napoleon's flotilla down the Grand Canal with an arch on *papier-mâché* columns. The impressive water welcome was similar to the pomp conferred on many other dignitaries of great import. But at La Fenice a new spirit was evident: Selva added an imperial box to the auditorium for Napoleon.

During his visit, Napoleon reviewed issues of Venice's economic recovery, urban infrastructure, and accommodations for his governors. The Doges' Palace was not considered for conversion as it was indelibly associated with the eclipsed aristocratic republic. Instead, Napoleon authorized the reworking of Sansovino's famous Renaissance-era administrative buildings: the Procuratie Nuove next to the Library of Saint Mark. Antolini was summoned in August 1806 to consult with Selva on the architectural possibilities. Ideas for an enlarged entranceway to the complex from the Piazza San Marco, however, created numerous problems with Sansovino's original facade. Beauharnais authorized the demolition of the western end of

2.7 Giuseppe Maria Soli, Ala Napoleonica, Piazza di San Marco, Venice, 1808–13

the piazza facing San Marco, Venice's newly designated cathedral. Construction of Antolini's Palazzo Reale was begun in December 1807, but it was heavily criticized and construction was halted due to its poorly laid foundations. Consultants were brought in: Canonica from Milan and Giuseppe Maria Soli from Bologna. Canonica opined that Antolini should go and Soli offered to take over. Soli finished the project by stretching a uniform two-story arcade across the end expanse, eliminating the grand central accent Antolini considered. By extending and replicating Sansovino's Procuratie arcade in a new wing, Soli's addition is called, simply, the Ala Napoleonica. The high pitch of the roofline was hidden behind a tall attic faced with politically keyed decorations. Panels with olive branches and laurel wreaths alternate with antique-style statues of divinities, emperors, and illustrious statesmen reminiscent of those on Sansovino's library. The exterior was finished in 1813 and featured a central bas-relief with Napoleon enthroned as Jupiter in a magnificent cortege, iconography derived from a spectacle presented on the Fenice stage the year before.

Soli positioned a monumental stair within to the right of the central axis, as at Caserta, leaving a vestibule clear through at the ground level. The only large ceremonial spaces within the entire complex are found at the top of these stairs. The viceroyal audience chamber was decorated in an imperial manner, according to Percier and Fontaine's authoritative publication, the *Receuil des décorations intérieures* of 1801. Unlike Antolini's project—and several others that were proposed—Soli did not try to reshape the piazza but deftly lent coherence to an urban space that had been evolving for centuries. Although he did not resolve the building's conflicted relationship to the Gothic Procuratie Vecchie (except to align their top edges), it is clear that his aspiration was to unify the piazza with symmetry and consonance by using Sansovino's classical imagery. In the long tradition of shaping this public space to the requisites of ruling representation, Soli's work proved in its understanding of historical precedent to have been the least invasive intervention here in the heart of Venice.

Elsewhere in the city, Napoleon's efforts at modernization were more marked and on every count much appreciated. Through the

city's new *Ornato* board, headed by Selva, plans for a public garden beyond the arsenal and a basin-side promenade accessed from San Marco were realized. Selva laid out the gardens in geometrical alignments that expressed, he explained, rational order and clarity as opposed to the effete nature of the picturesque English aristocratic garden. Structures for public service were installed: a restaurant, public baths, a belvedere tempietto, and benches. The public gardens, like the cemetery on the isle of San Michele also created under Napoleonic administration, were guided by a clear program of public service and socialization. The program also extended to various institutions. An academy of fine arts was established, headed by Francesco Leopoldo Cicognara. The school was housed according to Selva's plans in expropriated ecclesiastical properties of Santa Maria della Carità. Eventually, despite much appropriation of artworks by Napoleon for the Louvre, a gallery for the history of Venetian painting was opened to the public. Napoleon's operations in Venice and in Italy as a whole were eminently urban. He reinvigorated society not through empty political symbols but in long-lasting structural modernizations that connected with the historical city in graceful and useful ways.

TURIN

Napoleon's operations in Turin exemplified the effective symbiosis of modernity and tradition in Italy under his aegis. Turin, the Savoy monarchic capital, was thoroughly demilitarized by Napoleon. The city walls were dismantled within a year and public promenades planned by the local architect Ferdinando Bonsignore.

Migration to Turin from the countryside caused the population to leap to seventy thousand, requiring serious consideration of the city's infrastructure. Turin was already endowed with an efficient grid pattern of streets, the inheritance of its ancient Roman military *castrum*. The city planning commission on which Bonsignore sat developed a proposal in 1808 for an extension of this grid while introducing public gardens and a pleasant variety of geometric

2.8 Giuseppe Frizzi, Piazza Vittorio Emanuele I, Turin, 1825–29; with Claude La Ramée Pertinchamp, Ponte Vittorio Emanuele, 1810; and Ferdinando Bonsignore, Church of La Gran Madre di Dio, 1818–31

piazzas at the principal points of entry to the city. As in Napoleonic Paris, street names were registered, house numbers assigned, and clear building codes established. French military engineer Claude La Ramée Pertinchamp built Turin's first stone bridge over the Po in 1810, attracting urban expansion to the riverbank.

Even after the departure of the French, the restored Savoy king, Vittorio Emanuele I, continued Napoleonic city planning projects. It was thought that the king himself designed the broad rectangular piazza aligned on the French bridge. His edict defined the piazza's perimeter and implemented tax breaks to individuals willing to build there, but only if they used a prescribed facade prototype. A decade later, the project, still lacking public interest, was revised by the city commission. The open space was reduced and the facades simplified by the city architect Giuseppe Frizzi. By the late 1820s construction was finished. The simple, decorous masses of the residential blocks exemplified the economy of Torinese urban solutions. The ground floor arcades, similar to Percier and Fontaine's Rue de Rivoli buildings in Paris, perpetuate the long-standing Piedmontese tradition of continuous commercial space under cover. Despite this lineage, the Piazza Vittorio Emanuele bears the stamp of Napoleonic planning in the unprecedented scale of its conception and in its harnessing of private initiative in the creation of rational and uniform public space. Years later, Bonsignore completed the Church of La Gran Madre di Dio on the axis of the piazza. His design, refined in consultation with Luigi Cagnola, was an elaboration upon the Pantheon and commands the piazza's vista. It stands, despite its dedication to the restored king, as a reminder of the literally broadened spatial consciousness with which Napoleon invested this city.

NAPLES

In Naples, all projects of Bourbon reform were continued by the Napoleonic administration into the nineteenth century, guided not by royal pleasure but by a bureaucratic mandate of the civic council established in 1806. The Foro Carolino was completed, the Albergo dei Poveri staffed, the cemetery enlarged, and streets all around these sites "rectified." Joseph Bonaparte founded the botanical gardens next to the Albergo, assembling several private collectors' cabinets for public display. Giuliano de Fazio designed its greenhouse in 1809 with heavy Doric columns, after the similar project in Palermo. Private construction among Naples's nascent professional class showed its first tentative signs of life under Napoleonic induction.

While a new generation of decorators worked diligently in the vast interiors of Caserta, Joseph took up residence in the old Palazzo Reale downtown. From his front windows, he viewed a motley array of structures set around an open area known as the *largo*. The unimpressive view was fantastically transformed in many public celebrations, such as Ferdinando IV's temporary return in 1799 and the coronation of Murat in 1808. The new king decreed an architectural competition to rebuild the *largo* definitively as the "Foro Murat." The encompassing churches were demolished and each competition contestant proposed appropriately civil institutions as substitutes: a courthouse, an exhibition hall, a temple of illustrious persons. The proposal by the local architect, Leopoldo Laperuta, was favored and construction of his half-elliptical Corinthian colonnade progressed. Yet it remained only at its foundations when Murat fell and Ferdinando returned from Sicily in 1814.

The forum project continued under the new administration, only its name was changed to "Foro Ferdinandeo." Another competition was declared and its jurying was deferred to outside experts: the academicians in Rome, Bonsignore in Turin, and Cagnola in Milan. Cagnola then autocratically demoted all the competition entries and advanced a project drawn up by one of his own students, Pietro Bianchi. Ferdinando, like his father Carlos, was prepared to overthrow any local talent for the semblance of a cosmopolitan foreign architect, and Bianchi was invited to Naples.

2.9 Pietro Bianchi, Foro Murat (later Foro Ferdinandeo, now Piazza del Plebiscito), with the Church of San Francesco di Paola, Naples, 1817–31
2.10 Antonio Niccolini, Teatro San Carlo, Naples, 1809–10

On Laperuta's foundations, Bianchi erected a Doric order that framed an Ionic portico for the restored ecclesiastical seat, San Francesco di Paola. The crisp volumes of the church's exterior constituted an interpretation of the Pantheon, contemporaneous with Bonsignore's in Turin. With subsidiary domed chapels and motifs drawn from Saint Peter's, paradigms of Christian and classical architecture were merged. Bianchi's work was solid if unsubtle, correct in geometry if poor in poetry. It pleased few besides Ferdinando.

Across from the new forum, the Teatro San Carlo, built for Carlos in 1737 by Giovanni Antonio Medrano, was also a site of continual transformation and updating with each successive regime. The theater's interior was redesigned numerous times by its staff scenographers. The exterior, the inelegant stairs, and ballrooms were, Murat believed, also due for a face-lift. In 1809 Antonio Niccolini, head of the scenography team at San Carlo, suggested holding an architectural competition, which he himself won. Niccolini rebuilt the front portion of the theater. Behind the ample ground floor vestibule, stairs climb commodiously to grand rooms of the long Ionic loggia. The unusual proportions were characteristic of the unabashed originality of Niccolini's designs; the theater was a spectacular visceral display of virtuosity with no clear precedent. Everybody in Naples liked it, so much so that when a fire destroyed the by-then stale interior in 1816, Niccolini was immediately commissioned to rebuild it. The reconstruction of the tired horseshoe-shaped auditorium took seven months. The Teatro di San Carlo was a continually evolving laboratory for Niccolini's scenographic experiments, visions of architectural adaptations, and wider urbanistic proposals.

TRIESTE

Since the beginning of the eighteenth century, Trieste had provided the Austrian empire with important southern access to the Adriatic, and it was the recipient of much Hapsburg urban and economic rationalization. Trieste was declared a free port in 1719. The town was weeded out of unnecessarily crowded constructions, the port rebuilt, and the salt flats to the west, once a source of income for the region, reclaimed. In 1736, an infrastructural framework of interlocking canals and street systems, the "Borgo Teresiano," was planned. It represented an abstract, rational, and rudimentary framework for a city, the kind Milizia praised as more important for a successful city than even fine architecture. Upon this egalitarian grid, merchants from the Italian and Istrian coasts, Greeks, Germans, Arabs, and Dutch settled in what was a spontaneous generation of the collective civil society Enlightenment rhetoric exalted. Casanova took refuge here, Lorenzo da Ponte shifted through, and Winckelmann met his assassin in Trieste. The lack of any strong local tradition allowed free reign in the new city for the building of entirely innovative social and urban structures. The merchants of the flourishing port were wary of Napoleon's approach in 1797, but the Treaty of Campoformio, which ceded Trento and the Veneto regions to Austria, bolstered Trieste by eliminating its rivalry with Venice under uniform Hapsburg control.

Trieste was endowed with representative public buildings, such as a grand merchants' exchange designed by Antonio Mollari in 1802. Its crisp, tetrastyle portico stands as a visual anchor in the irregular piazza at the juncture between the old and new towns. The construction of a public theater expressed the new-found civic consciousness of the Triestines. They consulted with Piermarini in Milan and eventually hired Selva in 1798 to build a theater comparable to La Fenice. When Selva's facade was found to lack monumentality a competition, won by Matthäus Pertsch, followed to alter it. German born, Pertsch studied at the Brera under Piermarini, and brought to the Trieste theater the robust *porte-cochère* and colossal columnar order that had made La Scala a monumental event in its urban fabric.

2.11 Pietro Nobile, Canal Grande with the Church of Sant'Antonio Taumaturgo, Trieste, 1808–31

Pertsch had come to Trieste to build the palace of a wealthy Greek merchant, Demetrios Carciotti. The Palazzo Carciotti fills an entire city block with warehouses and stables, proprietor's quarters facing the port, and sixteen rentable residential units along the sides. Finished in 1806, the facade was synthesized from Palladian models, combining a colossal Ionic colonnade, a balustrade with statuary, and a pure hemispherical cupola. Pertsch introduced to Trieste a decorous register of private building emulated throughout the next century.

Pietro Nobile designed the church of Sant'Antonio at the center of the new city development. Nobile was one of Trieste's few native architects. He studied at the local naval academy and was sent on scholarship to the Accademia di San Luca in Rome in 1798. He spent two years at the academy in Vienna and when he returned to Trieste in 1807 assumed the directorship of the office of public works. As the only architect working in Trieste with experience in Rome, Nobile's work stood out for the purity of its archeological spirit. Unlike Antolini's exactly contemporaneous Foro Bonaparte designs, Nobile's stern forms have none of the political meanings normally associated with neoclassicism. His masterpiece was a church at the top of the Canal Grande modeled on the Pantheon. Its monumental scale, clarity and simplicity of form, and rigorous archeological style earned him an invitation to head the Viennese academy, in 1818, where he spoke of lucid Mediterranean classicism to northern Europeans nostalgic for Italy.

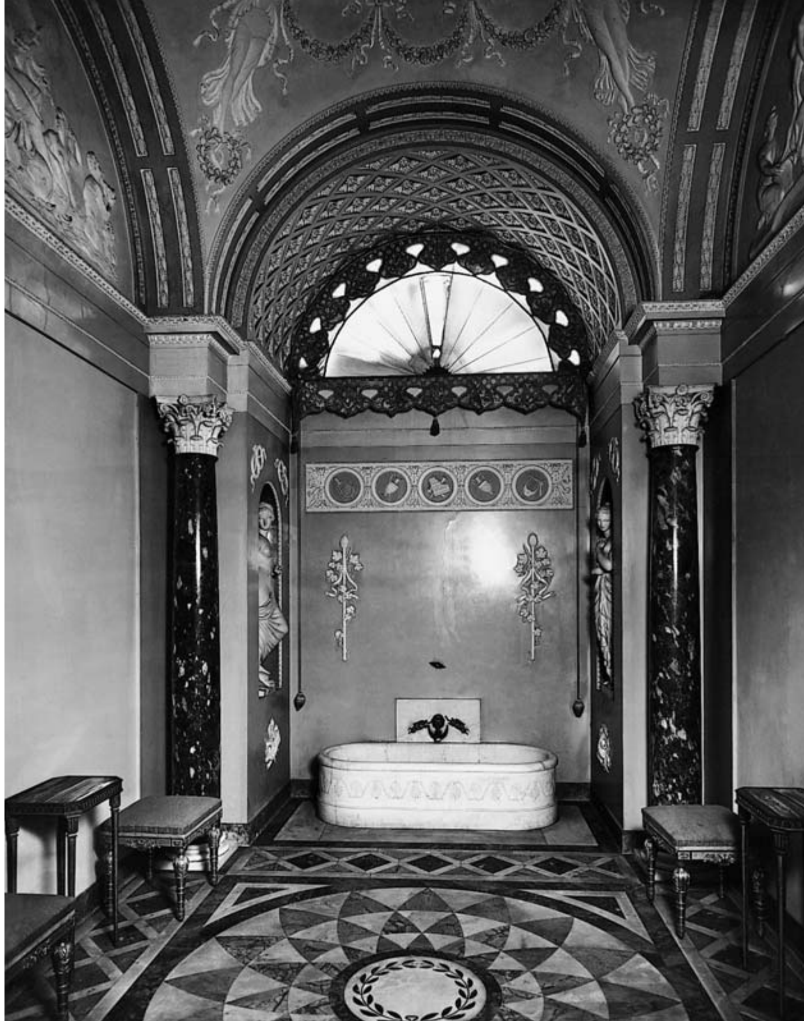
The variety of Trieste's architects—Mollari, Pertsch, and Nobile—demonstrates the diverse routes to neoclassicism in Italy. Its architecture showed the signs of cross-currents that flowed through its society: Palladian traditions from the peninsula, the cosmopolitan classicism of Piermarini from Milan, archeological purism from Rome, and the northern Europeans' classical idea of Italy. Trieste was a crucible in which a particular neoclassicism was forged, an alchemic amalgam of Enlightenment components, economic, social, intellectual, and architectural. It was not a rigid, exclusive system, but a fluid expressive universal language, decorous and dignified, adaptable to a variety of building types and urban conditions, ordered and rational and perfectly reflective of Triestine society at the turn of the century.

THE NEOCLASSICAL INTERIOR

Given the alacrity of Napoleon's movement into Italy, the ephemeral constructions of staged festivals were key in directing long-term urban design. Interior decoration was another medium prevalent among Napoleon's agents in Italy, especially his sisters, to set the tone of governing. Elisa Bonaparte was made Grand Duchess of Tuscany in 1809, deposing Ferdinando III of the Lorraine who had sustained the flourishing Tuscan intellectual culture of the Enlightenment. When he fled to Austria, taking with him a single Raphael painting, his own purchase, he left the rest of the famous Palazzo Pitti collection because it "belonged to the nation." Elisa, in her turn in residence at the Pitti, fashioned herself as a patron of the arts in the Florentine tradition. She increased productivity at the quarries at Carrara with a special financing institution and assigned an academy for sculpture with the production of Bonaparte portrait busts and statues. With no real power at her disposal but considerable funds, she poured her energies into collecting and decorating, outfitting the Palazzo Pitti with new interiors.

Napoleon planned a visit to Florence in 1810 and Elisa, in consultation with Fontaine in Paris, set about reconfiguring and redecorating the *piano nobile* apartments in a manner appropriate to her exigent brother. The new spaces designed by the Florentine Giuseppe Cacialli feature a clean columnar architecture of geometrical volumes, comparable to Robert Adam's work in England, derived from ancient sources like the Roman baths and Hadrian's Villa. The smaller scale and reasoned functionality of the Napoleonic apartments at the Pitti contrasted with the earlier baroque gallery spaces. Napoleon's interiors were characterized, like his governing, by efficient standardization and efficacious references to antiquity. Percier and Fontaine supplied visual material, through their publications, for the redecoration of imperial residences across Italy: Viceroy Beauharnais's apartments in the Procuratie Nuove in Venice, for example, and interiors at the Reggia of Caserta for Murat. The emperor, however, never made the trip to see them.

A Roman residence was also diligently undertaken. The Palazzo Quirinale was designated and imperial quarters, as at the Pitti, were



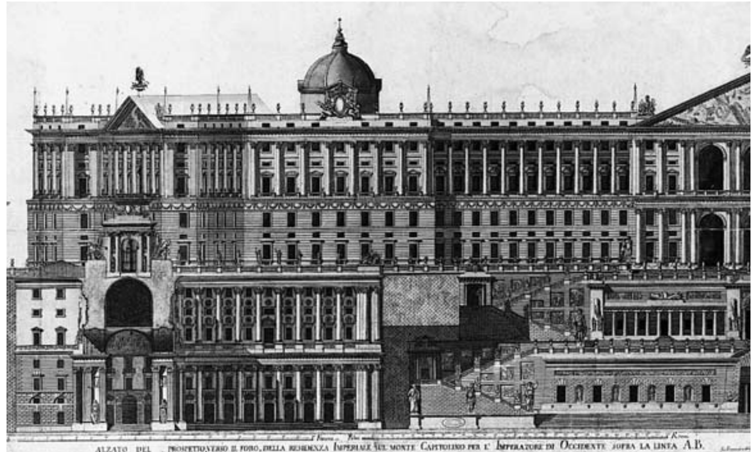
2.12 Giuseppe Cacialli, Napoleonic apartments, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 1810

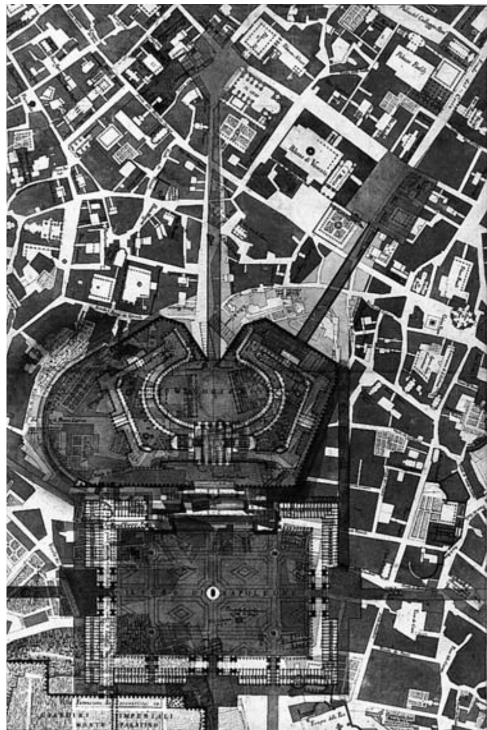
planned. Denon, surrounded by the riches of Italian painting and sculpture in the new Musée Napoléon, devised the iconographic program from his office in Paris. Raffael Stern, a Roman architect, was appointed *architecte du palais imperiale* in 1811. Felice Giani, Jean-Auguste-Dominique Ingres, several students of Jacques-Louis David, and the famous Dane Bertel Thorvaldsen, among many others, were employed to decorate the Quirinal. The teams set to work on subjects of ancient virtue and leadership—Romulus, Ossian, Julius Caesar, Charlemagne, and Alexander the Great—each a historical metaphor for Napoleon's rule.

ROME

A larger architectural restructuring of the Quirinal palace and gardens was also considered. The idea of a megapalace for Napoleon on a hill in Rome was contemporaneous with and comparable to Percier and Fontaine's palace planned on the heights of the Chaillot in Paris for Napoleon's son and heir. In Rome, as in all the Italian cities that fell under Napoleon's spell, eager architects rushed forward with visionary projects. Scipione Perosini sought Napoleon's attention with a gigantic project for the Capitoline Hill. Centered on the Senate House, facets of ancient, medieval, and Renaissance Rome were reconstituted in a gargantuan field of columns and halls stretching across the Forum Romanum to the Colosseum. The planning was patently French and academic in its resemblance to the visions of young designers under Boullée's inspiration. As Antolini and the Milanese had presented a plan that their Parisian supervisors might readily recognize, appreciate, and fund, Perosini's imperial palace sought to spark megalomaniacal aspirations, but his proposal was too grand and the project was never taken seriously.

Napoleon's direct interventions in the city of Rome were far more realistic and reasonable than Perosini hoped. Rome was in many respects revered by the French, who occupied it only quite late in their reign. Pope Pius VII, who had been elected in the March 1800 conclave held in Venice during Rome's first republican





2.13 and 2.14 Scipione Perosini, Palais imperiale, Capitoline Hill, Rome, 1810–11. Elevation, plan

interlude, struck a concord with Napoleon in his moderate phase. Napoleon assured the pontiff that France and its dominions would observe Catholicism as the state religion, and Pius VII ministered Napoleon's coronation at Notre Dame in 1804. But the pope's wavering sympathies irritated the new emperor, who occupied Rome in May 1809 and deported Pius to Fontainebleau, where the papacy would serve as an instrument of French power.

Napoleonic administration of Rome over the next five years brought a considerable influx of money for building and urban management and left indelible effects on Rome. A myriad of interrelated economic and architectural projects were drafted, each focused on the social goals central to Napoleon's investment in Italy. Large-scale archeological excavations were done by squads of unemployed locals. Commissions were formed among the professional and upper classes to shape projects supervised by the French prefect, Camille de Tournon. Napoleon often took direct interest in the projects although he never ventured to Rome to see the results. French administrative offices were accommodated in the papal chancellery, the Palazzo della Cancelleria. Tribunals were set up in the deconsecrated church. Public works on the river banks were deliberated, and enlargements of public piazzas at the Pantheon, the Trevi Fountain, the Palazzo Venezia, and the Vatican "Borgo" were drafted. Public parks and promenades were planted, archeological sites cleared, markets and slaughterhouses erected. On architectural and urbanistic matters, the Commission des Embellissements, the first public bureaucratic instrument of its kind in Rome, was formed by the triumvirate of Giuseppe Camporese, collaborator on the 1798 *Festa della Federazione*, Carlo Fea, Visconti's successor at the Vatican curatorial staff, and Giuseppe Valadier. As an instrument of socialization, public space for promenades was a main priority for Napoleon and in 1811 he established a public garden above the Piazza del Popolo on the Pincian Hill. Valadier, who had already been working on such a plan, was well prepared for the project's direction and was given the job.

Giuseppe Valadier was of the third generation in the famous family of Provençal goldsmiths in Rome. His family's reputation and his father's contacts assisted in his rich education and early rise. While

yet a teenager, he had traveled to Milan as his father's courier and admired the cosmopolitan classicism of Piermarini's architecture. Before his twentieth birthday, he was appointed to the architectural team at the Vatican during the construction of Marchionni's sacristy. Like Morelli, he quickly advanced his position by working on projects across the papal provinces. In November 1786, Valadier was sent to rebuild the cathedral at Urbino that had been damaged by an earthquake. He reformed the church in a classical Palladian mode akin to Quarenghi's handling at Subiaco a decade earlier. Valadier successfully balanced his fine classical training and rational temperance to prevail as a prominent professional.

The brusk arrival of the revolution and the flush of new architectural blood marginalized Valadier's talents, but he found continuing support among private patrons. In the more moderate times that followed, Valadier studied Percier and Fontaine's *Receuil*, as is evident in the French-inspired interior decorations he completed for the Palazzo Braschi. Valadier's broad education and equilibrated character made him employable on a wide range of tasks, and as such he was Napoleon's key architect in Rome on the most important French projects.

The Piazza del Popolo was Rome's principal point of entry. Grand Tourists arrived along the Via Flaminia, passing through the city walls at the northern gate in to this piazza. Despite many significant interventions, including a new Renaissance facade for the Church of Santa Maria del Popolo, the relocation of an Egyptian obelisk to a point on axis with the three radiating streets, the space itself lacked definition.

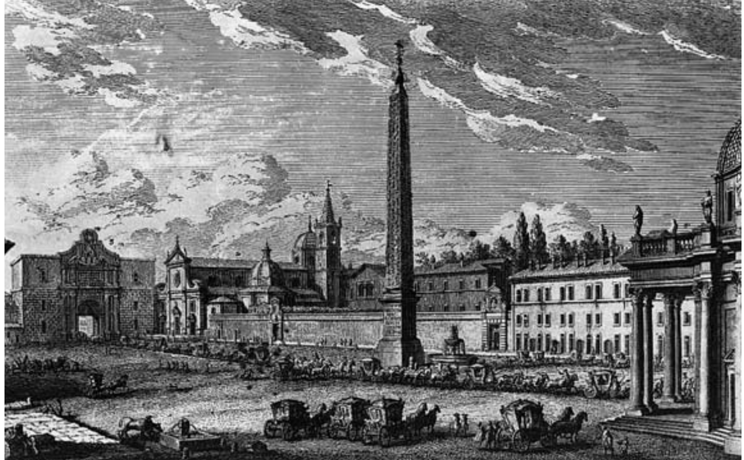
Like the Pantheon's attic, the oddly formed piazza was an eyesore to eighteenth-century scholars trained on classical integration. In 1772 Anton Raffael Mengs, then president of the Accademia di San Luca, sponsored a student competition for a redrafting of the piazza with "decorous constructions disposed in good symmetry." Valadier was too young to have participated, but he returned to the intriguing project twenty years later on his own accord. His proposal, presented to Pope Pius VI in 1794, called for a large barracks complex useful at a city gate. Two Doric colonnades shaped the trapezoidal space, focusing axial movement while

governing circulation between severe architectural phalanxes. The newly arrived would pass through the Piazza del Popolo at an initial military check point before proceeding across town to the embrace of Saint Peter's colonnades. The marked shift of attention in the piazza away from its famous church to a military presence may have been triggered by an anxiety in Rome against the revolutionary forces emanating from French territory. Once the French arrived, Valadier promptly redirected his project to Napoleon's needs.

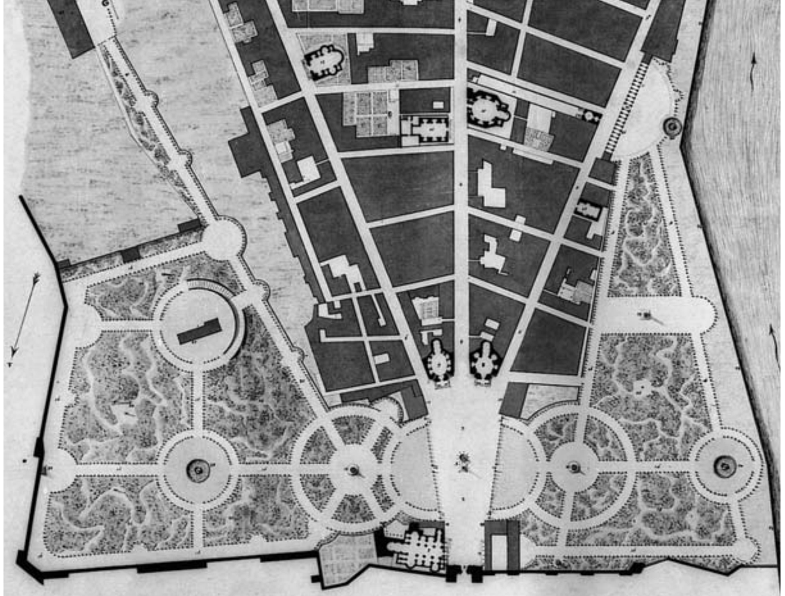
The insertion of a public promenade on the Pincian Hill would affect the nature of the piazza in ways unprecedented in the history of Roman urbanism. Valadier's earlier Doric colonnade was replaced in his new project with a garden fence that traced the original trapezoid. Tree-lined avenues radiated from looping paths leading east to the walls and west to the riverbank. A small barracks building stood opposite the Church of Santa Maria at the gateway. The project ignored the realities of the site's steep slope to the east. The Pincian Hill rises 30 meters from the piazza floor, an impossible incline for the abstract curves. Valadier cunningly drew up a project designed to attract the attention of his Parisian overseers with patently French-style planning. This was a more clever wooing than Antolini attempted for his Foro or Perosini for the imperial palace. Valadier even hedged his proposal with English-style shrubs, pools, and hillocks as at Villa Borghese nearby. His proposal was successfully received. This project dated October 1810 is certainly suggested when Napoleon decreed in 1811 the *promenade du côté de la Porte du Peuple*, the *Jardin du Grand César*.

Valadier set to work developing the promenade and resolving its altimetric problems. His drawings of a switchback system of ramps up the slope were reviewed by de Tournon. The garden layout began to lose its ideal geometric coherence, so thicker plantings were projected to mask the asymmetries and diagonal ramps. While the gardens began to take shape on Valadier's drawing board, new ideas for the piazza it bordered were also generated. In all of the evolving project ideas for the gardens and piazza a prominently demarcated east-west cross axis fixed on the obelisk remained constant.

By January 1812 the commission had drawings ready to send to Paris for further review. Valadier struggled, however, between the



2.15 Piazza del Popolo, Rome. Engraving by Giuseppe Vasi, *Vedute di Roma*, c. 1747
2.16 Giuseppe Valadier, Piazza del Popolo, proposed project, Rome, 1794. Engraving by Vincenzo Feoli



2.17 Giuseppe Valadier, Piazza del Popolo and Jardin du Grand César, proposed project, Rome, 1810.
2.18 Giuseppe Valadier with Louis-Martin Berthault, Piazza del Popolo and Pincian Hill gardens,, Rome, 1813–25

French requirements of clarity and the irregularities of the site. The Conseil des Bâtiments Civils sent Louis-Martin Berthault, Empress Josephine's personal architect and specialized garden designer, to aid in resolving these problems. He created precise drawings of the existing conditions and proposed a series of rigid stairs up the hill, a martial version of the "Spanish" Steps nearby. This dismayed de Tournon, who trusted instead the experience of the local designer. In resolution, a collaboration between Valadier and Berthault was set. Berthault introduced many good ideas that had not occurred to Valadier, like a strong vertical link up the face of the crossing terraces. More importantly, the Parisian garden designer eliminated Valadier's fence, dismantling the demarcation between garden and piazza. The simple act brought the garden's lowest circular geometries to shape the unresolved piazza space. Trees were planted around the semicircular perimeters. The integration of such a green space into the structure of the city was for Rome entirely new. The distinction between garden and city became gentle and fluid and subtly controlled through rising levels and sight lines. The exedra walls and plantings hide the ascending ramps crossing back and forth. A cascading water chain, tapping Camillo Borghese's supply, was implemented. Never before in Rome had garden greenery been called to play such an important complementary role to built urban form. The new geometry of the Piazza del Popolo brought the initial piazza of Rome in closer formal relationship to the Piazza of Saint Peter's. The designs of the *Festa della Federazione* staged at Saint Peter's also offer us keys to reading the sculptural iconography planned for the Piazza del Popolo. There are trophies on rostral columns, ancient deities and river gods, seasons, sphinxes, dolphins and figures of Dacian captives, spoils from Trajan's Forum.

Berthault left Valadier to carry out the project, but in January 1814, the French left Rome altogether after Napoleon's fall at Leipzig. Pius VII was returned to his restored seat, and he entered the city at a Piazza del Popolo still under construction. As in so many of the long-term projects initiated by Napoleon, Pius VII maintained continuities of administrative structures and on-going planning projects without interruption, and in this case, with nearly imperceptible changes to the program. Like all Napoleon's projects

for Italian cities, the Piazza del Popolo and the Pincian garden promenade fulfilled its primary function of genteel socialization of the population. The French brought to the fore the inherent social program of architecture, endowing Rome with a multivalent public space, completing the long evolution of the Piazza del Popolo with a solution as dynamically innovative as it was thoroughly in tune with the tradition and meanings of the place.

NAPOLEON'S INTEREST IN ARCHEOLOGY

Napoleonic-era administration in Rome also had a decisive effect on the progress of archeology in developing clear programs and methods for uncovering, restoring, and assessing ancient remains. Large government subsidies were poured in through the Commission des Embellissements for the excavation and restoration of the Roman Forum. All post-antique accretions around the Forum's fragmentary vestiges were stripped and the lower register of the monuments disinterred to remove the layers of the valley's sediment and reveal the stratum of ancient times. On 21 April 1811, the anniversary of Romulus's legendary founding of the city, triumphant citizens marched once again on the Sacred Way. In unexcavated sections, trees were planted in green colonnades to form public promenades. Like the Piazza del Popolo and the Pincian gardens, the disencumbered Forum was reconceived as a social space, focused on the experience of ancient history. Its monuments stood free from the passage of time in a easily accessible presentation.

French interests in Roman ruins had a further agenda. Rome was declared an imperial city second only to Paris. French academicians assiduously studied the ancient Roman monuments and their urban relationships, as evidenced by the Arc du Carousel constructed in Paris. Architectural ideas were not the only commodity in this exchange. In addition to the acquisition of several prominent Roman artworks, Napoleon attempted to transport the colossal Column of Emperor Trajan. This proving impossible, he had a bronze version made with scenes of his own exploits and erected it

2.19 Excavations at the Column of Trajan, Rome, with boundary wall by Pietro Bianchi, 1812–13

in Place Vendôme in Paris. The original, left *in situ* and restored by Percier, was the locus of intense activity. The built-up area around the column was cleared for excavation by expropriating several convents. In 1813 the granite columns of a basilica and its marble floor were uncovered and the ensemble of Trajan's magnificent complex began to emerge. Valadier proposed enclosing the perimeter of the excavated site within a circus form, half-rounded on both ends, but this was rejected in favor of Pietro Bianchi's plan for a rectangle for the basilica and a half-circle around the column base. The project was continued after the French retreat without interruption under Pius VII.

The investigations around the Column of Trajan were the first in a continual series of excavations that changed irreparably the nature of the city of Rome. In the eighteenth century, the ground was a storehouse from which goods were extracted, reintegrated, and displayed in collections. In the next century, following on the experience of uncovered Pompeii, the original architectural and urbanistic environment of the archeological site became increasingly significant. Carlo Fea helped to define new goals of understanding the topography of antiquity. Visitors were encouraged to climb to the top of Trajan's Column to grasp the layout of the ancient buildings poking through. In this, the first large-scale excavation in the center of the historic city, a distinction between the present and the pre-existing was drawn. What had to Piranesi's eyes been held together by the resonances of history and myth was now revealed through science and observation. The living city was pushed back and the city that once lived laid bare.

POLITICAL RESTORATION AND RESTITUTION OF ARTWORKS

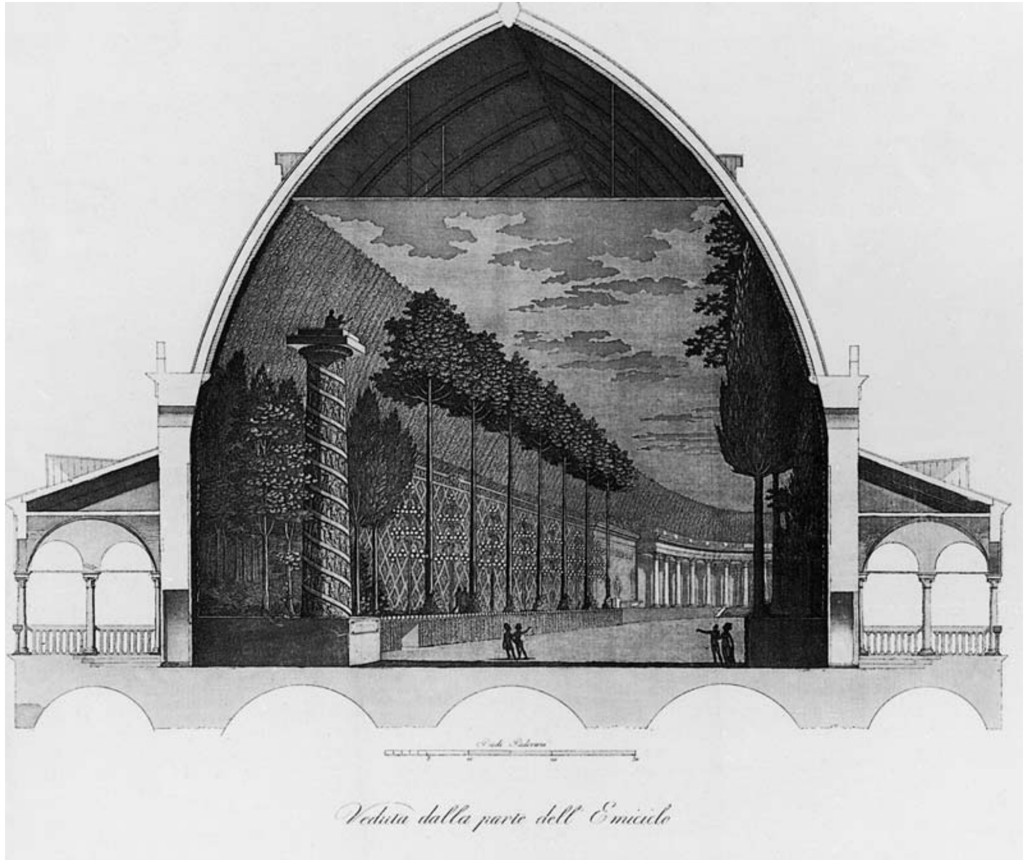
With Napoleon's fall and the restoration of former political boundaries in 1815 came the restitution of pillaged artworks. Meanwhile, Pius VII's legislation on the trafficking of antiquities (first the *Chirografo* of 1802, then the Pacca Edict of 1820) had helped to restock the Vatican collections and refine its museological approach. The Pacca Edict was based upon the idea of an essential relationship between an object and its place of origin, as Quatremère de Quincy had articulated, and was Europe's most advanced legal instrument in the protection of cultural goods. When Elisa Bonaparte relocated from the Pitti to Trieste in 1814, for example, she could take with her only the works she had commissioned. With the restitution of the works to the Vatican collection, the halls of the Belvedere at the Vatican swelled and Pius VII planned a new extension.

Antonio Canova headed the Vatican commission with the help of Fea, Thorvaldsen, and Filippo Aurelio Visconti. In 1816, Raffaele Stern designed the "Braccio Nuovo," or new wing, of the museum. Stern integrated the statues, busts, bas-reliefs, and mosaics in a strongly suggestive classical environment. The vaulted basilican hall is top-lit and lined with semicircular niches for an ideal presentation of the sculptures. Ancient space is more markedly evoked here than in Simonetti's earlier Museo Pio-Clementino. The Braccio Nuovo was described at its conception as "an example of the way to construct and to decorate typical of the Golden age of Augustus," whose statue, discovered later in the century at Prima Porta, was installed there. The Braccio Nuovo ranked among the most sophisticated museums. The guarantee of broad public accessibility was one of the conditions for the works' restitution set by the international treaties so regular public opening hours throughout the year were established. The latest rooms of the Vatican shaped the public art museum as an evocative experience tuned to the historical context of the pieces on display.

2.20 Raffaele Stern, Braccio Nuovo of the Vatican Museums, Rome, 1816–22

NAPOLEONIC NEOCLASSICISM

The rationalizing spirit of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment gave birth to the elements that constituted nineteenth-century Napoleonic neoclassicism. Political and social, scientific and moral, matters of theory and taste, the general trend of classical renewal—all these elements of the earlier century were brought together by Napoleon's influence. If in 1815 the restored political landscape seemed only slightly different after Napoleon's passing, the architectural landscape was obviously altered. Although the bulk of the built work was ephemeral and much else finished after his fall, the eighteen-year period of his reign was formative in the development of modern Italy. New building types were created, the didactic nature of architectural projects explored, a rigor in archeological methods found, and a number of interventions in historical places carried out. Moreover, a national Italian spirit and imagery began to emerge that proved to be adaptable to a wide variety of cultural requirements. Napoleon's imperial classicism was conceived in the mythic image of ancient Rome, and effects of standardization of form, reduction, and simplification were inevitable. Valadier, like Canonica, Cagnola, Bianchi, Nobile, and Bonsignore, met the imperative of maximum visual effect within economizing limitations. The solid imagery and usefulness of function came about not only through a faith in the indisputable authority of antiquity but also in a practical, empirical process of problem solving.



3.1 Giuseppe Jappelli, Spectacle in honor of King Franz I of Austria in the Palazzo della Ragione, Padua, 20 December 1815. Drawing by Giacinto Maina

Chapter 3

RESTORATION AND ROMANTICISM, 1815–1860

GIUSEPPE JAPPELLI AND THE ROMANTIC IDEAL

The restoration of former, pre-Napoleonic political boundaries was, for many Italians, not a recovery but a disconcerting regression. Below the apparently placid surface of the redrawn political map of Italy churned an undercurrent that only a few polyvalent minds navigated with success. Giuseppe Jappelli was one such figure. An architect, landscape designer, engineer, inventor, scenographer, and philosopher, he was the Renaissance man of Italy's dawning industrial age.

Jappelli studied stage design in Bologna, yet his drawings show sympathies to the rigors of Carlo Lodoli's teachings on functionalism. By 1803, he was working for a cartographer, and in 1807 he was appointed to the civil corps of the French army engineering defense systems. Upon Napoleon's arrival in Padua, Jappelli offered his services in the design of festivals of political consensus. He enlisted in the French army in 1813 and rose to captain under Beauharnais's command, but the brevity of his Napoleonic engagement was followed by the dull Austrian dominion that seemed a setback to the thirty-year-old professional.

But soon Jappelli designed ephemera for the festival celebrating Austrian Emperor Franz I's visit to Padua on 20 December 1815. For a single day, the Palazzo della Ragione's Gothic interior was transformed into a spectacular Arcadian landscape—"a serenade in a northern European villa garden," according to its official Paduan promoters. Pine and cypress trees were latched to the walls. Painted flats of laurel and orange groves could be glimpsed through rose trellises lit by crystal candelabra. The fictive view stretched to a distant forest landscape with an alabaster temple, a mossy grotto, and a mighty body of water beyond. There were statues, fountains, an

imperial "pulvinar" and a Trajanic column the visitors could climb beneath the canvas twilight sky.

The illusion, constructed *pittorescamante*, was a three-dimensional, mechanical stage setting for a mythic drama. Actors playing the indigenous Paduan people pleaded with Truth in her temple for reassurance against the potentially threatening waters of the Brenta river, symbolized by an ogre that burst from the cavern in a spontaneous cascade of floodwaters. Truth announced the arrival of a great monarch who would decree the waters be used for prosperity not calamity, and a joyous chorus spelled out "Caesar" in garlands.

The scenery, cycling waterfall, and fire-safe illumination system earned Jappelli applause from the event's eight thousand spectators. Jappelli's artistic and mechanical ingeniousness "promised your eye what your feet couldn't do," wrote one observer. To Franz, it was also a political message: he should pick up infrastructural matters where Napoleon had left off.

The formal language of Napoleonic neoclassicism, however, was adjusted to serve now a different northern European overlord. Rigid classicism was subsumed within a romantic, picturesque landscape, and the traditional forms served evocative purposes. Andrea Cittadella-Vigodarzere, an eyewitness, described the experience in fairy-tale terms, conjuring a faraway place and time that bewitched the senses. Unlike Vanvitelli's projects for Carlos, or Antolini's for Napoleon, Jappelli's romantic vision reached heights of the sublime not through reference to monarchic magnificence but through the potent force of Nature. Emotion complemented the achievements of the rational mind in an exploration of new categories of aesthetic experience. Romanticism, as Friedrich Schlegel defined it in 1798, was "a progressive, universal poetry," "always becoming, never completed." With Jappelli's architecture, romanticism manifests itself not as a style, but as an attitude, a mood with respect to form and its experience.

Cittadella-Vigodarzere offered Jappelli the opportunity to explore these romantic notions in a garden for his villa at Saonara. Work was begun in 1816, the year the region was struck with famine. With considerable earth moving carried out by locals eager

3.2 Giuseppe Jappelli, Chapel of the Templars at Saonara gardens, near Padua, 1816. Lithograph by Andrea Gloria, *Territorio padovano illustrato*, 1862

for work, Jappelli formed artificial hillocks and ponds, grottoes and pathways—the fabricated accidents of a naturalistic landscape. The boundaries of the garden were obscured, its vistas contained, the experience turned in upon itself in a series of controlled atmospheric episodes. Cittadella-Vigodarzere wrote that Jappelli drew inspiration from nature and from "other kinds of marvelous things, from history, from science, or from poetry." For example, the visitor might happen upon the suggestively named Chapel of the Templars, a "Gothic ruin" set in the willows and wild overgrowth. Jappelli employed fragments from a dismantled medieval building to create this scene of mysterious ritual. The gardens of Saonara were a museum of the senses not to be viewed from a single suspended point of view, as at Caserta's palace balcony, but from within, through time, individually and intimately. Jappelli was hailed "the William Kent of Italy," a painter of landscapes full of pleasing variety. Jappelli was a voracious reader and able synthesizer of the latest technical and theoretical literature on the picturesque, particularly from northern Europe. This material was summed up in Milizia's publications and elaborated by Ercole Silva in *Dell'arte dei giardini*, published in Milan while Pollack was also finishing a picturesque garden for the Villa Belgioioso.

Jappelli's garden work had a significant impact for his architecture. In Padua, he developed a series of projects of communal utility and public decorum: programs for a new market loggia and municipal seat, a unified university seat, and a radial prison. Only his slaughterhouse was built, in 1818. Like the other projects, it was an outgrowth of Napoleonic-era reforms in commerce and hygiene. Its Doric portico has none of the Palladian repose one might expect of an architect from this region, but it is inflected with the somber, darkly expressionist energy of Ledoux. A central rotunda, originally open to the sky like a primitive Pantheon, was the site of the butchering and evoked in the minds of its nineteenth-century observers associations with pagan ritual. The public administration, however, was too dampened under disinterested Austrian command to take up Jappelli's other proposals. He had to rely, as he would throughout his career, upon private initiative.

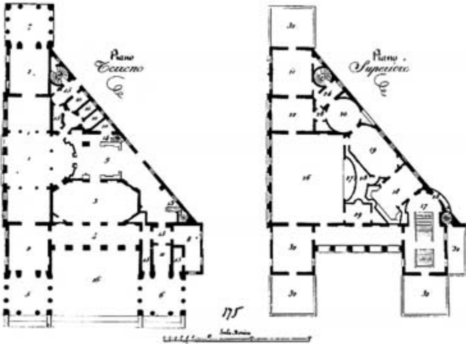
Of all Jappelli's many projects, the Caffè Pedrocchi is his masterpiece. Antonio Pedrocchi took over his father's corner coffee bar in Padua in 1799. There were nearly seventy such businesses in the city, but Pedrocchi's was located next to the university building. When the sea blockade during the Napoleonic wars forced many intellectual and industrious Venetians to Padua, Pedrocchi's became the venue for impromptu activities of all kinds, similar to the coffeehouses in Trieste and London. Pedrocchi provided services to complement the new clientele, supplying newspapers to his customers, inviting them to occupy tables without ordering, even offering free glasses of water, toothpicks, and umbrellas when it rained. Soon his finances were flush enough that he could undertake a remodeling of his caffè to accommodate the requirements of his innovative management program. The new Caffè Pedrocchi was the first coffeehouse in Italy to be conceived according to a clear programmatic plan, a free-standing structure in a key urban setting that would become something more than a caffè: a *stabilimento*, an establishment.

By 1818 Pedrocchi had purchased his entire block and had the church next door demolished to clear a piazza at one side. Ancient Roman remains were excavated from pits dug for his ice caverns, attracting speculation about a buried city like Pompeii. In 1826, after a first architect failed to match Pedrocchi's vision, Jappelli was hired. Dismantling much construction, he reshaped the area for maximum accessibility and internal flow. Contrary to all other examples of the building type, from Fuga's Caffèaus on the Quirinal to local rival businesses in Padua, Jappelli's plan broke down the divisions of traditional rooms in favor of open, continuous interior spaces. Entrance porches made fluid connections at the ends toward the little piazzas to pull pedestrians off the street. The exterior elevations were simple in their geometric and planar classicism. Pietro Selvatico Estense, head of Padua's *Ornato* board for public decorum, reviewed the plans and wrote, "one has to recognize in this building the rare merit of responding perfectly to its purpose without concealing them in conventional servitude to preconceived rules." The Pedrocchi was full of practical gadgets, a showplace of modern technology: it was

the first public establishment in Padua equipped with gas illumination and steam-run kitchens, an intercom between floors, and a special contraption—Jappelli's invention—for preparing hot chocolate.

Businessmen met at Pedrocchi's in an octagonal ground floor room set apart for them. It was named the Exchange, *la Borsa*, or trading room. The caffè provided a place for any gathering for which the municipal hall or cathedral, the open marketplace or palace waiting room, the university or the brothel would have been inappropriate. The caffè was the new space of the bourgeoisie, a new democracy, "welcoming," the management specified, "anyone whose honest life and polite manners assure conformity to civil society." The Pedrocchi offered the opportunity to realize an autonomous and dynamic new expression for Padua's evolving society. In no small part the result of Enlightenment and Napoleonic inculcation, it is significant that the caffè is a building type developed by private initiative. Pedrocchi was praised at its inauguration in 1831 for having taken such concern in creating an establishment from which society at large profited.

The upstairs rooms were completed in the next decade as the "Casino Pedrocchi." Catered soirées were held in rooms each of a different geometric shape and historical style. There was an Etruscan-style cloakroom; a Moorish ladies' lounge; an octagonal hall painted with frescoes of Athenian themes; a round conversation room wrapped with panoramic *vedute* of the Roman Forum and the Column of Trajan; refreshment parlors in Egyptian, Pompeian, Renaissance, and baroque styles. At the center, a large Empire-style ballroom of white and gold musical motifs was dedicated not to Napoleon but to the Italian conqueror of the Paris opera stage, Gioachino Rossini. The simultaneity of historical styles is a distinct feature of the Casino's experience. Jappelli and his decorators ranged freely through a variety of historical material. Like Jappelli's gardens, the Casino interiors lead us into a synchronic event for the sensations, an exploration of a new category of aesthetic expression with an enchanting effect upon the imagination. The Casino rooms were inaugurated in 1842 with a congress of Italian scientists presided by Cittadella-Vigodarzere, who praised the place for its



3.3 and 3.4 Giuseppe Jappelli, Caffè Pedrocchi, Padua, 1826–31. Ground floor and upper floor plans; interior view
3.5 Giuseppe Jappelli, Caffè Pedrocchi and "Il Pedrocchino," Padua, 1837–39

balance of artistic fantasy and applied technology. A social club was formed to manage the Casino's many activities. Like the caffè clientele below, the club membership cut across class lines.

The *stabilimento* continued to grow, and in 1837 a neighboring property was acquired to house an annexed pastry shop, "il Pedrocchino." This is said to be Italy's first major building of the Gothic revival. Jappelli's sources were both Venetian and Elizabethan, references he had assimilated through publications as well as a trip to England. (In 1836 he had been sent to England to shop for train locomotives for the chamber of commerce.) The Pedrocchino was designed simultaneously with the casino interiors to which it is linked by a bridge and a Gothic reading room. Selvatico as the city supervisor explained the unexpected use of Gothic here on formal and functional premises: the tiny plot would not have allowed for the symmetry of the classical, only an agile Gothic verticality. What was the point, asked Selvatico, of "refrying Palladio or Quarenghi, or adapting ancient forms sometimes to buildings whose purpose the ancients would not have known." Selvatico claims that both the Pedrocchi and the Pedrocchino, two structures in different styles built at the same time, by the same architect, at the same place, demonstrate the guiding logic of forms reconciled with functions.

At the end of his life, Jappelli returned to Venice to assist in his native city's problematic modernization with studies for a railway viaduct, marsh reclamation, and a mechanized, floating port depot. He was among the few who had the technological mind and preparation to propose such concrete contributions for an ailing Venice. He met with resistance from the ossifying academies of art of the region, and no biographer grasped the immensity of his talents. They were at a loss for words: he was "the Gessner of building," "the Ariosto of landscape." Cicognara called him *un architetto e filosofo profondissimo*.

Romanticism, which rose as a cultural language across restored Europe, reassessed the roles of reason and intuition in the creative process. The era needed a philosopher-architect. Positivist Enlightenment progress manifest in Napoleon's classical hegemony was called into question through the exploration of new aesthetic

experiences of the sublime and the picturesque. In architectural terms, this meant the evocative suggestion available through historical style. Piranesi had opened the way to stylistic diversity, and in the nineteenth century architects explored the implications. Classicism, which had enjoyed the preeminence of imperial instrumentalization, lost its authority, but was not replaced outright. Instead, a plurality of historical material, an eclecticism, was brought forth as a philosophical proposition, a synthesis of the best of all precedents in an effort to regenerate creativity in architecture.

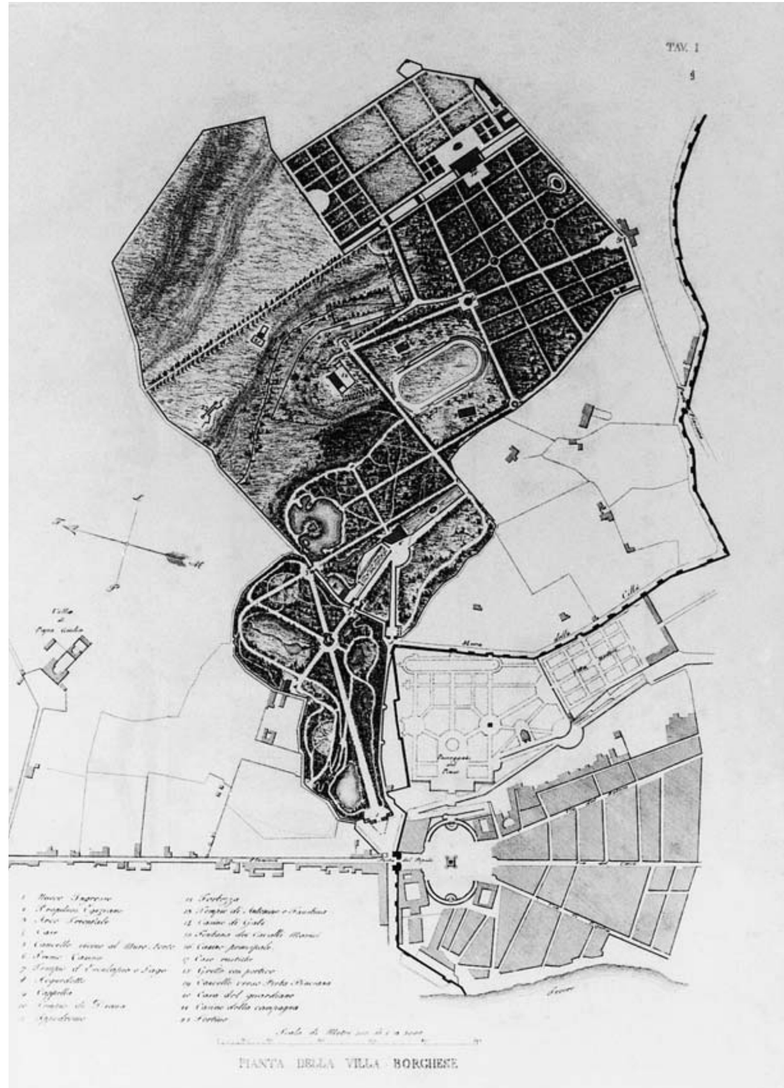
The theory of eclecticism resonated in Italy on a political level during the Restoration. Vincenzo Gioberti in his *Primato morale e civile degli Italiani* of 1843 extolled the superiority of Italian cultures, which he emphasized in the plural. He broadened the cultural basis of Italian national identity from the classic to include also the early Christian. Leopoldo Cicognara focused in his *Storia della scultura* from the Middle Ages to the present on the growth of national consciousness through the arts, but the absence of a *patria*, fatherland, or a single *nazione*, or birthplace, among the Italians of the twelfth century, remarks the author, had caused disunity and weakness, and had rendered them vulnerable to subjection to foreign interests. Napoleon had said as much regarding the art of nations, but the restored Austrian censors denied Cicognara permission for a second edition of his inflammatory remarks. But the progress toward a national identity paralleled artistic developments.

What courses through Italy of the ninteenth century and is exemplified in the work of Giuseppe Jappelli is a search for a new architecture expressive of contemporary progress and aspiration. There were many questions to ask, yet there were few certain answers. The arrival of industrial change challenged the old order. Railroad tracks were laid across Caserta's noble axis. Archeological digs cleared the ground of Piranesi's *vedute*. A disconcerting dichotomy between scientific progress and artistic tradition became evident. There were new materials, new building types, new functions for art, diversified methods of construction, and new roles for the architect to fill. Jappelli was the era's pioneer.

VILLA RIVALRY: THE BORGHESE AND THE TORLONIA OF ROME

After the Napoleonic interlude, Pius VII was restored to his capital on 24 May 1815. Pius continued construction of the Piazza del Popolo and the Vatican Braccio Nuovo, but the recent vicissitudes had left the state of private architecture impoverished. Palazzo Braschi was stripped and rented out, Villa Borghese depleted and forsaken by its heirs. Prince Camillo Borghese was coaxed back to Rome with the prospect of taking up his father's passion for the villa gardens and maintaining the Borghese tradition of keeping their villa open to the public. By 1820 some neighboring properties were purchased and Camillo's interest was sparked by a set of drawings commissioned of a young architect, Luigi Canina. Canina had studied architecture in Turin but avoided the normal civil engineering career track there by leaving for Rome in 1810 on an old-fashioned Grand Tour on which he engraved *vedute*, toured ruins with Englishmen and archeologists, and pondered how the Pantheon might be improved with a Doric portico.

Canina's plan for the Villa Borghese extension draws a wide avenue straight up from a new entrance on the Via Flaminia outside the Porta del Popolo. Massive landfill was required to allow a gradual ascent to the higher plateau. From the earlier work on the villa grounds by Asprucci, Canina extrapolated a pattern of a strong visual structure of carriage routes with picturesque paths in the interstices. Canina thought, however, that the English artificial landscape was ill-adapted to Rome's clime and customs. It was associated with aristocratic elitism and failed to capture the imagination of Romans, who would find its usual follies puny compared with their authentic remains. So, Canina's garden constructions all serve real purposes of connecting the disparate parts of the grounds. There is an "Arch of Septimius Severus" with a reintegrated ancient statue on top and a set of Egyptian pylons designed according to recent archeological research. Both passageways were also cleverly designed viaduct bridges over a dirty public right of way channeled in the landfill underneath. The bleating of sheep herded to the slaughterhouse on the riverbank was overridden by the chatter of socialites flocking



3.6 Luigi Canina, Villa Borghese extension to Via Flaminia, Rome, 1822–34. Site plan. Engraving by Canina, *Le nuove fabbriche della Villa Borghese denominata Pinciana*, 1828

through the villa gateways. For the villa's new entrance on Via Flaminia, Canina designed a refined Ionic propylaeum, by far the grandest public welcome to any of Rome's patrician villas. Canina's three constructions here are in Greek, Roman, and Egyptian styles, emblematic of his idea of a triadic classical heritage. His compilations of historical prototypes at the villa are not intended as faithful archeological reproductions, but examples of form adapted to contemporary requirements of utility and legible representation. Canina went on to excavate the Forum, write a treatise on classical architecture, and opine that the style of the iron Crystal Palace in London could have been much improved by his research on Pompeian wall-painting motifs.

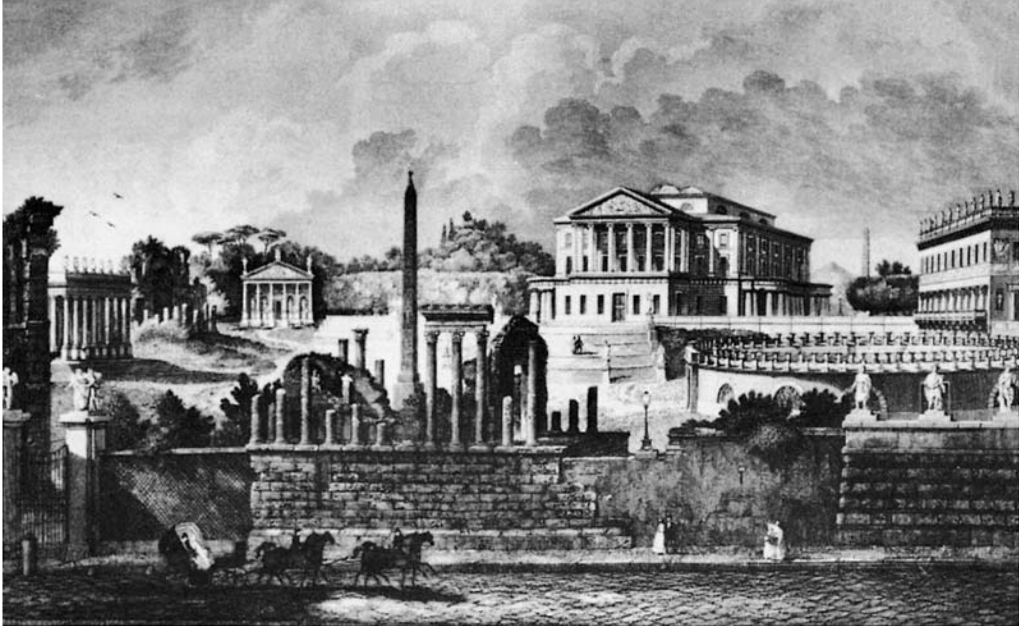
Soon, another family and another villa typical of nineteenth-century society came to rival the Borghese: the villa of the Torlonia family. Giovanni, born to French immigrants in Rome, carried his father's modest financial concern to the highest rank of economic prominence. Through the period of fluctuating allegiances of the revolution, Torlonia played upon either the guarantee of his French origins or the convenience of his Roman birth to win the confidence of clients on both sides of the political swing. He floated Pius VI a loan to pay off the indemnities of the Treaty of Tolentino and helped Roman nobility liquidate properties to match the onerous "contributions" to the public festivals. Noting his tracts and titles and monopoly on transactions of tobacco and salt, Stendhal wrote that "from the most vulgar condition Mr. Torlonia has risen by his own know-how to a most brilliant position." This acute and ironical observer also tell us of Giovanni's audacious arriviste prophecy that his children would be richer than all the princes of Rome combined and that among their children a Torlonia would reign as pope.

Investing in real estate, Giovanni Torlonia accrued enormous wealth; investing in architecture, he gained social status. One of the apartment buildings at Giuseppe Valadier's Piazza del Popolo was Torlonia's, along with a string of money-making theaters in Rome, including the Tordinona and Argentina. The family had a palace at Piazza Venezia, a chapel at San Giovanni Laterano, and a suburban villa on the ancient Via Nomentana not far from the Albani. Valadier

was hired in 1802 to design the main villa structure, which he did with inspiration and materials taken from ancient Roman constructions. He reworked the grounds, helped collect and install sculptures, and all for a wisely spent 32,000 *scudi*, a tenth of what Cardinal Albani had spent on his.

Giovanni passed a fortune of more than 30 million *scudi*, the bank, the palace, and the villa on to his son, Alessandro. If Giovanni Torlonia liked to compare himself to Cosimo de' Medici, Alessandro played the role of Lorenzo the Magnificent, carrying the family name to the most conspicuous ranks of patronage in the arts. Alessandro's idea of patronage was born of his compulsion to measure himself against the Roman tradition, especially the Borghese. He was the most active employer of contemporary artists during the rather dull period of the restoration in Rome, commissioning altars, church decorations, and facades. He set about his patronage with the same aggressive enterprising techniques he used in the banking business. He modeled himself on Alessandro Albani—the coincidence of their first names appealed to his sense of historical connection. Indeed, the new Torlonia altar for the Church of Il Gesù was spurred by no particular religious sympathies for the Jesuit order but by the fact that Alessandro Farnese's name was inscribed on that monument. He mimicked papal patterns of patronage by funding excavations, erecting obelisks, and collecting Egyptian art just as the current pope, Gregory XVI, was adding the Museo Egiziano to the Vatican complex. If Torlonia patronage was a calculated instrument of their economic rise, it was also a necessary component of their self-representation. On a concrete level, it was an instrument to be used with managerial efficiency. Alessandro set stringent financial and legal controls on his artists. Torlonia's choices belie little feeling for their work, and when dealing with his artists he adopted an affectedly familiar tone with them that was not always appreciated.

For the villa, Alessandro needed a project coordinator, like Borghese's Asprucci. His choice was Giovanni Battista Caretti, who had studied with Albertolli at the Brera and then at the Accademia di San Luca. He had taken on a three-year stint decorating places in Poland and returned to Rome in 1826 when he found employ in



3.7 Giuseppe Valadier, then Giovanni Battista Caretti, then Giuseppe Jappelli, Villa Torlonia, Rome, 1802–42. Engraving by Gaetano Cottafavi, 1842

the Torlonia pool. By 1832, Caretti had added a monumental Ionic portico to Valadier's villa structure, and the interiors were done up in a variety of alternative historical styles. To allude to another namesake from history, and to amplify his self-image, Alessandro had a chamber decorated with a relief showing the life of Alexander the Great.

On several trips to Britain and on a tour of gardens in Italy, including Saonara, Torlonia had seen the best his era could offer in landscape design and wanted to outdo the Borghese with Rome's most genuinely picturesque garden. In response, Caretti supplied a temple to Saturn, a *caffèaus*, sham ruins, and an amphitheater—a panorama of structures explicitly inspired by Hadrian's Villa. Even the boundary wall with its teetering pile of counterfeit antiquities, broken columns, and statues is a simulated stratification. The noble portico of the enlarged palazzo lords over the scene. "With a single sweep of his gaze," writes Giuseppe Checchetelli, an observant if sycophantic contemporary, Torlonia "could enjoy the product of his greatness . . . just as Hadrian who from a single point in his villa took in all the monuments of various styles his powerful will had collected." Piranesi's influence can be detected here in an assemblage of symbolic elements drawn from an array of historical materials. To continue the works, Torlonia sought out top names, like Giovanni Antolini, whom he unsuccessfully tried to coax down from Bologna. He settled for Quintiliano Raimondi, who constructed a theater to draw the public onto the villa grounds. Raimondi demonstrated little sensibility for landscape, so Torlonia purchased the expertise of Giuseppe Jappelli, who was tempted by the enormous amounts of cash Torlonia was prepared to spend on the project. The rear parts of the Villa Torlonia are Jappelli's only creation outside his native Veneto region, though he came to regret taking it on.

Jappelli introduced accidents of terrain to isolate the small area he had to work with. A little Mount Olympus sprang up behind Caretti's temples, and its spiraling paths took one into secluded forest valleys behind. Jappelli tucked into his fantastical landscape a Gothic ruin, a secret grotto of sylvan nymphs, an arena for medieval jousts, a Moorish pavilion of exotic pleasures, and a rustic farmstead. As at Saonara, Jappelli's garden is essentially a literary inspiration, his

architecture stock settings for romantic adventures. The cement *campo da tornei* simulated the wooden surfaces of a temporary structure for a knights' tournament. The Moorish pavilion was a marvelous hothouse of painted iron and mirror panels, orchid planters and goldfish tanks built into the window sills, and a minaret fitted with a dining table raised on a screw mechanism that transforms into a poof. The *capanna svizzera*, a rustic Swiss hut, was dramatized with faux-fir half-timbering and brick-like stucco surfaces. It was stocked with genuine Swiss milk cows. The forced asymmetries of its design and the affectedly picturesque rusticity may have been encouraged by Torlonia himself, who brought Jappelli's attention to John Nash's Blaise Hamlet cottages in England.

Jappelli found Torlonia a most unappealing patron, willing to push the picturesque to absurdly grandiose proportions. In a series of bitter letters back home, Jappelli lamented that the garden's Romantic sensibility was lost in Rome's sunny weather. Jappelli found Rome lax and backward, closed-minded in its proud classical inheritance, and Torlonia's ambition a ludicrous product of retardataire tradition. He returned to Padua the day his contract was fulfilled. What Jappelli left behind, however, was Rome's most fascinating architectural experiment, structurally and technologically innovative, theoretically and philosophically exploratory.

Torlonia's ego was not bruised by Jappelli's huffy departure. He continued to build and acquire, erecting two obelisks in a panegyric public festival at which even Pope Gregory XVI and King Ludwig of Bavaria were left flabbergasted. Torlonia eventually bought the Villa Albani, lock, stock, and barrel. Before he died, richer than all the princes of Rome combined, he saw his daughter wed to a Borghese with special authorization that the husband might take the Torlonia name. Their offspring, however, was too mad or too self-absorbed to think about becoming pope.

ITALIAN OPERA STAGE DESIGN AND THEATER INTERIORS

The architecture of the mid-nineteenth century in Italy was enriched by a symbiotic relationship with the art of scenography. A number of artists were involved in both media. For Italian architecture, theater culture, as it had been since the Renaissance, was a progressive laboratory of experiment. The theater itself was an ubiquitous building type of the early modern era. Cosimo Morelli built numerous theaters across the papal states. At the Foro Bonaparte, Giovanni Antolini invested his theater with a strict program of civic morality. In the nineteenth century, theaters were built even in the tiniest towns as important institutions of evolving civic consciousness.

The theater industry evolved too, making its way from the palace (as at Caserta), through independent societies of noblemen (as at La Scala), and into the hands of impresarios (as at San Carlo and La Fenice). The nineteenth-century audience also shifted from courtly hierarchies toward a heterogeneous group. New men of the merchant class filled the *platea*; tiers of boxes were sometimes reconfigured as open galleries for the ladies. On the stage, the lyric opera evolved from utopian classical visions of courtly authority into an open-ended exploration of a new bourgeois society.

Italians were the undisputed leaders in scenographic arts, and brought their talents to the European capitals. Pietro Gonzaga designed Piranesian scenes for the Scala stage in its first two decades before following Quarenghi to Russia in 1792. There he published a treatise, *La musique des yeux*, that promoted greater homogeneity of visual imagery and dramatic content. Domenico Ferri designed all Gioachino Rossini's operas for the Parisian stage, and the Quaglio dynasty of designers commanded a slew of German venues.

Eighteenth-century treatises on theater architecture and acoustics, in addition to Piermarini's synthesis of that knowledge at La Scala, allowed theoretical attention to turn now to stage design. In Naples, Antonio Niccolini founded Italy's first academy of scenography in 1821, where he stressed the unity of the staged experience. The opera stage was his full-scale laboratory of visual

imagery where he explored the possibilities of various historical styles and visceral effects of lighting and scale. While libretti and music repertory expanded, the scenographer had to exercise creative genius with discretion and erudition on an ever wider range of historical source material. Contemporary archeological studies supplied some ideas, but the scenographic art, Niccolini insisted, remained within the realm of poetry. In 1844 he overhauled the Teatro San Carlo's interior decorations. An eclectic by profession, Niccolini was an active architect, engineer, urban planner outside his duties at San Carlo, and many ideas that appear in his architectural projects were first developed on the San Carlo opera stage.

In addition to Naples, Venice and Milan were the great capitals of Italian theater culture. At La Scala, Gonzaga left a series of his students in command, including Paolo Landriani who also brought his talents to the city *Ornato* board in 1807 and taught at the Brera. Alessandro Sanquirico met the scenic demands of operas by Rossini, Donizetti, and Bellini. His sets for Meyerbeer's *Il crociato in Egitto*, which premiered in 1824, took the audience on Maltese ships to a sultan's palace, distant ports, and daunting Piranesi-inspired prisons. Productions of this opera also opened in Trieste, Padua, Florence, and London. Publications of Sanquirico's sketches established the standard for grand opera elsewhere. In 1829 he redecorated La Scala's interiors. At La Fenice, Giuseppe Borsato, who had worked with the original architect, Selva, was the staff scenographer and overhauled its interior decorations once again in 1828. Francesco Bagnara, a colleague of Jappelli in garden projects, designed sets at La Fenice for the burgeoning mid-century opera repertory, including twenty-one Rossini operas. Giuseppe Bertoja and his son Pietro were responsible for the staging of dozens of Verdi's operas at La Fenice later in the century. Staff scenographers were called upon to apply their art to the interior decorations of the auditoriums, which were usually refreshed every twenty years.

On the night of 13 December 1836, a fire gutted La Fenice. Before the cinders were cool, engineer Tommaso Meduna had prepared the cost estimates for its reconstruction. Because questions of acoustics and sight lines had been resolved in Selva's original

design, the idea of rebuilding the essential horseshoe-shaped hall went unquestioned. Niccolini had proceeded similarly after the last San Carlo fire. Tommaso brought in his brother, Giambattista Meduna, a trained architect who improved the access stairwells and corridors, lowered the box partitions, and introduced new ventilation systems. Eventually the stage's oil lamps were substituted with gas, improving safety but altering the quality of the light on the scenes and in the auditorium.

In 1853, not two decades after reconstruction, another competition was held to redecorate La Fenice's interior once again. The style, according to the program, was not as important as its effect, which was to be a *splendidezza di ornamenti*. Giambattista Meduna's winning project covered Selva's neoclassical framework—which Meduna himself had rebuilt sixteen years earlier—with a lacy veil of frivolity. Like all the period's theater interiors, it was unabashedly modish, wearing its neo-rococo pinks and blues with the aplomb of a guest at a costume ball. No one imagined that this delightful cream puff might last long until another confection would be whipped up to take its place, but it survived to the end of the twentieth century. The essential features of Romanticism were thoroughly explored on the lyric opera stage, and the crossover of scenographers into the field of architecture fostered a remarkable evolution of architecture in the nineteenth century toward patently scenographic methods and effects.

Scenographers created illusions that explored the sublimity of natural phenomena, emotive energies, and evocative moods. The content of the dramas to which the scenographer's art gave form were by and large romances: historical dramas not of mythic gods and allegories but tales of heroism, love, adventure, and tragedy based on Italian medieval legends. Crusaders and figures from Dante made many appearances. The genre of Romantic drama gave voice to a bourgeois society just now gaining its self-consciousness by drawing on allusions to national origins and local heroism. The power of music helped overcome political and regional barriers. Most regions of the divided peninsula were represented on the opera stage, from *I Lombardi* to *I Vespri Siciliani*. Specific historical events and places were seen: the Venetian arsenal, Milan's Romanesque churches, medieval

3.8 Giambattista Meduna, Teatro La Fenice, Venice, interior redecorations, 1853–54

castles, Renaissance palaces. Verdi was the most frequently performed opera composer of the 1850s, and his operas were received as proto-nationalist fodder. He co-opted scenic talent, even deriving musical inspiration from visual imagery, and he was the first composer to specify the scenic effects required. Verdi's choice of themes of struggle, virtue, and hope, along with an emphasis on the choral voice, strummed the chords of a nascent national consciousness. His libretti were often censored, but his music rose above the controls to become unofficial patriotic hymns. The political voice of the Italian opera is key to understanding the Romantic era in Italy. Architecture took many of its leads from scenography. It therefore may not be surprising that the most renowned building of the Romantic period in Italy was not conceived by an architect at all.

ANTONIO CANOVA'S TEMPLE IN POSSAGNO

Giuseppe Verdi's mythic status in the mid-nineteenth century is the product of an Italian cultural phenomenon linking the cult of indigenous genius to a collective consciousness of imminent nationhood. The phenomenon began with Antonio Canova. Canova, the neoclassical sculptor, had come to Rome in 1780, two years after Piranesi's death. Selva took him to see the statues set up by Visconti in the Museo Pio-Clementino. Canova fell in with Anton Raffael Mengs at Villa Albani and with a circle of English artists on their Grand Tour, making the requisite visits to Herculaneum, Pompeii, and Paestum. He set up his studio near Piazza del Popolo in 1783. Canova's fame was established with the Rezzonico tomb in Saint Peter's, the project Piranesi felt entitled to, and continued in a series of sculptural masterworks. He was elected to the academy in 1800, decorated with the *Sperone d'Oro* by Pius VII, and made inspector of antiquities in 1802. Canova addressed Winckelmann's noble antiquarianism and debated theoretical issues in letters to Giacomo Quarenghi. He was praised by Quatremère de Quincy, courted by Catherine the Great, and, despite his wariness of politics, appointed the official sculptor of Napoleon's empire.

Canova's great success was based upon work that exhibited a formal refinement infused with a delicate sensuality. His sculptures of Cupids, Psyches, Venuses, and graces were without rivals in supreme beauty. Canova drew from ancient models combining the features of an array of studied prototypes in a process called *imitazione*. His monumental statue groups, portraits, and tombs communicated heroic and sublime tones, lyric meditations on fame, greatness, tragedy, or death. Canova's creative process is key to understanding the nature of Romantic-era art and architecture in Italy. His initial ideas were produced in drawings or clay or plaster figurines full of an inspired impulsiveness of creative genius. They were then meticulously executed in marble with the help of a workshop of technicians. Without compromising the initial immediacy, Canova achieved what contemporaries appreciated as a meditative serenity of ideal form—"the visible virtue of the soul," as the artist once boasted to a friend.

Canova's talents were co-opted by a slew of political figures: Pius VI, Ferdinando IV, Napoleon, Pius VII, George Washington. He elevated each to noble heights while buoying himself and his art above their clashing politics. During the radical Republicanism in Rome, Canova retreated to his sleepy Veneto birthplace, Possagno. He always avoided direct political or ideological engagement, insisting foremost on aesthetic integrity; however, many of Canova's masterpieces stirred feelings of Italian national pride. His *Venus Italica* was designed for the inner sanctum of Italian art at the Uffizi Gallery after the Medici Venus had been carted off by the French. Leopoldo Cicognara in his history of sculpture since the Middle Ages places Canova at the apex of the *Risorgimento*, or resurgence, of Italian culture. After the restoration of the peninsula's former political boundaries, Canova and his art remained, along with opera and Romantic poetry, one of the major focuses of an Italian collective consciousness. Indeed, Canova represented in person the interests of Italian national culture when he was dispatched to Paris in 1815 to recover those works of art Napoleon had taken. Restitution and restoration meant for Canova a comforting retrieval of peace and a revival of Christian values to which the artist, nearing sixty, was drawn.

Canova was in the habit of giving overly generous and self-serving gifts. In 1809, when the meek hometown parishioners of Possagno asked their illustrious native son for help in sprucing up the local church, he retorted that anything spent on the old building would be wasted. He painted an altarpiece for them, a Lamentation of Christ, but so grand as to throw the modest place into embarrassing contrast. Canova had already tried his hand at architecture: the sanctuary of the Madonna del Còvolo, a small strictly by-the-book Palladian chapel at Crespano del Grappa. In the summer of 1818, he offered Possagno a design for a new parish church construction, a majestic hillside "temple," he called it.

Canova confessed that architecture was, technically, not his specialty. Although the design for the Possagno temple was undoubtedly his, from its brilliant flash of inspiration through to its exacting execution, he availed himself of expert technicians, as he did with his sculpture production. Pietro Bosio was Canova's draftsman. Trained at the Brera and a student of Raffael Stern, Bosio came to Canova's attention for his meticulousness, not his individuality, a requisite for all the minions in the Canova workshop. Selva may have suggested to Canova a basic design idea and helped Canova review Bosio's drawings, but Selva died only months into the project and Antonio Diedo carried on the consultancy. A contemporary chronicler of the project, Gerolamo Luciolli, wrote two years later that Canova himself was taking sole care of the entire enterprise.

The cornerstone for the new church was laid in Possagno on 11 July 1819, amid rustic banquet festivities during which Canova was honored like a demigod. The architect-donor was an exacting taskmaster, however, requiring manual labor from the parishioners on Sundays. The idea was that the temple might rise as if from the spontaneous ardor of the people, as they imagined the Gothic cathedrals did, and in turn focus the moral being of the population as Enlightenment theory proposed.

The Tempio Canoviano is a domed rotunda with a columned front and an apse at the back, isolated above the village of Possagno against a verdant backdrop of the Dolomite foothills. Inside, the

Pantheon model is followed with some significant alterations: the purity of the volume is accentuated by the elimination of subsidiary divisions like an attic level. Canova's synthesis of major historical archetypes is immediately striking. His method was, he explained, "to follow in the execution of this work the example of a few illustrious and distinguished monuments without actually inventing anything new. There is nothing here that is not antique in its essence." In the same reductive process toward pure form and concentrated sentiment that marked his sculpture, Canova's creative impulse conjoined the revered features of architectural history: the Greek columns, the Roman vault, the Christian apse, in a symbolic synthesis.

Luciolli, witness to the project's inception, extolled Canova's "sublime idea" of uniting three diverse formal archetypes. Today, scholars grimace as they excuse the inelegant junctures of the composition, blaming Bosio, Selva, or Canova's own inexperience. But the clear original ideas and meticulous control that characterizes all of Canova's work prohibited any laxity. Melchiore Missirini, who was the first to write on the completed structure in 1833, comments exactingly on the *legamento*, or tying together, of the three parts of the composition. It is a perfect juncture, he says, unlike the original Pantheon in Rome. Possagno's geometric alignments work in perfect correspondence: cornice lines connect, heights of pediment and cylinder match, the rotunda's inner diameter determines the portico's width, yet the parts remain distinct. There is a poetry in their contrast. Each part—Greek portico, Roman dome, Christian apse—is emblematic of a progress of civilization, like Canina's historiography at Villa Borghese, now for Canova with a layer of Christian values. The synthesis of the three forms may also be read as an architectural iconography of Trinitarianism, as suggested by the portico's inscription.

This new parish church is located outside the loosely defined village, up a path rising on the temple's left side. In numerous period views, the village is either minuscule or altogether omitted, leaving the pristine construction set in sharp contrast against a natural background. The temple is a titanic vision, a scenography of the sublime. In the continuum of Italian architecture, at the crucial moment of the Restoration, Possagno stands as an emblem of the passage from trenchant neoclassicism to exploratory Romanticism.

3.9 Antonio Canova, Tempio Canoviano, Possagno, 1819–31. Engraving by Melchior Missirini, *Del tempio eretto in Possagno da Antonio Canova*, 1833

Eager to advance the project while his stomach ailments grew threatening, Canova came to Possagno in September 1822. Visiting his doctor in Venice, Canova died on 12 October, and his dying wish was that the Tempio be finished. Four days later, his funeral at Saint Mark's was celebrated under anxious Austrian vigilance to deter a patriotic gathering. The cortège up the Grand Canal was hijacked at the Accademia di Belle Arti for a second unauthorized funeral. Leopoldo Cicognara, president of the academy, orchestrated the event: the coffin was set up in the gallery space upstairs, and eulogies were spoken that equated art, society, and politics in the resurgence of Italian culture. The artist's heart and hand, separated from the corpse at its autopsy, would remain in Venice, parsimoniously distributed like the relics of a Christian saint. Borsato designed a porphyry urn for the heart and a tomb was concocted from Canova's own famous designs in the Church of Santa Maria dei Frari, but the Possagnesi claimed the body. Canova may have wanted to have been buried in the Pantheon's walls like Raphael, but the Possagno parish church became his tomb site. The "Tempio Canoviano" was completed in 1831 as a shrine to Canova himself, confirming his cult status.

A gallery in Possagno was built to contain all the plaster working models from Canova's studio at the time of his death. The Gipsoteca was designed by Francesco Lazzari in emulation of Stern's Braccio Nuovo as a classical basilica space. The Gipsoteca is attached to Canova's birthplace, a construction lying on the edge of the village but aligned exactly with the mighty Temple above, connected now by a wide avenue, revealing finally Canova's not so disingenuous oblique siting of the church. Shrines to Canova began popping up everywhere, and almost all of them, like Possagno, were interpretations of the Pantheon.

PANTHEON PROGENY AND CARLO BARABINO

The Pantheon, in fact, had many progeny. In addition to the Pantheonic churches of Naples, Turin, and Trieste already mentioned, another rose in Milan: San Carlo al Corso of 1844, by Carlo Amati. Funerary chapels in new public cemeteries at Brescia, Verona, and Genoa all elaborated on the Pantheon model, but nowhere was the famous ancient prototype slavishly reproduced. The paradigm was not in itself a perfect image, as the critical response to it attests; it was an example of a synthesis of eclectic parts and served as a point of departure for many architects.

Among the best of the Pantheon progeny is the chapel in the civic cemetery of Genoa designed by Carlo Barabino and completed in 1851. Here, too, distinct prototypes are conjoined: a Doric portico, domed rotunda, and a lobed altar tribune area. The dramatic force of their juxtaposition is rendered through the reduced purity of elements. Like Possagno, the Genovese ensemble presents the major elements of its composition without gentle transitions; only aligned entablatures strap the forms together. They stand crisp and white against the backdrop of cypresses.

The idea for the cemetery itself dated back to 1797. Napoleonic legislation on burial practices took the control of death away from the Church. "Monumental" cemeteries, as they were called, were founded in Brescia and Verona, Bologna and Ferrara, Venice, Turin, Rome, and Milan, to name only the most prominent. Genoa's project was troubled over the site, costs, and local resistance, which delayed matters until a few weeks after the architect's death from cholera in 1835. Giovanni Battista Resasco, Barabino's closest collaborator, fleshed out the design and brought it to completion. The Pantheonic chapel is dedicated to the memory of illustrious men of Genoa, and Barabino is buried inside.

As the city architect since 1815, Barabino provided vital social spaces and new structures to bourgeois Genoa. He devised the city's first real expansion plan, providing incentives for development to draw building away from the crowded port area and up onto the hills. There were new, orderly thoroughfares and designated

3.10 Carlo Barabino, Cimitero Monumentale, Staglieno, Genoa, 1835–51
3.11 Carlo Barabino, Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa, 1826–28. Engraving by Luigi Garibbo

apartment block prototypes—a cross between John Nash's London and Charles Percier's Paris, both examples cited by Barabino. Bonsignore was sent down from Turin to supervise. A new street system was devised that circled the old town and led to a new piazza where Genoa's largest public theater rose.

Since 1799, the Genovese recognized the civic value of a monumental theater, a focus of self-expression, but such ambitions were effectively suppressed in Napoleon's designs for Italy. Under the new Piedmontese king's more happy reign, the project of the Teatro Carlo Felice found enthusiastic support on the city council and from wealthy *palchettisti*. Construction was begun in March 1826 and completed in just twenty-five months. Barabino developed a facade with an austere, abstract geometry and crisp interlocking volumes. The interior pathways are designed also to draw pedestrians from the surrounding streets into the auditorium placed obliquely to the main facade. The civic nature of the Teatro Carlo Felice was also evident in the novel handling of the auditorium's boxes. Their partitions were pulled back to create a sense of unity among them and better acoustics. The concerns of this society can be read in the subtlety of the auditorium's curve and the inflection of its boxes as they turn attention away from each other in the hall and toward the stage. The whole is a spacious and monumental contribution for a city long associated with a crowded and boisterous port. Barabino can be credited with providing Genoa with its first collective social symbols: its public cemetery, major piazza, and new theater of well-tuned civic imagery.

ROMANTICISM IN TUSCANY

Siena in the heart of Tuscany had always been bypassed on any Grand Tour, but the nineteenth century and the Romantic era significantly invigorated the cultural self-image of the region. Isolated in the hills with its unfinished cathedral and oddly shaped *campo*—all "detestably Gothic" to early modern eyes—Siena had lost its political autonomy and its artistic voice to Florence in the sixteenth century. With the exception of some minor works by Vanvitelli and hometown son Paolo Posi, the modern era left Siena behind. But from this provincial backwater emerged a fervent Romantic genius: Agostino Fantastici. Fantastici went to Rome where he filled his sketchbook with images drawn from Piranesi's plates and from the Villa Borghese. After the excitement in Napoleonic Rome died down, Fantastici returned to his native region to rebuild the cathedral of Montalcino. Its high altar is remarkably similar to Piranesi's heterogeneous syntheses. He modernized the palace interiors of Sienese noblemen and designed the fittings for the shops and caffès of its bourgeoisie.

Fantastici's most complete expression was the Villa "Il Pavone" for Mario Bianchi Bandinelli. Mario's father, Giulio, was the Napoleonic *maire* of the city, and his palace, refurbished in 1802, was the mirror of cosmopolitan aspiration. When Giulio died in 1824, an era of pomp died with him and his son retreated to introspective moodiness at his suburban villa. Taken together, the Bandinellis express the shift from Napoleonic neoclassicism to Restoration Romanticism—the former official, public, and confident, the latter intimate, private, and exploratory.

Fantastici was commissioned in 1825 to rebuild the villa and gardens. A doleful pyramid faces the entrance gates. Inside, a sequence of atmospheric, tree-filled spaces lead to a melancholic pond and an Etruscan-like tomb. The villa rises in the sun above, a shining rational beacon over the shadowy hermit's retreat below. The scene was illustrated by the villa's decorative painter, Alessandro Maffei, complete with a romantic figure lost in the pages of a Gothic novel. Visitors to "Il Pavone" were led through the experience of "the most varied scenes and of the greatest magical and picturesque effect

nature can provide," according to Fantastici, In his *Vocabolario*, or dictionary of architectural terms, Fantastici also explained that points of view were to be carefully planned "from which a building should create its true and best appearance."

The rebuilt villa structure is characterized by its pure volumes, a composition of simple forms that, Fantastici suggests, "could be best appreciated by moonlight." Inside, Fantastici's furnishing and Maffei's wall paintings referenced Hadrian's Villa. Egyptian allusions here and in the garden may owe something to the patron's freemasonry practices, but things remain enigmatic in Fantastici's charged poetic atmosphere of color, shadow, and suggestion. Although Fantastici had few followers of his inimitable poetry, he helped, like Piranesi before him, to reinvigorate hopes of productivity in the arts.

Elsewhere in Tuscany, Romantic sensibility was focused on public and patriotic aims. At the Villa Puccini (no relation to the later composer) outside Pistoia, built from 1824 to 1844, dozens of little constructions were arranged across several acres of land, including: a ruined Temple of Pythagoras, a medieval tower, a hermitage, a rustic hut, a caffè, and a "Teatro Napoleonico." There were monuments to Dante and Tasso, Vico, Linneaus, Gutenberg, Galileo, Machiavelli, Michelangelo, Raphael, the Madonna, Canova, Columbus, and Cleopatra. Lording over it all was a "Pantheon" with a roof terrace from which twenty-six sites throughout this theme park could be admired.

Niccolò Puccini, with the assistance of friends and architects, was responsible for the garden's creation. Luigi de Cambray Digny and the garden designer Alessandro Gherardesca, a jack of all styles, discussed the project at dinner parties with a circle of Puccini's intellectual friends. Puccini got them all involved in his philanthropic effort to elevate the lower classes "who talked only of girls and card games." The guide to the gardens reads like a Gothic romance; each scene suggests virtuous achievements in civilization's march of progress, a great "school of mutual instruction." The undercurrent of Italian patriotism that courses through lyric opera pools here in Puccini's energetic philanthropy under the tolerant reign of the grand dukes of Lorraine.

Patriotic messages are reiterated in another Pistoia monument, a Pantheon to Illustrious Men. Conceived at the same time as Puccini's park, this city monument just within the walls at Piazza San Francesco faces an open space once used as the Foro Bonaparte. The somber temple was finished up in 1826 to the designs left by Cosimo Rossi-Melocchi. The plasticity of Rossi-Melocchi's interpretation of traditional classical form recalls the liberties explored by Niccolini in Naples with Doric columns of exaggerated entasis. What was once the gathering place of the marginalized poor in Franciscan care, then for citizens drilled in Napoleonic consensus, is now a Romantic corner of meditation on national glories as yet unfulfilled.

Tuscany under the restored grand dukes of Lorrain enjoyed a considerable cultural efflorescence. When Ferdinando III was restored, he set about planning improvements to his grand duchy. Pasquale Poccianti typified the well-trained Florentine professional with his systematic knowledge of architecture and engineering issues. As head architect of the Lorraine, Poccianti continued works in the Palazzo Pitti with a new main vestibule, a reorganization of the piazza, apartments on the second floor, and a new grand staircase. The grand dukes of Lorraine, successors to the Medici, also continued work at the Church of San Lorenzo, asking Poccianti for a facade design that might conclude Brunelleschi's unfinished exterior, plus a funerary chapel of their own and an expansion of the famous library in the cloister. Only the last project, a Pantheonic rotunda, was realized,

Poccianti was also Tuscany's prime engineer, and it was in this complementary role that he was sent to Livorno to design that port city's aqueduct and cisterns. Representative of the endeavor is the monumental "Cisternone." Rising above a severe portico of Tuscan columns an enormous half-dome structure open to the front holds back in its coffered concavity the mass of the water tanks behind. The large scale, austere forms, fine stone, and impeccable execution are entirely unexpected qualities for a work of such pure utility. The Pantheon's dome is nowhere else so closely reproduced, but here vivisected like an abstract representation of the paradigm. The half dome recalls ancient fallen vaults, the Serapeum at Hadrian's Villa, Palladian drawings of ancient baths, and motifs developed by Ledoux,

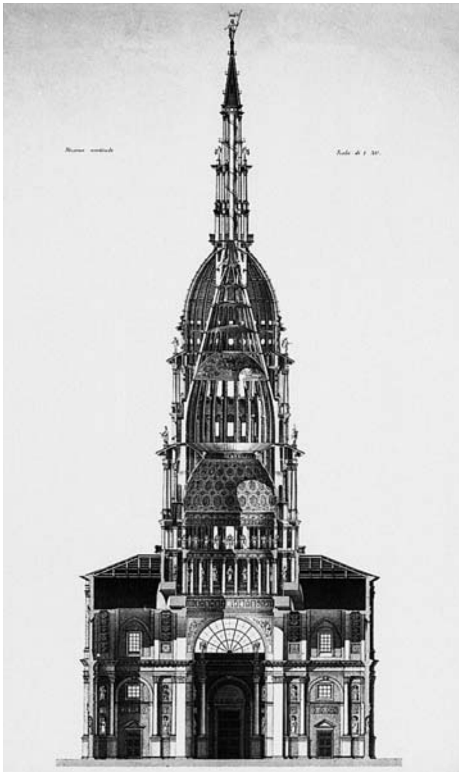
3.12 Agostino Fantastici, Villa Il Pavone, Siena, 1825–35. Watercolor by Alessandro Maffei, 1841
3.13 Cosimo Rossi-Melocchi, Pantheon degli Uomini illustri, Pistoia, 1826
3.14 Pasquale Poccianti, "Il Cisternone," Livorno, 1827–42

all of which may have been suggested to Poccianti. The dome space is apparently inaccessible and functionless, and can be read only as a symbol, an absence, a poignant inverse to the volume of water behind. Poccianti's formal language, like Barabino's in Genoa, is rigorous to the point of abstraction. Unlike his Florentine architecture, Poccianti's Livorno engineering explored a formal poetic language beyond the confines of former neoclassical doctrine and opened, even for engineering work, dynamic new possibilities of imagery.

ALESSANDRO ANTONELLI

Alessandro Antonelli explored the intersection of architecture and engineering. As Turin's top student, he won the university's first Rome Prize in 1826. He gravitated to the lectures on applied geometry and construction at Rome's new engineering faculty. Antonelli's Roman credentials did not after all help much in the workaday atmosphere of Piemontese building, where he at first made only modest inroads. Among minor provincial church restorations, he distinguished himself in Turin with a series of apartment block constructions for developers in the area of Piazza Vittorio Emanuele I. At a time of sluggish and small-scale building, Antonelli wisely lent his ordered and rational manner to this modest bourgeois building type. Among his most popular was the *Casa delle colonne* of 1853, with its Doric trabeation and clear internal planning. A skeletal system permits an infinite extension of the composition and a variety of interior divisions for the various classes within. For the developer, Antonelli's equations were clear: maximum return on the plot with minimal outlay of material.

Antonelli was able to explore issues of construction and style more deeply while completing the Church of San Gaudenzio in Novara. The sixteenth-century structure had remained without its intended crossing dome until Antonelli was commissioned in 1840 to erect one. After a year of studying the pre-existing parts, Antonelli



3.15 Alessandro Antonelli, Casa Ponzio Vaglia or "Casa delle colonne," Turin, 1853
3.16 Alessandro Antonelli, San Gaudenzio, Novara, 1841–78

presented a project for a tall structure formed of three nested domes, the inner coffered with a wide oculus giving up to a second inverted parabolic cone with its inner face frescoed. The third, classically styled outer drum and hemisphere rose to a height of 42 meters. Construction was begun in 1844, but like many of Antonelli's public commissions, it was often set back by financial and bureaucratic problems.

Antonelli's stacked dome construction relied upon examples built by Wren in London and Soufflot in Paris, as well as research on ancient and Renaissance domes in recent technical literature, so he was confident after one of the construction hiatuses to propose, in 1860, adding a little more height to the construction. The new stacked double drum would reach a height of 80 meters. Doubts grew on the stability of such an attenuated structure, but the project had garnered so much popular support that the commissioners let themselves be convinced by Antonelli's impassioned vision. After numerous successive elaborations and refinements, the structure's lantern, finished in 1878, rose 125 meters above the pavement.

One of Antonelli's interim reports explained this "tubular" construction system with allusions to vegetal stems. Rigidity and lightness were guaranteed by the series of five perforated parabolic cones that stiffen the walls like the structure of a bamboo shoot. The structural walls could then be reduced to the thickness of a single brick. The towering composition whirls upward with an effect that feels decidedly Gothic. Soufflot was already famous for having fused classical formal repose and Gothic structural lightness in his Sainte Geneviève, known in Antonelli's time as the *Panthéon* of Paris. According to his contemporaries, Antonelli achieved the same synthesis, "taking away from Classical architecture its usual gravity to give it the ease of that architecture commonly known as Gothic."

Far from an eclectic, Antonelli synthesized traditions that many take as irremediably dichotomous; his understanding of Gothic and classical was not a division of disparate styles but a continuity of related structural possibilities. Antonelli did not make explicit mathematical calculations. He worked in a fluid manner, keeping his projects in continual modification while he rethought the

design possibilities. Each stage of construction was in complete equilibrium, and therefore could change direction with the architect's intuition. At every successive phase Antonelli stretched the design process, defied convention, and dismantled the old-fashioned idea of stylistic coherence.

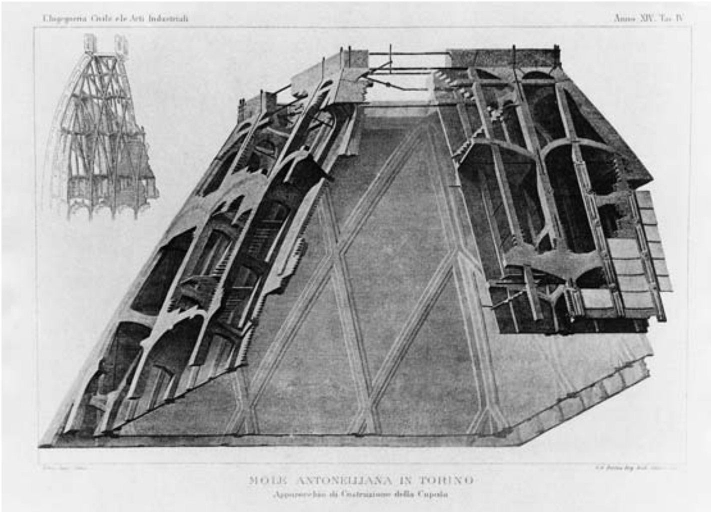
Antonelli's career was characterized by continual exploration in projects that evolved slowly over decades, often pushing the mundane to monumental heights. In 1862, he received the commission for a synagogue in Turin whose program called for classrooms, offices, and apartments in addition to the large meeting hall, all on a small lot on a side street behind Piazza Vittorio Emanuele I. The Jewish community in Turin, five thousand strong, expressed the desire that their first temple might also be their "perennial and eternal reminder of gratitude" to the liberal society that had emancipated them. The architectural expression of synagogues had up to that time in Italy remained indeterminate, taking form in a passive manner through pressures of dominant tastes, economic constraints, and the realities of the religious politics of Catholic states. Now open to exploration, Antonelli excluded the option of an exotic style with a bogus iconography. To signify this religious institution's difference, he started with the functional disposition of the required spaces and structures to house them. His first project piled a few uniform levels and flexible modular floor areas on the lot with the meeting hall, as was the rule, on the top. In order that the hall might remain unencumbered, Antonelli envisioned a dome to cover the hall rising from the square plan in four curved planes. His square dome would have risen decorously into the skyline alongside other unusual domes in Turin, like Guarini's over the Chapel of the Holy Shroud six blocks away.

Contemporaneous with the exploratory extensions of the San Gaudenzio project, Antonelli began at the synagogue to follow his intuition, remaining always one step ahead of his masons. He elaborated upon the tubular concept here in a wall system that resembles a mesh of cell membranes. The structural elements are trimmed to their barest essentials. He evolved a vault technology toward zero internal resistance, and this dome encloses a maximum amount of space with a minimum of material, surpassing

Michelangelo's Vatican dome eight times on a solid-to-void ratio. Traditional materials are used in the precise and frank construction of the lower floors. Iron is also used as at San Gaudenzio but it does not appear as an autonomous structural element. Antonelli was aware of the advances in iron technology; but he wanted to explore the potentials of traditional masonry, preferring it over rusting metal and rotting wood for reasons of durability that would pay back its higher costs, he said, in the long run.

But the money ran out nonetheless in 1869. It seemed to the congregation that commissioned him that Antonelli, quite unscrupulously, had outstretched the original program and budget to pursue his own ambitious agenda. He had doubled the dome to a monstrous height—construction was halted at 77 meters. They pondered the aesthetic impact and called in consultants to assess its stability. Antonelli tried in vain to win the rabbis over but they bailed out, selling the outlandish construction to the city in 1877. No one was sure what would be done with it, but it was shaping up as a most monumental pile, a *mole*, the Torinesi began to call it. By June 1878, the erstwhile synagogue was designated as Turin's National Monument and Museum of Italian Independence. At 77 meters and still rising, the Mole had a shot at being the tallest construction in the world, and Antonelli, who kept tabs on such feats, was brought back to continue climbing. He was eighty years old.

The dome was capped at a height of 81 meters with a lantern and finally a towering spire doubling the building's height again. At slightly over 163 meters, the Mole is indeed the tallest masonry construction in Europe. Super tall structures like the Eiffel Tower sprang up at world's fairs as exciting proof of industrial progress. The Mole is also a monument to a heroic vision, and like Eiffel's it was officially named after its architect. The Mole Antonelliana is the culmination of a continuous Italian tradition in construction and the ultimate expression of the age of Romanticism. Inside, the space overhead is so lofty and of such overwhelming volume that the rushing absence of scale makes the mind spasm. Antonelli has invested architecture with a sense of continual becoming, unpredictable in its outcomes. The Mole Antonelliana is a dynamic conception, a culmination of the



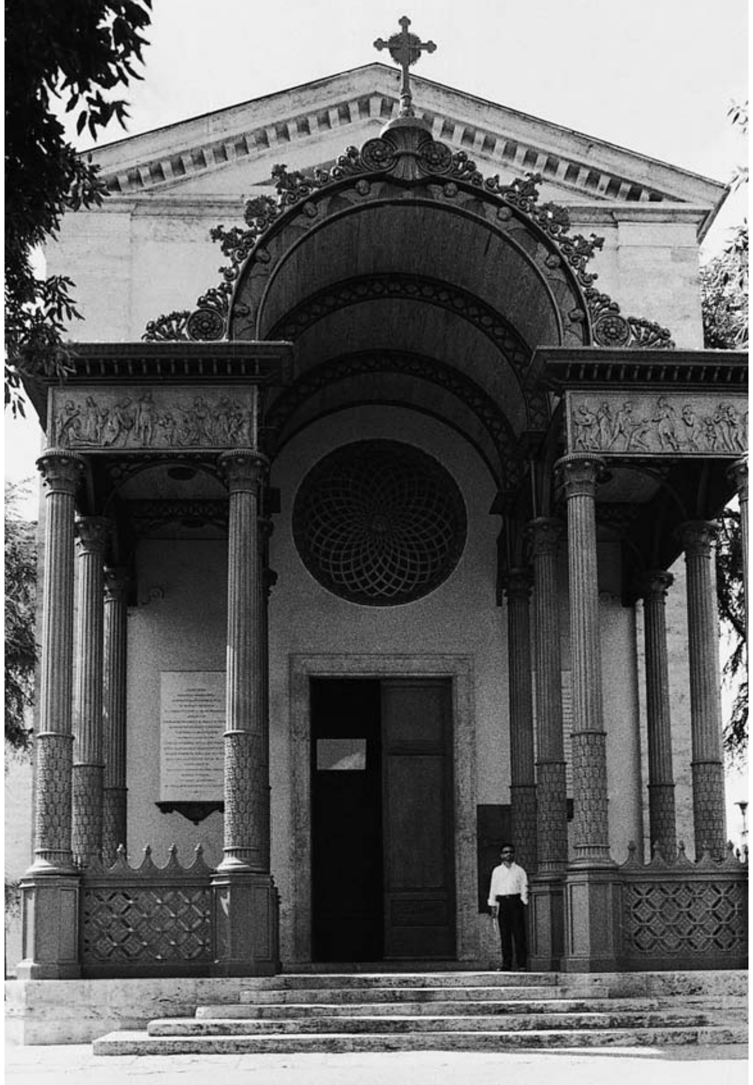
3.17–3.19 Alessandro Antonelli, Mole Antonelliana, Turin, 1862–1900. Axonometric drawing; photograph during construction, 1877; view with Piazza Vittorio Emanuele I

exploratory characteristics of the nineteenth century and a fountainhead of the twentieth, never fully finished, never fully functional—just like the modern world of Antonelli's day.

CONSTRUCTION IN IRON

As Antonelli was extending the potential of masonry construction, iron was making inroads into Italian architecture. Indeed, iron had always been present, but in an ancillary and hidden role. Vanvitelli used it to reinforce Saint Peter's dome in 1743. Milizia, however, was opposed to the belts and latches, the rods and chains that were in common use to make, for example, stone lintels stretch further. Valadier had accepted iron for the fixtures in neoclassical design and also noted that for public works where economy, speed, and lightness were needed iron would be a great help. But the peninsula lagged behind England and France in the quantity and quality of its iron production. Italy's metallurgy was grounded in artisinal processes and remained an industry that varied by region, some with no iron production at all. While Italy continued to export its aesthetic expertise, its new material technology was of foreign supply. Antonelli's iron was imported from France but remained hidden behind his patriotic pursuit of masonry achievement. Iron took on a vaguely antipatriotic tinge. Iron construction was confined to new building types: railway stations, markets, and bridges.

In 1832, Italy's first iron suspension bridges were opened over the Garigliano River at Minturno north of Naples and, shortly thereafter, at the Calore River on the route south to Paestum. The rivers at Florence, Turin, and Rome were soon bridged quickly and easily with the new technology. The iron suspension links were in these cases hung from masonry pylons affecting more often than not Egyptian styling—papyrus columns or obelisks. The Neapolitan bridges were conceived by a local engineer, Luigi Giura, and made of locally produced material, but all the others were made on commission to French builders.



3.20 Carlo Reishammer, Church of San Leopoldo, Follonica, 1838

Naples also led in railway construction, opening Italy's first line in 1839 with service to Portici. Its two modest stations employed exposed iron in light canopies over the tracks. Milan's first train station—providing service to Monza—was designed in 1840 by Giovanni Milani. It was typical of early stations, a hybrid mixture of iron construction over the tracks framed by service buildings that were classically dressed in the style of Piermarini. Longer-ranging rail lines were a rarity on the peninsula, divided at it was into separate states. Austrian reluctance to concede links to its territory stalled the construction of a railway viaduct bridge across the shallow lagoon out to Venice until 1846 (it was also built by Giovanni Milani). Meanwhile, there was no use of new iron technology on the Adriadic coast, in the deep south, or on the islands.

Only Tuscany managed to establish a healthy iron industry, relying on a plant at Follonica that was conveniently situated halfway between its mineral supply (on the Isle of Elba) and its marketplace (Livorno). Grand Duke Leopoldo II provided support to reclaim the malarial swamps along Follonica's coast and to renew its traditional foundries with the latest furnace technology from England. Production expanded quickly under the direction of Florentine-born architect Carlo Reishammer. Reishammer's constructions in Follonica included a Palladian-style portal to the foundry, the Gothic filagree of the town's clock tower, and the Church of San Leopoldo of 1838. Onto the rather plain masonry box of San Leopoldo, Reishammer riveted a deep porch made entirely of iron components. Inside, all the liturgical fixtures are of iron, from the pulpit to the Stations of the Cross. Reishammer also built in Livorno. Its new toll gates of 1840 demonstrate the aesthetic possibilities of iron. Reishammer worked as an architectural designer for industrial material and he held together the roles of architect and engineer which over the arc of the nineteenth century were beginning to split into dichotomous specialized professions.

ARCHITECTURAL RESTORATION OF MONUMENTS

In the nineteenth century, the restoration of ancient monuments became a critical and creative act guided by the values that Romanticism vested in the historical past. Objects that time or vicissitudes had reduced could be reconstituted and recovered for contemporary cultural fruition. The Colosseum was the literal arena for early modern restoration theory and practice in Rome. Since the 1348 earthquake that toppled the southern portions of the Flavian amphitheater, the outer rings of the ancient structure had been gradually peeling away. In 1703, another collapse brought more arches to the ground and a renewed supply of authentic ancient travertine for new buildings. Benedict XIV put a stop to the material spoliation by recognizing the Colosseum as a site of Christian martyrdom.

Pius VII began digging out the structure and clearing the granaries built around it, but the ragged eastern edge threatened imminent collapse. Wooden trusses were thrown up until Pius could get his architect, Raffaele Stern, to begin work in 1806. A commission, headed by Carlo Fea, considered trimming off the damaged portion and reusing the old stones to prop up the remaining stable parts, but their consciences were disturbed by the idea of eliminating even fractured bits. They could screw the blocks back up with iron or dismantle and re-erect them with pins, but this proved too daunting. At half the cost and in half the time, Stern simply filled in the falling arches and erected a supporting brick-and-mortar buttress that halted the structure's movement. "The buttress executed in the present circumstances," wrote Stern, "brings us as close as possible to our great forefathers." The purely functional brick buttress was "the only modern work that can stand up to comparison to ancient construction."

Attention turned to other teetering ruins, like the nearby Arch of Titus, whose slipping keystone required intervention. The French had cleared away the buildings alongside the ancient arch, like those convents that crowded the Column of Trajan, but what little remained of the original construction required extra support. In

1817, Pius VII sent Stern to deal with the arch. Stern dismantled it block by block and ordered new travertine and iron pins with which to reset the few original white marble fragments. Pietro Bosio, Canova's details expert, was called upon to determine the nature of the missing forms for the travertine infill. Work was halted in December 1818 for financial reasons, and before they were cleared up and work resumed Stern was mysteriously murdered. The direction of the work passed to Valadier, who finished it in 1824.

Fea was outspoken in his support of this, Rome's first scientific restoration. "One will be also be able to see its true ancient form while distinguishing the ancient from the modern," Fea assured. Unlike the technique of "reintegration" of eighteenth-century practice, the nineteenth-century replacement parts for the Arch of Titus deliberately lack the touches of individual artistic virtuosity that Piranesi or Cavaceppi would have added. Valadier tells us in his publication of 1822 that this was an operation "to recompose the pieces as they had been soundly constructed originally, an operation that is called restoration, not building." In the early nineteenth century in Rome, restoration was codified as a scientific retrieval of a precise historical image disencumbered of accretions. This shift of restoration theory is exemplified by the second and radically different buttress added to the western edge of the Colosseum in 1822.

Once Valadier finished with the Arch of Titus, Pius VII sent him on to the Colosseum. Stern's earlier buttress was by then seen as "disagreeable to the eye," the regrettably dull result of a structural emergency and limited finances. So Valadier's western buttress features an open series of arches meticulously modeled upon the original first-century design. These are stacked up in a diminishing series against the damaged edge. Although constructed of brick, the bases, capitals, and cornices are made of travertine like the originals. When this part of the construction was finished in 1829, all the brickwork was stuccoed over. "We have faithfully imitated the ancient design and, having given it a patina all over imitating the antique, it seems entirely built of travertine." Pius VII himself said: "If each of our predecessors had added just a single arch to the Colosseum, by now it would have been returned to its original form." The idea of rebuilding the Colosseum soon became a reality. In the 1840s, Luigi

3.21 Raffaele Stern, eastern (distant) buttress of the Colosseum, Rome, 1804–6; Giuseppe Valadier, western buttress, 1822–29; Raffaele Stern, then Giuseppe Valadier, restoration of the Arch of Titus, 1818–24

Canina, who had written his dissertation on the amphitheater, began rebuilding the missing chunks of the inner rings on the south, to the point of replicating the ancient brick patterns.

The new theory of restoration was tested in the debate over the Church of San Paolo fuori le mura in Rome. On the night of 15 July 1823, a fire devastated the nave of the early Christian basilica. The Church of Saint Paul was, like Saint Peter's and Saint John's, originally built by Emperor Constantine; it was rebuilt in the fourth century and continually added to over the centuries. Now, seventeen of the nave's forty-two marble columns had fallen, bringing down with them a quarter of the church's fabled fresco cycle. The great apse and its mosaics were undamaged. When Pope Leo XII was elected later in the summer, he took the matter of San Paolo in hand, opening an international fund-raising campaign.

San Paolo had never sparked much interest among architects, though it remained important as a site of pilgrimage and veneration. For this reason, a popular reaction rose up "to conserve respectfully the traces of the magnificent layout," as Abbot Angelo Uggeri put it. This churchman was also a dilettante architect and academician at San Luca, and was the first to present a project for the church's reconstruction. He called for a rebuilding *in pristinum* with improvements by which some elements of the old fabric could be rebuilt with ideally classical features. Carlo Fea supported Uggeri's idea. Architects, including Valadier, however, saw the opportunity here for the kind of reconception of the site that had transformed, for example, Saint Peter's in the Renaissance. Valadier delivered a proposal that while preserving the untouched apse planned a new building within the sturdy walls of the transept—a renewal of the medieval building rather than a restoration. To repair the old structure, Valadier claimed, would have been needlessly expensive for a building of such "deprecated irregularities" from the "decadent period of architecture." If anyone were curious about the former structure, a scale model could be made and put in a museum. Here, it is important to distinguish, Valadier was not restoring a remnant from antiquity as at the Arch of Titus or the Colosseum, but giving a renewed imagery to a living institution.

In 1824 Leo XII decided to undertake the Valadier project, despite heated protest from the new specialists in restoration. Carlo Fea furiously denounced the radical changes Valadier planned. He evoked the public will that San Paolo should be put back as it was. "Forfend any innovations!" he railed. "Away the projects of ambitious architects and the academies! . . . The fine arts are in the service of Religion, not vice versa." Thus the battlefield was marked out between the erudite archeologists and the innovative architects over the methodology of architectural restoration.

Leo XII set up a special commission to look into the commotion, and Abbot Uggeri, appointed as secretary, succeeded in overturning Valadier's directorship. Leo XII was brought about face to a reactionary position.

At San Paolo fuori le mura, for the first time in Italy, the theory of restoration honed for ancient ruins was applied to architecture in the broader sense. Valadier was dismissed and Pasquale Belli was brought in from the Vatican architectural staff to direct the works. Fea trumpeted victoriously that "in Rome the Archeologists are the premier masters." Under Belli's direction the nave walls were all pulled down saving mosaics but not the frescoes of later date. The first granite replacement columns for the magnificent plan of the nave arrived in 1831. But Belli was soon displaced by Luigi Poletti, an architect with broad vision who had trained under Antolini and Stern.

With his bold personality, Poletti managed to cut through the debilitating network of conflicting committees that had ruined Valadier. When necessary he appealed directly to the pope, by then Gregory XVI. The rebuilding of the basilica's original ground plan would include a magnificent forecourt, a baptistry, and a bell tower. Inside, Poletti rebuilt the columns and walls in their former locations and to their former proportions, but everything in a totally renewed manner, his biographer tells us, "to give a new San Paolo all the splendor of magnificence and of the perfection of construction of materials." Poletti rebuilt San Paolo as if its original builders had returned and, in their spirit, availed themselves of all the erudition compiled in the interim, revisiting the design and correcting its errors.

Poletti's San Paolo is an idealized image of its own past, an evocative simulacrum of itself. Its pure space and brilliant surfaces shine with surreal precision, transporting us to a storybook-perfect history. Whereas Valadier had quipped that scholars and the curious could be satisfied with a model as a record of the former structure, the Romantic generation that buried Valadier made the new building itself a didactic model. Saint Paul's reconstruction *com'era, dov'era*—as it was, where it was—significantly influenced the nature of architectural restoration in Italy for the next century.

3.22 Luigi Poletti, San Paolo fuori le mura, reconstruction, Rome, 1831–54. Engraving by Giuseppe Bianchi, 1854

REVIVALISM AND CAMILLO BOITO

In other European countries in the nineteenth century, the Gothic Revival was associated primarily with issues of architectural restoration and national imagery. This was not the case in Italy, where architects confronted Gothic architecture only in rare instances, such as the completion of the cathedral of Milan. Under construction continuously since the late Middle Ages, the Duomo still lacked a facade. Portals had been added in the late Renaissance not consonant with the building's original Gothic forms. The clash of styles only became more irksome to later generations.

Attention to civic imagery under Archduke Ferdinand's rule at the end of the eighteenth century encouraged many architects to propose solutions to the variegated facade, many of which tried to diminish the impact of the classical intrusions. In 1807 Napoleon sanctioned funds for the execution of Carlo Amati's project for the facade, which reshaped the buttresses and completed the finials in the Gothic style of the cathedral's flanks. Amati, the designer of San Carlo al Corso nearby and a committed classicist, admitted that when he was forced to study the Gothic structure he was moved by its intelligence. "Whoever takes the time to examine with an erudite eye any of these monuments will not forget the architectonic sensibility of their execution and the shrewd selection of material components. Our century cannot avoid confessing that it would not be capable of surpassing them." Until Alessandro Antonelli of Turin came along to take that challenge seriously, Gothic inspiration could only be found on the lyric opera stage and in picturesque gardens.

Jappelli, with his Pedrocchino, was not the first to revive Gothic styling. Amati had erected a turreted garden folly at Monza in 1815, and in Rome an Englishman, Charles Andrew Mills, had his villa on the Palatine Hill redecorated in 1818 with Gothic-style appliqués. Significantly, the few large-scale examples of Gothic Revival architecture in Italy are each associated with the post-Napoleonic political restoration. At Hautecombe, for example, in the French department of the Savoie, the ancestral seat of the Piemontese dynasty, King Carlo Felice restored the abbey that had been sacked in

3.23 Carlo Amati, Duomo facade, Milan, 1807–; with Giuseppe Piermarini, Palazzo Ducale, 1773, at right.

the revolution. Neither the patron nor his architect in charge, Ernesto Melano, had any previous inclination toward Gothic design, yet they opted to retain the historical style that would effectively elicit the memories of the dynastic shrine. In Rome, the convent chapel for the Sisters of the Sacred Heart was erected in Gothic Revival form in 1841. This neo-Catholic order of French nuns was founded to redress the antireligious wave of the revolution. They adapted often donated buildings for their use, so the order had no architectural style of its own. Pietro Holl, a Roman-born architect, designed for them the city's first Gothic Revival chapel that opposes dramatically the temporal imperialism of the classical idiom. A third example is found at Gaeta, the Bourbon coastal installation at the border to the papal states. Its thirteenth-century church, supposedly founded by Saint Francis but gutted during the French occupation in 1809, became the object of intense interest after Pope Pius IX had taken temporary exile there during the Republican uprising in Rome of 1848. Ferdinando IV ordered its complete restoration to memorialize the pope's stay and the harmony of Catholic nations. Giacomo Guarinelli, its architect, tells us that the monarch insisted on maintaining the distinctive character of the old church, of which there was little left. Guarinelli was given a travel grant to study Gothic sites for inspiration, but instead spent the money on illustrated books. From those he concocted a cross between King's College Chapel and Cologne Cathedral, meeting the requirement for an iconography that would demonstrate international support of the pope's restoration to power.

The idea of a Gothic revival took a powerful hold over more liberal northern regions of the peninsula. In Padua, Pietro Selvatico championed Italian medieval architecture as a national heritage with the same moral vehemence as Pugin and Viollet-le-Duc. Selvatico, like his mentor Jappelli, wanted to dismantle the classical hegemony and allow imaginations to roam among the variety of historical styles. He started with Gothic architecture that offered such variety. Selvatico built little yet exercised his influence as a historian, critic, and teacher at the Venetian academy from 1850. He found in Venice's

pre-Renaissance architecture the traces of the various cultures that filtered through the city. He was eclectic in his approach, exercising the right Piranesi had granted architects to address without prejudice their cultural heritage for contemporary needs. Romanesque architecture, with its classical derivations and varied inflections, captivated Selvatico. Indigenous examples were scattered all across the peninsula, each recalling a former city-state's fierce independence or a medieval maritime republic's efflorescence. The prospect of a neo-Romanesque revival envisioned a future of vibrant architecture, the fruit of Italian genius unhampered by foreign influences, colonial oppression, or preconceived aesthetic notions. Selvatico made explicit the idea that this revival architecture could be enlisted in the definition of an Italian social identity.

Camillo Boito, Selvatico's top student and successor at the Venice academy, took up the neo-Romanesque cause. Camillo and his brother Arrigo lived in Milan where they both wrote, Camillo on the connections between medieval architecture and Italy's current political resurgence, Arrigo libretti for Verdi's operas. Picking up from Selvatico, Boito's elaborations of a neo-Romanesque extolled the style's elastic qualities and indigenous origins. Boito's research is exactly contemporaneous with the linguistic theory of Graziadio Ascoli at the university in Milan, who found in Dante's Florentine language an archetype for a standard national idiom. "We firmly believe," wrote Boito in 1865, "that one can take a certain Italian style from along the past centuries and modify it so as to render it fit to represent the inclination of our society, serving its necessities and demands without losing however its national and its artistic character."

Boito's candidate for the national archetype was the fourteenth-century Lombard Romanesque exemplified in Milan's minor churches, an architecture of "that grand century in which Dante wrote and Giotto painted." He brought the discussion of a national Italian architecture to concrete terms. Lombard Romanesque was ductile in its applicability, adaptable to the formal requirements of a variety of building types, especially the smaller,

casual private house. Its constructive principles were demonstrably logical, using economical material like brick. It was functional and free of the usual imperialist rhetoric.

Boito's Lombard Romanesque was not a revival style. An archeological return to the fourteenth century would not, he warned, provide an architecture fit for modern needs. Instead, Boito proposed the rediscovery of the process of making style. A contemporary style would be born of the symbiotic relationship between the *parte organica*, the structure, the materials, the work's disposition according to function, and the *parte simbolica*, the aesthetic considerations of decoration. In order to create the humus for the regeneration of Italian modern architecture, it would be necessary to strike a synthesis of utility and beauty. "When architects begin to follow scrupulously the demands of the architectonic organism," Boito often repeated, "then they will have laid the fundamental basis of Italian architecture; they will have discovered in large part its new symbolism. The heart of the matter is in the organism." Boito concretized this theoretical principle in a highly successful practice.

At Gallerata, on Milan's inchoate industrial periphery, Boito designed a municipal cemetery in 1865 and a hospital in 1869. Their plans are drawn from utilitarian considerations of spatial disposition and their forms recall the essential qualities of Romanesque monastic cells. There is no styling, but a simplification from which a reasoned aesthetic expression of function and structure and an essential if bitter beauty have been extracted. In Padua, Boito designed an elementary school building in the same manner: a thoroughly functional distribution of spaces and a correspondingly robust vertical structure in brick and stone. Inaugurated in 1881, the schoolhouse earned Boito gold-medal recognition at the second national architectural exposition in Milan and the design was propagated as a paradigm of its type in special photographs ordered by the ministry of education.

Also in Padua, across the street from the Palazzo della Ragione, Boito erected his most important building, the Palazzo delle Debite. The local Paduan *Ornato* board, which included Selvatico,

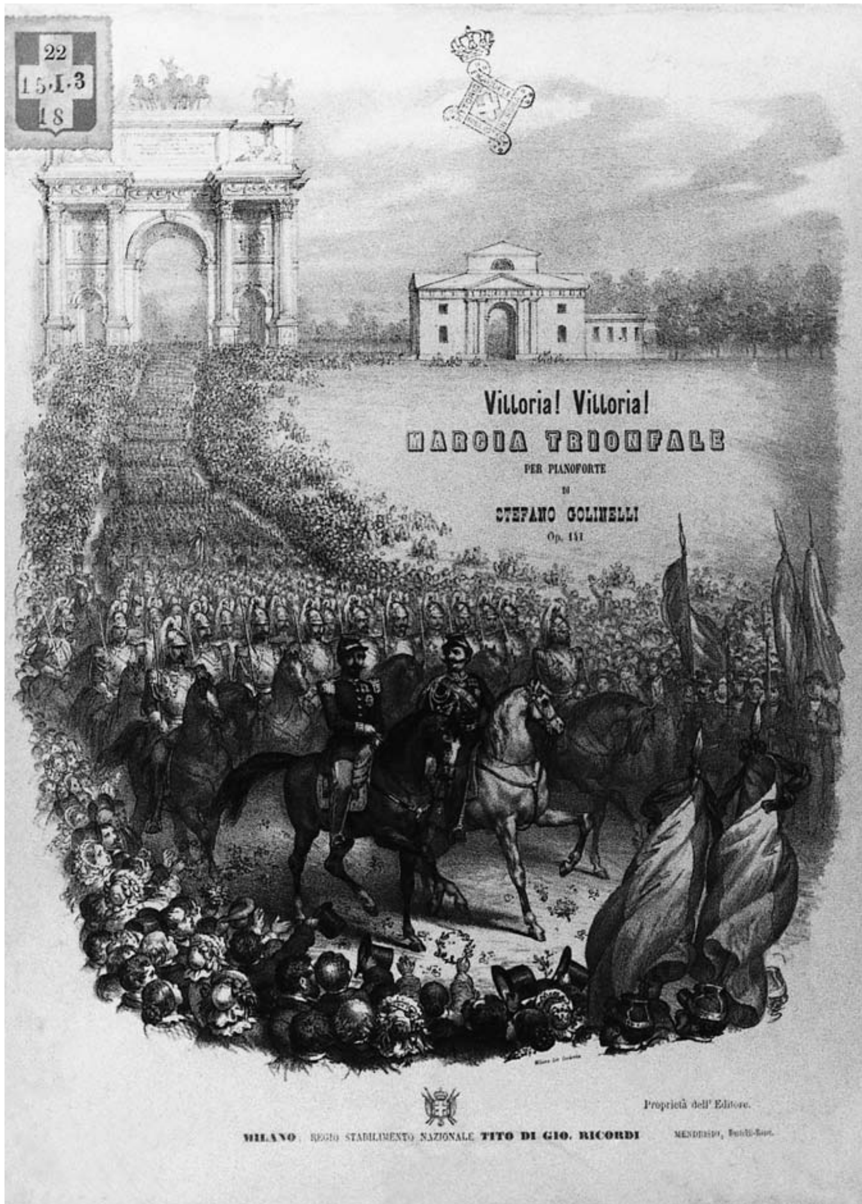
3.24 Camillo Boito, Scuola Carrarese, Padua, 1883. Photograph by L. Borlinetto, 1883
3.25 Camillo Boito, Palazzo delle Debite, Padua, 1873

called for the rehabilitation of the city's former debtors prison. Not only did the key site need a face-lift, but as debt was no longer a criminal offence, the historical memory of the place needed revamping too. In 1872, a general competition was held from which Boito's designs gained favor for their good distribution and facades that harmonized well with the Ragione next door. Boito boosted the volume of the block with a high ground floor portico for shops, typical of Padua's commercial streets, and upper floors with richly articulated walls and windows for private habitation. The formal elements were drawn from Paduan medieval examples including details elaborated from the Palazzo della Ragione. The Palazzo delle Debite assumes a prominent role in the new bourgeois city.

Boito was an authority on a variety of artistic matters. He sat on important juries for public competitions. In the field of architectural restoration he was a definitive voice. After the exploratory events earlier in the century, Boito was the first to formulate a systematic theory of architectural restoration in Italy. The fourth national congress of Italian engineers and architects of 1883 approved Boito's charter, which sought to consolidate threatened structures by replacing key missing features even in new materials, maintain fidelity to the original design when documentation existed, and retain stratifications of evolved buildings even at the expense of stylistic homogeneity. Boito did allow for ideal reconstruction, as in the case of the Arch of Titus or Saint Paul's, for the restoration of monuments of particular cultural import. Boito's influence on the eve of Italian national unification was widespread, especially through his students at the Brera, who were constantly confronted with the idea of a regenerating starting point for a new Italian architecture.

Medieval revivalism offered architects freedom and flexibility from the constraints of the codified norms of classicism. The Gothic Revival provided the fodder for nurturing theories of a social art of aesthetics and ethics, architecture and religion. Each European nation that could claim a role in the Gothic style's evolution developed its own revival and supporting reasoning. In Italy of the

Romantic era, the relationship of the architecture of the present to the historical past was dramatically reconfigured, reaching back to an idealized medieval epoch to define architecture's symbolic role. In Italy, the role of architecture in this crucial period of national resurgence was strongly social and political. The experiments of Romanticism in the arts found full fruition in the service of the new state under King Vittorio Emanuele II.



4.1 "Vittoria! Vittoria!," triumphal march for piano. Cover illustration of musical composition by Stefano Galinelli with Luigi Cagnola, Arco delle Vittorie napoleoniche, renamed Arco della Pace, Milan, 1807–38. Lithograph published by Ricordi, Milan, 1860

Chapter 4

UNIFICATION AND THE NATION'S CAPITALS, 1860–1900

Italy, hitherto an agglomeration of fiefdoms united only in collective imagination, became an unexpected geopolitical reality in 1860. King Vittorio Emanuele II's troops battling against Austrian forces along the Lombard border in the north and Garibaldi's march with his thousand men across Bourbon Sicily in the south coalesced to form the nation. One by one, the populations of the peninsular states declared their adherence to the guiding Savoy monarchy of Piedmont, which offered the nascent state a mature governing system, its only indigenous royal line, and a monumental city, Turin, as a capital.

Main streets and central piazza everywhere across the new country were dedicated to the king and others renamed "del Plebiscito," "dell'Indipendenza," "dell'Unità." Governing seats, monuments, and museums were forged in styles designed to evoke historical memory. National identity was fostered through the manipulation of architecture and the configuration of urban space as didactic instruments in building a collective consciousness of recent events. Camillo Cavour, united Italy's first prime minister, declared Rome as the inevitable locus of national expression of all the peninsula's Italian-speaking peoples, but the city of Rome was at this first stage of unification not yet included. Pope Pius IX, with support from the French, held on to his temporal capital for another ten years. Meanwhile, the Veneto region was finally taken from Austrian control in 1866. The drama of nationhood spilled into the streets, making of the cities themselves the scenographic setting of newly won *Italianità*.

TURIN, THE FIRST CAPITAL

Turin, whose urban infrastructure was already advanced under Savoy rule, adapted well to its role as the first national capital. New residential zones were grafted onto the edges of the orthogonal city plan, erasing the memory of former fortifications. The regular lots were filled with large and profitable blocks like those being designed by Alessandro Antonelli. Spurred by its politically liberal culture and industrial strength, Turin's population grew significantly, necessitating by the 1840s a master plan to discipline the speculative building industry. This was provided by Carlo Promis, Piedmont's inspector of antiquities. Like his friend Pietro Selvatico, Promis found neoclassicism inadequate for the variety of architectural requirements demanded by an increasingly modern culture. With his publication of *Fabbriche moderne*, he offered a set of practical building types to fit the needs of Italy's new patrons: speculators, municipal administrators, industrialists.

Promis's own career was dedicated to the public weal. For the crucial 1851 expansion of Turin, he drafted an urban plan that revisioned the city as a bourgeois capital with broad, tree-lined streets. New legal instruments for expropriation were employed to align development and encourage homogeneity and completeness of the urban fabric. Avoiding a rigid grid, he threaded several earlier developments together by joining them along the axes of the historical city core. "Turin has transformed into a true nineteenth-century city," Promis wrote, "carried through by an equalness of its building stock . . . there are no palaces but neither are there shacks or hovels, but bourgeois dwellings everywhere." In his own words, the plan's strengths were in its "uniformity, alignment, and visible measure in the principal streets and squares." Promis's Turin displays a regularity of imagery entirely without pomp or presumption, in which individual monuments defer to a solid collective urbanity. This restrained urban design solidified a sense of public decorum at the moment of Turin's transition from regional to national capital.

The emphatic role the train station played in Promis's plan, placed as it was on the central Via Nuova axis, encouraged the reconception of the structure in 1861. The engineer Alessandro

PIANTA GEOMETRICA DELLA CITTÀ DI TORINO
sino alla cinta e linea daziaria coi piani regolatori d'ingrandimento
1869

4.2 Carlo Promis, Turin city plan, 1869

4.3 Carlo Promis, Piazza Carlo Felice, Turin, 1848
4.4 Carlo Ceppi and Alessandro Mazzucchetti, Stazione Porta Nuova, Turin, 1861

Mazzucchetti, who designed all the stations along the Turin-Genoa line, collaborated with the architect Carlo Ceppi, who earned his degree under Promis. The new Stazione Porta Nuova terminus consists of two longitudinal buildings differentiated east and west by their complementary functions: ticketing and departure opposite arrival and baggage retrieval, with an impressive vaulted iron train shed between. The architects chose an eclectic combination of styles to, in Ceppi's words, "offer the greatest latitude for combinations and variations." Gothic design for the iron window tracery mingles among the classical stone arcades. The iron construction of the train shed, produced by an English manufacturing firm in Genoa, is expressed through to a transparent facade on the piazza "so that," Ceppi wrote, "the structure and internal distribution might be manifest to the eye of the observer of the external forms." As the new monumental entrance to Turin, the station and piazza are symbols of the capital's industrial and social progress.

Turin's status as the national capital was, however, short-lived. It was challenged in parliamentary debates by the idea of designating a more centrally located capital, one more historically resonant for the entire nation. French interests in maintaining the balance of European powers forced Vittorio Emanuele II into an international agreement not to threaten the pope's lands, so Rome was not an option. Milan was not central, Naples too vulnerable by sea, Venice not yet liberated. The onus fell to Florence, closer to the geographical center of the peninsula, prestigious in its cultural heritage, and sufficiently modernized under Lorraine rule to serve as an interim capital. At the news of Turin's demotion, rioting erupted among the city's real estate investors until the departing parliament promised to recompense the city's economy with government munitions contracts.

FLORENCE, THE INTERIM CAPITAL

No one believed Florence would long be needed as the national capital before Rome was taken. But nonetheless, Florence profited by upgrading its infrastructure. Florence was small but well run under Lorraine rule and Napoleon left no marks upon the city's fabric. During the Romantic era, however, in the spirit of redefining the rapport between present and past through building, a single significant project of urban reconfiguration had been undertaken, a project that exemplifies nineteenth-century Florentine urbanism. This grand project was the widening of the Via dei Calzaioli from the Piazza della Signoria to the Duomo through the heart of the city.

In 1841, Luigi de Cambray Digny, the grand-ducal architect who had been elected *gonfaloniere* (mayor), ordered the municipal *Ornato* board, the Ufficio d'Arte, to study the idea of broadening the street for reasons of improved traffic flow and heightened decorum of the city center. Expropriations shaved back nearly one hundred commercial addresses along three blocks to a uniform 10-meter width. Each property owner was responsible within six months for rebuilding his facade. Many are by Enrico Presenti, and all were reviewed by the Ufficio d'Arte to meet minimum height requirements, have acceptable window patterns, and demonstrate high-quality Renaissance-style decoration. The operation wiped away centuries of medieval stratification, and the upscale buildings quickly outpriced the street's former residents, who were supplanted by the rising bourgeois class. The result, seen in before-and-after views, demonstrates the willful creation of an ideal Renaissance city. Even the name of the street was enriched by the addition of a "u" to Calzaiuoli. Meanwhile, the historical patrimony of Florentine museums, palaces, and churches also underwent systematic restoration to render the city's architectural history a focus of civic pride.

Florence joined the nation by plebiscite in 1860 and dutifully dedicated a Piazza "dell'Indipendenza." More streets were widened and regularized, like the one from the train station to the Duomo, to provide commodious and decorous routes. Areas were lotted out for residential quarters, further clarifying the growing differentiation of classes and urban functions with a commercial center and residential

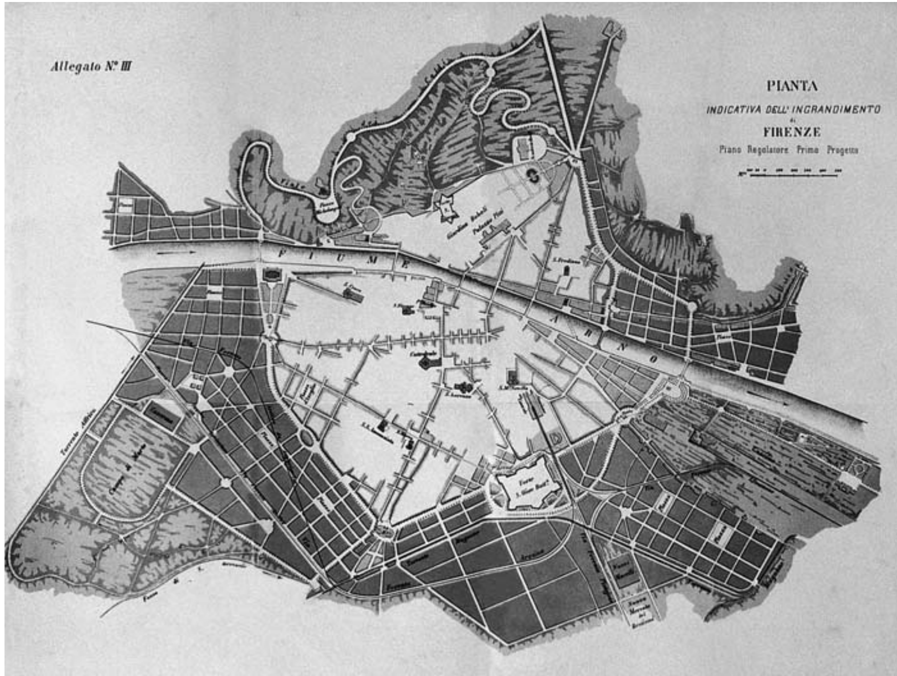
4.5 and 4.6 Luigi de Cambray Digny and Enrico Presenti, Via dei Calzaiuoli widening, Florence, 1841–44. Comparative before and after lithographs by Ballagny da Simoncini

periphery. The planners on all these new projects were local architects, competent professionals descended in the school of Florentine professionals from Pasquale Poccianti. With the declaration of the moving of the capital, the Florentines feared that the stationing of the ten-thousand-person national bureaucracy in the city of only one hundred thousand might compromise its qualities, so Mayor Luigi Guglielmo de Cambray Digny, son of the architect, retained his father's *Ornato* experts to the exclusion of all non-Tuscan designers. In the words of Bettino Ricasoli, a Florentine in the national parliament, they would have hated "to see the city's *Toscanità* inundated by the ocean of *Italianità*."

To meet the deadline for the transfer of the capital, communal palaces and confiscated convents were adapted to the requirements of the arriving government. The Chamber of Deputies sat in the Palazzo Vecchio's Salone dei Cinquecento, the Senate in the Uffizi, the interior ministry in the Palazzo Medici-Riccardi, the defense ministry in the monastery of San Marco, and the royal court in the Palazzo Pitti. More ecclesiastical property, like the cloisters at Santa Croce, were requisitioned by parliamentary legislation. The demand on rental apartments drove prices up, brought about subdivision of large flats in more crowded quarters, and further aggravated the welfare of the lower class. Florentine noblemen, on the other hand, profited on their good names by offering for rent remodeled units in their palaces. Florence needed for the first time a comprehensive plan for its future growth, and an architect was chosen whose background intersected all aspects of the modern Florentine experience.

Giuseppe Poggi, born to a prominent family of professional jurists and son-in-law of Poccianti, garnered the trust of the Florentine aristocracy by renovating their historic palaces. He was successful for neither innovation nor overt creativity but for his impeccable taste, which appealed to patrician conservatives and the rising bourgeoisie that imitated them. Poggi's neo-Renaissance style, never hybrid or incorrect, guaranteed an understated and ideal *Toscanità*.

Poggi was assigned the task of working up Florence's first comprehensive master plan in 1864. Like Promis, Poggi had the unique opportunity to confirm collective notions of decorum and cultural identity for his native city. Florence's now constricted wall



4.7 Giuseppe Poggi, Florence, master plan, 1865. From *Sui lavori per l'ingrandimento di Firenze, 1864–1877*, 1882
4.8 Giuseppe Poggi, Piazza Cesare Beccaria, Florence, 1865–. Drawing by Poggi and Nicola Sanesi

fortifications were demolished and a layout for controlled residential expansion was drawn up. Poggi's plan was approved in 1865, a few months before the scheduled arrival of the government from Turin. The path of the dismantled wall provided spaces for wide avenues, while most of the city gates were retained, isolated in the centers of new piazzas.

Poggi's piazzas were not like Haussmann's Parisian *rond points*, nor was his new circumferential boulevard, the Viale dei Colli, designated for any specific public function, like the Ringstrasse development of Vienna (two examples of which Poggi would have known). At Florence, the historic center remained the sole defining feature of the urban experience. Poggi introduced nothing new, he simply set a stylistic standard. Around the former Porta della Croce, for example, a group of identical concave facades were constructed to define the elliptical perimeter of a piazza.

Poggi's orthodox, classical language set an orderly tone, faultless if impassionate. Avenues were tied into a circuit across suspension bridges over the Arno and onto the hills of the left bank. The utility of the meandering Viale dei Colli was hotly debated, although it proved to be Poggi's most economical and successful intervention. Poggi claimed that the picturesque nature of the street "would be all that a romantic and rambling spirit could imagine," and its first visitors compared its bright and festive naturalness to the music of Rossini. Since the early Renaissance, Florentines had been climbing the hills to admire their city in *vedute*, and now Poggi programmed this experience in a novel contribution to the city's structure, connected with omnibus service from the train station. At its most dramatic moment, the street rises to a panoramic overlook near the church of San Miniato, with the entire city spread out for the eye in one sweeping vista. The self-referential nature of this viewing experience is accentuated by the dedication of the piazza overlook to Florence's revered native son, Michelangelo. A loggia was designed to display casts of his sculptures, as at Canova's shrine. A bronze *David* stands at the center of the piazza, a full-sized version of the souvenir simulacra sold to the tourists in stalls beneath it. As with so many other projects of the period, Poggi's shrine to Michelangelo demonstrated a collective cultural policy to make Florence more demonstrably Florentine.

The renewal of the old marketplace reiterated this idea. The area between the Via dei Calzaiuoli and Palazzo Strozzi around the Mercato Vecchio, once the Jewish ghetto, had been a concern of the Ufficio d'Arte since 1860. Not until the market could be moved to a new structure elsewhere could new planning begin. A commission sent in to study the sixteen city blocks found only misery and squalor. Noting concerns of hygiene and cultural prestige (fears of moral lassitude and political unrest were unspoken), the commission initiated a process it called *risanamento*, or curing, of the center. A dozen proposals for rebuilding the area were displayed in local shop windows, a perfectly suggestive frame for the bourgeois initiative. There was no discussion of restoration of the architecture. Most designs cleared away everything for new constructions and new configurations. In the end, only a handful of structures of artistic interest were saved, some shifted to new locations. In 1889, before the city had made any decisions, an equestrian monument of King Vittorio Emanuele II was placed at the center of the area. The final plan, by Mariano Falcini, called upon lingering memory of an ancient forum somewhere underneath his rectified street grid. The architecture, like that of the Via dei Calzaiuoli, was grand and confident in execution—keyed to the now national tenor of building in Italian cities.

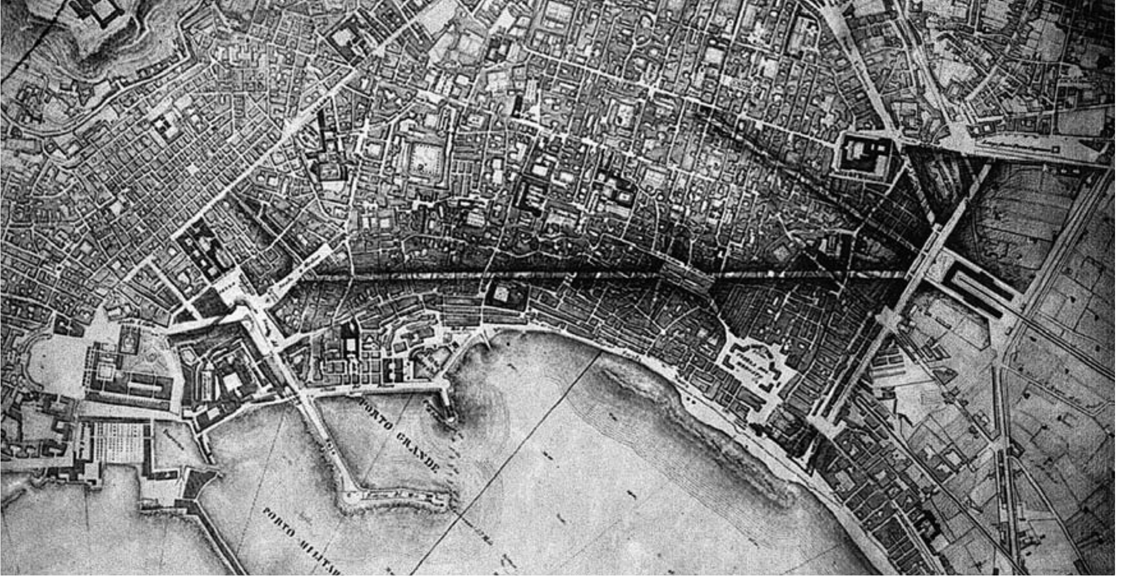
Although the capital was soon transferred elsewhere, the remaking of Florence was nearly complete. Anchored in a cultural prestige it would never lose, Florence was nonetheless denied the economic base the presence of the government offered, and local building contractors went bankrupt in 1878. The bronze of Michelangelo's *David* and the equestrian statue of Emanuele II were symbolic gifts from the state to assure the city's economic rescue.

NAPLES *RISANATA*

National unification brought the promise of economic prosperity to most Italian cities. Naples's urban growth under the last Bourbons was guided by a *Consiglio edilizio*, or planning board, founded in 1839. Each of its six Neapolitan architects was responsible for a zone in the city. Antonio Niccolini planned to bore a traffic tunnel through Naples's steep hills to improve traffic flow to his theater, and Luigi Giura organized the area of the train station. "Spacanapoli," the city center, was left to its superb ancient Greek grid, but the labyrinthine medieval port area provided a daunting challenge to the planners. The wealthy had moved to new residential quarters strung along a serpentine route, the Corso Maria Teresa, along the coastal hills. Designed by Errico Alvino, the Corso, like Poggi's Viale dei Colli, offered a constantly changing panorama of city and bay.

In 1860, the Neapolitans joined united Italy, declaring their adhesion in the Bourbon Foro, which was promptly renamed the Piazza del Plebiscito. Naples was the nation's most populous city, but also its slowest growing, with a subsistence-level economy and a variety of social problems. Naples suffered its declassification from capital of a realm more deeply than any other annexed city. Garibaldi entered Naples in September 1860 and wasted no time formulating a scheme for the ailing city's recovery. Availing himself of the same technicians as the Bourbon council, Garibaldi decreed improvement plans for hygiene and commerce: there would be workers' housing in the hills, industrial expansion on the coast, crosstown arteries to better serve the port, and demolition of insalubrious quarters around the market.

The language of Garibaldi's decree made explicit the moral imperative and the geometrical means of his intervention. A straight line, a *rettifilo*, was to be drawn across the "underbelly" of the city, where over half its population lived in bestial conditions in huge flop houses (*fondaci*) and dark ground floor rooms (*bassi*). Reports to the Turin parliament linked the local hygienic predicament to social pathologies and promoted urban infrastructural instruments to rectify a potentially dangerous hotbed of political unrest.



4.9 Errico Alvino, Il Rettifilo, urban renewal project, Naples, 1868
4.10 Il Rettifilo, Corso Umberto I, Naples. Photograph c. 1896

Projects proposed drastic linear solutions to the contorted situation. Alvino's *rettifilo* of 1868 was drawn from the train station to the symbolic center of the city near the Piazza del Plebiscito, cutting diagonally across the port area. The clarity of Alvino's proposal was typical of a nineteenth-century belief in the efficiency of clear urban solutions to social disorders. Alvino's Haussmannian slice—in Italian a *sventramento*, or gutting—met fierce criticism in Naples as a despotic marshaling of the populace into even more constricted and blighted quarters behind the rifle-straight facades of his grand avenue. Projects like Alvino's, however, floundered in a municipal administration tangled by rival interests and financial instability.

The plight of the abject city became a cause among writers and artists when a cholera epidemic swept the city in 1884. The head of the municipal engineering board, Adolfo Giambarba, secured government funds for an emergency plan through special legislation. The plan concentrated on the port and market areas. It would be the urban equivalent of a swampland reclamation, a *bonifica*, regularizing street levels of the sodden district and gutting the most dense zone with the diagonal slice Alvino planned. The cross streets that branch from the *rettifilo* were aimed at knocking out each of the infamous *fondaci*. Local contractors were so inexperienced on jobs of such magnitude, however, that their unrealistic construction bids were annulled and the city had to turn to a consortium of capitalists from the industrial north, who secured favorable terms for their loans.

The overblown architecture that lines the Via del Rettifilo concedes no thriftiness, however. These fulsome facades display an eclectic variety of mannerist decorations, all in stucco. At the Piazza Nicola Amore, the Rettifilo's midpoint, four bulky speculative apartment buildings by Pier Paolo Quaglia were erected. The highly self-conscious ostentation, a far cry from Alvino's reasoned neo-Renaissance designs, was the consortium's aesthetic sellout to an affluent market that might guarantee a return on its investment. There are no public buildings on the Rettifilo, with the exception of the rehabilitated Naples University building. In any other city, a major public building—a post office, museum, church, or city hall—would dominate. Instead, sixty-two churches and chapels were destroyed in

the *sventramento* project, but even Benedetto Croce, philosopher and founder of Naples' preservation movement, was forced to admit:

> On these big and pompous buildings we have all said and will continue to say the worst from the artistic point of view. But, truly, who looks on them with eyes still offended by the former filth of dying Naples cannot hold to too subtle and refined an aesthetic taste. In these palazzi one had to recognize the execution machinery of a justice too long awaited.

In the end, the government-sponsored *risanamento* of Naples was manipulated into an instrument of private capitalist gain that only benefited a small portion of the citizens it was originally intended to help. Compounding problems, the glutted market of upscale apartments ate away at any profits, and further depressed the local economy. Indeed, the microeconomy of the back alley continues to characterize the Neapolitan experience. Programs of modern *risanamento* encouraged by the national government proved in the end to be both paternalistic and exploitative. Adding insult to injury, these failed interventions also allowed for the rise of systems of organized crime and corruption that still affect the political and commercial life of the city.

MILAN, THE INDUSTRIAL CAPITAL

In Milan, the idea of creating a space in front of the cathedral, a Piazza del Duomo, is as old as the Duomo itself. As it was, an irregular opening in the residential fabric extended obliquely from the cathedral's facade. Napoleon had charged Carlo Amati with the completion of the facade and the architect proposed surrounding the Gothic cathedral with a vast piazza of classical columns. Numerous projects followed. When, after the war for independence, the Milanese chose to place an equestrian statue of their newest liberator, King Vittorio Emanuele II, they were assured of a speedy realization

4.11 Giuseppe Mengoni, Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, Milan, 1863–75

of the long-awaited project by force of a royal decree and a lottery to raise funds. There were no imperatives for a *risanamento* here, although the pretext of hygiene was expressed. In 1860, a preliminary design competition was held, called a *gara d'idee*, or collective brainstorming, in which 160 ideas were sent in and exhibited at the Brera. From these, the guiding committee formulated their criteria for a proper competition: a rectangular symmetrical piazza lined with porticoes, the gutting of the blocks to the north, the tracing of a new street to form a direct connection between the Duomo and La Scala, and the covering of that street. Eighteen proposals were received, including one from Camillo Boito, but the competition was won by a young architect from Bologna, Giuseppe Mengoni.

Mengoni, who studied scenography at the Bologna academy and traveled extensively across Europe, claimed to be an autodidact and fashioned himself as a Romantic genius. He was energetic, impulsive, fanatic about opera, virile, and mercurial. His Piazza del Duomo is a vast rectangular area, 120 meters across. The western area opposite the cathedral was to have been filled with a large block for city council chambers and administrative offices, the Palazzo dell'Indipendenza. The inventive style of the surrounding porticoes is typical of Mengoni and resists easy classification. In any case, his use of polychromatic stone smartly sets off the cathedral's whiteness.

Mengoni's masterpiece and the highlight of the Piazza del Duomo complex is the covered street, the Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II. Nearly 200 meters long, stretching from the Duomo to the Piazza della Scala under a transparent vault 30 meters high, the Galleria remains the largest such covered passage in all Europe. Mengoni, unlike Antonelli, was not a structural exhibitionist. The technology used here was common by the 1860s; the prefabricated iron elements were imported from the Parisian firm of Henry Joret. Behind the stucco facades of the ground floor commercial spaces, slim iron support columns can be found. The prodigious dome that rises from the octagonal intersection at the cross axis was a novelty in the composition of the galleria building type and is one of its most appealing aspects.

The Galleria was an immediate commercial success, thanks largely to its location between the theater and the cathedral and the

4.12 Emmanuele Rocco and Francesco Paolo Boubée, Galleria Umberto I, Naples, 1885–92

channeling of pedestrian traffic flow through the complex. License requests for eight hotels, five caffès, forty-two shops, a concert hall, public baths, and a pharmacy were received. The end result was a fluid space of encounter for the middle class, an augmentation of caffè society, a commercialization of theater life, and a secularization of the cathedral's neighborhood.

Mengoni also designed the new markets for Florence at San Lorenzo in 1874. The French-style, iron-and-glass-covered market hall is wrapped in a shell of gray rusticated stone, appropriately Florentine in style. Models of Mengoni's on-going projects were proudly displayed at the Vienna world's fair of 1873 and many Italian architects emulated his work. In 1855, a galleria was built directly across from the Teatro San Carlo in Naples by Emanuele Rocco and Francesco Paolo Boubée. The Galleria Umberto I closely followed Mengoni's model: it formed a direct pedestrian connection to a popular cultural institution (the opera house) and channeled traffic from an important city center (the Piazza del Plebiscito). Here too was an exuberant display of iron and glass technology capped by a lofty dome.

Although the two gallerias were speculative capitalist instruments, their dedications to royalty charged them with collective imagination. The general public was involved through lottery subscription, and its practical concerns and tastes were anticipated and served. Together, they managed to create a thoroughly cogent representation of contemporary Italian society (unlike Antonelli's folly in Turin). If Piranesi accused the patronage system of his day of lagging behind the genius of Italy's architects, by the mid-nineteenth century, the tables had turned: Mengoni and his followers were of the architects prepared to respond to the material and economic reality of Italian unity.

Milan's building industry flourished in the absence of any enforceable regulatory measures (or figures prepared to enforce them). This came to an end when developers' sights fell on the Piazza d'Armi, the former Foro Bonaparte, and the adjacent Castello Sforzesco. This rapaciousness spurred and was then thwarted by national preservation legislation. The area was saved as a public park, and the castle underwent an extensive restoration project by Luca Beltrami.

Further development was pushed out of the city core, as specified by an 1885 master plan drawn up by municipal engineer Cesare Beruto. Giovanni Battista Pirelli, an engineer who imagined an electric mass transportation system for the growing city, consulted on the project. The swath of Milan's peripheral expansion was rationalized in a concentric pattern expanding in all directions like the growth rings of a tree. Radial routes connected the periphery to the center. A *rettifilo*, dedicated to Dante, was lined with the opulent capitalist palaces of commercial culture.

Milan distinguished itself as a leading city of the new nation by its industrial strength. In 1881, it hosted the first national industrial exhibition, held in the Piazza d'Armi, which featured the Pirelli tire company (it was founded in 1872). A general electric company was created in 1883, followed by the Italian national commercial bank and the Breda metalworks. The opening of the San Gottardo tunnel in 1882 made Milan the most important Italian rail link to north-central Europe. But industry did not present a particularly attractive face, and despite Mengoni's rare success at giving it one, most cities in Italy looked to their cathedral facades to establish their identities, and a surprising number were still incomplete.

CATHEDRAL FACADES AND TOWN HALLS

After five hundred years, the cathedral of Florence, Santa Maria del Fiore, still had no facade. In the early fourteenth century, Arnolfo da Cambio, the Duomo's original architect, had evidently designed one encrusted with medieval statuary, but by the time Filippo Brunelleschi finished the great dome, tastes had changed. Arnolfo's incomplete work was dismantled and generations of aspirant designers fashioned wooden models to take its place. None proved fully satisfactory, and eventually, in 1688, the blank 65-meter-high surface was stuccoed over and painted up with Corinthian pilasters that faded only too slowly for the Florentines irked by its incongruity. The desire to complete the facade properly stimulated the first serious publications on Tuscan medieval architecture.

4.13 Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence. Photograph c. 1865

Giovanni Battista Silvestri, a young Sienese student who had assisted on such publications, pondered Arnolfo's lost composition and drew up a Gothic Revival design in 1822. Exuberant in detail, Silvestri's unbuilt proposal was the first to derive its form from the original pointed-arch nave construction behind it, and in doing so set a trend.

Florence's Santa Croce also lacked a facade, and in 1856 a design by Niccolò Matas was chosen to rectify this situation. Its three flat, triangular gables, or cuspids, were modeled on fourteenth-century examples from Orvieto and Siena. Gaetano Baccani constructed a new campanile in 1847 that fits easily in the historical skyline.

The Duomo, however, proved, a more difficult task. The physical irregularities of wall structure underneath the stucco and a tantalizing variety of visual documents suggested, but did not reveal, the intentions of the original builder. Only in 1858 did civic and ecclesiastical powers, Tuscan Grand Duke Ferdinando and Archbishop Giovacchino Limberti, join forces in a fund-rasing campaign for the job. The archbishop then arranged for a competition program to be drawn up by Baccani, head architect of the cathedral building commission, with the assistance of Emilio de Fabris, the grand duke's architecture advisor.

The events of national unification reinforced their efforts and under royal Savoy patronage a symbolic cornerstone was laid on 22 April 1860. Completion of this monument from the heyday of the city-state in the new era of national unity would provide a potent symbol for the new regime. Brunelleschi's cupola had always been a symbol of particular pride in Tuscany, and now the political shadow of the Duomo would be extended across all Italy. "To the former municipal aspirations, we now join the national idea," declared the initiative's spokesmen, "this sacred monument will represent two memorable epochs of our history: Italy of the communes and Italy of national unity."

Forty-two design proposals were submitted to the competition, which was open to all Europeans, and these were then exhibited to the public without the names or origins of their authors in 1863. A jury reflecting the national import of the project was assembled, including Boito from Milan (at twenty-seven, the youngest juror), Alvino from Naples, and Antonelli from Turin. (The pope declined

to send a representative from Rome.) With Baccani as president, the jury found none of the entries satisfactory. Many projects lifted design ideas from other roughly comparable cathedrals, some had exotic northern European motifs, some had classical touches with a bewildering array of crowning elements. Only three, noncommittal prize awards were distributed, one each to Carlo Ceppi (designer of the Turin train station), Mariano Falcini (the Florentine), and Vilhelm Valdemar Petersen (a Dane).

The competition was therefore reopened in a second invitational round of ten "celebrated architects" that included six of the seven former jury members. When Ceppi refused to participate, de Fabris was invited. With so many jurors now contestants, a new panel needed to be formed, though the idea of their jurying their own projects did occur to them. The aged Pietro Selvatico was put in charge, but everyone he invited to the jury declined: Poggi, Promis, Mengoni, Resasco, and, setting sights higher, Viollet-le-Duc. He had to settle for a motley crew and at the last moment his eyesight failed him and Massimo d'Azeglio, the Florentine political representative in the national government, was pressured into presiding over the jury.

The public exhibition of the second competition entries opened in 1864. Antonelli proposed a characteristically bold articulation of the interior structure, with a gigantic vaulted portico extending off the facade. Petersen altered earlier peaked gables for a flat top. The exhibition became the locus of a litigious free-for-all of opinionated Florentines—like Guelfs versus Ghibellines, Alvino complained. Antonelli's project was dismissed with a sure epithet: "American." It was not easy for the jury to operate with any serenity, but they proceeded, oblivious to guiding principles that could have been gleaned from the previouis competition experience. After a few weeks' discussion, in January 1865, they chose de Fabris's design. According to the architect, its three tall gables were a characteristic feature of fourteenth-century churches, and their triangular planes consonant with the vault structures of the interior.

No one was convinced, least of all d'Azeglio, the jury president. Polemical bile continued to spill, while the lack of a conclusion jeopardized Florence's reputation on the eve of the transfer of the government. Finally, Viollet-le-Duc was secured as an expert

4.14 Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence, facade mock-up trials. Doctored photograph, 6 December 1883

consultant, and it was hoped his opinion would be definitive. Treading his characteristically subtle line between archeology and invention, the famous French theorist stated that they needed to imagine what *new* thing Arnolfo would have created. Everyone went back to the drawing boards for a third, exasperating competition. Selvatico, who had undergone successful cataract surgery, returned in person to guarantee an outcome. Viollet-le-Duc declined the invitation to join the official jury, but they managed to secure the involvement of the German architectural theorist Gottfried Semper. The same indefatigable architects were back: Petersen, Falcini, Mattas, Baccani, Alvino, Antonelli, Boito, and de Fabris. After the briefest public exhibition of their projects in 1867, the jury chose de Fabris again by the slightest of margins. Suspect irregularities, a three-month delay in the publication of the jury deliberations, and a premature notification to de Fabris that he had won, caused a shakedown and further delay.

Emilio de Fabris had studied off and on with Baccani in the 1820s, and traveled on scholarship between Rome and Venice, where he met Selvatico. Evidently, they maintained a long and fruitful friendship. When Baccani invited him to participate in the second competition, de Fabris's career was jump-started with an academic post and the commission to add new rooms at the Accademia to house Michelangelo's *David* (moved there in 1883 for safekeeping, and thereby leaving another simulacrum outside in the Piazza della Signoria). Selvatico had been behind de Fabris all along, finding him a malleable man—not too creative, not too principled—perfectly suited for the cathedral's messy collective design process. De Fabris's designs were successful for his uncanny knack at synthesizing so many propositions into one or two ideal images of Santa Maria del Fiore.

Four piers articulate the three portals of the facade, the central rising to an elaborate tabernacle with a statue of the Madonna and a horizontal range of statue niches. Above the corbelled balustrade that belts the entire church, gables of tall equilateral triangles with mosaic decorations and delicate turrets were to rise like those of Matas's Santa Croce facade. The patterns of green, white, and pink marble were derived from the pre-existing exteriors and intensified with more sculptural figures and highly detailed carving. An enormous

presentation drawing was made to reinvigorate public subscription, but it had the adverse effect of reigniting public debate. Aversion to the crowning gables grew so intense that the works were stopped. This would not have been the first time the cathedral's builders balked before public opinion. Michelangelo's comment that the loggia around the base of Brunelleschi's cupola looked like a cricket's cage was enough to halt that project altogether. De Fabris compromised by working up a flatter "basilican" roofline. Once construction reached the balustrade, they put up plaster mock-ups of both alternatives to decide which of the different hats they preferred, as the architect blithely put it. De Fabris did not live to hear the public response, but would have been happy in either case. Luigi del Moro, specially trained by de Fabris, completed the facade in 1887 introducing still more changes.

The powerful facade is thickly laden with figures and decorations and has a boldness that recalls Viollet-le-Duc's incitement. It also conforms remarkably well to eyewitness accounts of Arnolfo's original facade, "all of cut stone and sculpted figures." The iconographical program of 138 figures included illustrious men (Arnolfo, Brunelleschi, Giotto, Dante, Raphael, Michelangelo, Galileo), and emblems of the founders and modern promoters of the Duomo itself (King Vittorio Emanuele II, Grand Duke Ferdinando, and eventually Pope Pius IX as well), and private donors down to the latest Torlonias.

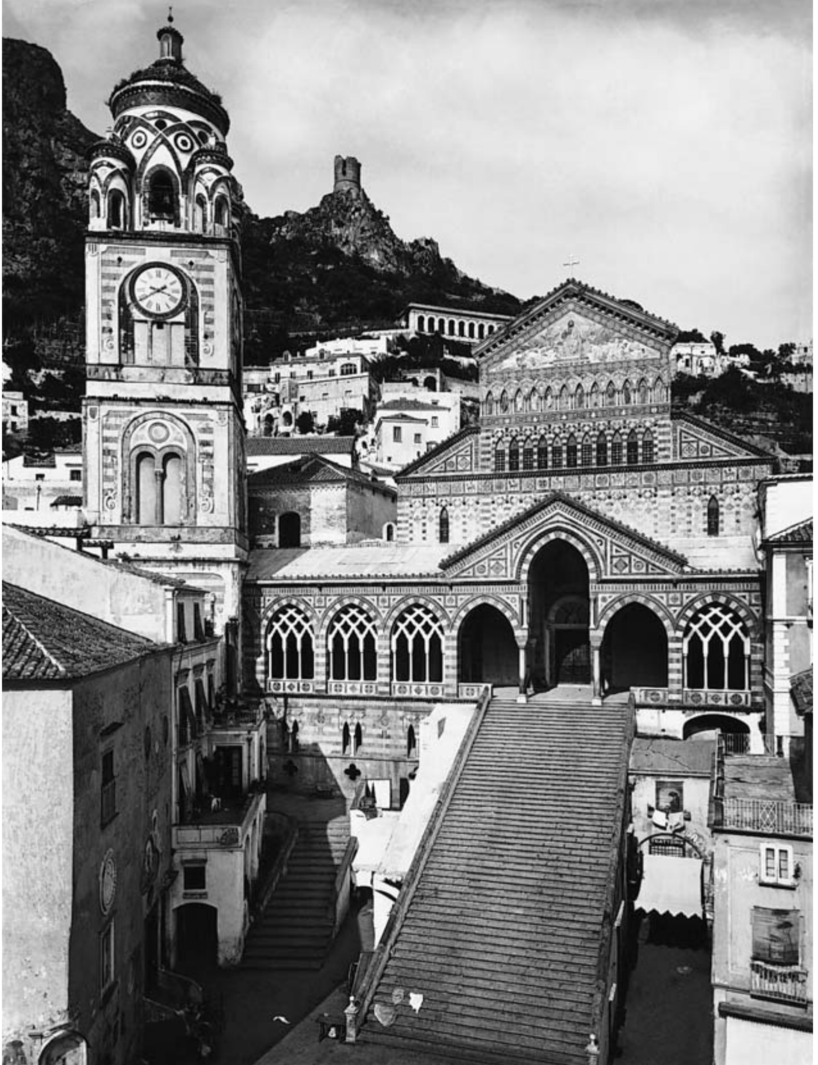
The official unveiling was on 12 May 1887, and came with hyperbolic acclaim—"Our art is returned to the glories of the golden age." But Boito bitingly denounced the work and contemporary architecture in general as "a grab bag of many rich and of many impoverished minds." Searing criticism has never abated, culminating in today's snobbish Florentine conviction that if American tourists like it, it must be worthless. The jury was never very clear about what it wanted, leaving the work open to the vagaries of wavering public opinion. The cathedral is a preeminent public building, but the public, although many times evoked and appealed to, did not have a defined role in the decision-making process. The outcome of the crowning-element alternative was decided by a commission, not by plebiscite. The eminently public

4.15 Emilio de Fabris, Santa Maria del Fiore facade, Florence, 1870–86

nature of the Florentine Duomo facade design venture, compounded by its preeminent historical significance for the city and the nation, had set contemporary Italian architecture to its greatest challenge yet in establishing patterns of public architectural symbols.

The completion of unadorned cathedral facades became a priority for all Italian cities as each sought to clarify its identity within the mosaic of Italian national culture. Standing as the benchmarks of native authenticity were the facades at Orvieto, which had been restored at the beginning of the century by Valadier, and Siena, which was not quite as authentic as may be supposed. In 1834 a committee for the conservation of Sienese monuments had undertaken long-needed repairs. Weathered elements were taken down and substituted with newly carved ones by Alessandro Manetti. Sometimes they were, according to Manetti, "improved." The gradual process of substitution and adjustment was intended to return the facade by degrees to its original splendor. In 1869, a museum was established around the corner to house all the original elements stripped from the entirely rebuilt facade. In fact, much of Siena had undergone a similar process of material substitution and image clarification. All the structures around the Campo had been restored, enlarged, or rebuilt in medieval styles that would recall the civic virtues of the once great Sienese republic.

In 1876, Errico Alvino designed a facade for the Neapolitan Duomo, making the stock references to Siena and Orvieto. The collapse of the cathedral facade at Amalfi, on Christmas eve 1861, presented that city with an opportunity to recapture some of its former glory. At the time, scholarly study of Amalfi's history, its *storia patria*, was being written in broad terms of grandeur and decline that emphasized the city's architecture. The eleventh-century church had been redecorated in the baroque era, and when it came down no one, at first, bemoaned its loss, and it was announced that it was "the public and unanimous will to reproduce the old and elegant byzantine style of this, one of the most respected churches of this southern province." So reconstructed, it would remind "the erudite viewer of the long ago days of the rich and powerful Republic of Amalfi when the arts, industry and commerce were in eminent splendor." Alvino was hired for the design; the city council

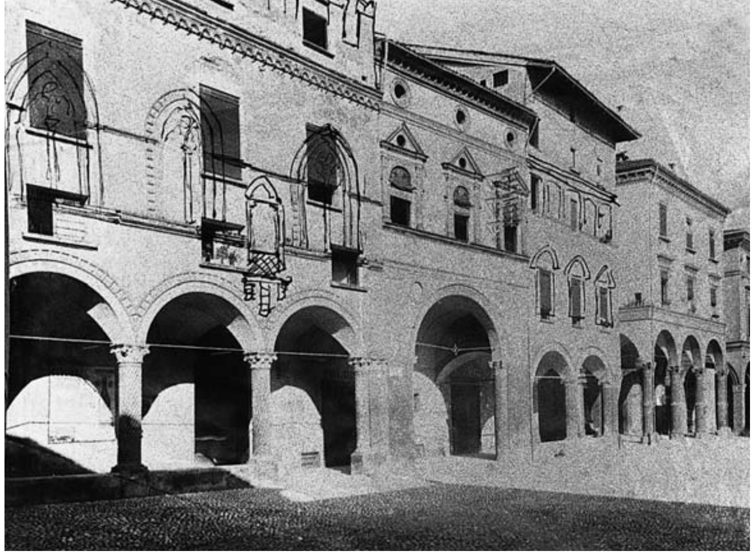


4.16 Errico Alvino, Duomo facade, Amalfi, 1871–91

particularly liked the way he "divined" an entirely new and original image from the former elements. His drawings, ready in 1871, were displayed to drum up subscriptions in the parish. The work lagged after Alvino's death, however, and the new facade was not inaugurated until 1891. Its pointed arches, busy polychrome incrustation, and neo-Byzantine mosaics have no real precedent in the region and constituted a new Amalfitano imagery.

Among the many Italian cities busy fabricating their identities, Bologna stands out. The city of Antolini's exile and Mengoni's humble origins remained a sad, squalid place until it joined Italy by plebiscite in 1860. By the 1880s, the population of Bologna had regained its medieval-era levels and a master plan was in order. The ensuing design called for the dismantling of fortification walls, wrapping residential areas around the city for expansion, and drawing new arteries into the city center. The Via dell'Indipendenza, a rod-straight avenue lined with continuous porticoes, would bring traffic into the center from a new train station. There, markets were cleared and civic buildings isolated. In 1886, a competition was held to develop a facade for San Petronio, Bologna's primary church. The results were so problematic that it remains a cliff of mute bricks to this day.

Meanwhile, Alfonso Rubbiani began restoring the medieval buildings in Bologna's historic center. Medieval monuments left incomplete were invitations to Rubbiani, "a dynamic inheritance" with which he could reconstitute a distinct historical memory for Bologna. He saw medieval works as "ideas left to posterity to develop further"; "just a few remains," he said, "are enough to provoke a hundred ideas." He founded the Comitato per Bologna Storica e Artistica and an artisan's cooperative, Aemelia Ars, modeled on William Morris's utopian Arts and Crafts Movement, and through these two organs set about restoring the city's most emblematic historic buildings, in particular those around Piazza Maggiore. Between 1905 and 1912, he removed additions, realigned bays, regularized window openings, and reworked decorative schemes and exterior details, adding crenelations everywhere. Rubbiani relied on photographs, many taken for him by Pietro Poppi, upon which he drafted freehand his projected restitutions. His detractors complained of his intuitive "divinations"—using the same term as the Amalfitani,



4.17 Alfonso Rubbiani, Via del Santo Stefano houses restoration project, Bologna, 1904. Ink drawing on a photograph by Pietro Poppi
4.18 Francesco Azzurri, Palazzo Pubblico, San Marino, 1884–94

but as an epithet—and for supplanting historical vision with an arbitrary Romantic scenography. Undeterred, Rubbiani constructed a mythic city stage on which the people of Bologna could reinvent themselves.

Every Italian city council sought to manifest its contribution to national culture. Many restored their medieval architecture to recall the spirit of the medieval communes. There may not be a single medieval *palazzo comunale*, or city hall, that was not treated to a thoroughgoing restoration, from Belluno's (in 1835, under Selvatico's influence) to Treviso's (by Boito in 1872). Venice's Palazzo Ducale, serving as its municipal seat, was restored in 1876. No example puts this cultural trend into sharper focus than the experience of the independent state of San Marino. With the nation of Italy rising all around it, the minuscule republic, self-governing for as long as anyone could remember, was a living relic of the much idolized distant past. In "restoring" its Palazzo Pubblico, the republican authorities, guided by Antonio Tonnini, embarked upon a self-conscious program of cultural construction beginning with the refashioning of their featureless city hall. Tonnini, an amateur painter, directed his chosen architect, Francesco Azzurri, to supply only rough sketches that looked very much like Verdi's opera sets. Local craftsmen were given considerable latitude to interpret these images in a kind of cooperative design process. The original building was eventually entirely dismantled in 1884 and every single nondescript stone was replaced with a new, medievalized one. Though people called it a "restoration," the reality was that it was a wholly concocted invention, a simulacrum of a medieval governing seat that never was. By the 1940s, the entire city center had been remedievalized according to the stylistic lead established by the Palazzo Pubblico. Today, the proud citizens of San Marino think it has been like this for as long as anyone can remember.

PALERMO AND NATIONAL UNIFICATION

In contrast to many other Italian cities, Palermo enjoyed direct connections to European culture and trade, thanks to its coastal position, along with a well-developed entrepreneurial class. Its 1848 revolutionary government was one of the few to leave an indelible mark upon its city during that brief republican interlude—the broad "Strada della Libertà," which extended beyond the city walls. (The restored Bourbons renamed the street.) When Garibaldi entered the city in May 1860, he established a commission to demolish fortification walls, plan traffic arteries, and build markets and workers' housing. Architect Giovanni Battista Filippo Basile was nominated as the head of the new municipal development board in 1863; he had followed Garibaldi across Sicily, studying the island's ancient architecture along the way. For King Vittorio Emanuele II's entry into Palermo, he designed a triumphal arch, a Trajanic column, and a patriotic altar. Basile helped develop a master plan for Palermo with a *rettifilo*, Via Roma, through the lower port area, but its implementation was delayed by corrupt city administrators with vested interests in an unregulated real estate boom.

What Palermo lacked was prominent public buildings. As if to fend off an inevitable provincialism, given its peripheral location within the new nation, the Palermo city council decided to erect the country's largest theater, the Teatro Massimo Vittorio Emanuele II. An international design competition was convened. Charles Garnier and Karl Friedrich Schinkel were invited to serve on the jury, but declined. In the end, the city fathers cajoled Gottfried Semper, who built the acclaimed Dresden Theater, Mariano Falcini of Florence, and local engineer Saverio Cavallari to serve on the three-person panel. Of the thirty-five entries, they chose one by Basile: "encouraging proof of an incredibly robust renewal of the arts," according to Semper. Basile synthesized the century's cumulative design experience with a grand columnar exterior that brings to mind Sicily's ancient temples. The ample distribution and structural articulation of its spaces confirm a diligent study of Garnier and Semper. Iron was used in the construction of the central dome. The theater's stark classical styling had, for the architect, declaredly

4.19 Giovanni Battista Filippo Basile, Teatro Massimo, Palermo, 1866–97

political overtones, its "eminently Italic" elements "appropriate in this epoch of Italian renewal." The theater was slow in construction and was finished after the architect's death in 1897.

On the same street, but at the other end of the cultural spectrum, a popular *Politeama*, or multifunctional playhouse, was built and dedicated, appropriately, to Garibaldi. Giuseppe Damiani Almeyda, engineer in the city administration, combined references to the Colosseum with a circus-like polychromy. He also used iron extensively throughout the structure.

THE LAST OF PAPAL ROME

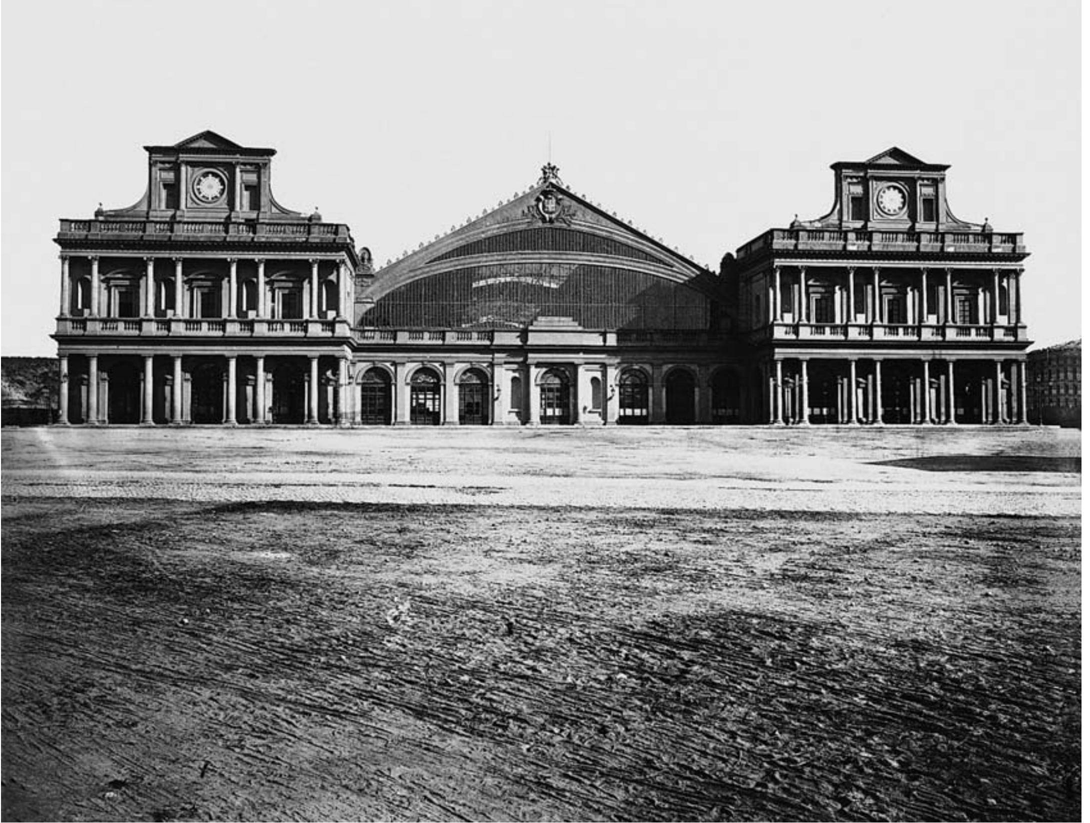
Rome was left out of the first invigorating decade of Italian national unity. The Church was stripped of its territories, leaving Rome and its immediate environs as the dwindling base of papal temporal power. Giovanni Maria Mastai Ferretti, who had been elected pope in 1846, chose the name Pius IX in memory of his predecessors who too had struggled with reformation and revolution. Some hoped that he might lead the nation instead of a king, but this idea was dashed in the virulent anticlericalism of the 1848 republican revolt in Rome and Pius's exile to Gaeta. Once reinstated, he turned reactionary and consolidated his supranational Christian consensus with an increase of canonizations, ecclesiastical councils, and pilgrimage jubilees. Correspondingly, Pius erected monuments, restored churches, and made improvements to Rome's public services. The proclamation of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary was commemorated by the erection of a column in Piazza di Spagna designed by Luigi Poletti in 1856. The Porta San Pancrazio on the Janiculum Hill was restored (it had been damaged during the French siege of Republican Rome). The Porta Pia, left unfinished by Michelangelo, was completed by Virginio Vespignani with an exterior facade modeled after the Arch of Titus. Vespignani, who finished San Paolo fuori le mura, was involved in many of Pius IX's design programs. He restored many churches in Rome to an image of supposed original purity to recall a strength of the earliest Christian community.

A Commissione di Belle Arti of lay city administrators funded and supervised all restoration work in consultation with an ecclesiastical Commissione Pontificia di Archeologia Sacra. Funds that came directly from the pope and his commissioners went to projects of strategic evangelical purpose. Vespignani was commissioned in 1862 to restore San Lorenzo fuori le mura, a complex of two basilicas joined and reoriented in the thirteenth century. The recovery of its Constantinian levels, including the original narthex, was facilitated by the stripping away of all later accretions. Renaissance ceilings and baroque tombs were removed, and the interior decorations, as at San Paolo, were entirely renovated. San Lorenzo was not restored to an authentic original state but transformed into an ideal image of the venerated place. Pius was buried there, fashioning himself the last martyr alongside Lawrence, one of Rome's first, in a tomb brilliantly decorated by the Venetian mosaicist and architect Raffaele Cattaneo.

Interest in the Lateran's restoration was renewed at this time, but now with the idea to faithfully preserve what Constantinian elements still remained. Andrea Busiri-Vici's plan to enlarge the presbytery by moving the apse back with the help of steam engines received the approval of the Commissione di Archeologia Sacra in 1877. But upon Pius's death, Busiri-Vici lost control of the project to Vespignani, who opted instead to demolish and entirely rebuild the apse in his idealizing style.

Pius's urban works were designed to project a sense of well-being. Iron suspension bridges were built over the Tiber; one to the Vatican was met at the Piazza Pia with a pair of matching buildings that rehearsed the symmetrical effect of the Piazza del Popolo entry. Pius built the grand Manifattura dei Tabacchi near the hospice of San Michele in Trastevere, in which he consolidated and monopolized the city's cigarette production. The architect for the new factory, Antonio Sarti, a student of Raffael Stern, designed in a grand classical style that reminded contemporaries of Vanvitelli's Caserta. They called it the *Reggia del Fumo*. Andrea Busiri-Vici organized the piazza in front, Piazza Mastai, bordered with quarter-round workers' housing.

The pope's charitable works were designed with enough pomp to fend off criticisms, but the reality was that he had built just as many barracks as seminaries, as many prisons as hospitals. In 1862, his



4.20 Salvatore Bianchi, Stazione Termini, Rome, 1866–74

minister of war, Frédéric de Mérode, whose family back in Brussels were major real estate developers, installed the papal armed forces on the Esquiline Hill, where the ancient emporers had housed the Praetorian Guard. De Mérode also purchased tracts on the Esquiline slopes, where he laid out a simple grid of streets in 1866. The development of his "Via Nuova" extrapolated geometry from the Renaissance streets in the vicinity, connecting the Via Sistina to the Baths of Diocletian.

De Mérode's development also helped to link Rome's first train station to the city. Pius's predecessor had thought the railroad locomotive the work of the devil, but after 1846 the papal states were laced with lines to Naples, to Civitavecchia, and to Ancona—some over viaduct bridges made with the latest steel technology. The lines were brought together in one station on the Esquiline plateau, alongside the Baths or "Terme" of Diocletian, hence "Stazione Termini." Architect Salvatore Bianchi, created two large masonry blocks (one for departures, one for arrivals) with a broad iron shed in between. Archeological remains uncovered at the site were preserved. One of the city's largest covered spaces, the long nave of iron and glass was big enough—and the architecture grand enough—for Pius to joke during construction that it could serve all of united Italy. Then, on 9 September 1870, freshly reinvigorated by the recent Vatican council on papal infallibility, Pius IX came to the train station to inaugurate a fountain. It would be his last public appearance in the city.

ROME, THE CAPITAL OF UNITED ITALY

Just a few days later, on 20 September, Rome joined the Italian nation as troops forced a breach in the walls at Porta Pia and the *Risorgimento* burst in. The event was restaged the next day for photographers. The march to Rome completed the unification of the peninsula and this event, like the architectural projects that followed, fulfilled a task of national image-making. The rowdy damage inflicted on Pius's gate presaged the treatment of the city of Rome itself,

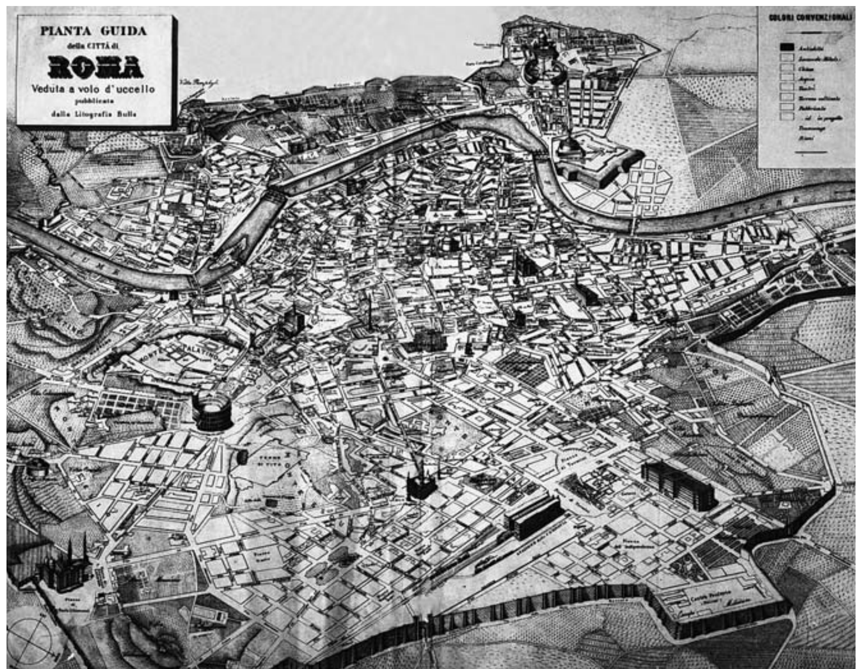
4.21 The Breach of the Porta Pia, Rome. Restaged by the photographer D'Alessandri, 21 September 1870

which was to be boisterously reconfigured as the nation's capital. As the *Risorgimento* was a political process based upon the evocation of the past glories of Italian culture, so Rome would be called upon to concretize in architectural and urban configurations the collective memory of the nation. As Massimo d'Azeglio had said when unification was first forged, "We have created Italy, we must now create Italians."

La Terza Roma is the political slogan that expressed the taking of the city of Rome from papal temporal control, as the popes had done from the pagans, and designating it the capital of the modern secular government, a third great civilization. To its latest claimants, Rome appeared untouched by modernity, still laden with the symbols of the Church and its hierarchies. Its architectural forms and urban spaces and the itineraries that lead through them demanded reformation. The topography of Rome became the ground for strategic political symbolism, with the country's representatives proudly establishing their governmental seat, erecting buildings for their administration, and monuments to celebrate their accomplishments, all the while fostering a real-estate expansion of unprecedented force.

Rome's new political leadership used the entire city to legitimize its authority, as seen in the many prints that placed King Vittorio Emanuele II in command of all Rome's architectural patrimony. With its traditions of civil government from its imperial days and universal spirituality from its Christian tradition, Rome provided an ideal foundation for a national capital. The functional, urbanistic, and architectural transformations of the city, however, were constantly measured against its gloried past. Francesco Crispi, a leftist minority leader, spelled out this problem:

> Our work is still incomplete until we have proven to foreigners . . . that we are no lesser than our forefathers. . . . Whoever enters the great city finds the synthesis of two great ages, one more marvelous than the other. The monuments that celebrate these ages are the pride of the world, they are for the Italians a sharp reminder of their duties. We also need to establish Rome and to erect our monuments to civilization so that our descendants might be able to say that we were great like our forefathers.



4.22 "Roma Capitale d'Italia, Memoria dell'entrata dell'esercito italiano a Roma," 1870. Engraving by Alessandro Moschetti
4.23 "Pianta Guida della Città di Roma, Veduta a volo d'uccello," Rome, 1884

Rome became the capital of Italy under a regime characterized by an acute historical consciousness.

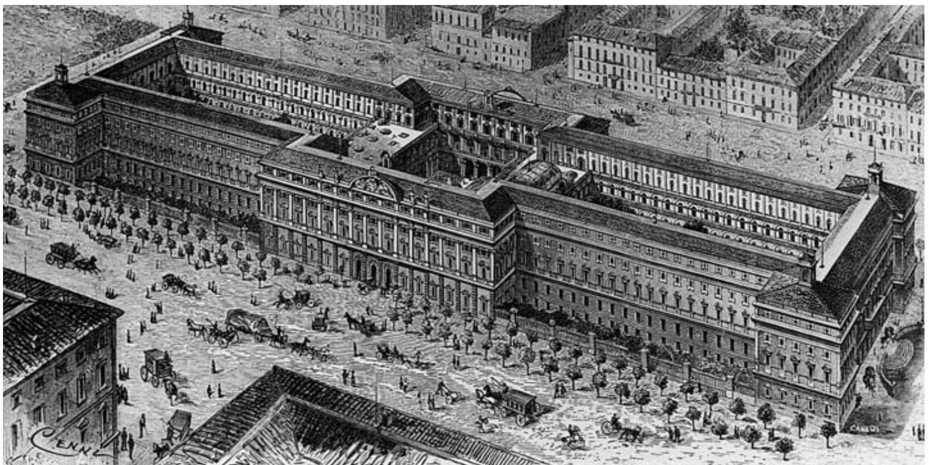
The installation of the Italian government in Rome had an indelible effect upon the city. Buildings were demolished and quarters gutted, but these acts were never wanton. Only those structures that could be construed as symbols of papal military aspiration were considered for major alteration or elimination (the papal fortifications at the Castel Sant'Angelo around the Mausoleum of Hadrian, the fortified tower erected on the Capitoline by Pope Paul III, both strongholds connected to papal palaces). Contrary to exaggerated fears of anticlerical retaliation by the new government, the obliteration of ecclesiastical symbols would have been detrimental to the new administration; the nationalized, secular Rome derived its strength precisely from its proximity to the old images of the former great regimes, both imperial and papal. Primo Levi, an art critic and journalist at the time, advanced an idea of a new monument on the Capitoline Hill, writing: "Italian Rome needs to rise as a new personality, an unprecedented event, with its new institutions, with its original monuments, to demonstrate what the capital city of a grand people could be before the capital of two successive worlds." Rome was Italy's greatest asset politically and architecturally, and attitudes toward it expressed in acts of construction or demolition were shaped according to clear political goals.

In the first hours after the siege of Porta Pia, the military occupied key positions throughout the city including the Palazzo Montecitorio and Castel Sant'Angelo, until then the papal courthouse and political prisons. Meanwhile, the Roman populace, once assured of the success of the coup, gathered on the Capitoline to celebrate and declare their allegiance to the Italian nation. When Vittorio Emanuele II finally entered Rome by train, he took up residence overlooking the city in the Quirinal palace, just as Napoleon had planned.

These first acts of occupation were largely expedient but they had a lasting effect upon the city's modernization: Palazzo Montecitorio was adapted to the needs of the lower house of the legislature and Palazzo Quirinale became the permanent residence of the Italian head of state. Expropriations of ecclesiastical property were

also an expedient means of housing the government ministries transferred from Florence. Some of the largest monastic complexes had already been adapted as office space by the former papal regime, and the national government used them accordingly: the Ministry of Finance in the Augustinian monastery of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, the public courts in Borromini's oratory at Chiesa Nuova. A commission of Roman architects was established to study long-term plans for the administrative offices, but their deliberations were not heeded. Meanwhile, private real estate developers backed by foreign banks bought up tracts around de Mérode's Via Nuova and the train station, and began building unhindered by preemptive planning or financial regulations of any kind. The local administration was unprepared to control the demographic and economic explosion that the arrival of the national governing bodies brought to the city; indeed, city councilors with vested interests colluded in delaying regulations on real estate speculation, and the shape of the city was left at first to these swifter forces.

The Esquiline plateau to the east of the historic city was the locus of the first real-estate development of modern Rome. With the Stazione Termini nearing completion (it was inaugurated in 1874), de Mérode sold his properties at 1,500 percent profit to other speculators who, striking deals with the new city planning commission, got the Via Nuova inserted into the earliest official urban planning schemes. It was then renamed, appropriately, "Via Nazionale." Straight and broad, evenly graded, tree-lined, and defined by rigorously boxy, large-scale volumes, this was the first boulevard of the new capital, an avenue to rank with the great thoroughfares of other European capitals. The pretentious stucco facades of its hotels and apartment houses, shops and offices are evidence of as much a leap in scale as a fall in quality of building in the late nineteenth century. As in Paris and Vienna, Naples and Turin, much of this second-rate architecture made first-rate urbanism. But unlike Paris or Vienna, the creation of Rome's first thoroughfare did not come at the expense of any earlier urban fabric. On the contrary, Via Nazionale and the other independent real estate developments across the city's eastern plateau were integrated into the pre-existing urban system first traced by Pope Sixtus V in the sixteenth century.



4.24 Via Nazionale, Rome. Photograph of the late nineteenth century, with George Edmund Street, Saint Paul's within the walls, 1872–75
4.25 Raffaele Canevari, Luigi Martinori, and Francesco Pieroni, Ministero delle Finanze, Rome, 1872–77

One of the more successful developments was the new Piazza Vittorio Emanuele II. The 163-acre site between Via Merulana and the train station was laid out by the Roman engineer Francesco de Mari in 1871, with a central rectangular piazza aligned along a vista looking out to Santa Croce in Gerusalemme. Archeological remains of an imperial-era water tower were preserved and the open space was planted as an English-style garden, Rome's first public garden-piazza. The symmetrical apartment blocks that surround the piazza, built by Gaetano Koch and others in the 1880s, elevate the new homes of the transplanted government bureaucrats with a monumental ensemble. By introducing ground floor arcades for shopping—functional and widely appreciated given the Roman climate—the Roman architects brought this building type, familiar from Turin and Bologna, to the capital. The square was praised in its day for its synthesis of a wide range of Roman public spaces, from the ancient Forum's basilica arcades and Michelangelo's open Capitoline facades to Bernini's Piazza of Saint Peter at the Vatican.

In similar real estate development schemes, former aristocratic preserves across the eastern plateau, like the Villa Ludovisi on the Pincian Hill, were sold off by their owners and stitched into the new urban fabric. When the Villa Borghese was threatened with similar development, it was bought by the state and maintained with only slight alterations as a public park. It was clear that with all these early piecemeal developments in progress the city needed a master plan, but the work of its commissions remained, like most municipal deliberations, ineffectual. The rapid turnover of administrations guaranteed unbridled economic exploitation and the inconclusiveness of official efforts to curb it. In its first decade, the planning of the new capital's development was largely a frenetic race to integrate the various real estate schemes already under way, as they were far more advanced than any institutional strategies advocated by the city itself.

The only individual with the vision and political clout to carry out an effective planning decision was Quintino Sella, a leading figure in the majority party of the right and its finance minister. He instigated the construction of his ministry's headquarters, the first new construction for a government agency in Rome, in 1872. The Ministry of Finance building was designed by the engineer Raffaele

Canevari with the assistance of Francesco Pieroni, the able draftsman who with Francesco Azzurri had drawn up the plates for Letarouilly's publications on the architecture of Renaissance Rome. The architectural language is, therefore, in a staid and competent neo-Renaissance style typical of mid-nineteenth-century palaces or barracks of papal Rome. Given the minister's stringent finance policy—the wars of independence were costly indeed—there is no hint of excess in its stucco-formed trabeation.

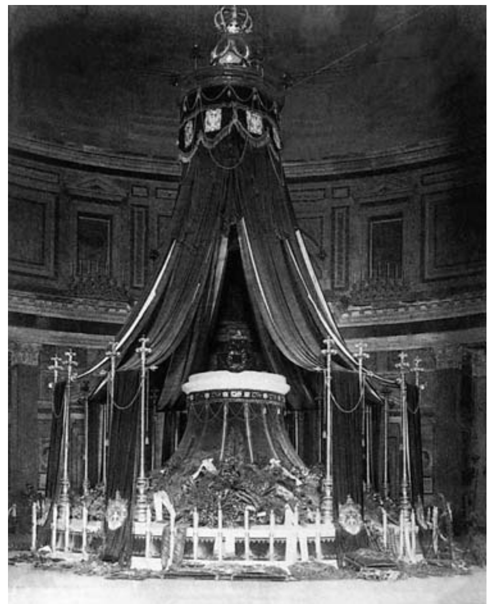
The site of the ministry, not far from Porta Pia, was along the renamed Via XX Settembre, which became the spine of a separate administrative city of roomy bureaucratic institutions, the *Città alta*. Sella's vision was for a new capital of modern science and administration to grow up alongside and independent of the older ecclesiastical city. Other government agencies—defense, agriculture, public works—followed suit and rose along Via XX Settembre. Today, they line the street like filing cabinets. The Ministry of Finance has remarkably little urban presence for a building of its size, and is wholly disconnected from the larger symbolic context of Rome, from its urban traditions, even from the ruins of the Baths of Diocletian immediately adjacent to its site. This is indicative of Sella's attitude—and that of his party—toward the pre-existing city: indifference both physically and symbolically. The *Città alta* was a city apart from historical Rome, which they would gladly have turned into a museum.

MONUMENTAL SYMBOLS OF THE NEW STATE

By the time Sella's building was finished in 1877, his urban conception was outmoded. The parliamentary right had fallen from power to Francesco Crispi's liberal left. Architectural critics panned the ministry buildings of the *Città alta* as miserly things that suggested dull bureaucracy rather than national spirit. Sella's idea of separate administrative city was shelved, but with no guiding figure emerging to take his place, the many new ministries, each with its own ambitious leader, were dispersed throughout the city without a cohesive plan.

The sudden death of King Vittorio Emanuele II in January 1878 was a catalyst for the demonstration of the symbolic power of architecture in service of the new state. Pius IX also died in the winter of 1878, and the funerals of the two leaders were designed to serve their respective causes of secular nationalism and Christian piety, one in mythic hyperbole at the Pantheon, the other in victimized understatement at Saint Peter's. The scenography for the state funeral in the Pantheon was designed by Luigi Rosso, who synthesized pagan and papal images: a catafalque of ermine and palm fronds filled the rotunda and new sculpture of mourning allegories were set on the temple's blank pediment along with an inscription for Vittorio Emanuele, the father of the country. Afterward, the much maligned bell towers were finally removed. The idea of burying Italy's first king in the center of the rotunda floor, comparable to the interment of the first Pope Peter under his dome, kept Emanuele's successor, Umberto I, and Pope Leo XIII in heated deliberations until 1884, when they agreed upon a sober bronze design by Manfredo Manfredi to be installed in the western niche. Italian compatriots made their "secular pilgrimage" to their new capital in large numbers to see the king's tomb. In the Pantheon, they found a crucible of national symbolism where the first, second, and third Romes were in perfect balance: imperial glory and Christian piety were seamlessly co-opted in this royal mausoleum.

King Vittorio Emanuele II served the nation best in his death, giving fodder to an even grander embodiment of the spirit of the state. Indeed, the Monument to Vittorio Emanuele II on the

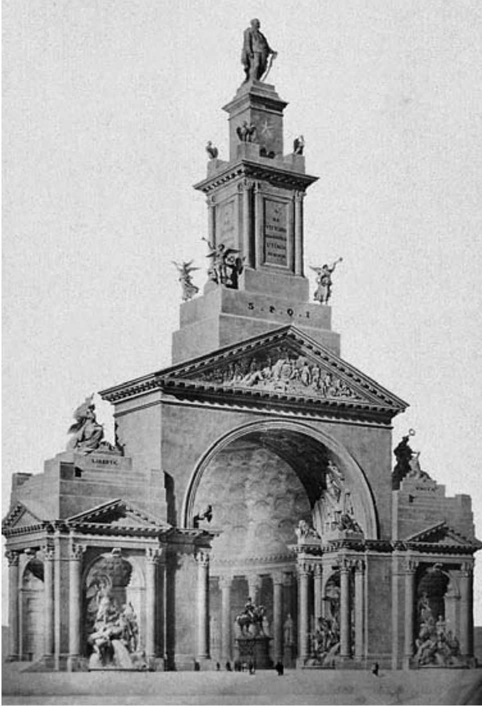


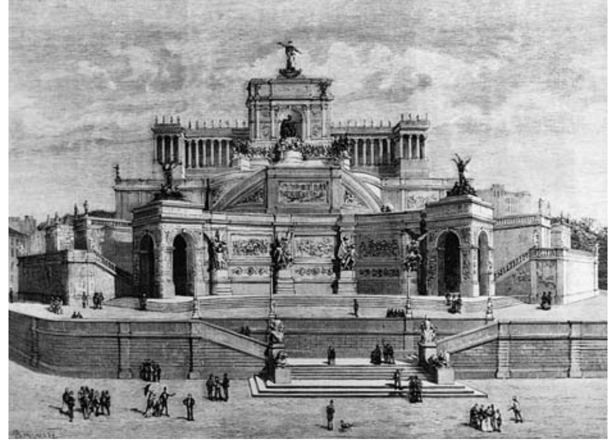
4.26 and 4.27 Luigi Rosso, decorations for the funeral of Vittorio Emanuele II, Pantheon, Rome, 16 February 1878

Capitoline Hill, the *Altare della Patria*, is the central architectural element of national self-representation. A few months after the king's funeral, the government passed a bill for a national monument to be erected with a budget almost twice that of Sella's Finance Ministry. An international competition for its design was opened in 1880 in which the choice of building type and site was left to the individual contestants. More than three hundred proposals were entered. Most, like Guglielmo Calderini's design for a monument in Piazza Vittorio, reflected the richness of Italian architectural inheritance with all manner of eclectic elements. The jury, which included Camillo Boito, sifted through the projects hoping to clarify what symbols and sites might after all be appropriate. Triumphal arches struck the jury as too militaristic in tone. Sites on the Esquiline were deemed too peripheral. The project proposed by Pio Piacentini and the sculptor Ettore Ferrari for a terraced hillside temple on the Capitoline, which they called a "forum," was favored with second prize in the competition.

The winning entry, however, was drafted by an Ecole des Beaux-Arts Rome Prize–winner then at the French Academy, Paul-Henri Nénot, who proposed a commemorative column and triumphal arch gateway for a site at the top of Via Nazionale. It was a compendium of classical monumental types from antiquity arranged in close formal correspondence to Bernini's colonnades at Saint Peter's (visible on the horizon in Nénot's aerial perspective drawing). The wide variety of responses to the architectural competition is evidence of a rather wayward architectural climate in Italy both on the part of architects as well as patrons. Architectural competitions were more often than not sloppy processes of trial and error. Typically, none of the entries in the first competition for the monument was deemed worthy of construction. Prime Minister Francesco Depretis, who chaired the jury, honored the French architect as a diplomatic gesture toward former political foes and simultaneously goaded the pride of local architects to a second, definitive competition restricted this time to Italian designers.

The site for the monument was designated for the northern slope of the Capitoline Hill on axis with the Via del Corso. Despite the increased costs for expropriation, Depretis insisted on the





4.28–4.30 Monument to Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, competition projects, 1881: Guglielmo Calderini, Pio Piacentini and Ettore Ferrari, and Paul-Henri Nénot

Capitoline for symbolic reasons. The Capitoline Hill, like the Pantheon, was to be again reappropriated, its history revised and focused for the third Rome. The construction of the monument on this site required the demolition of the tower of Pope Paul III and other structures connected to the Church of Santa Maria in Ara Ceoli and to the Palazzo Venezia, once a papal residence. Placing the national monument on this site would redraw the symbolic map of Rome, designating the Capitoline Hill—as it was in antiquity—the epicenter of the city.

The second competition for the monument opened in 1882 with a program that specified an equestrian statue of the monarch against a tall architectural backdrop on the hill. All 101 entries tended toward the gargantuan size characteristic of European monumental architecture of this period. The winner of the competition was a young architect who had studied with Luigi Rosso in Rome, Giuseppe Sacconi in collaboration with the sculptor Eugenio Maccagnani. It is, in the context of the competition, a comparatively restrained design of ramparts and terraces, with flights of steps that rise to a concave screen of Corinthian columns. Bronze quadrigas atop the end pavilions can be seen from most points in the city, and the structure below is covered with sculpture. Figures in the pediments and attic, processional reliefs, allegorical statue groups in white marble or gilded bronze, fountains, altars, pedestals and inscriptions—all these serve as the setting for a colossal equestrian statue of Vittorio Emanuele II at the center of the monument.

Construction was begun in 1885 with the assistance of dozens of sculptors selected from across the nation. Enrico Chiaradia designed an equestrian statue so colossal that the only space large enough for his studio was the concert auditorium in the ruins of the Mausoleum of Augustus. Work on the monument continued for three decades, long after Sacconi's premature death, under the direction of Manfredi, Piacentini, and Koch in a building works committee, much like a cathedral's *fabbrica*, and was still incomplete when it was inaugurated in 1911 during the celebrations of the nation's fiftieth anniversary.

The "Vittoriano" is characteristic of the late-nineteenth-century monument: big and white. It imposes itself upon its beholder with its

colossal scale and explicit symbols. Above all, it is brilliantly white, constructed not of Roman travertine but of Brescian *botticcino* limestone, selected as much for its beauty as for the minister of public works's connections in the Brescian quarry business. The architectonic and decorative images of its decor are drawn from a wide repertory of forms, but each element conveys an appropriate meaning through the logic of its historical association. Sacconi's sources for the architectural setting ranged from the ancient sanctuary of Fortuna at Praenestae, known at the time through Palladio's reconstruction, to the "Spanish" Steps, a model with political resonance when we recall that the steps were originally to have been the setting for an equestrian statue of King Louis XIV.

The area of the Piazza Venezia beneath the monument was at this time enlarged by demolishing the Palazzo Torlonia and was dubbed the "Foro Italico," a forum like the ancient ones nearby. The sculptures on the monument, in particular the equestrian statue so similar to that of Marcus Aurelius in Michelangelo's Capitoline piazza, carry both ancient imperial and Renaissance connotations. Historical associations elicited by the forms are merged. This is the logic of Sacconi's historicist method. Ancient imperial glory and the continual revival of Italian culture, first in the Renaissance now in the *Risorgimento*, are compounded in every element of Sacconi's work in the service of the state.

The Vittoriano was the embodiment of national consciousness, a setting for the liturgy of the nation state enshrined in stone and bronze and renewed in continual ritual. It is the keystone of national symbolism, an instrument of influence that communicates the moral and political messages of the regime, those being to forge collective memory, and establish a historiography and hagiography of its players while counterbalancing ecclesiastical tradition. The statue groups of Thought and Action that flank the entrance frame the whole experience within the philosophical parameters of reasoned contemplation and active intervention. They also draw into the official register the complementary roles of Giuseppe Mazzini and Giuseppe Garibaldi, subsuming the revolutionary theorist and the military activist, problematic political contenders for the king's central authority, in this telling of Italy's resurgence. On the first terrace,

4.31–4.33 Giuseppe Sacconi, Monument to Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, 1885–1911. Overview; detail; inauguration ceremony, 4 June 1911

4.34 Emilio Gallori, Monument to Giuseppe Garibaldi, Rome, 1882–95

dynamic sculpture groups symbolizing Strength, Concord, Sacrifice, and Law, like allegories on papal monuments in Saint Peter's, record the monarch's character while they broadcast desirable civic attributes—a call to collective virtue. From the outset, the monument was planned as a pedagogical instrument. Here, at the heart of the capital, an official Italian history would replace personal, local, and regional memory in an open-air civics lesson in the making of Italians on the altar of the nation.

With the monument to the king as a centerpiece, a series of other politically appropriate monuments were erected in Rome during the 1880s. An equestrian statue of Garibaldi was placed on the Janiculum Hill after his death in 1882. The location was somewhat removed, near the site of his defense of republican Rome against the French siege thirty-three years earlier. This was the work of parliamentary commissioners who wanted the rambuctious general in a position that would be clearly seen as subservient to the monarch. Even his horse stands demurely. But the sculptor, Emilio Gallori, has Garibaldi throwing a cautionary gaze over his left shoulder toward the cupola of Saint Peter's. The gesture was choreographed by Gallori's review board, which sought to calibrate the monument's political impact between pre-existing signs of religion and the new points of secular reference in the city.

Whereas the monument to Garibaldi was a national effort, some fringe figures were also added, through private initiative, to the register of Rome's heroes. Burned at the stake by the Inquisition in 1600, Giordano Bruno was resurrected by the more radical elements of nineteenth-century Italian society—in particular the freemasons—as a forefather in the struggle for freedom of thought. However, the idea of erecting the monument in the Campo dei Fiori, the site of his execution, irked a conservative city council that continually denied a building permit until a leftist majority gained control of the city administration (that the original design had Bruno gesturing in an admonishing way at his judges had not helped gain favor with the local politicians). By 1889, after the sculptor Ettore Ferrari adjusted his design, the monument was erected, with Bruno now calmly facing in the direction of the Vatican and with reliefs on the memorial's side emphasizing his role as a teacher and not a firebrand.

The monument to Camillo Cavour was also a finely calibrated political tool in this period of uncertain church-state relations. United Italy's first prime minister and proponent of the transfer of the capital to Rome, Cavour's posthumous memorial stakes its ground on the right bank of the Tiber close to the Vatican—a position that brings to mind his ecclesiastical policy: "a free Church in a free State." The project, however, was not a state initiative but that of the conservative city council of 1882, which sought to preempt the erection of any more potentially aggressive political symbol by the parliamentary majority that advocated tough policies. Sculptor Stefano Galletti kept Cavour's arms down at his sides to emphasize the statesman's calm deliberation. Personifications of Italy and Rome with Thought and Action accompany him, but the latter two needed to be shifted to opposite sides in the final composition so that Action might not seem to raise its sword in the direction of the Vatican.

The groundbreaking and inaugural ceremonies for all of these commemorative monuments were choreographed political events: the statues of Garibaldi and Cavour were unveiled on 20 September 1895, the twenty-fifth anniversary of the breaching of the Porta Pia; the Bruno inauguration was scheduled deliberately to trump Pope Leo XIII's tenth jubilee celebration.

The monument building in the capital was repeated at a reduced scale in every town in the nation, physically establishing a new and pervasive hagiography of the unified Italian state. Through their sitings, gazes, gestures, and unique histories, each of these monuments reveals a political negotiation between various local institutions and a more general attempt to reconcile church and state to the modern era.

A NEW URBAN INFRASTRUCTURE FOR ROME

Despite the evident political intentions described in the planning of monuments in Rome, no official master plan for the development of the city yet existed. Alessandro Viviani, director of the city planning office, provided the first. Never before had Rome had a global planner like Viviani, whose primary occupation was coordinating with the many agencies working at cross-purposes to develop projects in the city. Not even the Renaissance popes Julius II and Sixtus V had encroached upon the built-up core of the city. Viviani's first master plan, ready in 1873, concentrated on linking Sella's *Città alta* to the historical center, expanding the city to outlying areas in Testaccio and Trastevere, and tying in the Prati di Castello with new bridges. The gutting of the crowded area of the Vatican Borgo with the elimination of the so-called *spina* was also part of the plan. Viviani's efforts, however, came to naught due to the instability, inefficiency, and collusion of the city administration; Rome's first plan was not even presented to parliament for the consideration required to authorize expropriation. Infrastructural work demanded sums greater than the municipal coffers could bear and was ignored for ten more years. Instead, the city was left open to an unbridled building boom.

The national government intervened only for the construction of the Tiber Embankment walls in 1875. Although the river is small in comparison to those of other European capitals, the deforestation of its hinterland provokes raging flows in the fall. Historically, roughly every thirty years a devastating flood submerged the city, followed by famine and pestilence. To counter the threat, tall protective walls replaced the muddy riverbanks and nearby buildings, including Torlonia's Teatro Tordinona and, most sadly, the Porto di Ripetta. They were replaced with tree-lined thoroughfares, the "Lungotevere," that serve as a ring road around the city center.

For all their invasive impact upon the edges of the older city fabric, the embankments save the city from periodic flooding while improving hygienic conditions in the lower areas like the former

4.35 Alessandro Viviani, Master Plan, Rome, 1883

Ghetto. Massive public hydraulic engineering projects were, for the nineteenth century, symbols of modern progress, aspirations of former emperors and popes who had long dreamed of draining the Pontine Marshes and taming the torrents of rivers.

When it finally became clear that the city could not handle this scale of public building by itself, the national government stepped in to provide the financial help. With the funding bill of 1881, the state committed itself to help the city, but only after the city presented a comprehensive master plan. Viviani set to work again. He had to integrate a specific list of public buildings the national bill required: a courthouse, an academy of sciences (the lingering influence of Quintino Sella), barracks, a drilling ground and military hospital, a public hospital and a major exhibition building for the fine arts. The siting of the national buildings, however, was not left to Viviani but to the various heads of the institutions, who jockeyed for position within the politicized topography of Rome. The ministers of justice and public instruction chose sites in the historic center, while the two municipal projects, the hospital and the exhibition hall, were kept, more conservatively, up on the *Città alta*. Once these locations were designated, Viviani concentrated on traffic arteries and bridge connections. His master plan was ratified in 1883, and constitutes Rome's first ever all-inclusive development scheme. Although not all the interventions were carried out, it would be the basic guideline for all urban projects over the next twenty-five years.

Viviani's most controversial task was carving out a passage for modern traffic through the historic city center. This intervention, the Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, is a demonstration of the difficulty of Viviani's work and the subtlety of his accomplishment. The westward route from Piazza Venezia begins with the Via del Plebiscito and slips between pre-existing palaces and the Church of Il Gesù. Beyond this point, expropriation of buildings considered of lesser historic or artistic value was undertaken along a swerving path that dodges a selection of important monuments: the Palazzo della Valle and the Church of Sant'Andrea, the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, and the Chiesa Nuova among others. The flanks of the Palazzo della Cancelleria and the little Palazzo Regis were exposed and redressed with neo-Renaissance decor. The new apartment buildings along the

Corso Vittorio take their scale from the noble facades opposite them, patrician and ecclesiastical tradition here counterbalanced by the architecture of bourgeois democracy.

Viviani's urban planning solution was empirical, unlike the abstract slicing typical in Haussmann's Paris—a remarkably subdued intervention in which the famous piazzas along the way, like Piazza Navona, were left undisturbed. Consequently, the Corso Vittorio is a shifting route of constantly changing views leading to the cupola of Saint Peter's, the ultimate destination of the route. The path is also populated with commemorative monuments to secular cultural and government leaders. Like the Via Papale, the traditional route of ecclesiastical processions from Saint Peter's, the Corso Vittorio is a route tying the Vatican to the city. But now, inexorably and emphatically, that route leads to a secular and nationalist city center, the *Altare della Patria*.

The program of the Corso Vittorio was made explicit with the Ponte Vittorio, the bridge that links the reformed city and the Vatican. Proposals for this bridge date from 1887, though construction did not begin until 1910, as it was considered a lower priority than several of the other Tiber spans and, with all of the other monuments going up, there was a shortage of good travertine. The design was by Angelo Vescovali who, as architect for the ministry of public works, was responsible for five other bridges over the Tiber.

The elegant white bridge of three arches is laden with allegorical sculptures akin to those on the Vittoriano. They describe the king's military valor and fidelity and hail him as father of the country. Like the Corso Vittorio that leads to it, the bridge offers a panoramic and politically charged view of Rome. In the river below, the ruins of the Pons Trionphalis recall the achievement of ancient emperors and the failure of Pope Julius II to rebuild it to carry his street, the Via Giulia. Views from the bridge to the Castel Sant'Angelo and the Hospital of the Santo Spirito make plain the state's secular command of the military and the state structure of social welfare. As if in reprimand to the church, the state is ready to defend its position at the bridgehead. Winged Victories greet citizens coming from the city with laurel wreathes while those on the Vatican side brandish swords.

4.36 Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, 1888–1910
4.37 Angelo Vescovali, Ponte Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, 1910–11

A NATIONAL ARCHITECTURE

The Corso and the Ponte Vittorio pulled the Vatican into a reconfigured urban system. The first monumental building constructed by the national government on the Vatican side of the Tiber attests to this same political intention. The Palazzo di Giustizia is the seat of the Italian Supreme Court together with all of the district courts in Rome and is the largest secular institutional building in the capital. In several respects it recalls Pope Julius II's Palazzo dei Tribunali, planned by Bramante for the Via Giulia. The Vatican's side of the Tiber was chosen for the modern courthouse by the minister of justice, Giuseppe Zanardelli. Prati had not been considered earlier because of its isolation across the unbridged river, its low flood plains, and its proximity to the Vatican, while territorial concession to the pope was still under discussion. Zanardelli's decisive move corresponds to his strong policy with regard to church-state relations. Once the bridges were financed, Viviani planned out the Prati area with axial vistas, grids, and a grand *trevium* clearly recalling the Piazza del Popolo into which it is tied. None of the vistas or thoroughfares in Prati lead to the Vatican, however, and like the street names chosen for them, they are assertions of the secular state upon this contested ground. The Palazzo di Giustizia is the anchor.

After a prolonged competition, Guglielmo Calderini's colossal neo-Cinquecento palazzo was chosen. This squat block of rusticated travertine is shaped with strong chiaroscuro effects in a lively architectural language while avoiding, according to the contemporary sensibility, the decadent excess of the baroque. All of the architect's sources, both declared and inferred, correspond to the chronological range of architects active in the *Fabbrica* of Saint Peter's, as if this construction were also the product of a century-long progress, the secular equivalent to the famous cathedral. Calderini, like Sacconi, used an architectural language enriched by relevant historical associations, in this case, in reference to Saint Peter's.

At the courthouse, images of ancient and modern Italian jurists, from Cicero to Vico, are presented like the saints arrayed before the Vatican. The allegorical groups are explicit and didactic. The brackets of the building's cornice are images of yoked bulls, symbolic of the

4.38 and 4.39 Guglielmo Calderini, Palazzo di Giustizia, Rome, 1889–1911

citizens of Italy who, instructed in civic virtues of strength, concord, sacrifice, and law at the Vittoriano, are here put *sub jugem legis*. Passages to and through this scenographic building, as in all the mature works of this period, unfold here like a triumphal procession, first through the entrance archway from the bridge and into a monumental courtyard. An exhilarating stair of Piranesian exuberance and complexity sweeps the visitor up to the vestibule before the courtrooms. A longitudinal space there called the *ambulatorio* replaces the usual *salle des pas perdus* of northern courthouse models. Calderini has proposed indigenous sources, each integrated in an historicist maneuver of considerable subtlety. He has retrieved the ancient forensic basilica, reappropriating the building type from its Christian converters, to rededicate the congregational space to its original civic function. The design of the Supreme Court chamber was kept strenuously secular in association with the top-light of an ancient *cella* and the architectural ornamentation associated with imperial audience halls. The fresco cycle by Cesare Maccari in the Supreme Court depicts great moments in the history and legacy of Roman jurisprudence, and was conspicuously modeled on the lunettes of Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura, thought at the time to have been Pope Julius II's own courtroom. As if to supplant ecclesiastical influence in the process of temporal justice, even the judges' benches seem to appropriate the qualities of choir stalls and confessionals. Throughout this rich structure, symbols of the new institution of secular, temporal justice are posited as equivalents to the now limited role of the Church in Italian governing.

The Palazzo di Giustizia's prominence in the Roman landscape corresponds to its broader impact on official public buildings across the country. All architects who had the opportunity to build for the public administration aspired to develop a valid national style, a topic of debate in architecture throughout the nineteenth century. Camillo Boito wrote a key article on the subject in 1872, *L'architettura della nuova Italia*, emphasizing the need to move freely toward an architecture that expresses the special character of contemporary society. After unification Boito realized that his earlier proposal of Lombard Romanesque and the medieval idiom of restored town halls

and cathedral facades carried an inherent political message of regionalism and federalism antithetical to current centrist government policies. Calderini and his Palazzo di Giustizia, however, presented a powerful imagery that could be traced to any number of regions of the peninsula. That the Renaissance was considered the apogee of Italian culture only made the choice more appropriate. Boito, who adjudicated some of the nation's most prominent competitions, succumbed to the prevalent symbolic role of a grand sixteenth-century Renaissance classicism for the nation.

Calderini introduced his neo-Cinquecento style to his home town, Perugia, in the Hotel Cesaroni, now the seat of the Umbrian regional council. Calderini's pupil, Cesare Bazzani, brought the style to Florence when he won the competition for the National Library at Santa Croce in 1903. In Naples Alfonso Guerra's Stock Exchange on the Rettifilo of 1890 draws together a range of High Renaissance motifs from beyond the Neapolitan tradition and links it with a now larger national artistic heritage. One could cite other examples, from the Banco di Sicilia building in Palermo to the prefect's office of Genoa, for their reliance on Calderini's neo-Cinquecento style. The remarkable conformity of these examples is the result of the architects' involvement in competitions in the capital, which proved better than any academic institution to have been a decisive factor in the nationalization of an architectural idiom. On levels of political, cultural, and artistic theory, the sixteenth century was seen by nineteenth-century eyes as the apogee of Italian achievement. The Renaissance was successful in everything except national unification, which was where contemporary society and its architecture could surpass the historical model. The neo-Cinquecento style of national buildings of the 1890s is a bold, all-inclusive statement that draws together the heritage of the entire nation.

Architectural competitions played a key role in establishing this standard among both architects and their institutional clients. The Palazzo delle Esposizioni di Belle Arti in Rome was the locus of this process. The institution, located on Via Nazionale, was conceived as a permanent pavilion for triennial exhibitions of contemporary Italian art, not a museum for historical retrospectives. It was understood that

from these public showings, qualified artists would be recognized and commissioned by an informed patronage. The city opened an architectural competition for the building's design in 1878, and the state secured its funding in 1881. This was the first competition in which the idea of the appropriate style for the capital was openly addressed. Pio Piacentini's winning project features a triumphal arch entrance between flanks of top-lit galleries that are laid out in such a way as to be fully functional even today. Statues of Italian artists from antiquity through the early nineteenth century stand on the parapet as forefathers in artistic traditions. Piacentini captured the grandeur and scale of the ancients in a building that serves contemporary functions. It was inaugurated by King Umberto I in 1883 in time to exhibit the entries to the architectural competition for the Palazzo di Giustizia.

Two years later, the Banca d'Italia was erected, also on the Via Nazionale, to the designs of Gaetano Koch, the era's most acclaimed architect. Koch's greatest success was the national bank, built after he won a limited competition against Pio Piacentini in 1885. Koch's designs had been preferred over Piacentini's Florentine image because the latter alluded to the origins of banking among early-Renaissance Tuscan families, while Koch's more generically grand, sixteenth-century classicism suggested a pan-regional identification. The bank has two distinct functions—official business on the left and public branch access on the right—and this duality was expressed throughout Koch's design. The building was also equipped with the most modern technology, including elevators and air conditioning. Koch's neo-Cinquecento handling is grander and richer, more vigorous and rigorous than Calderini's and became a benchmark itself.

Koch was also responsible for the Piazza dell'Esedra, a high-profile site at the top of Via Nazionale. With the introduction of train travel, this site had become the principal point of entry to the city. Koch's generous sweeping arcades hearken to the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza of Saint Peter, which it would now precede along one continuous crosstown thoroughfare. The strength of Koch's design is its use of the adjacent Baths of Diocletian, in part revitalized as a national museum of ancient art. Most of Vanvitelli's eighteenth-

4.40 Pio Piacentini, Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, 1878–82
4.41 Gaetano Koch, Banca d'Italia, Rome, 1885–92
4.42 Gaetano Koch, Piazza dell'Esedra, Rome, 1888–89

century facade was stripped off the Baths to reveal more of the ancient construction, though the church spaces inside were retained. The overall effect was again to reinforce the connection between ancient, modern, and ecclesiastical Rome. The fountain outside, however, was a different matter. Pius's fountain was relocated here and cavalierly transformed with bronzes by the sculptor Mario Rutelli. A muscular youth wrestles with a big fish that thrusts an obelisk-sized spray into the air. Its mist glistens the flanks of luxuriating nereids below. Too scandalous to be properly inaugurated, the scaffolding was brought down during the night of Carnevale in the otherwise Holy Year of 1900.

ROME, A WORLD CAPITAL

As Rome provided a point of dissemination of national imagery, it also became a point of convergence of imported images and institutions. The whole length of Via Nazionale had only one new religious institution: Saint Paul's within the Walls. Modern Rome's first permanent structure for a non-Catholic sect, it was erected by American Episcopalian expatriates. It was also the first work of a non-Italian architect in the modern city. The Americans turned to George Edmund Street, who was well known to them for his work in ecclesiastical architecture outside the Roman Catholic realm. Street had always been inspired by Italian examples, but his characteristic striated construction in courses of brick and travertine strikes a strident tone here, an effect amplified by a bell tower that was the tallest element along the Via Nazionale. There is no dome, no great facade, and its casual asymmetry plays counterpoint to its boxy classical neighbors. A hammer-beamed wooden ceiling over the nave, mosaics by the pre-Raphaelite designer Edward Burne-Jones, and terracotta tiles by William Morris all go against any aesthetic standards established by Roman Catholic tradition. Saint Paul's is a symbol of the opening of the Roman landscape to freedom of religious observance, and a number of other churches followed, such as All Saints' on Via del Babuino, also by Street, and two Waldensian

churches, one on Piazza Cavour and the other near Piazza Venezia.

The most significant ecumenical event in Roman architecture of this period, however, was the triumphant rebuilding of the Jewish synagogue. The Jewish Ghetto of Rome was definitively dismantled in 1870, with emancipation under Italian rule. There are no markers or monuments to the Ghetto's former existence, only a name that lingers in popular nomenclature. Nothing in the district of any architectural note had been built since the middle of the sixteenth century, and now the entire area was to be cleared—rebuilding was deemed necessary with the construction of the Tiber Embankment. The Jews, reluctant to move from the area that had been their traditional home since the age of the Emperor Titus, set aside one of the new blocks along the Lungotevere for their synagogue. An architectural competition for the building was won by Osvaldo Armanni and Vincenzo Costa.

Construction began in 1885 but was finished only by the turn of the century. The architects sought an architectural idiom that might distinguish this institution from the many Catholic symbols that loom up around the former Ghetto. The variegated origins of Italy's Jewish population also encouraged a free amalgamation of various, vaguely eastern Mediterranean sources; it was important that the sources be quite distinct from the broad Western classical tradition that buttresses the constructions of the Catholic faith. The synagogues of Turin, Trieste, and Florence, for example, were all in exotic, non-Western styles.

Armanni and Costa elaborated on Babylo-Assyrian motifs that hearkened to a tradition older than Rome itself and seemed to trace a history back to the time of the Torah. Employing the prevalent historicist method, a "Jewish" architectural style was constructed from a range of appropriate pre-Roman sources. The synagogue rises from a centralized plan in a blocky ziggurat form up to its most salient feature, a square dome lined with aluminum. Antonelli had developed the image of a square dome for the original Turin synagogue and it became a fortuitous and distinctive motif for the Jewish community. The square dome, in counterbalance to the established Catholic images everywhere, helps to distinguish this alternative religious building at a glance.

4.43 and 4.44 Osvaldo Armanni and Vincenzo Costa, Tempio israelitico, Rome, 1889–1904. Tiber island view; interior
4.45 Giulio de Angelis, Magazzini Boccioni, Via del Corso, Rome, 1886–90

Rome was also opened to the new commercial building that had already marked the other cities of the peninsula. Giulio de Angelis built two remarkable structures in the heart of Rome. The city's first *galleria*, the Galleria Sciarra of 1883, although of a modest scale, is very much in the spirit of Mengoni's work in Milan, with slender iron columns and neo-Renaissance frescoes. A department store, the Magazzini Boccioni, also by de Angelis was built at a prominent site on the corner of the Via del Corso and the newly opened Via del Tritone, opposite the Palazzo Chigi. There, the architect broadly adapted the classical language of the palazzo to a new iron structure wrapped with a thin wall of stone. De Angelis was praised by his contemporaries for creating an imagery that confirmed Italian cultural identity in an evolving material and technological world.

A new plan for Rome, spreading now far beyond the city's ancient walls, was developed under the populist mayor Ernesto Nathan and ratified in 1909. Viviani's inner-city arteries were here extended under the design direction of Edmondo Sanjust de Teulada. Beyond the city walls, Sanjust planned a ring road encircling the city that followed the curves of the natural topography. Elsewhere, such as in Prati, elegant radial boulevards were planned. Most importantly, the Sanjust plan thoroughly integrated green areas with Rome's urban expansion and the concept of zoning for low-density garden city development and designated areas for major public building complexes.

Before implementation of the plan began, the area north of Prati, the former *piazza d'armi*, or military drilling ground, was designated as a world's fair site. The year 1911 marked the fiftieth anniversary of Italian national unity, and an international exhibition seemed an ideal way to celebrate the achievement. Mayor Nathan had turned down the invitation to host the Olympic Games of 1908 to concentrate on urgent housing issues, but the idea of a world's fair came at the right time. He called it Rome's "great secular jubilee."

A display of industrial progress was mounted in Turin while major exhibitions were also coordinated in Florence. The central cultural events took place in Rome, with the fine arts exhibition in the verdant valley behind the Villa Giulia and the "ethnographic" exhibition of Italian culture across the river in the open area above

the Prati. An archeological exhibition was mounted in the newly rehabilitated halls of the Baths of Diocletian, and the Castel Sant'Angelo was converted into a museum of Italian military genius. The organizational efforts fostered significant advances in Italian museology, a broadened accessibility to cultural goods with publications and reproductions, and research that stimulated contemporary arts and industry. All Rome was readied for the exposition, which would emphatically demonstrate the "civil progress" of Italy in the modern era.

It was, however, not a world's fair in the strict sense because here only Italy was allowed to show off. The eleven foreign countries that sent representatives to Rome were confined to the section of the fine arts exhibition where Italy would easily shine over her guests. The pavilions designed for the fair displayed the common grandiloquent sumptuousness typical of the international exhibitions in which a temporary construction was to encapsulate national character: Carrère and Hastings built for the U.S. in a Federal style, Edwin Lutyens for the U.K. adapted Wren's facade of Saint Paul's. Josef Hoffmann's Austrian pavilion was noted for its serene spatial functionality and refined, indeed stripped, classical language. The works of these top-rate foreign architects did not have, however, much impact upon the ideas or trends of contemporary architecture within Italy.

The centerpiece of the fine arts division of the fair was the Italian pavilion, intended from the outset to remain as a permanent Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna. Cesare Bazzani won the design competition in 1908 with a low and broad building set opposite the pedestrian entrance to the fairgrounds from the Villa Borghese public gardens. The architect learned a great deal from Piacentini's exhibition building of the previous generation on Via Nazionale, and adapted his general planning scheme to a larger, grander building. Bazzani's neo-Cinquecento style, a large-scale reminiscence of the Villa Giulia close-by, is softened in this park setting with naturalistic decorative details.

Other structures realized for the fair were also intended to be permanent additions to the Roman infrastructure and were coordinated with the Sanjust plan, in particular a stadium built along Via Flaminia and a new bridge, the Ponte Risorgimento. The latter

4.46 Cesare Bazzani, Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, 1908–11

4.47 Marcello Piacentini, Foro delle Regioni and Salone delle Feste at the Esposizione Universale, Rome, 1911

was an innovative work for Rome, a reinforced concrete structure that spanned the river in one low and elegant arch. It was conceived by the French engineer François Hennebique, using his patented construction system. The bridge gave access to the Italian ethnographic displays. Marcello Piacentini, son of Pio, designed the central architectural setting that consisted of a triumphal arch entrance from the bridge that led into a sweeping arcaded space called the "Forum of the Regions." The open space culminated in a colossal festivities hall covered with a high, square dome. The correspondence of Piacentini's design to the Vatican complex nearby was an unmistakable response to the mayor's frank declaration of the fair as a secular equivalent to ecclesiastical celebrations. Following the precepts of his father's generation, Marcello Piacentini amalgamated a national imagery in a culmination of Roman classicism.

All around rose the pavilions erected by the fourteen regions of the peninsula. They presented fusions of elements from famous architectural works that constituted the "classical" models of their cultures: the Umbrian pavilion was a free interpretation of Perugia's Palazzo del Popolo; Emilia-Romagna's, a mixture of the d'Este Castle at Ferrara, the Palazzo Bentivoglio of Bologna, and the Tempio Malatesta of Rimini. Over forty individual Italian ethnic groups were represented in smaller dioramas

Once Italy had been made, its architecture was called upon to make Italians. The Enlightenment of the eighteenth century invested architecture with the power of moral reform, and Romantic thought focused this reform on the goal of national unification. In Rome, the representational role of architecture was paramount in the shaping of a collective identity. The power of these architectural instruments of persuasion relied upon the inheritance of an indigenous classicism in which artistic, civil, and national identities were indissolubly united. The collective memory of the new nation was shaped efficiently by the capital's monumental architecture.

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CHAPTER 1

ARCHITECTURE OF THE ITALIAN ENLIGHTENMENT, 1750–1800

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INDEX

A

Accademia di San Luca, 15, 22, 40; 109
Albani, Cardinal Alessandro, 66–67
Albergo dei Poveri (Hospice of the Paupers), 41–47, **42,** 104
Alvino, Errico, 197, **213**
Amati, Carlo, 177
antiquities. *See also* archaeology; restoration (architectural): collection and preservation of, 65–69; as commodities, 91, 123; removal under Treaty of Tolentino, 89; restitution of after Napoleon, 123
Antolini, Giovanni Antonio, 92–95
Antonelli, Alessandro, 160–165
Arch of Titus, Rome: restoration of, 169–170, **171**
archaeology. *See also* restoration (architectural): early impact of, 63–65; excavation, 120, 122, 169–170; Napoleon's interest in, 120–122
archetypes (styles): synthesis of, 150
Arco delle Vittorie napoleoniche (Arco della Pace), Milan, **95, 184**
Armanni, Osvaldo, 253, 254
art museums. *See also* names of individual museums: concept of, 123
arts, "resurgence of," 84
artworks. *See* antiquities
Asprucci, Antonio, 72
Asprucci, Mario, 73
Azzurri, Francesco, 215

B

Banca d'Italia, Rome, **251**
Barbarino, Carlo, 153–155
Bargigli, Paolo, 86, 88
Basile, Giovanni Battista Filippo, 218
Bazzani, Cesare, 256, 257
Belli, Pasquale, 173
Benedict XIV, Pope, 17, **42**
Berthault, Louis-Martin, 118, 119
Bianchi, Pietro, 104, 105, 121, 122
Bianchi, Salvatore, 221
Boito, Camillo, 179–182; and contemporary style, 180
Bologna, city plan, 214
Bonaparte, Joseph, 104
Bonaparte, Napoleon. *See* Napoleon (Bonaparte)
Bonsignore, Ferdinando, 102, 103
Borghese, Camilo, 119
Borghese, Prince Marcantonio IV, 72–73
Borromini, Francesco, 22
Borsato, Giuseppe, 144
Bossi, Giuseppe, 91
Boubée, Francesco Paolo, 202, 203
Braccio Nuovo (of Vatican Museum), Rome, 123, **124**
bridges: Ponte Risorgimento, Rome, 256–258; Ponte Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, **245**

C

Cacialli, Giuseppe, 110, 111
Caffe Pedrocci, Padua, 131–134, **133**
Cagnola, Luigi, 95, 96, 104, 184
Calderini, Guglielmo, 234, 247
Camporese, Giuseppe, 86, 88
Canal Grande, Trieste, **108,** 109
Canevari, Raffaele, 228, 230–231
Canina, Luigi, 136–138, **137**
Canonica, Luigi, 91, 94–96
Canova, Antonio, 123, 147, 151; cultural importance of, 148, 150; funeral of, 152
capital cities (historical): Florence, 190–195; Milan,

199–204; Naples, 196–199; Rome, 226, 252–259; Turin, 186–189
Caretti, Giovanni Battista, 139–141, 140
Carlos III, King of Naples, 28–39, **42**
"Casa delle colonne," Turin, 160, **161**
Casa Ponzio Vaglia, Turin, **161**
"Casino Pedrocchi," Padua, 132–134
cathedral facades, 204–214
cathedrals (Duomos) and churches. *See also* Duomo; individual names
Cavaceppi, Bartolomeo, 67
Cavour, Camillo, 240
cemeteries: "monumental," 153
Ceppi, Carlo, 188–189
Chapel of the Templars at Saonara Gardens, near Padua, **129**
chapels, Pantheonic, 153
Chiaradia, Enrico, 235
Chirografo, papal legislation (1802), 123
churches and cathedrals (Duomos). *See* individual names
Cicongnara, Leopoldo, 135
Cimitero Monumentale, Staglieno, Genoa, 153–154, **154**
"Cisternone," Livorno, 158–160, **159**
cities, capital. *See* capital cities (historical)
city halls, 216
city planning. *See* urban planning
city plans: Bologna, 214; Florence, 192–194, **193,** 195; Milan, 204; Naples, **197,** 198–199; Palermo, 217; Rome, 20, **225**; Turin, **187**
classical style, 109. *See also* neoclassicism; merged with Christian, 106
classicism, austere, 23–24 See also neoclassicism
Clement XI, Pope, 15
Clement XII, Pope, 22–23, 24, 27, 40, 66
Clement XIV, Pope, 69
Colosseum, Rome: restoration of, 169, 170, **171**
Column of Trajan, Rome, 120–122, **121**
Commission des Embellissements*,* 114, 120
construction materials, 164; iron, 166–168; masonry, 162, 163–164
Corso Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, **245**
Costa, Vincenzo, 253, 254
Crispi, Francesco, 224
cultural heritage: early preservation of, 65–66, 69–73

D
de Cambray Digny, Luigi (architect), 190–191
de Cambray Digny, Luigi Guglielmo (mayor), 192
de Fabris, Emilio, 206–211
de Mérode, Fredric, 222
Deriziet, Antoine, 20
design competitions, 22, 231–235; for monument to Vittorio Emanuele II, **234**
dome, stacked: construction of, 160–162; "Mole Antonelliana," 164–166
Dori, Alessandro, 69–70, 71
Doric style, 92–93, 104, 106
Doric temples, Paestum, 64–65
Dufourny, Leon, 65
Duomo, Milan, 176, **177**
Duomo facade, Amalfi, **213**

E
eighteenth-century classicism, 84–85
excavation, archaeological. *See* archaeology: excavation

F
Fabbrica (Vatican building commission), 28
Fantastici, Agostino, 156–157, 159
Fea, Carlo, 122
Ferrari, Ettore, 234
Festa della Federazione: Milan, 92; Rome, **86,** 88
flood control: Tiber Embankment, 241–242
Florence, 190–195; city plans, 192–194, **193,** 195
Foro Bonaparte, Milan, 93–96, **95**
Foro Carolino, Naples, 104
Foro delle Regioni, Rome, **258**
Foro Ferdinandeo (now Piazza del Plebiscito), Naples, 104, **105**
Foro Murat (now Piazza del Plebiscito), Naples, 104, **105**
Forum, Rome, 120
Forum of Nerva (ruins), Rome, **50**
foundries, iron, 168
Frizzi, Giuseppe, 102, 103
Fuga, Fernando, 40–46

G
Gagnereaux, Benigne, **71,** 72
Galilei, Alessandro, 23–24, 25
Gallerata, near Milan, 180
Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna, Rome, 256, **257**
Galleria Sciarra, Rome, 255
Galleria Umberto I, Naples, **202,** 203
Galleria Vittorio Emanuele II, Milan, **200,** 201
Gallori, Emilio, 238, 239
garden design: effect of romantic attitudes upon, 128; naturalistic landscapes, 130; at Piazza del Popolo, Rome, 119; Villa Torlonia, Rome, 141–142
Garibaldi, Giuseppe: improvement decree (Naples), 196; monument to, Janiculum Hill, Rome, **238,** 239
Ghettos (slums). *See risanmento* (urban renewal)
Giani, Felice, 112
Gothic Revival, European, 176
Gothic style, 176–178
"Grand Tour," 62–65
Guarnelli, Giacomo, 178

H
height (construction), 164
Holl, Pietro, 178

I
"Il Cisternone," Livorno, **159**
"Il Pedrocchino" (pastry shop), Padua, **133,** 134
"Il Rettifilo" (urban renewal project), Naples, 196–198, **197**
independence (national). *See* unification (national)
industrial construction, 168
infrastructure. *See* bridges; roads
infrastructure planning. *See* urban planning
Ingres, Jean-Auguste-Dominique, 112
interior design, 110–112; theaters, 143–145
Invenzioni capriciosi di carceri (volume of prints), **50,** 51
Ionic style, 106
iron: in bridges, 166; construction with, 166–168
iron foundries, 168
Italian national consciousness: Boito's influence upon, 182; cultural basis of, 135; development of, 88, 147; Lombard Romanesque style and, 179–180
Italy, cultural evolution of, 10–11
Italy, unification and independence. *See* national unification (Italy)

J
Jappelli, Giuseppe, 126, 129, 132, 133, 140; public projects, Padua, 130

K
King Gustav III of Sweden visiting the Museo Pio-Clementino (painting), **71**
Koch, Gaetano, 229, 251

L
La Gran Madre di Dio (church), Turin, **102,** 103
La Nuova Pianta di Roma (city plan), **21**
La Scala, Milan, 77, 81–82
landscape design. *See* garden design
largo, Naples, 104
Le Vatican et la Basilique de Saint-Pierre de Rome (plan), **71**
Leo XII (pope), 173
Letarouilly, Paul, 71
Lombard Romanesque style, 180

M
Maccagnani, Eugenio, 235
Maffei, Alessandro, 157, **159**
Magazzini Boccione (department store), Rome, **254,** 255
Marchionni, Carlo, 66–68, 73–74, 75
Martinori, Luigi, 228
Marvuglia, Giuseppe Venanzio, 65
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 236
Mazzucchetti, Alessandro, 186–189
Medrano, Giovanni Antonio, 106
Meduna, Giambattista, 145, 146
Mengoni, Giuseppe, 200–203
Milan: city plans, 204; Hapsburg rule of, 77–81; industrial development, 204; Napoleonic influence, 91–98; *Ornato* Board, 96
Milizia, Francesco, 17
Ministerio delle Finanze, Rome, **228**
"Mole Antonelliana" (unfinished synagogue), Turin, 163–164, **165**
Mollari, Antonio, 107, 109
monuments: Arco delle Vittorie napoleoniche (Arco della Pace), **184**; to Camillo Cavour, Rome; Capitoline Hill, Rome, as site for, 233–235; to Giuseppe Garibaldi, Rome, **238**; theoretical aspects of, 236, 239, 240; "Vittoriano" (monument to Vittorio Emanuelle II), Rome, 235–239, **237**; to Vittorio Emanuele II (competing designs), **234**
monuments, restoration of, 161–175. *See also* archaeology; restoration (architectural)
Morelli, Cosimo, 75, 76, 92
Moschetti, Alessandro, 225
Musée Napoleón, Paris, **90**
Museo Pio-Clementino, 69–72, **71,** 85, 123
museums. *See also* names of individual museums: art, 123

N
Naples: city plans, 196–199; gutting of *(sventramento),* 198; Napoleonic influence, 104–106; urban renewal projects, 196–199, **197**
Napoleon (Bonaparte), 87; conquest of Italy, 87–89; crowning as emperor of Italy, 96; fall from power, 123; monuments to, 88, 92–96, **95**; rationalist spirit under, 88–89
Napoleonic apartments, Palazzo Pitti, Florence, **111**
Napoleonic influence: interior design, 110–112; Milan, 91–99; Naples, 104–106; *Ornato* Board; Rome, 112–120; Trieste, 107–110; Turin, 101–103; urban modernization program, 100–101; Venice, 98–101
national consciousness (Italy): Boito's influence upon, 182; cultural basis of, 135; effect of French Revolution on, 88; influence of Verdi operas on, 147; Lombard Romaneque style and, 179–180; under Napoleon, 88
national unification (Italy), 185, 222–224
Nénot, Paul-Henri, 234
neo-Renaissance style, 192
neo-Romanesque style, 179–180
neoclassicism, 83–85, 87, 109. *See also* classical style; effect of Romantic attitudes upon, 128
nepotism, papal, 76
Niccolini, Antonio, 105, 106
Nobile, Pietro, 108, 109
Nolli, Giovanni Battista, 20–22, 24

O
ornato boards, local, 96, 180, 190

P
Pacca Edict (1820), 123
Paestum, 64
Palais imperiale, Rome, **113**
Palazzo Belgioso, Milan, **80**
Palazzo Belloni (now Rocca Saporiti), Milan, **97**
Palazzo Braschi, Rome, **75,** 76
Palazzo della Ragione, Padua, **126**
Palazzo delle Debite, Padua, **181,** 182
Palazzo delle Esposizioni, Rome, **251**
Palazzo di Giustizia, Rome, **247**
Palazzo Ducale, Milan, 77–78, **177**
Palazzo Nuovo, Rome, 66
Palazzo Pitti, Florence, 110–112, **111**
Palazzo Pubblico, San Marino, **215**, 216
Palazzo Quirinale, Rome, **42,** 110–112, 226–227
Palermo, city plan, 217
Panini, Giovanni Paolo, 15–16, 62
Panini, Giuseppe, 25, 27
Pantheon degli Uomini illustri, Pistoia, **159**
Pantheon (The), Rome, **14,** 15–19, **16**; decorated for state funeral, **232**; design for attic of, **19**; "progeny" of, 153
Pantheonic chapel. *See* cemeteries: "monumental"
Perego, Giovanni, 97, 98
periods, architectural, 11
Perosini, Scipione, 113
Pertinchamp, Claude La Remée, 102, 103
Pertsch, Matthaus, 107–108
Piacentini, Marcello, 258
Piacentini, Pio, 234, 251
Pianta Guida della Città di Roma, (city plan, 1884), Rome, **225**
Piazza Belgioso, Milan, **80**
Piazza Carlo Felice, Turin, **188**
Piazza Cesare Beccaria, Florence, **193**
Piazza del Duomo, Milan, 199, 201
Piazza del Plebiscito, Naples, 104, **105,** 196
Piazza del Popolo, Rome, 115–120, **117, 118**; gardens at, 116–119
Piazza dell'Esedra, Rome, **251**
Piazza di San Marco, Venice, **99**
Piazza Vittorio Emanuele I, Turin, **102,** 103
piazzas. *See* names of individual piazzas
Piermarini, Giuseppe, 77–83, 91, 177
Pieroni, Francesco, 228, 230
Pincian Hill gardens. *See* garden design
Piranesi, Giovanni Battista, 14, 18–19, 47–59, 62, 122; publications of, 51–52; *vedute* (urban views), 48–49
Pius IX, Pope, 219–222
Pius VI, Pope, 71–73, 73–76
Pius VII, Pope, 113–114
Poccianti, Pasquale, 158, 159
Poggi, Giuseppe, 192–194; stylistic contributions, 194
Poletti, Luigi, 173–174, 175
Pompeii, 63
Ponte Vittorio Emanuele I, Turin, **102**
Ponte Vittorio Emanuele II, Rome, **245**
Pontine Marshes, 75–76
Porta Pia (gate), Rome, **223**
Posi, Paolo, 17–18
Presenti, Enrico, 191
Promis, Carlo, 186–187, **188**
public buildings. *See also* individual building name: city halls, 216; Palermo, 217
public space, 114, 194, 259; *palazzo comunale* concept of, 216; in Venice, 101

Q
Quarenghi, Giacomo, 59–62, 70

R
railroad construction, 168
railroad stations, 186–189; Stazione Porta Nuova, Turin, **188,** 189; Stazione Termini, Rome, **221,** 222
Receuil des décorations intérieures (publication), 100
reconstruction. *See* restoration (architectural)
Reggia (palace) at Caserta, 28–39, **33, 34, 37**
Reishammer, Carlo, 167–168
restoration (architectural), 169–174. *See also* antiquities; archaeology; Boito's contribution to, 182
Rettifilo (urban renewal project), Naples, 196–198, **197**
revivalism, 176–182. *See also* specific style name
Rezzonico, Giovanni Battista, 54, 55
risanamento (urban renewal), 199; Florence, 195
Risorgimento (national resurgence), 12, 84, 222–224; Canova's importance in, 148
roads: Corso Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, **245**
Rocco, Emanuelle, 202, 203
"Roma Capitale d'Italia," (engraving), **225**
Roman ruins. *See* antiquities; archaeology
Romantic era: historical implications of, 182–183; and Verdi's opera, 147
romanticism, 128–130, 134–135; exploratory, 150; in Tuscany, 156–158
Rome: city plan (1748) by Nolli, **21**; city plans (1884), **225**; effects of government installation, 222–223, 226; final years of papal reign, 220–221; Napoleonic influence on, 112–120; Nolli plan for, **21**; plans under Mayor Nathan, 255; World's fair, 1911, 255–257
Rossi-Melocchi, Cosimo, 159
Rosso, Luigi, 232
Rubbiani, Alfonso, 214, 215
ruins. *See* antiquities; restoration (architectural)

S
Sacconi, Giuseppe, 235, 236–237
Saint Peter's Basilica, Rome, 73–74; sacristy of, **75**
Saint Peter's Square, Rome: *Festa della Federazione,* **86**
Salone delle Feste, **258**
Salvi, Nicola, 24–28
San Francesco di Paola, Naples, **105,** 106
San Gaudenzio, Novara, 160, **161,** 163
San Giovanni Laterano, 22, 23–24, **25,** 52, **53**; facade, **25**
San Leopoldo, Follonica, **167,** 168
San Lorenzo fuori le mura, Rome, 220
San Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, 172–175; restoration of, **175**; restoration theory and, 173–174
Santa Maria del Fiore, Florence, 204, **205, 208, 211**
Santa Maria del Priorato, Rome, 54, **57**
Santa Maria della Scala, Milan, 81
Santa Scholastica, Subaico, 59–61, **60**
Sant'Antonio Taumaturgo, Trieste, **108,** 109
Saonara Gardens, near Padua, **129**
scenography, 143–144
sculpture, neoclassical, 147–148
Scuola Carrarese, Padua, **181**
Sella, Quintino, 229, 230, 231
Selva, Giannantonio, 83–84, 107
Simonetti, Michaelangelo, 70–72
Soli, Giuseppe Maria, 99, 100
Stazione Porta Nuova, Turin, 187–189, **188**
Stazione Termini, Rome, **221,** 222
Stern, Raffaele, 112, 123, **124**, 169–170, 171
styles (architectural): Classical, 162; Gothic, 162, 176–178; neo-Renaissance, 192; neo-Romanesque, 179–180; romantic, 128–130, 134–135, 150, 156–158; utilitarian aspects, 180
synagogues, 163, **254,** See also "Mole Antonelliana," Turin

T
Teatro alla Scala, Milan, **80,** 81–82
Teatro Carlo Felice, Genoa, **154,** 155
Teatro La Fenice, Venice, 83–84, 144–145, **146**; reconstruction after fire, 144
Teatro Massimo Vittorio Emanuele II, Palermo, **218**
Teatro San Carlo, Naples, **105,** 106
Tempio Canoviano, Possagno, 149–151, **151**; as perfect synthesis of styles, 150
Tempio israelitico, Roma, **254**
theater design, 155; Teatro Massimo Vittorio Emanuele II, Palermo, 217
Thorvaldsen, Bertel, 112
Titus, Arch of, 169–170, **171**
Torlonia, Alessandro, 139–141, 142
Torlonia, Giovanni, 138–139
town halls, 214–216
train stations and terminals. *See* railroad stations
Trevi Fountain, Rome, 24–28, **25,** 85
Trieste: Napoleonic influence on, 107–112
Trieste theater, 107
Turin: as capital city, 186–189; city plan, 186, **187**; stone bridge over Po, 103

U
unification, national. *See* national unification (Italy)
urban planning: Florence, 190–192; industrial aspects (Milan), 204; infrastructure (roads and bridges), 243–245; Naples, 196; *risanamento,* 198–199; public financing for, 243; Rome under Mayor Nathan, 255; Viviani's contribution, 244
urban renewal. *See risanmento* (urban renewal)

V
Valadier, Giuseppe, 114–119, 138–139, 140, 171
Vanvitelli, Carlo, 36, **37**
Vanvitelli, Luigi, 25, 28–39, 77–78
Vatican Museums (Braccio Nuovo), Rome, 123, **124**
Venice: Napoleonic influence on, 98–101; *Ornato* Board, 101
Verdi, Giuseppe: effect on scenography, 147
Verri, Pietro, 82
Vescovali, Angelo, 245
Via dei Calziuoli (widening), Florence, **191**
Via del Corso, Rome, **254**
Via del Rettifilo, Naples, **197,** 198
Via del Santo Stefano houses (restoration), Bologna, **215**
Via Nazionale, Rome, 227–228, **228**
Viale dei Colli, Florence, 194
Vici, Andrea, 86, 88
Villa Albani, Rome, 66–67, **68,** 85
Villa Borghese, Rome, 72–73, 136–138; extension to Via Flaminia, **137**
Villa Il Pavone, Siena, **159**
Villa Puccini, near Pistoia, Tuscany, 157
Villa Torlonia, Rome, **140**
villas, rivalries among, 136–142
"Vittoriano," The (Monument to Vittorio Emanuelle II), Rome, **237**; designs for, **234**; political significance of, 236, 239
Vittorio Emanuelle II, King: death of, 231; funeral decorations for, **232**
Viviani, Alessandro, 241–244

W
Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, 107
works of art. *See* antiquities
World's Fair (1908), Rome, 255–258; "Forum of the Regions," **258,** 259; Italian pavilion, 256