

THE CENTER FOR PALLADIAN STUDIES in America, Inc., is a non-profit national membership organization founded in 1979 to research and promote understanding of Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio and his influence in the United States.

In furtherance of its goals, the Center organizes symposia, lectures, and study tours on Palladian subjects, publishes books and periodicals, sponsors exhibitions, and makes grants to scholars and others.

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Palladian Year Celebrations

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his day. Architectural elevations and plans from the books will be coupled with photographs and scale models to examine three of Palladio's villa designs that have numerous imitations and derivatives in England and America.

The exhibition, to be presented at the Peabody Library of Johns Hopkins University, will be open from March 14 to

June 15, 2008. A symposium of prominent scholars, planned for April 11, 2008, will draw together the multiple themes of the program. Danielle Culpepper and Judith Proffitt will curate the exhibition, which is being organized by the Peabody Library and the Homewood Museum of Johns Hopkins University.

Full details of the exhibition and symposium will be described in the January 2008 issue of *Palladiana*.

28 Years of Service

CPSA's Record of Support for Study of American Palladianism

For more than 27 years CPSA has provided its members a vehicle for appreciating and learning more about how Renaissance architect Andrea Palladio changed the way the world looks today. CPSA has offered a diverse program for members at all levels of knowledge and interest.

Its activities have included focused group tours to the Veneto region of Italy to visit the villas, churches and palaces designed by Palladio himself, and to Germany and England for examples of European Palladianism. Tours in America have visited Palladian-inspired homes and other structures in Virginia, South Carolina and Louisiana.

Publications by CPSA include the *Building by the Book* series (three vols., 1984, 1986, 1990) edited by Mario di Valmarana; *Bremo: The Establishment of a Virginia Plantation* (1988), by C. Allan Brown; and *Palladio and America: Selected Papers Presented to the Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* (1997), edited by Christopher Weeks. Grants have been made in support of Bryan Clark Green's *In Jefferson's Shadow: The Architecture of Thomas R. Blackburn* (2006) and Douglas Lewis' projected *Villa Cornaro at Piombino*. Other recent CPSA grants have supported the Virginia Historical Society's 2006 exhibition "In Jefferson's Shadow: The Architecture of Thomas Blackburn" and a study of Battersea, the important 1768 Palladian home in Petersburg, Virginia.

CPSA co-sponsors Virginia Commonwealth University's annual architectural history symposia and offers its own program of symposia; lectures and newsletters at regular intervals. With this issue, its journal, *Palladiana*, enters its second year of publication.

CPSA is dependent upon its membership, and your participation is invited. Please encourage other interested individuals to become members as well.

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CPSA 2007-8 MEMBERSHIP RENEWAL

and new member application

Individual, \$30 (students, \$15); Family, \$50; Patron, \$100 \$

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Also please send me information about

✂ Oct 2007 drawing trip; ✂ Nov. 2007 VCU Symposium; ✂ Sept. 2008 villas tour

Mail this form (or a copy) with your check to:

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Fall 2007

CENTER FOR PALLADIAN STUDIES IN AMERICA



500th anniversary of Palladio's birth

Italian tours, symposium, exhibition highlight CPSA celebration programs

The CPSA is planning a year of tempting programs to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Andrea Palladio's birth. The unusual variety of activities includes two special trips to the Veneto region of Italy where Palladio worked.

Italy tour. Early September 2008 has been selected for a special tour of the legendary Palladio-designed villas in the countryside near Venice, Italy. Leading guides, sometimes joined by villa owners themselves, will tie the villas into the latest in Palladian research, creating a special educational and cultural experience. Exact dates for the 8-day tour, sponsored by the Virginia Center for Architecture in cooperation with CPSA, are now being finalized.

For detailed information, contact VCA at 804/644-3041 (email bguncheon@aiava.org) or note your interest on the CPSA membership renewal form enclosed with this mailing.

Drawing trip. A unique opportunity for up to 12 Palladio lovers with drawing skills is in the works for October 5-9, 2007. The Institute for Classical Architecture & Classical America, in cooperation with CPSA, is organizing a field trip especially designed to study Palladio's Villa Cornaro in Piombino Dese, about 20 miles northwest of Venice, and to produce drawings and paintings of it.

The tour leaders will be Victor Duepi, the ICA&CA Director of Education, and

Michael Grimaldi, a New York painter now in residence at the American Academy in Rome. They hope to display the resulting artwork in a Year of Palladio exhibition in 2008.

Sally and Carl Gable, co-authors of *Palladian Days*, will be available to provide a first hand account of their experiences and discoveries at the villa.

Contact Victor Duepi at ICA&CA for additional details (vdeupi@classicist.org) or note your interest on the CPSA membership renewal form.

Palladian Symposium. This year the Palladian Session at the annual Architectural Symposium presented by Virginia Commonwealth University and co-sponsored by CPSA will include, among other subjects, a report on new research into the history of Palladio's double projecting portico motif in America.

The program on November 16, 2007, at the Virginia Historical Society in Richmond, Virginia, is organized by Dr. Charles E. Brownell, a member of the CPSA Board of Directors. For information phone 804 / 828-2784 or note your interest on the CPSA membership renewal form.

Baltimore exhibition. At Johns Hopkins University, CPSA will co-sponsor *Harmony to the Eyes*, an exhibition and symposium presenting first editions of Palladio's own publications and situating them in the context of his

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Newly discovered symbolism of villa's rooftop statues may offer fresh Palladian insight. 2

► Palladio's Fifth Book



How Lord Burlington labored to expand the Palladian canon 6

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Plan Now for Coming Events

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2007 Fall

☐ Sept. 4 *Palladiana* (Fall issue)

☐ Oct. 5-9 ICA&CA Palladian Drawing Trip
in cooperation with CPSA

☐ Nov. 16 Palladian Session
VCU Architectural Symposium
co-sponsored by CPSA

2008

☐ Jan. 2 *Palladiana* (Winter issue)

☐ Mar. 3-Jun. 15 *Harmony to the Eyes*
exhibition and symposium
co-sponsored by CPSA

☐ Sept. VCA Palladian Villa tour
in cooperation with CPSA

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Palladio and Astrology at La Rotonda

Research Opens Dramatic Insight into Palladio's Architectural Vision

by Alexandra di Valmarana

This article is adapted from a paper presented at the University of Bath, England.

The twelve statues that crown the roof of Villa Almerigo-Capra ('La Rotonda'), Palladio's well-known structure on the outskirts of Vicenza, appear on first impression to be purely decorative and are often overlooked in research regarding Palladio and the building. [Fig. 1] However, close inspection of the statues and their pedestals during recent restoration at the villa has led to several surprising discoveries and possible new insights into Palladio's design objectives.

Examination and identification of the statues and their meaning within the humanist context of the Renaissance reveals that the statues were intended to be much more than ornamental. They supply a cosmic iconography for the entire villa, describing a pattern of the heavens within which man resides.

The research presented in this paper establishes that the subjects of the statues and their specific locations correspond to a precise plan designed to plot, on earth, an astrological map of the heavens.

Discovery of astrological symbols. Each of the villa's rooftop statues (*acroteria*) stands on a pedestal. The pedestal consists of a square or rectangular section of stone capped by a molded cornice; the base straddles either the apex or eave of the pediment. [Fig. 3] The pedestal of the center statue on each pediment has a square footprint and the side pedestals are rectangular. The pedestals are joined to the clay tile roof with a lime/sand slurry, or flaunching, which appears to have been repaired and replaced on several occasions. Each statue is carved with an integral base in the same outline as its pedestal, though smaller.

"Owing to the inclination of the twelve signs [zodiac] and the course of the sun, the disposition of houses ought to conform to the characteristics of their geographical location and the different aspects of the sky."

Vitruvius, *De architectura*
(first century, A.D.)¹

(Exceptions include statue G, which appears to have two statue bases, and statue I, which has an elliptical base.)
The clue that led to the intriguing discovery of the present study is that at least nine pedestals display a unique symbol incised into the outward-facing side of its base. [Fig. 4] (The bases of statues E, F, H and I could not be



Fig. 1. La Rotonda (Villa Almerigo-Capra), Vicenza, is encircled by twelve rooftop statues, three on each of its four pediments.

reached for personal inspection in this study, but H is visible in an earlier published photograph.²) The symbols are approximately 15cm (6 inches) square on average and are carved into the stone with approximately 1cm indentations. Inspection alone does not explain the meaning of the marks or the significance of their presence. Are they mason's marks? A numbering system? Do they relate to the roof or the statue? or perhaps both?

Ultimately, further study revealed that each symbol represents a constellation of the zodiac. Moreover, the symbols circle the villa clockwise in the same order as their respective constellations circle the sky, beginning with the three on the villa's southeast pediment, as follows: Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, [inaccessible], [partially accessible], Libra, Scorpio, [inaccessible],

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Palladio by Burlington

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independently as 'An Epistle to the Earl of Burlington, Occasion'd by his Publishing Palladio's Designs of Ancient Rome.' The 'Epistle' is one of the classics of English poetry and was an indispensable statement of principles for architecture and landscape design during Britain's Augustan Age.

The *Fabbriche* at last reached publication sometime between 1735 and 1740 (Fig. 1, Baths of Diocletian, detail). Burlington still promised to print further Palladio drawings of ancient buildings in another volume, but he never did. As a result, his book's title—meaning 'Ancient Buildings,' not 'Ancient Baths'—does not fit well. The book is maddening to use: the organization is confusing, there is no text but a one-page introduction in Italian, only some of the illustrations have labels, and the plates are not numbered. (Beyond that, Palladio's complex renderings require the closest attention to decipher.) On the other hand, the standards of reproduction are superb. It is impressive that any engraver could use the *mezzotint* technique so subtly as to give the effect of ink and wash drawings.

The impact of the book was neither direct nor immediate. It had scant effect on British Palladianism because Burlington issued this costly volume late and in a limited edition which he distributed only to select recipients.

Early eighteenth-century British Palladianism, however, had quite a part to play beyond its own time, for it affected a variety of episodes in the Neoclassicism that swept the Western world in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Within the Neoclassical Movement, the *Fabbriche* became the model for a series of far more successful books on the baths, starting with *The Baths of the Romans* (1772), an enlarged revision of the *Fabbriche* by Isaac Ware's pupil Charles Cameron. Such volumes were one way that Palladio's influence shaped international Neoclassicism.

But the successor-books were by no means the only way that Burlington's collection of Palladio's bath drawings made their mark in later times. With the preparation of the drawings for publication, Burlington's circle became interested in certain elements of the Roman baths. A noteworthy case is a characteristic motif at the baths, an indoor or outdoor niche

screened with columns (highlighted in Fig. 1). William Kent gave the most memorable realization to the theme in British Palladianism. Kent isolated the motif on the front of a celebrated pavilion known as the Temple of Venus in the gardens at Stowe in Buckinghamshire (before 1732; Fig. 2). The motif migrated to the French neoclassicist Claude-Nicolas Ledoux and thence to architects internationally. In the early nineteenth century, B. Henry Latrobe did much to popularize such screened niches in the United States. The consummate case came in 1817, when Latrobe supplied Jefferson with designs for the Pavilions at the University of Virginia. The much-admired Pavilion IX (Fig. 3) is Jefferson's revision of Latrobe's suggestion, adapted by running a colonnade across the entire front of the building, past a curved niche with its columnar screen.

The route from Pavilion IX back to Burlington's Palladio collection is a winding one. When we walk this road, though, we learn anew that the civilizations of the ancient world stand behind American culture, that Palladio's influence can be more subtle than a matter of temple porticoes or colonnaded wings, and that a British peer's ideas about reforming architecture had an immense influence on the emergence of monumental Classicism on the North American continent.

FURTHER READING

Charles Brownell, 'Palladio, the Convex Portico, and the Colonial Revival in Richmond,' *Palladiana: Journal of the Center for Palladian Studies in America*, v. 1, no. 2 (Spring 2007): 4-7.
Charles E. Brownell, Calder Loth, William M. S. Rasmussen, and Richard Guy Wilson, *The Making of Virginia Architecture* (Richmond: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 1992).
Eileen Harris, assisted by Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
Douglas Lewis, *The Drawings of Andrea Palladio* (New Orleans: Martin & St. Martin, new ed. 2000).

CHARLES BROWNELL, Ph.D., Professor of Art History, Virginia Commonwealth University, is co-author of *The Making of Virginia Architecture* and *The Architectural Drawings of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, and a member of the board of directors of the Center for Palladian Studies in America, Inc. Dr. Brownell is director of the annual symposium on architectural history presented by VCU's School of Arts and co-sponsored by CPSA.



Fig. 3. Thomas Jefferson after B. Henry Latrobe, Pavilion IX, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia (designed 1817).

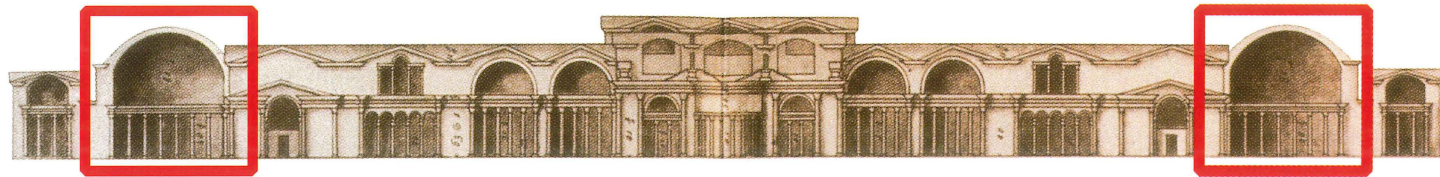


Fig. 1. Baths of Diocletian (detail) with columned niche elements highlighted. Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, ed., *Fabbriche Antiche* (c. 1735-40).

The fifth book of architecture

Lord Burlington and Palladio's drawings of the baths of Rome

by Charles Brownell

Richard Boyle, the Third Earl of Burlington (1694-1753), wished to see one of the great ages of architecture unfold in eighteenth-century Britain. To this end, Lord Burlington worked to establish the authority of Antiquity, of Antiquity's great Italian reviver Palladio, and of Palladio's first British disciple, Inigo Jones. Burlington and his followers rarely reached the heights in architecture, but they did teach much of the English-speaking world to build in accordance with some of the best ideas that the Classical tradition had to offer.

Burlington, a towering patron and collector, reached his goal above all by means of books. The Earl fostered the publication of the works of Palladio, Jones, and other Palladian architects in fine volumes. These books not only inspired other architects; commercial publishers plucked elements from their pages for cheaper volumes issued for the building trades. Thus, Burlington sponsored *The Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727), edited by William Kent. Here Kent, the Earl's right arm, published engravings of executed and unexecuted drawings by Jones, other British Palladians, and Palladio himself, all from Burlington's collection. The *Designs* provided models for such diverse figures as Batty Langley, the vastly influential publisher of builders' handbooks, and Thomas Jefferson, the most important figure in establishing Classical architecture in the United States. In another case, *The Four Books of Andrea Palladio's Architecture* (1737-c. 1740), which another Burlington assistant named Isaac Ware translated and engraved, Burlington reviewed every page of the translation and probably provided substantial funding. The Ware-Burlington edition of Palladio's treatise remained the authoritative English translation for just over 250 years.

The history of the Earl's attempt to publish Palladio's drawings of ancient Roman buildings differs sharply from the success stories. In the *Four Books* (1570), Palladio had repeatedly referred to his intention of illustrating Roman architecture--such as amphitheaters and baths--in further 'books,' but in 1580 he died without having done so. In 1719, in Venice, Burlington bought a quantity of Palladio's drawings of antiquities from the Barbaro-Trevesan family,

who owned the villa by Palladio at Maser. Burlington gave permission to a scholar, Robert Castell, to reproduce the Palladio drawings as illustrations for what Castell planned as a magnificent edition of the treatise by the Roman theorist Vitruvius. Unfortunately Castell's manuscript disappeared after his death in 1728. Burlington, aided by Isaac Ware, then set about preparing a lavish edition of the Palladio drawings. Burlington chose the title *Fabbriche Antiche*, which in eighteenth-century English translated as 'antique fabricks,' but which we would render as 'ancient buildings.' In 1729 or 1730 Burlington began turning drawings over to the eminent engraver Paul Fourdrinier for reproduction according to standards that had no precedent in British architectural books. By early 1731 Burlington proposed that the poet Alexander Pope contribute verses to the *Fabbriche*. All that Burlington needed was the text to explain the drawings, and he hoped to discover Palladio's own remarks.

Sad to say, by degrees the *Fabbriche* project broke apart, apparently because of the lack of a text by Palladio. Neither Burlington's agents nor anyone else has ever discovered such a manuscript. In 1731, when publication of the *Fabbriche* still seemed imminent, Pope saluted the coming book. He now issued his intended contribution

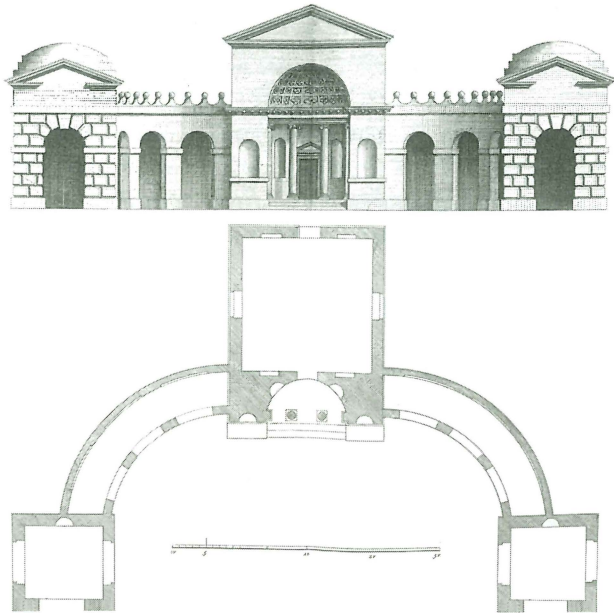


Fig. 2. William Kent, 'Temple of Venus,' Stowe, Buckinghamshire (before 1732), in Isaac Ware, *Designs of Inigo Jones* (1727).

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Palladio and Astrology at La Rotonda Continued from page 2

Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces. The progression of the symbols, like the signs of the zodiac, begins at the point where the sun is aligned at the vernal equinox, that is, the east. As a result, each symbol is generally aligned toward its own constellation in the sky. The positioning of the three pedestals that could not be viewed implies that those will be found to bear the symbols of Leo, Virgo and Sagittarius. [Fig. 2]

Zodiac 101. The *zodiac* is a band of the sky with an amplitude of about 18°. The band is centered on the *ecliptic*, which is the plane of the earth's orbit around the sun. The paths of the sun, moon and principal planets as they travel through the sky all appear within this band of the zodiac.

The *signs* of the zodiac are twelve equal (30°) geometrical segments of the band, counted from the position of the sun at the vernal equinox. Each sign was named for a constellation that was visible within it in classical times. (Because of 'precession,' a slow change in orientation of the earth's axis, the constellations no longer appear precisely within their sign.) The constellations of the zodiac are each identified with a traditional *symbol*.

The subjects of the statues. The identification of the astrological symbols opens the question of whether the statues themselves relate to the symbols on their respective pedestals. The subjects of the statues can be presumed to be mythological figures, but the process of identifying each god and goddess is challenging. After 400 years, the condition of the statues varies. The stone, white limestone from nearby Costozza, has decayed considerably in some areas. Many of the arms have been broken off the statues, and with them their attributes have been lost. Neptune's forked trident has been reduced to a rod, and Jupiter's lightning bolt is partly missing, as is his right hand. (The recent work at the villa has stabilized and sympathetically repaired much of the damage.)

Some identities might seem obvious even to the casual observer, e. g., Mercury with his winged hat, and Apollo with his lyre. Yet, the seemingly obvious indicia can be deceptive, because today's perception of the gods and goddesses may not have been the Renaissance interpretation. Today one thinks of the god Mercury with a winged hat, but Icarus was also once depicted with a winged hat. A voluptuous naked goddess with a crown could be either Venus or Juno or even a nymph; Hercule is often depicted with a large cat but so is Bacchus. The identification of the statues at first seems straightforward, but the more one investigates the Renaissance

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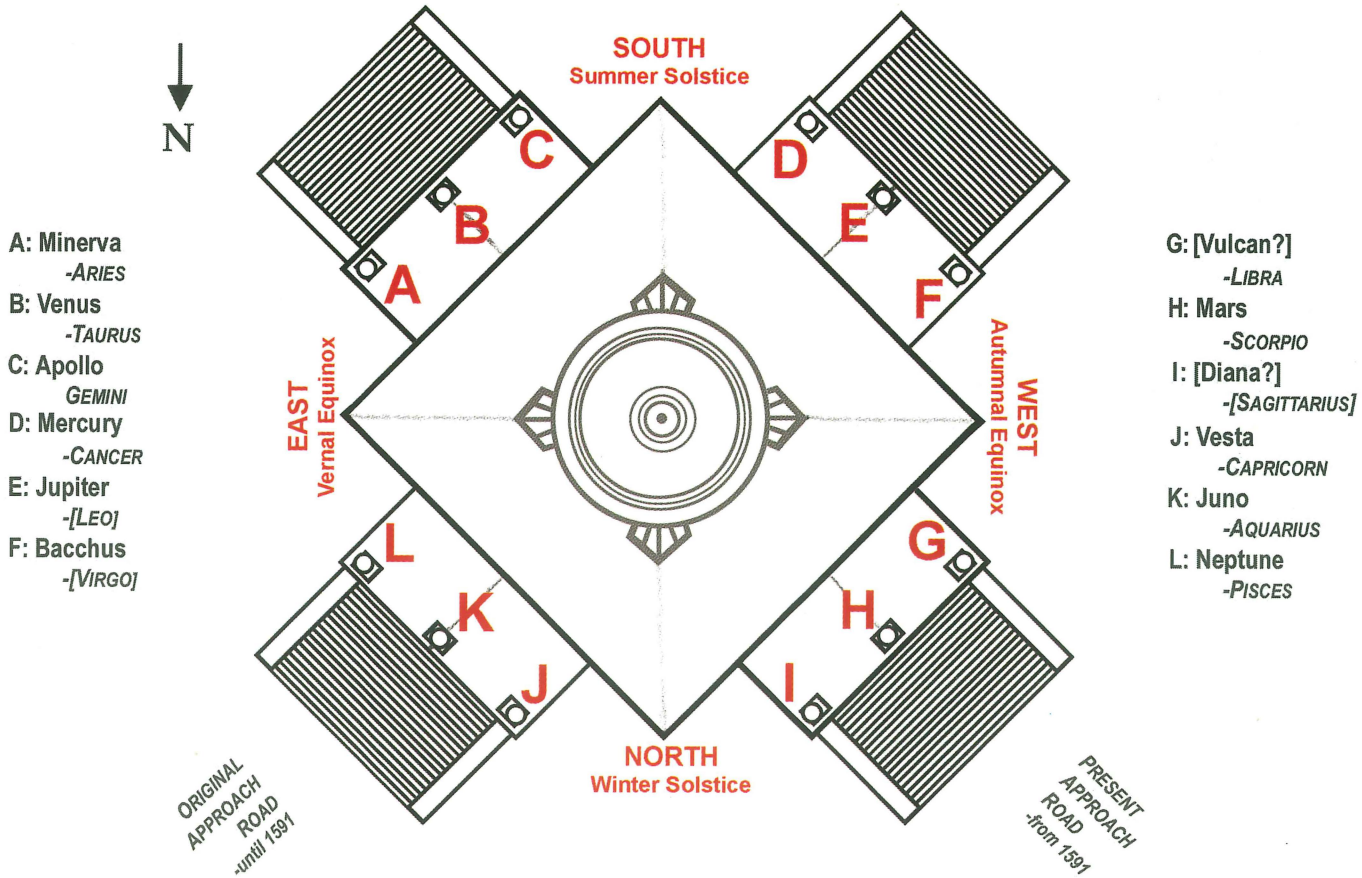


Fig. 2. Plan of La Rotonda with identity and location of rooftop statues, as well as the constellation symbol inscribed on the pedestal of each. Items in brackets are unconfirmed.

Palladio and Astrology at La Rotonda

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interpretation of mythology, the more complex the identification process becomes.

Consequently, contemporaneous Renaissance references must be used as the identifying tool. Translations of classical texts on mythology were known and readily available to Palladio and his circle. Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, a sort of genealogy of the gods, was translated and published in Venice by Aldus Manutius in 1540; Gaius Julius Hyginus' *Poetica Astronomica*, a treatise on astronomy and mythology, was translated and published by Manutius in 1482, 1512 and 1525. The earliest treatise on astrology, *Astronomica*, by the Roman Marcus Manilius, was republished in Venice in 1499 and 1579.

With these texts, it is possible to identify ten of the statues confidently, namely, Minerva, Venus, Apollo,



Fig. 3. Giambattista Albanese: Mercury and Jupiter.

Mercury, Jupiter, Bacchus, Mars, Vesta, Juno and Neptune. The locations of these statues, together with the zodiac signs symbolized on their respective pedestals are indicated on the accompanying plan. [Fig. 2]

Ultimately, only two identifications proved to be problematic, namely, statues G and I, both on the

northwest pediment. Statue G bears indicia which could denote either the goddess Proserpina or the nymph Syrinx; statue I does not contain any identifiable indicia and its identity is unknown. These two statues differ stylistically from the other ten, suggesting that they may be replacements installed after damage to the originals. As discussed below, the overall ordering of the statues and of the zodiac symbols suggests that these two locations originally displayed statues of Vulcan and Diana. The storming of La Rotonda by Austro-Hungarian troops in 1848 offers one historical episode that could have led to destruction and replacement of the two puzzling statues. [Fig. 5]

Selection and positioning of the statues. Establishing the identities of the statues allows



Fig. 4. (left) Giambattista Albanese: Mercury, on southwest pediment; (right) Pedestal of Mercury with incised symbol of the constellation Cancer (the Crab).

consideration of whether the subjects were selected in accordance with a plan. The zodiac symbols on the pedestals point to the answer. As noted earlier, the zodiac symbols face the section of the sky identified by the symbol. In fact, reference to the same classical sources used to identify the statues indicates that the gods and goddesses may have been selected because they are the deities specifically associated with or "protecting" the various constellations. Thus, according to Manilius, Minerva is protector of Aries and Venus the protector of Taurus. The old texts posit comparable relationships between each of the other deities depicted and the constellations symbolized on their respective pedestals. (Of course, the pairing of deity and symbol applies to statues G and I only if the present statues are deemed to be replacements for

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earlier statues of Vulcan and Diana.)

In the context of the Renaissance understanding of astrology and mythology, it is unlikely that the selection of statuary subjects, their positioning, and their association with specific zodiac symbols can be explained by coincidence. The figures depicted appear to purposefully stand upon La Rotonda's roof, like sentinels around its circumference, eternally peering outward to guard both the villa's inhabitants and the section of the heavens for which the deities have special responsibility.

1560s	-Almerigo retains Palladio, begins construction of La Rotonda.
1580	-Palladio dies.
1589	-Almerigo dies.
1591	-Odorico and Mario Capra purchase the unfinished villa, resume work under Scamozzi's supervision.
1599	-Albanese begins carving statues.
1616	-Work on La Rotonda ends.

Palladio's role in statuary plan. As La Rotonda was incomplete at the time of Palladio's death, it is difficult to know exactly what role he played in developing the elegant cosmological model displayed on the roof of his great villa. The chronology of the villa's construction is displayed in a sidebar.

The statues were sculpted by Giambattista Albanese, and the years 1599-1602 are generally accepted as the period of their execution.³ Thus carving of the statues commenced 19 years after Palladio's death and eight years after the incomplete villa was acquired by the Capra brothers from the heirs of Paolo Almerigo, its original patron. Nonetheless, Palladio had a long association with the artists who completed the work, or with their parents, and they could have continued an overall decorative plan originated by him. For example, Lorenzo Rubini carved statues for the villa's stairs during Palladio's lifetime while, after Lorenzo's death, his son Agostino Rubini executed most of the interior stucco work of the dome in 1594-6 and may have been responsible for the dome's overall design scheme.⁴ In this regard it is notable that the new owners, the Capras, allowed frescos on some of the interior ceilings to be executed by Alessandro Maganza (son of Palladio's

"If we consider this beautiful machine of the world, with how many wonderful ornaments it is filled, and how the heavens, by their continual revolutions, change the seasons according as nature requires, and their motion preserves itself by the sweetest harmony of temperature; we cannot doubt, but that the little temples we make, ought to resemble this very great one."

Andrea Palladio,
*The Four Books on Architecture*⁵

great friend, the painter Giambattista Maganza) with allegorical references to Paolo Almerigo, the original patron. This would seem to imply that at least some of the later decoration followed plans developed earlier.

This research confronts many unknowns. No written evidence has been located to document Palladio as author of the astrological layout of La Rotonda's rooftop statues. Yet the position of the statues seems inseparable from the site plan of the villa, and suggests a humanistic theme that may be central to the whole concept of La Rotonda. Whatever the theme and whoever organized it, whether Palladio or others, the statuary appears integral to the design of the villa.

Many refer to La Rotonda as Palladio's crowning achievement. It now seems that the statuary and decoration may play an equally important role in understanding the meaning, and not just the design, of the work.



Fig. 5. The Prohaska Regiment of the Austro-Hungarian army storming La Rotonda in Risorgimento fighting 10 June 1848. Casualties may have included two rooftop statues.

NOTES:

1. T. G. Smith, ed., *Vitruvius on Architecture* (New York: Monacelli Press, 2003), 182.
 2. G. Mariacher, "Le sculture e gli stucchi," in C. I. S. A. Andrea Palladio, *La Rotonda* (Electa, 1990).
 3. M. Saccardo, "Il perfezionamento della Rotonda promosso da Odorico e Mario Capra (1591-1619)," in C. I. S. A. Andrea Palladio, *La Rotonda* (Electa, 1990), 41.
 4. Saccardo, 41; Mariacher, 104; F. M. Ricci, ed., *The Rotonda* (Milan: FMR, 2001), 19.
 5. Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books on Architecture*, trans. by Robert Tavernor and Richard Schofield (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1997), 213.
- The author is indebted to Mario, Lodovico and Francesco di Valmarana, Clemente di Thiene, Robert Tavernor, Peregrine Bryant, Carl I. Gable and Michael Forsyth for their assistance.
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