ANDREA PALLADIO'S INFLUENCE ON VENETIAN
CHURCH DESIGN: 1581 - 1751

By

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We accept this thesis as conforming
to the required standard

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ABSTRACT

Andrea Palladio was born in Padua in the Republic of Venice in 1508 and practiced his architecture throughout the Veneto until his death in 1580. Today, there are some forty-four surviving palaces, villas, and churches by the master. These buildings have profoundly moved the imagination of countless generations of academics, artists, and architects for over four hundred years. Without a doubt, he has been the most exalted and emulated architect in modern history.

While Palladio is well-remembered for his innovative palaces and villas of the Veneto, he is also most distinguished for his revolutionary religious architecture in Venice itself. His designs for San Francesco della Vigna (1562) (Fig. 1), San Giorgio Maggiore (1565) (Fig. 3), Le Zitelle (1570) (Fig. 4), Il Redentore (1576) (Fig. 5), and the Tempietto (1580) (Fig. 6) at Master, represented fresh and independent visions, exemplifying his deep-seated understanding of the ideas of the High Renaissance. Nowhere was Palladio's influence on the future development of ecclesiastical design more profoundly felt than in Venice itself. Collectively, the emulators of Palladian church design form a coherent episode which can be discernedly traced from Santa Maria Celeste (Figs. 7 and 8) in 1581 through to San Giovanni Novo (Fig. 9) of 1751. Between these years and buildings, there were sixty-two churches erected in Venice. Of these, some thirty-five structures, or fifty-six percent, exhibit, through their system of organizing plans, elevations and spatial relationships, different degrees of debt to Palladio. All
in all, they demonstrate a highly significant concurrency in the overall development of religious architecture in Venice.

The aim of this present thesis is to investigate the architectural character of a large number of Venetian churches built between 1581 and 1751 in an attempt to clarify the extent of Palladio's influence on their design. This study will be divided into four chapters. In order to better understand sixteenth century Venetian building in general, and Palladio's prominent position within it, Chapter One will explore the unfolding ambience of Renaissance architecture in Venice, elucidating the rich, productive, and interrelational development of the city's most innovative architects. Herein, the saliency of Palladio and his churches, as crowning symbols of this period, will be examined. Chapters Two, Three and Four will explore the thirty-five churches under investigation. These last sections will analyze some ten or more buildings each, and, for the most part, in the chronological order of their construction. In the end, it is hoped that this study will demonstrate a clear and coherent tradition of Venetian church design which fulfilled itself through an integration of a whole series of Palladian prototypes.
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TO

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THANK YOU

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PROFESSOR GEORGE KNOX
INTRODUCTION

Andrea Palladio was born in Padua in the Republic of Venice in 1508 and practiced his architecture throughout the Veneto until his death in 1580. Today, there are some forty-four surviving palaces, villas, and churches by the master. These buildings have profoundly moved the imagination of countless generations of academics, artists, and architects for over four hundred years. Without a doubt, he has been the most exalted and emulated architect in modern history.

Admirers of architecture have marvelled at the near perfection of Palladio's art, each searching for "... the secret of his enormous influence." Critical opinion of the architect by contemporary scholars has been one of united veneration. James Ackerman opens his important and much appreciated Palladio (Baltimore, 1966) with an encompassing extolment of the architect:

All over the western world hundreds of thousands of houses, churches and public buildings with symmetrical fronts and applied half-columns topped by a pediment descend from the designs of Andrea Palladio. He is the most imitated architect in history ... greater than that of all other Renaissance architects combined.

Reflecting on this same theme, Frederic Nichols states that Palladio "... was the most influential single architect who ever lived." Proceeding further, Howard Burns submits that the world could benefit immediate advantage from an embrace of Palladio in our own times. He acknowledges him as

... the greatest and most original of all architects ... radical, clearheaded, and innovatory in his approach to design. His aims and procedures are of enduring interest and value ... The quality and moral and intellectual commitment of his work have few parallels in the history of architecture. For anyone seriously concerned with creating some degree of happiness for himself and for others
'here below', Palladio's achievement will always repay study and reflection.\textsuperscript{5}

As Burns suggests, the buildings of Palladio evoke a presence imbued with universal meaning, value and quality, maintaining the same imminent interest and importance for today's architects as they did for those of the past four centuries.

While Palladio is well-remembered for his innovative palaces and villas of the Veneto, he is also most distinguished for his revolutionary religious architecture in Venice itself. His designs for San Francesco della Vigna (1562) (Fig. 1), San Giorgio Maggiore (1565) (Fig. 3), Le Zitelle (1570) (Fig. 4), Il Redentore (1576)(Fig. 5), and the Tempietto (1580) (Fig. 6) at Maser, represented fresh and independent visions, exemplifying his deep-seated understanding of the ideas of the High Renaissance. Nowhere was Palladio's influence on the future development of ecclesiastical design more profoundly felt than in Venice itself. After his death, "Venice was enveloped for centuries in the spell cast by Palladio's architecture"\textsuperscript{6}, and, as Deborah Howard states, "Palladio's Venetian churches had become a fundamental source of inspiration, which no religious architect in the city could afford to ignore."\textsuperscript{7} Collectively, the emulators of Palladian church design form a coherent episode which can be discernedly traced from Santa Maria Celeste (Figs. 7 and 8) in 1581 through to San Giovanni Novo (Fig.9) of 1751. Between these years and buildings, there were sixty-two churches erected in Venice.\textsuperscript{8} Of these, some thirty-five structures, or fifty-six percent, exhibit, through their system of organizing plans, elevations, and spatial relationships, different degrees of debt to Palladio.\textsuperscript{9} All in all they demonstrate a highly significant concurrency in the overall development of religious architecture in Venice.
A review of the literature reveals that no study of Venetian churches after Palladio has comprehensively explored the master's great influence on their designs. To date, most discussions are found in informative studies which are primarily concerned with recording either the overall development of the architecture of Venice throughout its long history or specifically as it relates to certain aesthetic periods. Understandably, within these two formats, churches are most often analyzed as they appear in the process of history rather than in the succession of Palladianism. There are also several good books and countless articles which elucidate the careers of certain architects of Venice. Conceived in a similar vein as the periodic studies, these works analyze church designs as they occur in the overall development of the architect under question. Most often, there has been little attempt to define their extraordinary conformity to Palladian standards within a larger building body over a longer period of time. Currently, the two most informative works on the ecclesiastic structures of Venice are Umberto Franzoi's *Chiese di Venezia* (Venezia, 1976) and Alvise Zorzi's *Venezia Scomparsa* (Milano, 1972). As reference books, they are indispensable, but, once again, the chronology and stylistic merits of each church have been discussed in an independent manner rather than as integral elements which interrelate to form an ongoing Palladian tradition.

The aim of this present thesis is to investigate the architectural character of a large number of Venetian churches built between 1581 and 1751 in an attempt to clarify the extent of Palladio's influence on their design. This study will be divided into four chapters. In order to better understand sixteenth century Venetian building in general and Palladio's prominent posi-
tion within it, Chapter One will explore the unfolding ambience of Renaissance architecture in Venice, elucidating the rich, productive, and interrelational development of the city's most innovative architects. Herein, the saliency of Palladio and his churches, as crowning symbols of this period, will be examined. Chapters Two, Three, and Four will explore the thirty-five churches under investigation. These last sections will analyze some ten or more buildings each, and, for the most part, in the chronological order of their construction. In the end, it is hoped that this study will demonstrate a clear and coherent tradition of Venetian church design which fulfilled itself through an integration of a whole series of Palladian prototypes.

The illustrations which accompany the text of this book can be found in the School of Architecture Reading Room, University of British Columbia, Vancouver, Canada.
NOTES

1. The complete list of these buildings with dates and locations can be found in James Ackerman, *Palladio* (Baltimore: Penguin Books Ltd., 1966), pp. 14-15.


9. The churches built in Venice between 1581 and 1751 which in one way or another demonstrate Palladio's influence are:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Church Name</th>
<th>Architect</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1581</td>
<td>Santa Maria Celeste (plan)</td>
<td>V. Scamozzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1583</td>
<td>San Trovaso</td>
<td>F. Smeraldi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1588</td>
<td>San Francesco di Paola (plan)</td>
<td>architect unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1591</td>
<td>San Nicolò dei Tolentini (plan)</td>
<td>V. Scamozzi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1594</td>
<td>San Pietro (facade)</td>
<td>F. Smeraldi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1603</td>
<td>San Giacomo della Guidecca</td>
<td>architect unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1619</td>
<td>San Pietro (plan)</td>
<td>G. Grapiglia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1620</td>
<td>Santa Maria Elisabetta, Lido (plan)</td>
<td>architect unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1626</td>
<td>San Nicolò del Lido</td>
<td>architect unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1630</td>
<td>Santa Maria della Salute</td>
<td>B. Longhena</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1647</td>
<td>Santa Margherita</td>
<td>G. Lambranzi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1650</td>
<td>San Basegio (plan)</td>
<td>F. Bognolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1656</td>
<td>Santa Maria degli Scalzi (plan)</td>
<td>B. Longhena</td>
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<tr>
<td>1661</td>
<td>San Basso (plan)</td>
<td>G. Benoni</td>
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<tr>
<td>1668</td>
<td>San Pantaleone</td>
<td>F. Comino</td>
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<tr>
<td>1673</td>
<td>San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti (facade)</td>
<td>G. Sardi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1678</td>
<td>San Stae (plan)</td>
<td>G. Grassi</td>
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<tr>
<td>c.1680</td>
<td>San Marziale (plan)</td>
<td>architect unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c.1695</td>
<td>San Giovanni Battista</td>
<td>architect unknown</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>Chiesa della Fava (plan)</td>
<td>A. Gaspari/G. Massari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Church/Structure</td>
<td>Architect</td>
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<td>------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>San Girolamo</td>
<td>D. Rossi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>San Nicolò dei Tolentini (facade)</td>
<td>A. Tirali</td>
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<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>San Stae (facade)</td>
<td>D. Rossi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1715</td>
<td>Chiesa dei Gesuiti (plan)</td>
<td>D. Rossi</td>
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<tr>
<td>1718</td>
<td>San Simeone Piccolo</td>
<td>G. Scalfarotto</td>
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<tr>
<td>1723</td>
<td>San Bartolomeo (plan)</td>
<td>architect unknown</td>
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<tr>
<td>1726</td>
<td>Chiesa dei Gesuati</td>
<td>G. Massari</td>
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<tr>
<td>1728</td>
<td>San Marcuola (facade)</td>
<td>G. Massari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1734</td>
<td>San Vidal (facade)</td>
<td>A. Tirali</td>
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<tr>
<td>1735</td>
<td>Chiesa della Pietà</td>
<td>G. Massari</td>
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<tr>
<td>1736</td>
<td>San Barnaba</td>
<td>L. Boschetti</td>
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<td>1742</td>
<td>San Tomà (plan)</td>
<td>F. Bognolo</td>
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<td>1746</td>
<td>San Biagio (plan)</td>
<td>F. Bognolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1748</td>
<td>Chiesa della Maddalena</td>
<td>T. Temanza</td>
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<tr>
<td>1751</td>
<td>San Giovanni Novo</td>
<td>G. Massari</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The Renaissance in Europe in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was an age of rebirth with a great revival of learning founded on classical antiquity which formed the principle study in every branch of knowledge. It began in Italy and spread gradually to other countries and marked the transition from the medieval world to the modern.\(^1\) Vigorous study of ancient Rome fostered a new world view, which in turn, promoted an anti-Gothic design aesthetic within which there was a "... distinctive departure from the architecture of the middle ages."\(^2\)

The father of Italian Renaissance theory was Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), ethicist, aesthetician, painter, educator, economist, scientist, writer, and architect—epitome of the Renaissance man.\(^3\) Alberti wrote numerous seminal books of which the most important became his influential treatise on architecture, *De re aedificatoria*, written in 1452, but published posthumously in 1485.\(^4\) Rudolf Wittkower states that it was "... a great, original masterpiece, steeped in classical learning, immensely rich and suggestive and of long-lasting importance."\(^5\) Relating to ancient knowledge and architecture, it was modeled on the manuscripts of the first century B.C. Roman architect and engineer Marcus Vitruvius Pollio.\(^6\) Through its revolutionary approach, it armed the modern anti-Gothic architect with an original program for building design. Furthermore, this program included a new Humanist approach to architectural thought and design. Roughly, it proposed that all creation itself was enveloped in a mathematical structure of absolute harmony. It presented a concept of building harmonies within which plans, elevations, and details became a concord of parts where nothing could be added or removed without disrupting the harmony.\(^7\) Moreover, a design following the laws of
harmony would be most attuned to the inborn physical, emotional, and psychological harmonies embodied in man. Five buildings within which Alberti attempted to manifest these absolute harmonies are: San Francesco (1450) (Fig. 10) at Rimini; Santa Maria Novella (1458) (Fig. 11) at Florence; San Sebastiano (1460) (Fig. 12) at Mantua; and San Andrea (1470) (Fig. 13) at Mantua. Through both his books and buildings, Alberti became one of the principal propagandizers of the movement toward a complete revival of classical thought and design throughout Italy.

In Venice in the second half of the fifteenth century, Renaissance theory was both understood and accepted with some difficulty. Giulio Lorenzetti tells us that

Only by doing violence to the deep personal tendencies of her taste could Venice have renounced her absolute need for rich decoration, luxurious pictorial variety of line and colour which was in complete contrast with the basic conceptions of clear balanced simplicity of line, surface and proportion that Leon Battista Alberti, the real founder of the artistic theory of the Renaissance, had proclaimed, with rare inspired intuition, as being the true harmony of architecture.

The period of transition between the Gothic and Renaissance styles in Venice is clearly represented in the early quasi-classical architecture of Pietro Lombardo (1435-1515) and his sons Antonio (d. 1516) and Tullio (d. 1532). The Church of the Miracoli (1481-89) (Fig. 14) and Palazzo Dario (1487) (Fig. 15) are both heavily embellished in exotic patterns of inlaid marbles of many colours. Unlike Deborah Howard, who regards these buildings as "delightful" and "best-loved," Lorenzetti reviews them in a completely contrary manner, stating that Lombardo's art

... is sometimes so trite and pretty as to become, perhaps, cloying and a little boring. The badly
devised structures are so loaded with a super-abundance of decorative motives, or so sheathed with inlaid marbles in panels, crosses, stars and wheels, as often to weaken the solidity of the constructions and confuse the clarity of the line and proportion.  

Lombardo's flamboyant manner was also lavishly expressed in marble in the ornamental detail of the first two tiers of the facade of the Scuola Grande di San Marco, constructed between 1487 and 1496 (Fig. 16). The lunetted crowning of the topmost tier was designed by Mauro Codussi (1440-1504) of Bergamo, who, as Lorenzetti states, "... emerg[ed] in contraposition to the Lombardi, as a very different personality and with the mind of a true architect." Prior to this commission, Codussi displayed similar design characteristics with his triple-curved crownings for the facades of San Michele in Isola (1469) (Fig. 17) and San Zaccaria (1481) (Fig. 18).  

In the late 1400's, Pietro Lombardo played an undeniably important role in both the introduction and integration of new and more classically inspired forms into the traditional Gothic-laden fabric of Venetian architecture. But, as Carroll Meeks tells us, "A new movement in architecture is not just the brain child of a philosopher but the work of one or more architects exploiting a new concept more or less fully." It was actually through the work of Lombardo's contemporaries, like Antonio Rizzo (d. 1500) and most notably Mauro Codussi, that the real opportunity to understand and accept the new tenets of Renaissance design in architecture was established in Venice. Ensuingly, by the end of the fifteenth century, "... the Gothic style was to have virtually died out."  

After the east wing of the Ducal Palace was gutted by fire in 1483, Antonio Rizzo, an architect and sculptor from Verona, was entrusted
with its design and construction (Fig. 19). This building, housing the Doge's residence on the piano nobile, has been called "... the most important architectural work of the Venetian Renaissance." Along with Rizzo's ceremonial staircase (c. 1483) rising from the courtyard to the Doge's residence, currently called the Scala dei Giganti because of the two giant statues at the top by Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570) in 1566 (Figs. 19 and 20), the east wing played a prominent role in promoting and advancing classicism in architecture in Venice. It helped to encourage architects such as Giovanni Candi (d. 1506), Giorgio Spavento (d. 1509), Sebastiano Mariani (d. 1518), and Giovanni Buora (c. 1450-1513) to further conceive local building designs in the classical mode. Rizzo's continuing contribution to the advancement of Renaissance architecture in Venice came to an abrupt halt in 1498 when he had to flee the city "... under suspicion of having robbed 12,000 ducats from palace funds...."

By 1500, eight years before the birth of Andrea Palladio, and thirty-eight years before his first building, Mauro Codussi's architecture was "... sufficient to place him without discussion at the head of the architectural movement in Venice." Two of the most remarkable examples of Codussi's classical conceptions are the churches of San Michele (1469) (Fig. 17) and San Zaccaria (1480) (Fig. 18), which, in the crowning curvations of their facades, show "... that he had studied the work of Leon Battista Alberti, that lofty spirit of the XV century Italian Renaissance." Both of these facades are strongly reminiscent of Alberti's unfinished San Francesco (1450) (Fig. 10) at Rimini, as it appears on a foundation medal made by Matteo de Pasti (Fig. 21), Alberti's assistant on the site. Another building for which Albertian thought
became the fundamental inspiration was Codussi's Torre dell'Orologio (1496) (Fig. 22), fronting Piazza San Marco. Alberti, in his De re aedificatoria, of which Codussi was most likely familiar, whether directly or indirectly, states that towers built in tiers with classical orders, sundials, and wind vanes are "... one of the finest attributes of a city." While exploring and adding new dimensions to both ecclesiastic and civic architecture in Venice, Codussi also designed two palaces on the Grand Canal with "... astoundingly mature classical facade[s]." In his Palazzo Corner-Spinelli (c. 1500) (Fig. 23), Codussi created a model for the more monumental and grander proportions of the Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi (Fig. 24), which was erected two years later in 1502. The design of the latter was a revolutionary one, for it "... was the first Venetian palace facade in which the classical orders expressed the whole structure." Once again, Codussi may have derived this expression from Alberti who articulated the complete facade of his Palazzo Rucellai (c. 1446) (Fig. 25) at Florence with classical orders. Codussi died in Venice in 1504, leaving behind a series of buildings which, as Howard states, are "... some of the most serene, harmonious, classicizing architecture in the whole of the Italian Renaissance."

Five years after Codussi's death, the Republic of Venice entered into twenty years of tumultuous warfare with the League of Cambrai. During this period of acute political and financial crisis, new construction in the city was limited to "... only the most indispensable or richly endowed building projects...." Just prior to the onset of the Cambrai wars, Giorgio Spavento introduced rich new forms to the design of classical architecture in Venice with his Church of San Salvador (Figs. 26 and 27), which was begun in 1507 and
subsequently finished by Sansovino in 1534. In the design of this church, Spavento created a spacious cruciform plan surmounted by three large domes with the classical orders of the structure exquisitely carved from white Istrian-stone (Fig. 28), making it "... one of the most imaginative and successful designs in the history of Venetian ecclesiastical architecture."  

The classical movement in Venice was further enhanced through the first printed edition of Vitruvius' *De Architectura* in 1511. This publication, with 136 beautifully illustrated woodcuts, was brought out by Fra Giovanni Giocondo (1430-1515), a Veronese engineer, architect, classical scholar, and Dominican friar. Up to the time of this book, Vitruvius had been known only through early handwritten manuscript copies held in various monasteries throughout Europe. Being little used, it was not "... until about 1414, when Poggio Bracciolini drew attention to the copy at S. Gall, that the full impact of this work was felt."  

In Venice, as Howard tells us, 

... Fra Giocondo's edition helped to sustain an interest in architectural theory during the caesura in building activity caused by the Cambrai Wars. More important, it allowed Venetians to give thought to ways of reviving 'authentic' ancient Roman forms of building, as codified by Vitruvius in their own city.  

Vitruvius' *De Architectura* functioned as a "textbook" for the contemporary classical revival. Like Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* of 1485, it was understood by the Venetian architect as an instructive manual, conveying through a combination of word (text-theory) and image (drawings-practice) the correct information needed to inspire good modern architectural design.  

In 1512, a fire destroyed a series of old houses on the north side of Piazza San Marco. In the following year, Bartolomeo Bon (d. 1529), a proponent of Vitruvian thought in design, began reconstruction of the Procuratie
Vecchie (1513-1526) (Fig. 29), which "...was the first major public building in Venice to be erected in a purely classical style." In January 1514, less than two years after the fire in the Piazza, a devastating blaze broke out in the market area of the Rialto, obliterating it in less than twenty-four hours. It was immediately rebuilt on the previous layout by Antonio Scarpagnino (d. 1549). As is pictured in Figure thirty, the new buildings of the Fabbriche Vecchie di Rialto were "... strictly functional, with virtually no ornament apart from continuous horizontal string courses and dentilled cornices." Owing to the sparing budget assigned to the reconstruction of Rialto, Scarpagnino was given little opportunity to indulge himself in the kind of classical principles in design which would have brought the new buildings in agreement with more current trends in modern architecture. An opportunity to explore classicism more fully came with Scarpagnino's appointment as proto (chief architect) to the Scuola Grande di San Rocco (Figs. 31 and 32) in 1527, replacing Bartolomeo Bon who made the original design and began construction of the new building in 1515. Bon is responsible for the foundation, the ground plan, and the first tier of the facade, and Scarpagnino is the author of the completion of the remainder of the building. The Scuola Grande di San Rocco, long celebrated for its masterpieces in painting, its rich carved decorations, and its inlaid panels of precious marble, is, as Lorenzetti states, "... a characteristic example of the sumptuous appearance which the classical forms were to assume in Venice during the first half of the XVI century...."

In 1529, the Cambrai wars ended with the Peace of Bologna, "... set[ting] Venice back on her feet." For the most part, this repose offered Venetians a stable atmosphere of political and financial well-being and advancement for
the rest of the sixteenth century. After the sacking of Rome in 1527 by the Imperial troops of Charles V, Venice, as a city known for its "real" sense of security and prosperity, became a centre of immigration, attracting many talented painters, sculptors, and architects from central Italy. Three of the city's most imminently powerful new resident architects were Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), Michele Sanmicheli (1484-1559) and Jacopo Sansovino (1486-1570). These men, highly trained and thoroughly competent in the Roman style, attracted the ambitious patronage of "... a city eager to establish itself as the 'new Rome', [and] the pretentions and aspirations of employers encouraged architects to flaunt their knowledge of Vitruvian grammar and classical motifs...." Lombardo, Codussi, Rizzo, Spavento, Bon, Scarpagnino, and others, had all shown, especially in the face of numerous limitations, a remarkable understanding and practice of the all'antica style, but it was not until the newcomers from Rome and Tuscany that one sees a "true" provision in Venetian architecture of the Roman idiom.

Through the publication of Book IV, "On the Orders" (1537), and Book III, "On Antiquity" (1540), of his Architettura, Sebastiano Serlio, like Fra Giocondo some twenty-six years earlier, exercised great influence on architectural design in Venice during the Renaissance. Through his work, Serlio educated countless Venetian builders to correctly apply the principles of Vitruvius. Furthermore, as Howard tells us,
In agreement with Howard, J. Quentin Hughes states that the basis of Serlio's treatise was formed on

Symmetry and geometrical composition, and the treatment of space as a succession of planes in perspective ... In addition he introduces into his illustrations the chiaroscure treatment of facades which heralds the architecture of Sanmicheli, Sansovino and Palladio. His conscious aim was to restate the formulae of Vitruvius, but the illustrations of villas, palaces and churches, proposed or executed by him, were an equally important contribution.

Besides being based in Vitruvian-Albertian thought, Serlio's book also attempted to present, for the first time, an "encyclopedic" organization of the design and practice of modern architecture. The second time came some thirty-three years later with Palladio's enormously influential I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura (1570). The nature of Serlio's book was essentially visual. His illustrations, rather than his text, became the main exponent of architectural knowledge. This notion of "instruction-by-example" must have caught Palladio's imagination, for he "... modelled his own book a few years later on Serlio rather than Alberti and the Vitruvian tradition, and this choice, given the high quality of the work he illustrated, was to make him the most influential architect of the Renaissance."

Unlike Palladio, Serlio constructed no buildings in Venice. Therefore, his reputation as a disseminator of stylistic directions in Venetian architecture rests entirely on the popular reception and subsequent emulation of the designs of his book by local architects. Figure thirty-three features one of Serlio's designs for a palace on the Grand Canal as illustrated in Book IV of 1537. Employing an architectural embellishment most used in Renaissance design, Serlio gave his palace a determinate base by rusticating the lower story in high relief. This treatment creates and supports a lightness of effect on the more
delicately fashioned upper floors. Wishing to create a total composition
which would stress a pivotal central emphasis within the tripartite subdivi-
sion of the whole facade, Serlio introduced his most copied architectural
element, the Serlian window. As Peter Lauritzen writes,

The Serlian window is basically a three light opening,
the central window of which is topped with a curved
arch rising above the flat lintels of its flanking
side windows. In the Venetian version the two side
windows often had rectangular openings above them as
well, making the whole pattern appear inscribed within
a square.53

The Serliana, as one of many new architectural forms illustrated in his book,
was expressed repeatedly in Venetian building design well into the seventeenth
century.54 It was further popularized by Palladio and is often referred to
as a Palladian window.

Michele Sanmicheli, like Serlio, "... played a major part in the
influx of new ideas into Venetian architecture."55 Prior to the Peace of
Bologna in 1529, he had established himself as a highly esteemed military archi-
tect in the court of Pope Clement VII. Fortunately, for both the city and
the architect, Sanmicheli arrived in Venice at a time of considerable growth
in the design and construction of military fortifications. In 1535, recogniz-
ing his expertise in military affairs, Scarpagnino, now proto to the Salt
Office, made Sanmicheli director of all defense structures within the Venetian
Republic, including fortifications in Corfu, Crete and Cyprus.56 His Fortezza
di Sant'Andrea (1543) (Fig. 34) at the entrance to the Venetian lagoon is
representative of his great genius in the art of defense design. Being well
versed in the principles of modern classical design, he employed this commission
as "... a vehicle for the imaginative use of conventional classical elements to
express the might and status of the territory within." Upon its completion, this building received much adulation from the growing community of classicists, including Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), who wrote that it "... equals in majesty, the most famous structures of the Romans."

Most of Sanmicheli's architecture is in Verona, another city in the Republic. It was there that he built his two famous fortified gates of Porta Nuova (1533) (Fig. 35) and Porta Palio (1550) (Fig. 36). He also adorned the city with a series of well planned and richly sculptured domestic structures, of which Palazzo Pompeii (1529) (Fig. 37), Palazzo Canossa (c.1530) (Fig.38), and Palazzo Guastaverza (1555) (Fig. 39) are most notable. At the height of his career, Sanmicheli also graced the face of the canals of Venice with two elegant and rather imposing modern structures. At San Polo, he constructed his Palazzo Corner-Mocenigo (c. 1550) (Fig. 40), "... a robust classical building." In the overall design of the facade, character is decisively determined by the intervals of repetitive rhythms set up by architectural units and sizes. Within its tripartite formation, there is a central vertical spine and to the left and right are mirrored bays. The central axial feature above the piano terra is expressed in triplet and the lateral elements in single units. It is interesting to note that this expression closely follows the triadic facade planning for Sebastiano Serlio's Venetian palace designs as illustrated in Book IV of his Architettura (Fig. 33). Furthermore, Sanmicheli has also adopted Serlio's famous window, allowing the central section to dominate the sides and act as the climax to the whole facade. At San Luca, fronting the Grand Canal, he built his Palazzo Grimani (1556-1559) (Fig. 41), "... one of the noblest examples ... of the Renaissance for the grace of its
architecture and ornamental motives," suggesting to Michelangelo Muraro that, "Its splendour is such that it seems to eclipse all neighbouring edifices." 

Synchronous with the work of Sanmicheli is that of Jacopo Tatti, called Il Sansovino after his master. Prior to the sacking of Rome, Sansovino, like Sanmicheli, had already entered into a promising career "... in the rich days of the New Rome." Upon fleeing central Italy, he was called to Venice on a commission to effect repairs on the aged church of San Marco. In 1529, on the death of Bartolomeo Bon, he was made proto of the Procurator of San Marco, "... the highest appointment in constructional work in Venice." This prestigious engagement allowed him to live and work in Venice "... without interruption, illustrious and respected, for over forty years." 

After Palladio, Sansovino was the most important architect of the Venetian Renaissance. Steeped in knowledge of the Roman style, his structures added a classical grandiosity to the current cityscape of Venice. During the 1530's, as chief architect of the buildings of Piazza San Marco, he was given the great opportunity to initiate a rebuilding scheme which became "... one of the most ambitious programmes in urban renewal in sixteenth-century Italy." With the construction of the Zecca (1536) (Fig. 42), or Mint, the Library of Saint Mark's (1537) (Fig. 43), and the Loggetta at the foot of the Campanile (1538) (Fig. 44), Sansovino profoundly remodelled the face of one of Europe's important city centres, bringing to it an air of beauty and sophistication which emblematized the monumental grandeur of the High Renaissance.

Like many of the important architects before him, Sansovino was also the author of a number of sumptuous palaces. In his guide book, Venetia città nobilissima et singolare of 1581, Francesco Sansovino, Jacopo's son, selected two of his father's buildings for inclusion in his discussion of the "top
four" palaces on the Grand Canal in Venice. The first and fourth place structures were Codussi's Palazzo Vendramin-Calergi (Fig. 24) and Sanmicheli's Palazzo Grimani (Fig. 41). Taking the second and third place positions were Sansovino's Palazzo Dolfin (1538) (Fig. 45) and Palazzo Corner (1545) (Fig. 46). Built with seemingly boundless expenditures, these four buildings received Francesco's special praise based "... on the criteria of architectural merit, grandeur, size, cost, skilled stone-carving and, above all, adherence to the rules of Vitruvius." Sansovino's palaces, like his prestigious projects in Piazza San Marco, displayed his knowledge of the buildings of Rome in the richness of their all'antica detail, "... providing the city with a wealth of new motifs as well as a greater understanding of how to handle classical forms coherently and correctly."

Between 1530 and 1570, Sansovino also designed six churches in Venice: the Church of San Francesco della Vigna (1534) (Figs. 47 and 48); the Church of San Martino (1540) (Fig. 49); the Church of San Spirito in Isola (c. 1542) (Fig. 50), destroyed in the nineteenth century; the Church of San Giuliano (1553) (Fig. 51); the Church of San Geminiano (1557) (Fig. 52), destroyed in 1807 to make way for the new Imperial ballroom of the Napoleonic period; and the Church of the Incurabili (1565) (Fig. 53) of the syphilis hospital, destroyed in 1831. Unfortunately, Sansovino's surviving church designs do not do justice to his great inventive genius which is readily expressed in his secular commissions. As Deborah Howard tells us,

Sansovino's ecclesiastical architecture in Venice shows no obvious stylistic development or underlying philosophy. In each church he offered a totally individual solution to a specific set of circumstances ... He certainly owed much to Mauro Coducci who, at the end of the fifteenth century, had first revived the Veneto-Byzantine central
plan ... What he himself believed to be the perfect form for a church is a mystery ... Not only do Sansovino's Venetian churches give no hint of his theoretical ideas about religious architecture, but unlike Palladio, he left no treatise to enlighten us. He was inventive, pragmatic, and supremely adaptable. Perhaps the very flexibility of his approach - combined with the obliteration of three of his six Venetian churches under Napoleonic rule - may explain why Sansovino's reputation as an ecclesiastical architect in Venice does not match those of Palladio, Longhena, or even Coducci.73

Relatively, following the demise of Lombardo, Codussi, and Spavento, modern ecclesiastic design in Venice began to lag behind that of central Italy. Through Brunelleschi (1377-1446) to Alberti (1404-1472) to Bramante (1444-1514) to Michelangelo (1475-1564), the development of southern Renaissance church design had been accordant and profound in its advancing statements of the classical tenets of Vitruvius.74 In Venice, in the first half of the sixteenth century, when new church starts were limited in both number and scale, major architects like Scarpagnino, Bon, Sanmicheli, and Sansovino found themselves more or less confined to palace and civic building design in their creative pursuit to introduce the architectural messages of the ancients. Save for the Tuscan plan of his San Francesco della Vigna (Fig. 47) and the Serlian inspired facade of his extinct San Geminiano (Fig. 52), Sansovino's churches seem to express an overindulgence in anecdotic traditional motifs. When compared to the visual richness of the exuberant classicism of his other buildings, they seem less imaginative in both structure and form. As Ackerman states, "... none [of Sansovino's churches] had the strength to promote significant departures from the vigorous style of Coducci and Lombardi of the turn of the century."75 It was not until the 1560's with the phenomenally innovative architecture of Andrea Palladio, the leading architect of Vicenza and the Terraferma, that Venice became inaugurated into the mainstream of High Renaissance church design.
Palladio's application of two interpenetrating temple fronts, expressing major and minor orders, for the facade of Sansovino's San Francesco della Vigna (c.1562) (Figs. 54 and 55),

... was revolutionary [and] without precedent in ancient or contemporary architecture. As elaborated in [his designs for] San Giorgio and the Redentore, it became the point of departure for Venetian church facades of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.76

Future architects of ecclesiastic buildings in Venice displayed an almost exclusive fascination for the plans, elevations, and spatial arrangements of Palladio's churches. Leaning heavily on his example, the descendents of the master's designs are many.

From 1538 to 1560, Palladio emerged as one of the most important and respected architects in the Veneto. His practice was a very active one. It reached a prolificacy within which he could often be found supervising the construction of a number of projects simultaneously. During this period, he embellished Vicenza with many palaces and public buildings (Figs. 56, 57 and 58), of great notice.77 Concurrently, his magnificent villas (Figs. 59, 60 and 61), built for the partriciate of both Vicenza and Venice, were welcomed with great acclaim.78 After only two decades of development, Palladio established a highly individualistic, completely coherent, and stunningly prodigious system of architectural design.

Profoundly impressed with the ancients, Palladio made frequent visits to central Italy to study and make precise recordings of the vocabulary and form of Roman architectural ruins. After returning from his last trip in 1554, he published the first academic guide book to classical Rome. Le antichità di Roma, as Ackerman tells us, was
... the first reliable and compact pocket guidebook to ancient remains based on a thorough knowledge of topographical scholarship. In thirty-nine pages, it enumerates and locates monuments both destroyed and preserved....

Over the next two centuries, this little volume was reproduced over thirty times, offering visitors to Rome an accurate introduction into the city's classical heritage.

As an expert in command of Roman remains, Palladio was commissioned to make drawings for Daniele Barbaro's (b.1514) edition of Vitruvius in 1556. Fourteen years later, Palladio's expertise in Roman antiquity was expressed in much greater depth in his own treatise I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura, published in Venice in 1570. When compared with the editions of Vitruvius by either Fra Giocondo in 1511 or Barbaro in 1556, we find that the Roman reconstructions as illustrated in the Quattro Libri are much more informative, "... because the buildings Vitruvius knew in the first century B.C. were not the most interesting or the best preserved examples of Roman architecture." Like Serlio and Alberti before him, Palladio's writings, above all the Quattro Libri, gave definite form to many Renaissance ideals and offered them jointly with ancient and modern (his own) designs as a means to encourage the inspired architects of the day into becoming modern experts in classical thought and design. From its first publication through centuries of reissues to today, the Quattro Libri has been "... undoubtedly the most influential treatise in Western architecture", having had the most profound and widespread impact of any book on architecture ever written.

During the 1550's Palladio made several attempts to establish himself in the architectural world of Sansovino's Venice. In 1554, he made an unsuccessful application for the salaried position of proto to the Salt Office. In 1555,
he submitted designs for both the Scala d'Oro of the Ducal Palace and the Rialto bridge. Neither scheme was adopted. Palladio's first success came in 1558 with his proposal for the facade of San Pietro di Castello, which, as Lionello Puppi states, "...[was] a prelude to the study of the theme of church facades which, by way of S. Francesco della Vigna, was to lead to the definitive statements of the churches of S. Giorgio and the Redentore." Unfortunately, Palladio's design, as originally conceived, was never realized. The existing facade (Fig. 62), a pastiche of Palladio's own inventions, is the responsibility of Francesco Smeraldi, called Il Fraca, who supervised its construction between 1594 and 1596. Pursuant to San Pietro, Palladio was invited to design the refectory of San Giorgio Maggiore (1560-62).

In 1561, he began work on the monastery of Santa Maria della Carità (Fig. 63). It was through this commission that Palladio overcame the city's reluctance to entrust him with important projects. Its successes ensured his acceptance and he "...at last took his place in Venetian society, and from then on his presence became more constant and influential ...." Palladio's fame and recognition gained further support in 1562 with his wholly original facade for San Francesco della Vigna (Fig. 55). As Burns writes, Venice provided Palladio with opportunities which Vicenza could never have offered him. It revealed him as an architect whose originality and capabilities could extend well beyond the field of villa and palace design.

As an innovative architect expressing new principles and systems, Palladio was becoming increasingly favoured over the aging Sansovino, now in his mid-seventies. In 1564, Palladio was presented with the opportunity to express his thought and practice through the total design of a religious structure for the first time. In the Church of the Sisters of Santa Lucia (Fig. 2), a relatively
modest proposal which had minimal effect on future Venetian church design, he established a centralized plan based on the square (Fig. 64). As Lionello Puppi tells us, Santa Lucia...represent 51 Palladio's first solution for the interior of a church....The choice of the 'square' form recurred in the Zitelle Church so it was obviously not a casual choice but a carefully considered preference...."91 This plan was one of Palladio's alternative conceptions which he described in his Quattro Libri: "...the most beautiful and regular forms, from which the others receive their measures, are the round, and the quadrangular, and therefore Vitruvius only mentions these two...."92 Palladio's admiration of the round plan for churches, which he states to be "...the most perfect, and most excellent",93 physically manifested itself in his Tempietto (Figs. 6 and 65) at Maser in 1580. This church represents Palladio's last building design, for he died in the same year as its conception.

In 1565, Palladio further enhanced his career as an architect of Venetian religious structures through his highly distinctive design for San Giorgio Maggiore (Fig. 3), his second commission for the entire design of a church. Due to "...inflexible liturgical consideration",94 Palladio did not use a round or square form for the plan of San Giorgio. Al Lorenzetti states, The interior of San Giorgio Maggiore is on a Latin cross plan, with nave and side aisles, the transepts with apses and vaulted ceiling supported by mixed style columns; the High Altar is isolated and behind the rows of massive columns, is the Choir; the whole scheme is of majestic solemnity conceived in Roman style.95

By combining a centralized crossing with a longitudinal nave (Figs. 66 and 67), Palladio found a way to fuse both his preferred square and the traditional basilical form into one congruent entity. Over the central space he added his majestic round dome (Fig. 68) "...that had been the testament of early Renais-
sance Tuscan architects to the St. Peter's design of Bramante and Michaelangelo." As evidenced in his Quattro Libri, Palladio felt that his capacious Latin cross solution for San Giorgio was second only to the round form:

Those churches also are very laudable, that are made in the form of a cross, which have their entrance in the part that representing the foot of the cross, and opposite to which should be the principal altar, and the choir; and in the two branches, that are extended from either side like arms, two other entrances, or two other altars; because that being fashioned in the form of the cross, they represent to the eyes of the beholders that wood from which depended our salvation. And of this form, I have made the church of San Giorgio Maggiore at Venice.

To the front of San Giorgio, Palladio applied an advanced version of his facade for San Francesco. In this case, though, he was given the occasion to design the church in its entirety. Owing to this, as Howard notes, Palladio

... was able to avoid the stylistic discordance between the exterior and interior which is so marked at San Francesco della Vigna. Here the facade fits more neatly on to the nave -- the former raised on high bases and the latter resting on the ground -- reproduce faithfully the system of the interior.

In the 1560's, San Giorgio represented the most important church commission in Venice. Its design received much praise. In 1568, Vasari dedicated several pages of his Le Vite to Palladio, "... a man of singular genius and judgement," who, in his design of San Giorgio, created "... a stupendous and most beautiful work...." At Sansovino's death in 1570, Palladio was indisputably the leading architect of Venice. His achievements to that date also gave him much national acclaim. It was at this time, as Burns suggests, that "... Palladio could and probably did think of himself as one of Italy's greatest architects ...." "

In 1561, the Jesuit Benedetto Palmi purchased land on the Giudecca in order to establish a religious institute that would care for young girls.
In the wake of his past successes, Palladio was commissioned in 1570 to make a design for the new Church of the Zitelle (meaning "maidens") (Fig. 4). Emulating the plan for Santa Lucia, he reduced the area of the church to the "beautiful" and "regular" form of four equal angles and four equal sides. Once again, Palladio expressed his preference for a centralized plan based on the square (Fig. 69). Surmounting this space is the figure of a high round dome (Fig. 70), recalling Palladio's recent solution for San Giorgio. Unlike San Francesco and San Giorgio, the facade for the Zitelle was not contained within one giant order but divided into two storeys crowned with a wide pediment (Figs. 4 and 71). This configuration also deviates dramatically from the exterior of Santa Lucia (Fig. 2), which, as Puppi suggests, "...deported from the original 'model' at the building stage ...." 102 Except for "... the unmistakable mark of Palladio's hand in the use of thermal windows," 103 the two facades differ in both form and character.

In 1576, eleven years after his eminent design for San Giorgio, Palladio received another large and prestigious ecclesiastic commission. The Redentore (Fig. 5), "... counted among the architect's greatest masterpieces", 104 was the result of a pledge made by the Venetian Senate to erect a church dedicated to Christ the Redeemer after the deliverance of Venice from the great plague of 1575-77. In late November of 1576, Palladio was asked to make two alternative designs, one each in the round and longitudinal forms. After much debate, the master's Latin cross plan was chosen in early February, 1577. 105 In many ways paralleling the design of San Giorgio, this plan also combines the square and the bascial forms through a fusion of the centralized crossing with the longitudinal nave (Figs. 72 and 73). Furthermore, Palladio employed
a magnificent round dome to crown the centralized space at the heart of the church (Fig. 74), recalling its similar use in both San Giorgio Maggiore and the Zitelle.

In his *Quattro Libri*, Palladio tells us that

... in case there be no elevated places, the floor of the temple is to be raised, as much as is convenient, above the rest of the city. One is besides to ascend to the temple by steps; since the ascent alone to a temple is what afford greater devotion and majesty.106

These dictums were realized many times in Palladio's temple-fronted villas, but it was in his Redentore that they were first achieved in one of his church designs. They were repeated for the second and last time four years later in his Tempietto at Maser (Fig. 6). The exterior of the Redentore also represents Palladio's last statement on the application of two interpenetrating temple fronts of major and minor orders (Figs. 5 and 75). It was a magnificent culmination to the earlier facade studies of San Pietro, San Francesco, and San Giorgio, and, to repeat Burns, "... it became the point of departure for Venetian church facades of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries."107

Palladio's last church was the Tempietto at Maser (1580) (Fig. 6), designed in the same year of his death for the family of his great friend, cohort, and patron Daniele Barbaro.108 Following "... the same proportions as in the Pantheon at Rome"109 (Figs. 76 and 77), he created a circular church whose interior height of forty-eight feet is to the forty foot diameter of the plan as six to five (Figs. 65 and 78).110 A hemispherical dome with a small lantern crowns the whole. This centralized round form is of the type which Palladio admired and described in his *Quattro Libri*.111 Referring to the architect's veneration of the Pantheon, Carrol Meeks states that
Palladio had done much to emphasize the importance of the original ... In his Fourth Book he singles out the Pantheon for very particular attention. He devotes plates 75 through 84 to it, nearly twice as many as he allocates to any other building and two pages of text in which he uses terms like "most celebrated", "most notable", and "most beautiful", and alludes to its symbolism.\textsuperscript{112}

In designing his modern version of the great Roman paradigm, Palladio paid careful attention to its archaeological accuracy. He correctly interpreted the original as an integrated series of three basic forms, the advanced pronaos against a vestibule against a vaulted cylinder. Accordingly, Palladio introduced his centric plan with a prostyle Corinthian portico which butts against a vestibule containing the main entrance and to each side the enclosed stairwells leading to the two belfries above. Due to its reduced scale, the portico of the Tempietto, unlike the octastyle Pantheon, is hexastyle. Yet, as Banister Fletcher tells us,

\begin{quote}
The length of this portico (the Tempietto's) is nearly two-thirds of the diameter of the church, and Palladio has followed the same proportions as in the Pantheon at Rome, which of course had been measured by him, and whose portico has in length two thirds of the diameter of the interior.\textsuperscript{113}
\end{quote}

Generous as Palladio had been in designing free-standing temple fronts for his villas,\textsuperscript{114} his portico at Maser was the only one he built on a church.\textsuperscript{115} For the exteriors of San Francesco, San Giorgio, and the Redentore, he utilized an analogous system, that of "... projecting the elements of the portico on the plane of the facade wall ... one of his most brilliant inventions."\textsuperscript{116} Like the Redentore, but unlike the Pantheon, the Tempietto also employed a wide flight of steps leading to its portico, which, as Palladio states, is "... for the conveniency of the people, that they might have [some]where to entertain one another, ... [and] under which in bad weather men might avoid the sun,
the rain, the hail, and the snow." For over one hundred years, the Tempietto at Maser remained the sole temple-fronted church built in the entire Republic of Venice. It was not until 1706, with Andrea Tirali's (c.1660-1737) hexastyle portico (Fig.79) of Corinthian columns raised on a flight of steps in front of the facade wall of Vincenzo Scamozzi's (1552-1616) Palladian inspired church of San Nicolò dei Tolentini (1591) (Fig.80) in Venice, that it was repeated.

All of Palladio's ecclesiastic designs were constructed on sites of great exposure. Unquestionably, his five commissions of Venice were the most conspicuous and paramount. Through these buildings, he created unforgettable images of imposing and powerful beauty, "...which no religious architect in the city could afford to ignore." Believing in valid rules, immutable canons, and a correct way to design, Palladio became a spokesman for absolute standards in architecture. Taking careful notice, many later architects used the master's basic principles as points of departure for their own exploration into Venetian church design. As expressed by Howard,

No church builder could in future forget his restrained, yet compelling classical style, or disregard his brilliant solutions to liturgical and practical problems. To the vocabulary and grammar of Roman architecture, already introduced to Venice by Serlio, Sansovino and Sanmicheli, he added a sense of the scale and grandeur of the buildings of the ancients.

After his death, Palladio's masterful conceptions remained fundamental sources of inspiration, directly influencing the ongoing design of a large number of local monuments. As Adolf K. Placzek tells us, Palladio "... is the only architect after whom an architectural idiom is named: Palladianism."
As an extraordinarily cohesive episode in Venetian church design, Palladianism extended powerfully into seventeenth and eighteenth century Venice. It fostered the creation of thirty-five churches whose systems of organizing plans, spatial relationships, and elevations reveal different degrees of debt to Palladio. In the end, they demonstrate a highly significant concurrency in the overall development of religious architecture in Venice.

The following three chapters of this thesis will systematically examine the architectural legacy of Palladian inspired church design in Venice from 1581 to 1751. In order to best appreciate his influence, it is first necessary to categorize Palladio's achievements. Two different types of plans as developed by Palladio can be differentiated. The first type is the centralized plan with recesses for the presbytery, lateral altars, and choir, as exampled in Santa Lucia (Fig. 64), the Zitelle (Fig. 69), and the Tempietto at Maser (Fig. 65). The second type is the longitudinal plan in the form of a Latin cross with a nave, transept, presbytery, and choir, as expressed in San Giorgio (Fig. 66) and the Redentore (Fig. 72).

There are also four types of facades. The first was planned with a large temple front motif in the centre and flanked on each side by a minor order supporting half-pediments, as featured in the churches of San Francesco (Fig. 55), San Giorgio (Fig. 3), and the Redentore (Fig. 75). These exteriors without their side-wings represent the second type of facade. Many of Palladio's emulators isolated the central temple front motif and "...partially or completely dispensed with the minor order."\textsuperscript{123} The third type includes a wide pediment spanning over two storeys. The first tier has a doorway crowned with a pediment and positioned to each side is a long window. The second tier has a large
Roman window. To the sides of each story are pairs of Corinthian pilasters. This is the facade for the Zitelle (Fig. 71), which later "...was to become the model for the small churches of Venice."\textsuperscript{124} The fourth type of facade is that of the free-standing temple front on the model of the Pantheon, as exemplified in the Tempietto (Fig. 6).

In conclusion, the method of study in the next three chapters will be to subject the churches under question to a close examination of both their interior and exterior planning in an attempt to determine for each their concordance with the Palladian system. Once again, in the end, it is hoped that this study will demonstrate a clear and coherent tradition of Venetian church design which fulfilled itself through an integration of a whole series of Palladian prototypes.
NOTES


7. Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism. p. 64.


23. The classical architecture of Giovanni Candi is represented in the Scala del Bovolo (c. 1499) (spiral staircase) of the Palazzo Contarini Dal Bovolo. For more information and an illustration, see Giulio Lorenzetti, *Venice and its Lagoon* (Trieste: Edizioni Lint Trieste, 1975), pp. 518-19. Examples of Giorgio Spavento's classical architecture are the Church of San Theodore (c. 1495); the elegant building in the south-east corner of the courtyard of the Ducal Palace enclosing the smaller courtyard of the Senators to the left side of the Giant's Staircase (c. 1500) (Fig. 12); the plan and interior of the Church of San Salvador started in c. 1505 and later completed by Jacopo Sansovino in 1534; and the Fondaco dei Tedeschi (1505-08). For more information on both Spavento and his buildings, see Giulio Lorenzetti, *Venice and its Lagoon* (Trieste: Edizioni Lint Trieste, 1975), p. 937; and M. Muraro, *Venice and Her Islands* (Florence: Arnaud Publisher, 1956), pp. 83 and 231-33. Sebastiano Mariani's (called da Lugano) best early Renaissance design was the facade of the Church of the Carmini (c. 1510). For further discussion on both Mariani and the Carmini, see Umberto Franzoi, *Le Chiese di Venezia* (Venezia: Alfiere, 1976), pp. 177-180; Giulio Lorenzetti, *Venice and its Lagoon* (Trieste: Edizioni Lint Trieste, 1975), pp. 563-67; and M. Muraro, *Venice and Her Islands* (Florence: Arnaud Publisher, 1956), pp. 346-77. Giovanni Buora's Renaissance designs include the plinths, columns, and capitals of the three aisles of the Church of San Zaccaria (1480); the design and construction of the facade of the Scuola di San Marco (1487) in conjunction with Pietro Lombardo the principle architect; the Dormitorio of the Monastery of the Island of San Giorgio Maggiore (c. 1490); and the Palazzo Michiel (c. 1510). For more on Buora, see Umberto Franzoi, *Le Chiese di Venezia* (Venezia, 1976), pp. 372 and 398; and Giulio Lorenzetti, *Venice and its Lagoon* (Trieste: Edizioni Lint Trieste, 1975), p. 895.


27. Ibid, p. 81.

28. J. Quentin Hughes and Norbert Lynton, *Simpson's History of Architectural Development, Volume IV: Renaissance Architecture* (London: W. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1962), pp. 40-41. It could also be suggested that the facades of San Michele in Isola (1469) and San Zaccaria (1480) were perhaps inspired by the rhythmic curvations of the uppermost arches of the Basilica of San Marco (832-c.1450) and the Church of the Carità (c.1450). It is
also possible that the facade of San Michele, with its major crowning arch immediately flanked by two quarter circle side-wings, could have influenced strikingly similar designs in the late-Gothic facades of the churches of Sant'Andrea della Zirada and San Giovanni in Bragora, both constructed in 1475. Without discussion, the facade of the Church of San Felice (1531) was inspired almost totally by that of San Michele. For further study and excellent illustrations of the above mentioned buildings, see Umberto Franzoi, Le Chiese di Venezia (Venezia: Alfieri, 1976), pp. 401, 390-405, 290-310, 216-223, 89-90, 491-93, and 144-45 consecutively.

29. Howard, The Architectural History of Venice, p. 125. For more on Codussi's direct or indirect knowledge of both Alberti's buildings and his De re aedificatoria, see pages 116 and 243 footnote 32 of the above cited book.

30. Ibid., p. 124.


33. Ibid., p. 124. Codussi may have also derived his favorite window motif of the tri-lobed biforate openings with an oculus above from Alberti's Palazzo Rucellai, which suggests a strikingly similar formulation (Fig. 25). For further analysis of Palazzo Rucellai, see Franco Borsi, Leon Battista Alberti (Milan: Electa Editrice, 1975), pp. 62-75; and Hubert Damisch, "The Column and the Wall", Architectural Design, Vol. 49, No. 5 and 6, 1979, pp. 18-25.

34. Ibid., p. 116.


41. Ibid., p. 129. For further references concerning both Bartolomeo Bon and his Procuratie Vecchie, see Giulio Lorenzetti, Venice and its Lagoon (Trieste: Edizioni Lint Trieste, 1975), p. 140; and E. Vio, "Le Procuratie Vecchie", in G. Samonà, et al., Piazza San Marco (Padua, 1970), pp. 142-149.

42. Ibid., p. 131. For more information on Fabbriche Vecchie di Rialto and the general evolution of the Rialto, see A. Alberti and R. Cessi, Rialto, l'isola - il ponte - il mercato (Bologna, 1934); Deborah Howard, Jacopo Sansovino: Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1975), pp. 50-52; and Giulio Lorenzetti, Venice and its Lagoon (Trieste: Edizioni Lint Trieste, 1975), pp. 469-70.


L'architettura et prospetiva di Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese, came in parts because of the large size of the work. It was originally written in vernacular language (rather than Latin) and incorporates extensive illustrations. The work did not originally appear in its present order: Book IV, "On the Orders" in Venice in 1537; Book III, "On Antiquity" in Venice in 1540; Books I and II, "On Geometry and Perspective" in Paris in 1545; Book V, "On Church Architecture" in Paris in 1547. The five books were first published together in 1584 in Venice under the title Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva. The original manuscript of Book VI is in the Munich Library and was first published in facsimile by Marco Rosci (Milan, 1967). Book VII, "On Doorways", was published posthumously in 1575; Book VIII, "On Military Architecture", was never published and is now largely lost. The five books which were published in Venice in 1584 were translated into many languages. In 1606, Den Eerste Vijfsten boeck van architecture Sebastani Serlij was published in Amsterdam in a translation by Pieter Coecke van Aelst. The Dutch version was in turn translated into English for the edition published in 1611, printed by Simon Stafford for Robert Peake, a printseller and Serjeant Painter to James I. This 1611 English edition has recently been reproduced: Sebastiano Serlio, The Five Books of Architecture (New York: Dover Publications, 1982).


57. Ibid., p. 144.


60. Lorenzetti, Venice and its Lagoon, p. 583. For more discussion of Sanmicheli and his Palazzo Corner-Mocenigo, see Elena Bassi, Palazzi di Venezia (Venezia: La Stamperia di Venezia Editrice, 1976), pp. 334-37.

61. Ibid., p. 640. For more discussion on Sanmicheli and his Palazzo Grimani, see Elena Bassi, Palazzi di Venezia (Venezia: La Stamperia di Venezia Editrice, 1976), pp. 146-153.

62. Michelangelo Muraro, Venice and Her Islands (Florence: Arnaud Publisher, 1956), p. 34.


64. Lorenzetti, Venice and its Lagoon, p. 110.

65. Ibid., p. 110.


68. Francesco Sansovino, Venetia città nobilissima et singolare, ed. Giustiniano Martinioni (Venezia, 1968), p. 387. Francesco Sansovino wrote two important descriptions of Venice. The earlier one is in the form of a dialogue between a Venetian and a stranger, the principal editions being A. Guisconi (=F. Sansovino), Tutte le cose notabili e belle che sono in Venetia (Venezia, 1556); F. Sansovino, Della cose notabili che sono in Venetia (Venezia, 1561) and Delle cose notabili della città di Venetia (Venezia, 1583). The second, a considerably more substantial work, is his famous guidebook F. Sansovino, Venetia città nobilissima et singolare (Venezia, 1581). A new edition with corrections and additions was published by Giovanni Stringa in 1604. Giustiniano Martinioni produced a second revised and enlarged edition in 1663, though retaining the original


75. Ackerman, Palladio, p. 128.


79. Ackerman, Palladio, p. 27.

80. Ibid., p. 27.


88. Puppi, Andrea Palladio, p. 335.


93. Ibid., Book Four, Chapter Two, p. 81.


96. Ackerman, *Palladio*, p. 128.


102. Ibid., p. 362.

103. Ibid., p. 362.


110. Ibid., p. 87.

111. Palladio, The Four Books of Architecture, Book Four, Chapter Two, pp. 81-82.


113. Fletcher, Andrea Palladio: His Life and Works, p. 87.


115. As is evidence by a drawing held in Archivio di Stato in Venice, which is also published in W. Timofiewitsch, "Eine Zeichnung Andrea Palladio fur die Klosteranlage S. Giorgio Maggiore", Arte Veneta, XVI, 1962, pp. 160ff., Palladio had at one stage considered a free-standing portico for the facade of San Giorgio Maggiore. Wittkower dates this drawing "... between 1577 and 1579, demonstrat[ing] that Palladio was occupied with the facade of S. Giorgio right up to the time of his death ...." See Rudolf Wittkower, Palladio and English Palladianism (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), p. 207 Notes 5 and 6.


118. As is demonstrated in a series of drawings preserved in the Royal Institute of British Architects' Burlington-Devonshire Collection (Vol. XIV, Nos. 12, 13, and 14), Palladio was working on a centralized plan with a hexagonal portico of Corinthian columns raised on a flight of steps for San Nicolò dei Tolentini. This project can be dated at 1579, one year before his design for the Tempietto at Maser and during the time that he was occupied with a design for a free-standing temple front for San Giorgio Maggiore (see note 115).


124. Ibid., p. 13.
Immediately after Palladio's death in 1580, Palladianism in Venetian church design began to evolve into a living tradition which embraced every decade for the next hundred and seventy-five years. As Howard states,

...Palladio's artistic legacy in Venice could not be ignored. Within a generation his impressive contribution to the architecture of the city had itself become absorbed into the Venetian heritage.... He showed that majestic effects could be achieved without expensive materials, chromatic richness or elaborate decoration, which would only have obscured the unity and coherence of his masterful conceptions.¹

Many architects leaned to the example of Palladio, but not one copied the master's architectural concepts completely. Alternatively, they resolved their designs in an eclectic manner, "...whereby various elements of the Palladian vocabulary were chosen from Palladio's ecclesiastical buildings and combined...to create an individual expression."²

In 1581, Vincenzo Scamozzi's (1552 - 1616) Santa Maria Celeste became the first church in Venice to exhibit a character which demonstrated an essential interest in the architectural themes of Palladio. Scamozzi, who was Palladio's pupil, assistant, and follower, became one of Venice's leading architects after his master's death, and as Wittkower explains, his "...architecture must be regarded as a revision of his teacher...."³

The exact morphological development of the Celeste is still under question today. In 1810, the church and monastery were suppressed and the church later destroyed, circa 1850, leaving no physical trace of its design.
Only the Palladian inspired cloister remains today. Citing an early manuscript, Franzoi tells us that Scamozzi developed a plan for a new church twelve years after a fire destroyed the original thirteenth century building in 1569. As described, this plan emulated the work of Palladio at the Redentore, proposing a centralized crossing with a dome preceded by a nave faced with a classical temple front facade. It is known that Scamozzi supervised the construction of this building until March of 1582 when he fell in dispute with church officials and was fired. All work was stopped and the building abandoned, leaving it half finished to the first order of a two order system of two different heights. The situation remained the same for twenty-four years. It has been thought that Scamozzi's building was "completely demolished" in 1606 in order to make way for a totally new church design that was built in five years and consecrated in 1611. Unlike Scamozzi's design, drawings of the 1606 project have been preserved, allowing one to understand the actual physical form of this design. Three different sets of plans from three different centuries exist: Giovanni Casoni (Figs. 7 and 8), c. 1606; Antonio Visentini (Fig. 81), c. 1750; and Bernardo Combatti (Fig. 82), 1846. Each plan presents a cruciform configuration composed of a short, wide nave with rectangular transepts flanking a crossing. Before the nave, there is a vestibule with a monk's choir above, and after the crossing a rectangular chancel flanked by two lower chapels. It has been thought that Scamozzi's partially complete church of 1581 was razed because the drawings of the new building of 1606 do not readily comply with the earlier manuscript description of the Scamozzian design. Yet, a closer study of the plans of the 1606 building, especially those by Casoni, which are scaled working drawings and depict the building under construction, reveals a nave design
which is a close reinterpretation of the Palladian model at the Redentore, strongly suggesting that the skeletal remains of Scamozzi's building were not destroyed as thought, but retained, remodelled, and incorporated into the overall design of the new church.

As in the Redentore (Figs. 73 and 74), Casoni's drawing of the plan of the Celeste (Fig. 7.) features a single nave hall with three side-chapels separated by an arrangement of paired half-columns at each side of the principal axis. Figure eight depicts the elevational organization of the chancel and lower flanking chapels. From a study of this drawing, much can be deduced concerning the corresponding coordination and form of the orders of the nave wall, for which no drawing has been found. As reflected in the plan, the Corinthian order of the principal half-columns on high pedestals and the subsidiary Doric order of pilasters would have been carried consistently around the entire body of the nave and crossing, creating a harmonic integration within which each architectural component would have its counterpart perfectly mirrored to each side. This display of repetition and symmetry demonstrates a predominantly Palladian influence, further endorsing the idea that the walls enclosing the congregation space were those designed and left unfinished by Scamozzi in 1581 and later added to and completed after 1606.

The structural distribution of the nave walls into a deeply modelled classical arcade of narrow and wide bays of paired half-columns and arched chapels was a modified copy of the same arrangement at the Redentore. Scamozzi altered Palladio's design only slightly. The niches for statues found in the original were eliminated by closely pairing the columns of the giant order. At the Redentore, Palladio's half-columns rest directly on the ground.
At the Celeste, Scamozzi made them rise from high pedestals, eclectically emulating a similar organization by his master at San Giorgio (Fig. 67). Adjacent to the paired columns, as in the Redentore, were six bilaterally symmetrical chapels. Unlike the Redentore, the chapels were shallow, unvaulted, and windowless, but the system of employing semi-circular arches, resting on the entablatures of the smaller orders without pedestal, was executed in the Palladian mode. The keystones of these arches supported a heavy straight entablature which was carried around the whole building, following closely the same example in the Redentore. Furthermore, the colossal columns of both buildings carried the entablature toward similar Corinthian pilasters at the corners, and both columns and pilaster piers came together at the entrances of the chancel and transepts of the crossing (Figs. 7 and 8).

Unlike the nave of the Redentore, which is covered by an arching plaster vault with clearstory lighting (Fig. 73), the Celeste was roofed with a series of simple trusses which rested directly on the encircling entablature and carried a flat ceiling. This arrangement does not seem to be of Scamozzi's invention. As Casoni's chancel elevation (Fig. 7) clearly demonstrates, there is a major design conflict between the crossing and chancel piers and the flat ceiling. Under normal classical design conditions, like those at the Redentore, the giant pilasters set next to the columns would have supported imposing triumphal arches announcing the deep spaces of the chancel and transepts. In the case of the Celeste, the arches were never built, and, in their place, the broad entablature seems to have been brought straight across from capital to capital without the use of a supporting arch underneath. This spanning, accomplished only through the use of an extraordinarily long and heavy slab
of stone, is a very unorthodox and unclassical formulation. Without the
great arches, the giant pilasters against the columns are redundant and
their structural use incorrect. A more logical solution would have been for
the architect of the 1606 rebuilding to remove the giant pilasters and
replace them with the minor order with an arch and keystone. In this
manner, the chancel wall would have resembled the nave arcade and the
use of a flat ceiling above the entablature acceptable. However, this
solution would have been both non-Palladian and non-Scamozzian. The giant
pilaster piers suggest that Scamozzi had planned for the construction of
giant arches. In similar fashion to the Redentore, these arches would
most likely have been incorporated into a barrel-vaulted ceiling with
lunettes. This condition would have also allowed for generous clearstory
lighting above the six side-chapels, illuminating what must have otherwise
been an unusually dark congregation space.

Visentini's plan (Fig. 81), circa 1750, agrees with that of Casoni
in almost every way. By adding more details, Visentini delineates the
structural ordering and entrances and windows of the vestibule below the
monk's choir loft. Casoni had only blocked out the area, which could suggest
that this space may not have been part of Scamozzi's design, but added later
during the remodelling. The differences between the nave, crossing, and
transepts are negligible, with the later more detailed by Visentini, reveal­
ing the doorways and windows in the end walls. The only major contradiction
is in the scale of the chancel and the lower adjacent chapels, which, in
Casoni, are nearly equal in size and proportion. Visentini made them different
by widening the chancel and narrowing and shortening the chapels. Combatti's
plan (Fig. 82) of 1846 depicts the same widening and narrowing as the
Visentini drawing. Yet, in the former, only the north chapel seems to be foreshortened. Nevertheless, the later drawings of Visentini and Combatti seem to suggest that Casoni's proportionate arrangement may have been altered as a consequence of further remodelling sometime between 1606 and 1750.

Furthermore, Combatti's plan indicates that additional rebuilding occurred after 1750, and most likely before the Celeste was suppressed in 1810. The original cruciform plan, with its wide nave and crossing and rectangular transepts, is still visible in the drawing, but, as depicted, the transepts were permanently closed off by extending the nave walls straight through to the chancel wall. By removing the transepts, the crossing was lost and the ground plan transformed into a simple longitudinal rectangle with the chancel and the two adjacent chapels occupying the east end. This transformation also added an additional two chapel bays to Scamozzi's classical six-bay nave arcade which was modelled after the Redentore. Combatti's drawing reveals that two more sets of paired half-columns on high pedestals were constructed to replace the transept piers, respecting and repeating the Palladian character of balanced repetition and symmetry already established in the earlier six-bay configuration.

Some ten years after Combatti published his plan of the Celeste, the church was destroyed, leaving nothing to demonstrate its design. The records that exist today to help explain the form and character of the Celeste are sparse, but not insignificant. Each document depicts a church which once demonstrated an essential attention to and particular affinities with the architectural formulations presented by Palladio at the Redentore.
NOTES


5. Ibid., p. 464.

6. Ibid., p. 464.

7. Ibid., p. 464.
San Trovaso: 1583

In 1583, one year after Vincenzo Scamozzi's Santa Maria Celeste was left abandoned, the ancient church of San Trovaso collapsed unexpectedly. Construction of the present building began in 1584, following the design of another Palladian architect, Francesco Smeraldi, and was largely complete by 1590.¹

Smeraldi's spatial conception for the interior of San Trovaso is another example of Palladian eclecticism, blending ornamental and structural systems from both San Giorgio Maggiore and the Redentore. Indebtedness to the principles of Palladio is unmistakably expressed in the formation of the nave with six bilaterally symmetrical side-chapels, in the crossing with lateral transepts, and in the square chancel flanked by two lower chapels. (Fig. 83).

The plan of San Trovaso is a modified version of the Latin cross formula presented at San Giorgio (Fig. 66). Reduced in scale, the main arm of the cross repeats the same simple geometric proportions of the Palladian model. Both churches have perfectly square crossings with naves one and a half times as long. At San Giorgio, Palladio projected the nave past the crossing to form another square congregational space directly in front of the giant chancel arch. This formation was duplicated in San Trovaso, except that this space became both the terminating head of the cross and the chancel housing the high altar. Following Palladio, the chancel pavement is three steps higher than the floor of the nave and crossing, setting off that part of the church reserved for the officiating clergy from the assembly spaces below (Figs. 66 and 84 and 85). Flanking each side of the chancel square are lower
arched chapels, reflecting the similar pattern at San Giorgio. The outside walls of these chapels define the depth of the rectangular transepts, which are half as deep as the square crossing.

Distinct from the plan of San Giorgio, San Trovaso does not have ambulatory side-aisles bordering its nave. In lieu of aisles, Smeraldi designed six identical vaulted side-chapels which represent an approximation to Palladio's work at the Redentore (Figs. 72 and 83). These chapels are separated by a series of single Corinthian pilasters, which are attenuated versions of the doubled components expressed in the original. Fortunately, Smeraldi did not attempt to reflect the colossal orders of Palladio within the smaller spaces of San Trovaso. Once again, at a reduced scale, he followed the same geometric proportions governing the interior of San Giorgio, making the dimension from the floor to the crown of the vault the same as the nave which is one and a half times as long as the crossing square. Furthermore, the vault is half as high as the principal pilasters carrying it, which are the same length as the crossing. Following this pattern, Smeraldi reduced the architectonic complexities of the interior into proportions more harmonious with the smaller spaces of the building. As in the Redentore, the repetition and symmetry of the principal orders on diminutive bases is uniformly articulated throughout the church.

Echoing the Redentore, the pavement of each side-chapel is raised three steps from the nave floor. The chapels are composed of semi-circular arches rising from entablatures set above the subsidiary Doric pilasters without pedestals (Figs. 84 and 86). Conforming to Palladio, both the keystones of the arches and the capitals of the adjacent pilasters support a heavy straight entablature which runs around the whole interior without a
break, except to step back briefly in shallow planes beneath the four large arches enclosing the crossing square (Fig. 84). As in the Redentore, this entablature acts as a simple, axially insistent form, producing a linear surface which moves the eye down the nave and around the transepts and into the chancel.

Resembling San Giorgio, the interior of San Trovaso has four barrel vault ceilings which highly define the four arms of its cruciform plan (Figs. 67 and 87). White and unarticulated, they rise from the principal entablature and stretch from the four end walls to the four arches above the four corner piers which delineate the crossing square. To contrast the crossing with all other spaces, Smeraldi did not crown it with a dome as Palladio did in San Giorgio. Instead, he developed an intersecting barrel vault to help imbue the space with greater significance (Fig. 91). Like San Giorgio, the four adjacent vaults derive their formal clarity from the accentuated ribbing of their bounding arches, which are parallel to the curve of the vaults. Within each arch in each end wall is a huge mullioned thermal window. These exaggerated windows transfuse a uniform light throughout the church, reflecting itself off the smooth whitewashed surfaces of the stuccoed vaults. The interior scheme of extensive and brightly lit plastered surfaces enlivened by darker structural elements bears the impress of Palladio at San Giorgio and the Redentore, which are both illuminated by a series of large thermal openings (Figs. 88 and 89). Before Palladio demonstrated the great possibilities of thermal windows, they "...were rarely used in Italian architecture," but after, they "...became standard features of new churches, and were also inserted into many older ones to improve the lighting." Further following Palladio's lighting formula, Smeraldi set six Roman
windows into the barrel vault of the nave directly above the six side-chapels. Unfortunately, these windows have been closed, apparently for centuries. Their existence is witnessed on the exterior of the church where the original mullioned, semi-circular windows still appear (Fig. 90). Today, Smeraldi's nave vault is smooth and unarticulated. Initially, it would have reflected the more luminous arrangement at San Giorgio (Figs. 67 and 88) and the Redentore (Figs. 73 and 89), where six curving triangular lunettes above the windows break into the ceiling and point their groined forms at each other over the center of the arched vault.

Turning to the exterior of San Trovaso, we find that Smeraldi modelled his two facades (Figs. 90 and 92) directly upon the pattern presented by Palladio at the Church of Le Zitelle (Fig. 71). Each facade is divided into two stories of superimposed orders, horizontally separated by an intermediate entablature and crowned by a single pediment over a large semi-circular window. The Zitelle facade is larger in scale than those of San Trovaso, but Smeraldi followed the same simple geometric proportions that govern the original, making the upper tier half the height of the lower. The lower sections of both churches are almost identical. Each is composed of Corinthian pilasters paired at the corners with a wide central bay filled by a large pedimented doorway flanked by two long arched windows. Due to their reduced scale, the pilasters of San Trovaso do not rest on high pedestals like those of the Zitelle. Instead, they sit on low bases, repeating the same pattern established in the interior. Unlike Palladio, Smeraldi set the wall of the main bay of the west front back a shallow three inches, subtly reflecting the exact width of the nave behind (Fig. 92). To further accommodate this articulation of successive planes in the facade, the main
entablature was set back and supported at each end by vestigial half-pilasters in the corners, once again duplicating the same application inside (Fig. 87). As a result, the paired pilaster bays project forward, carrying broken entablature segments. Just as the middle bay agrees in width and height with the nave, the adjacent paired orders correspond in width and height to the side-chapels behind. By incorporating slight variations in the design of the three bays of the lower tier, Smeraldi created a novel solution to Palladio's predilection to resolve the internal spatialism of his churches on their facades. Like the facades of San Francesco della Vigna, San Giorgio, the Redentore, and the Zitelle, the exterior of San Trovaso presents a direct idea of the form, fabric, and proportions of the interior.

The two portal designs of San Trovaso are exactly the same (Figs. 90 and 92) and are reminiscent of Palladio's work at both the Redentore (Fig. 75) and the Zitelle (Fig. 71). Flanking the doorways are two engaged half-columns supporting an entablature and triangular pediment. Between these columns, another minor order of pilasters carry a round-headed arch rising to a keystone beneath the entablature of the major order. Unlike Palladio's doors, this entablature extends slightly past the columns, being supported by two more flanking pilasters. This arrangement does not escape allusions to the master's designs for the altars of the side-chapels of the Redentore (Fig. 86). The only dramatic divergence from Palladio appears where the center of the architrave, frieze, and cornice are cut back, leaving two narrow ressauts to carry the broken triangular pediment. Like the altars of the Redentore, the tympanum of the pediment has a circle enframed by a pair of triangular panels.
Unlike the Zitelle, the second storey of San Trovaso was designed with single pilaster units flanking each side of the massive Mannerist Roman window. In Palladio's facade, the paired pilasters of the lower tier are superimposed on the upper storey so as to carefully reflect the internal composition of the enclosed stairwells leading from the ground floor to the belfries above the pediment which embraces the full width of the facade (Figs. 69 and 71). The arrangement of Smeraldi's facade is also determined by the structure of the internal spaces of the church, which, unlike the Zitelle, are narrowed in the upper zones by the half-barrel vault section above the nave. The arch of the great window repeats exactly the arch of the vault and the crowning pediment corresponds with the attic behind. To link the terminal paired pilasters of the first storey with the taller central block, Smeraldi built steep scroll-shaped volutes which descend from the capitals of the upper order to the top of the cornice of the outside pilaster of the lower order (Fig. 92). The south facade of San Trovaso repeats the same design and construction as the west front, except that the paired outside bays of the lower tier are wider, echoing the broader spaces behind them (Figs. 83 and 90). This width is also reflected in the larger and less steep volutes buttressing the upper portion of the central bay.

Until recently, both facades of San Trovaso were in danger of falling forward off the building. Today, they have been carefully restored to their original state, clearly revealing the many blended elements which demonstrate the important impress of Palladio.
NOTES


3. Today, apparently for structural reasons, the Roman window in the end wall of the chancel vault is closed (Fig. 85).


5. As depicted in Antonio Visentini's longitudinal section of San Trovaso, circa 1750, the windows already appear closed at that time (Fig. 84).


7. This combination of incongruous features, characterized by a manipulated distortion of Palladio's realistic classical arrangement, reveals a tendency towards Mannerism in Smeraldi's work.

Replacing an earlier fourteenth century Gothic structure, the late Renaissance church of San Francesco di Paola was completed by an unknown architect circa 1590. The plan (Figs. 93 and 95) is pre-Palladian, for it actually emulates an earlier Venetian church design, closely copying Antonio Abbondi's (called Lo Scarpanino, ?-1549) San Sebastiano of 1505-1545 (Figs. 94 and 96). Both buildings present the same cruciform plan preceded by a vestibule with a choir gallery above, which continues down each side of the nave over six deep side-chapels. Flat ceilings in panels cover each interior, and after the crossing there are deep chancels flanked by two lower chapels. Curiously enough, both plans reveal numerous affiliations to the principles of Palladian church design. This suggests that Palladio may very well have been substantially influenced by Abbondi's precedence at San Sebastiano, which, at its completion in 1545, was an important example of modern classical church design in Venice, existing for study and reflection some twenty years before Palladio's great commissions.

The architect of San Francesco imitated the plan for San Sebastiano, but he did not copy Abbondi's double tiered facade design. Instead, we find that he repeated Palladio's resolution for the Zitelle (Fig. 71) almost exactly (Fig. 97). Like Smeraldi at San Trovaso, he reiterated the 2:1 proportions of the original, making the lower tier twice the height of the upper. He separated the floors with a heavy unbroken entablature of the same precise profile as Palladio. As in the original, this entablature is supported by two paired bays of Corinthian pilasters at the corners. They represent the width of the side chapels behind. Because of differences in
scale, the pilasters of San Francesco, unlike those of the Zitelle, are set wider apart and rest on shorter pedestals. Between the outer bays, the central section echoes the width of the nave and embraces two long arched windows adjacent to a pedimented portal. The long windows are not as long as those of the Zitelle, and the doorway is not as wide nor tall, yet the overall design of the two is the same, except that the Corinthian columns of the door rest on shorter pedestals, and between these, the stone jamb is composed of a plain rectilinear framework instead of another minor order of pilasters carrying a round-headed arch.

The upper tier of San Francesco (Fig. 97) further repeats the Zitelle design (Fig. 71). In reply to the lower storey, there are two more paired bays of Corinthian pilasters flanking the central section. Similar to the original, the right bay reflects an internal stairwell leading from the second floor to a belfry above. The double arched openings of Palladio's turrets are repeated here also. Unlike the Zitelle, a second belfry does not appear above the pediment on the left side of the building. Between the outer bays is another giant Mannerist thermal window, which brightly illuminates the choir gallery and nave behind (Fig. 95). The side orders carry an entablature and sharply dentilled pediment, which crown the full width of the facade. Once again, the profile planning of these elements closely represent the same design of the Zitelle. Furthermore, the tympanums of both buildings are composed of large plain surfaces and echo similar arrangements within the pediment over the doors.

Having been rebuilt in 1964, the facade of San Francesco is in beautiful condition today, and represents one of Venice's most faithful reworkings of the classical church front formula presented by Palladio at the Zitelle.
NOTES


3. Unfortunately, a study of the impact and influence of Abbondi's San Sebastiano plan on Palladio's own development as a church designer is outside the scope of this thesis.
In 1579, one year before his death, Andrea Palladio proposed a centralized plan for San Nicolò dei Tolentini (Figs. 98 and 99). Except for the main apsidial sanctuary, formed by a receding hemicycle screen of free-standing Corinthian columns capped by the volume of a half-dome, the altars are assembled in one very tall spatial unit surmounted by a huge drum-less dome. Behind the curved transparent apse is a generous pie-shaped monk's choir. The four corners of the rotunda are articulated by broadly bevelled piers turned on forty-five degree angles between slightly engaged colossal Corinthian columns. These bear large ressauts from which spring the four giant arches supporting the central dome. In designing this church, Palladio drew much strength from his successful domed triconch chancel of the Redentore, within which many similar elements appear (Figs. 72 and 74). For the facade of the building, Palladio proposed a grand classical Corinthian portico on the model of the Pantheon (Fig. 100). Unfortunately, after his demise, the master's project was abandoned and never realized.

In 1591, nine years after he was fired as architect of the new church of Santa Maria Celeste, Palladio's follower, Vincenzo Scamozzi, was hired by the Theatines to design the Tolentini. He supervised the construction of the present building (Figs. 80 and 101) and adjoining monastery until 1595, when he was again dismissed by his employers "...for supposed incompetence." Unlike the abandoned Celeste, which was left half finished for twenty-four years (till 1606), construction of the Tolentini was continued on Scamozzi's "...scheme with modifications...under the supervision of the
Theatine amateurs[4] and consecrated in 1602.

Following his precedence at the Celeste, Scamozzi returned to the Redentore for inspiration for his design for the Tolentini. Recalling Palladio, the plan presents a Latin cross configuration composed of a vaulted nave with six identical bilateral vaulted side-chapels and a centralized crossing crowned with an incomplete drummed cupola[5] followed by a short chancel with a long flat-ended choir behind. The side-chapels of the nave are separated by a series of giant single Corinthian pilasters (Fig. 102), which are reduced alternatives of the paired half-columns of the Redentore (Fig. 86) and echo the similar, but shorter versions found in San Trovaso by Smeraldi (Fig. 84). Duplicating the earlier churches, the symmetry and repetition of the main orders on small bases is uniformly carried around the church. As in the Redentore, each chapel is formed by a semi-circular arch rising from an entablature supported by minor Doric pilasters without pedestals. Unlike the Redentore, the chapels are rectangular and not elliptically elongated by small apses to the sides. This shape could have been derived from San Trovaso (Fig. 83) or possibly San Francesco di Paola (Fig. 93) via San Sebastiano (Fig. 94), which all have rectilinear chapels. Like the Redentore, all the chapels are linked in series by access corridors which allow for private services to be conducted without disturbing the celebration of mass at the high altar. In the original, Palladio designed six identical altars to sit within his six identical chapels, giving profound balance to his harmonious and encompassing system of design. After repeating this pattern, Scamozzi also closely copied Palladio's original altar design (Fig. 86), utilizing two projecting
columns carrying a simple pediment with apertures for pictures framed within a round-headed arch with a keystone supported by minor orders (Fig. 103). By making the chapels and their altars all of the same design, they act as a repetitive and complimentary foil to the more elaborate main altar which has no copy and stands alone in its ultimate importance (Fig. 104). Following Palladio at the Redentore, Scamozzi opened the back walls of the lateral chapels above the cornice into mullioned thermal windows of the same size as the arches connecting them with the nave. Furthermore, he adapted Palladio's structural system of extending upwards the walls of masonry separating the side-chapels to form buttresses to resist the pressure of the nave vault (Figs. 5 and 105).

The nave, like that of the Redentore, is almost exactly twice as long as it is wide (Figs. 72 and 80). Unlike Palladio's church, which has a shallow curved vault "...judged to be too low in relation to the other two dimensions [width and height]"^6, Scamozzi's nave is covered by a very high barrel vault (Fig. 102), recalling his master's work at San Giorgio (Fig. 67). Scamozzi stretched Palladio's geometric proportions further, making the dimension from the floor to the crown of the vault the same as the width of the three side-chapels, which is almost the same breadth as the crossing square under the dome (Fig. 101). At San Giorgio, the vault is half as high as the principal orders carrying it, whereas the Tolentini ceiling is twice the height of the main pilasters, expressing an even more vast sense of open space. Conforming to Palladio at the Redentore, both the keystones of the chapel arches and the capitals of the adjoining pilasters support a heavy, dentilled entablature which runs perfectly straight around the whole interior, not even breaking briefly in slight planes beneath the
four huge arches forming the crossing square. As in the original, this very linear surface is an axially insistent element which encourages the eye to move down the nave through the crossing and into the chancel housing the high altar (Figs. 102 and 104), demonstrating what Wittkower calls the "...special brand of frigid classicism... of Scamozzi's brittle, linear style."7 In agreement, Lewis states that after Palladio, "...Scamozzi perpetuated a fundamentally tectonic system of design"8, expressing a rationally ordered, clear and integral system of boldly structural surfaces. As in San Giorgio, the nave vault of the Tolentini is a smooth whitewashed surface which derives its formal clarity from the accentuated ribbing of its bounding arches (Figs. 67 and 102). By setting six Roman windows into this ceiling directly above the six side-chapels, Scamozzi also copied Palladio's lighting formula. Combined with the windows of the chapels, a brilliant uniform light is transfused throughout the congregation space. In the same manner as Smeraldi at San Trovaso, the formation of brightly lit plastered surfaces enlivened by darker structural elements echoes the impress of Palladio at both San Giorgio and the Redentore.

Passing into the crossing from the nave, we find that the transverse axis of this space, like that of San Giorgio (Fig. 66), is the same width as the nave and helps to oppose the insistent progression of the more forceful central axis of the nave (Fig. 80). Concurring with the rest of the church, and following Palladio's own principals, every architectural element is carefully repeated to each side, creating a highly calculated interlocking pattern and unified effect. The depth of the nave chapels defines the shallow depth of the transept arms. Covering the transepts, there are very short barrel vaults defined by bounding arches whose archivolts are embellished with
ornamental moulding (Fig. 106). This same arrangement is repeated once again in an identical space set before the chancel (Fig. 104). Overall, the crossing represents a spatial nucleus of three short, but large, recessed bays bordering a central crossing square under a dome (Fig. 104). In this manner, it closely reflects Palladio's domed triconch structure at the Redentore (Fig. 74). In each of his arched bays, Scamozzi designed a lower arched opening. For the two transept arms, these openings extend back to form large, deep, rectilinear chapels covered by half-barrel vaults and lit by large thermal windows set above the cornice lines of the end walls (Fig. 106). The smaller inner arches act as answering curves to the larger outer ones, focussing the visitor's view inwards to the two identical altars. Curiously enough, the transept elevations closely imitate Palladio's resolution for the side chapels for his unrealized design for the Tolentini of 1579 (Fig. 99), suggesting that Scamozzi may have had access to his master's original design, surely in the possession of the Theatines and available to him for consultation at the time. As noted by others, the rectangular shape of the chapels attached to the transept arms were not intended by Scamozzi. They were designed and added by the new builders after Scamozzi's dismissal. The original scheme called for semi-circular chapels (Fig. 107), which could have brought the plan into close affiliation with the apsidal chapels of the Redentore. A later drawing by Antonio Visentini (Fig. 108), circa 1750, reveals a centralized crossing bordered by three large circular apses. This plan is thought to have been a copy of another Scamozzi drawing known to Visentini through his friend Tommaso Temanza (1705-1789) "...who stated that he had in his possession the original designs for the church by Vincenzo
Once again, this plan reflects a clear debt to the design of the trichotomous group of apses at the Redentore.

The chancel floor, like that of San Giorgio and the Redentore, is raised a few steps from the pavement of the adjacent spaces (Fig. 109). All three churches have balustraded landings which, in different degrees, project outwards into the spaces they front in an invitational gesture to the congregation.

The structural formation of the chancel housing the high altar is exactly the same design as the transept chapels, except that there is no back wall to the chancel recess. Instead, there is a long narrow monk's choir which can be dramatically seen around and above the altar through the chancel archway (Fig. 109). The space is brightly lit by a flood of light passing through four Roman windows set in the barrel vault above the main entablature. Another large thermal window in the end wall has been closed in. The concept of extending space behind a screen behind the high altar for a monk's choir was successfully used by Palladio in both San Giorgio and the Redentore. In the Tolentini, there is no architectonic curtain between the chancel and the choir space as there are in the Palladian models. Instead, the plan uses the high altar as a partial partition, following Sansovino's precedent at San Francesco della Vigna in 1534, where an altar serving as a choir-screen was a new and revolutionary feature in Venice (Fig. 47). The choir was most likely of Theatine design. In Visentini's drawing, we find that Scamozzi wanted the end wall of the choir to be semi-circular, but, once again, the altar still sits under the double curves and vault of the chancel archway, screening the sanctuary space from the choir behind (Fig. 108).

The Tolentini is one of Venice's most important religious structures and a beautifully elaborate example of Venetian Palladianism.
NOTES

1. The plans for Palladio's centralized project for San Nicolò dei Tolentini are preserved in London in the Burlington-Devonshire Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, XIV/13-16. For further discussion on this unique proposal, see W. Timofiewitsch, "Ein Unbekannter Kirchenentwurf Palladios", Arte Veneta, XIII-XIV, 1959-60, pp. 79-87.


5. Above the cross-shaped vaulting of the nave, transepts, and chancel, the dome is limited to a drum only, being covered by a flat ceiling (Fig. 101).


San Pietro di Castello: Facade - 1594

In 1558, Patriarch Vincenzo Diedo commissioned Palladio to design a completely new church to replace the aged Gothic structure of San Pietro di Castello (Fig. 110). A building contract was drawn up to engage stonemasons to erect a facade following a main front scheme of six large columns, but on December 9, 1559, Diedo died, and construction was halted at the level of the foundation. Unfortunately, Palladio's design, like that of the Tolentini, was never realized. If construction had continued, the facade would have been Palladio's first for a church preceding his new invention of the interpenetrating temple front solution at San Francesco della Vigna (Fig. 55) in 1562 by four years. Other than a few vague suggestions of form written in the contract, there is no way of knowing the actual design, for the original drawings have been lost. In Venice, Palladio never used more than four giant columns to form the middle section of his temple front church facades. However, in the 1550's, he had frequently favored grand hexastyle Roman porticos for his Veneto villa designs (Figs. 61, 113, 114 and 115). Even though the contract of 1558 does not particularize "free-standing" orders, Palladio may have been proposing a six column portico. His fascination and approval for the form continued right up to his death. For San Giorgio, "...he considered, probably in the late 1570's, the construction of a huge free-standing portico" (Fig. 111). In 1579, he repeated it once again in his unrealized project for the Tolentini (Fig. 100). In 1580, he ended his career with a hexastyle prostyle front for his Tempietto at Maser (Fig. 6).
In 1594, four years after his church of San Trovaso was finished, Francesco Smeraldi began rebuilding the facade of San Pietro. It was complete two years later in 1596 (Fig. 112). The overall design follows Palladio's solution at San Giorgio (Fig. 3), with elements taken from the Redentore added to it (Fig. 5). It has been often suggested that Smeraldi may have taken over Palladio's earlier design and inimitably modified it, producing the existing facade. Today, there is still no evidence available to solidly substantiate such a claim. It is the opinion of the present writer that the design was of Smeraldi's own invention, imitating the familiar manner of Palladio's later churches and not a reworking of the master's design of 1558. Furthermore, Palladio's design, as described in the contract, does not compare with the present structure.

Smeraldi's facade was first set against the nave and side-aisle walls of the original basilican Gothic church (Fig. 110). In 1619, the old structure was demolished and a new tripartite plan constructed on the model of San Giorgio to support the 1594 facade. In both cases, the arrangement of the structural and visual effects of the interpenetrating temple front organized in his facade were meant to produce a sense of continuity and dialogue between the interior and exterior of the church. In this manner, Smeraldi was thoroughly Palladian.

The main bay of Smeraldi's facade is composed of a temple front with two pairs of large Composite half-columns on high pedestals supporting a broad entablature and a strongly marked pediment (Fig. 112). Between the colossal orders themselves, there are upper panels separated by string courses of entablature from framed nitches below. The large centre space between the paired columnar bays embraces a large doorway with a minor
order and pediment. The pilasters on small bases of the secondary Corinthian order framing this entrance extend out beyond the main temple front to carry the half pediments of the side bays, which are the frontal walls of the side aisles of the interior. Here, between the orders, Smeraldi added another two shorter pedimented doors. To help interlock all three bays of his facade, the architect continued the entablature of the minor orders across the whole facade. Except for the pediment above the main portal and the two additional side-aisle doors in the wings, this account of San Pietro could also describe Palladio's facade for San Giorgio (Fig. 3). The way in which the structural walls and attics of the nave and aisles meet the facade in a slightly different manner constitutes the major difference between the two designs. At San Giorgio, the facade is connected to the main structure of the building at the same height. The main and side-pediments correspond exactly to the height of the attic constructions behind. At San Pietro, the pediments do not rise to the attic levels (Fig. 112). To fill the void above the main central pediment, a high, rectangular attic with a dentilled cornice was introduced. Above the half-pediments of the side bays, there are two buttress forms with undetailed partial pediments. These resolutions closely imitate Palladio's model at the Redentore (Fig. 5). No one knows why the elements from the Redentore were superimposed above a predominantly San Giorgio facade. It may be possible that the original basilican Gothic structure to which Smeraldi attached his facade in 1594 was lower than the Palladian structure added to the same front twenty-five years later in 1619 by Girolamo Grapiglia. De'Barbari's sketch of the ancient church seems to support this idea (Fig.110). It depicts a lower building with a very narrow clearstory wall between the nave and aisle roofs. The wall is pierced
with over a dozen small rectilinear windows. As it appears, Smeraldi's facade, without the upper attic and side-wing buttresses, would have fit neatly on to the ancient structure. In comparison, Grapiglia's structure (Fig. 112) is higher and includes two very tall clearstory walls which together hold six giant Roman windows between the upper and lower roof lines. Smeraldi's facade, without the attic and buttresses, does not conform to the structure of the new building. It seems possible that Grapiglia may have added the Redentore elements above the pediments in order to fill in the gaps created by designing a taller structure than the ancient one to which Smeraldi's 1594 facade was adapted.

As an emulation of San Giorgio, with elements taken from the Redentore, Smeraldi's front for San Pietro remained the only realized facsimile of Palladio's interpenetrating temple front facade design in Venice for one hundred years. It was not until circa 1695, with the modified restatement of the San Francesco della Vigna facade for San Giovanni Battista, that it was repeated once again (Fig. 187).
NOTES

1. Palladio may have submitted as many as eight different designs to Patriarch Diedo, see John McAndrew, Catalogue of the Drawings Collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects: Antonio Visentini (Hants, England: D.C. Heath Ltd., 1974), p. 36.

2. For more commentary on the morphological development of the church of San Pietro di Castello, see Umberto Franzoi, Le Chiese di Venezia (Venezia: Alfieri, 1976), pp. 524-533.


5. See footnote 114 of Chapter I, p. 46.


8. For a concise review of the many differing views (J. Ackerman, A. Magrini, R. Pane, E. Paoletti, R. Wittkower, G. Zorzi) which deal with the design influence and responsibility for the facade of San Pietro di Castello, see Lionello Puppi, Andrea Palladio (Boston: New York Graphic Society, 1975), pp. 321-322.
San Giacomo della Giudecca: 1603

In 1603, the fourteenth century Gothic church of San Giacomo della Giudecca was radically reconstructed into a new building by an unknown architect. In 1806, the monastery and church were suppressed and converted into a residence and warehouse for the military. The buildings were eventually pulled down circa 1840, leaving no physical trace of their design.

Today, Antonio Visentini's drawings of San Giacomo (Figs. 117, 118, 119 and 120) are the only records left documenting the design of the interior and the facade of the church. McAndrew tells us that the interior "...was a small version of its immediate neighbour, the Redentore...[and] it could easily have been designed by one of his [Palladio's] persistent imitators such as Sorella or Smeraldi." In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Venice, one of the favorite church plans was the standard long nave and square chancel. As Wittkower states,

Venice itself is rich in variations on the theme of the Redentore. Frequently encountered is the nave without aisles but with three side chapels, of varying depth, separated by an arrangement of half-columns or pilasters, and roofed by a barrel-vault with lunettes.

The ground plan of San Giacomo was one of the earliest examples in Venice of this development.

Following Palladio's proportions at the Redentore (Fig. 72), the rectangular nave hall of San Giacomo was almost exactly twice as long as it was wide(Fig. 117). By foreshortening the dimensions of the original, the plan became very long and narrow. The chancel square was one-third the
length and two-thirds the width of the nave. Like the Redentore, the nave was richly articulated with a powerful rhythm of engaged half-columns, which moved past six bilaterally symmetrical side-chapels (Fig. 118). Unlike the Redentore, the major members were single Composite orders. The chapels, like the Palladian churches of San Trovaso (Fig. 84) and the Tolentini (Fig. 102), were formed by semi-circular arches with keystones rising from entablatures supported by minor Doric pilasters. Repeating a similar arrangement found in the Redentore, the principal and subsidiary orders started from the same diminutive bases. Echoing Scamozzi's Celeste (Fig. 7), the chapels were very lightly recessed, unvaulted, and windowless. The outside chapels in each range, like those of the Redentore (Fig. 89), were flanked by a single half-column on one side and a pilaster in the corner. In the narrow bays between these members, there were doorways surmounted by statue niches. At the Redentore, the lower range has another statue niche and not a door (Fig. 86). Demonstrating a predominantly Palladian influence, each architectural element had its counterpart perfectly repeated to each side of the congregation space, creating a harmonious and unifying system of design (Fig. 117).

Supported above the orders, a heavy entablature with a strongly dentilled cornice continued around the church without a break (Fig. 118), except to project in shallow planes beneath the chancel and entrance arches (Fig. 119). Imitating Palladio at the Redentore, this linear surface pulled one's view down the nave around a short end-wall into the chancel square, terminating it above a pair of free-standing columns screening a choir behind. Springing from the entablature, a high, but narrow, barrel vault ceiling covered the nave. This vault was derived from San Giorgio (Fig. 67)
rather than the Redentore, which has a depressed ceiling (Fig. 89). It had been cut away to accommodate six heavily groined semi-circular Roman windows set perfectly above the side-chapels. As in both San Giorgio and the Redentore, they together transfused a uniform light throughout the congregation space below.

Conforming to the Redentore (Fig. 73), a wall penetrated with a monumental arch ended the nave hall and announced the chancel by framing the high altar (Fig. 119). As in the original, the main room and the sanctuary formed almost independent units. Below the arch, the level of the nave pavement was closed by two steps rising to the elevated chancel floor. In familiar Palladian fashion, the chancel was isolated and emphasized as a sacred enclosure by a number of special motifs. Being perfectly square, the chancel created a spatial content that was unique and separate and in contrast to the other spaces of the church. The architect was using principles of hierarchy that Palladio first invented in San Giorgio to bring dominance and climax to the sanctuary. As Ackerman tells us, the "...self-contained altar-house like San Giorgio's is unique in the Italian Renaissance...."^6

As in San Giorgio (Fig. 88), San Giacomo had two lateral arches rising over the encircling entablature, containing the largest pair of Roman windows in the building (Fig. 118). In San Giorgio, the terminating arch opposite the open chancel arch is filled with a double tiered organ screen with the top and bottom open to the choir behind (Fig. 121). The architect of San Giacomo reintroduced the lower tier of paired isolated columns arranged in a straight line with three intercolumniations, the center bay being twice as wide as those to the sides (Fig. 119). Yet, in the upper tier, he removed the organ and installed another Roman window open to the exterior. The three generous
openings above the high altar would have flooded the chancel with a bright light, rendering the space more emphatic and distinct in its stateliness.

Palladio derived his colonnade between two spaces from the ancient designs of Roman baths. As in San Giorgio and the Redentore, the open screen of San Giacomo (Figs. 118 and 119), was designed to both help stop the view at the end of the chancel and allow a glimpse past this profile into the receding choir, which was "...a subordinate and essentially separate space devoted to practical purposes...." As in the originals, the tripartite openings also permitted both easy liturgical circulation from the sacristies, which were accessed to the right and left directly behind the screen, and fluid voice transfer to the rest of the church. Like those of the Redentore (Fig. 89), the curved wall of the choir of San Giacomo was devoid of any plastic articulation. The only ornaments were four large elevated windows, which, echoing the original, were "...strongly splayed toward the inside in order to increase the flood of light."

Turning to the exterior of San Giacomo, we find that the facade (Fig. 120), like those of San Trovaso (Figs 90 and 92) and San Francesco di Paola (Fig. 97), was modelled closely upon the pattern presented by Palladio at the Zitelle (Fig. 71). The elevation was separated into two tiers of paired superimposed composite pilasters, horizontally divided by a broad entablature and topped with a triangular pediment over a large semicircular Roman window. Following the same simple geometric proportions of the original, the upper orders were half the height of the lower ones. Opposed to the Zitelle, and in agreement with San Trovaso and San Francesco, the pilasters rest on short bases.

Unlike the Zitelle, the main bay of the lower tier embraced a
central pedimented portal only. The traditional long windows were removed and the inside pilasters placed close to the door. This change created larger wall surfaces between the paired orders, within which superimposed statue niches were inserted. These niches were separated horizontally by a slightly incised molding which continued behind the major orders across the whole facade at the common level of the entablature of the main door. This arrangement unifies the side bays with the central section and reflects Palladio's intent at San Francesco della Vigna (Fig. 55), San Giorgio (Fig. 3) and the Redentore (Fig. 5). In the spaces between the pilasters of the upper tier, there were large slightly recessed rectangular panels. Between the paired bays, as in the Zitelle, there was a large mullioned thermal opening, which would have brightly illuminated the nave behind (Figs. 118 and 119).

As Visentini's drawings affirm, the design of this church was one of the first in Venice to resolve the recurring problem that future architects had in attempting to unify a primary longitudinal nave with a square chancel based on Palladian models. The church was also the third in twenty years in Venice to adopt a Palladian facade based on the Zitelle model, following San Trovaso in 1583 and San Francesco di Paola in 1588.
NOTES


3. These drawings are held in two collections: Royal Institute of British Architects, London, number 107, (1), (2), (3); and the British Museum, London, Admiranda Urbis Venetae: 1740-1760, Volume III, p. 73 and 74.


8. Ibid., p. 21.

In 1558, Palladio proposed a completely new plan for the church of San Pietro di Castello. The design was never realized and the actual form of the building is unknown, for the original drawings have never been found. In 1619, the ancient Gothic basilica was pulled down and a new tripartite structure was built on the model of San Giorgio by Girolamo Grapiglia. The church was finished in 1621 and consecrated in 1642. San Pietro was the religious centre of Venice until 1807 when Napoleon passed the cathedral title and seat of the Patriarch to San Marco, until then the personal chapel of the Doge.

The 1619 structure was attached to Francesco Smeraldi's Palladian facade of 1594 (Fig. 112). Responding to the tripartition of the exterior, Grapiglia designed a three-bay Palladian cruciform plan subdivided into a high nave and two lower aisles, a transept crossing with a large dome, and a square chancel with an apsidial retrochoir flanked by two deep lower chapels (Figs. 122 and 123). As in San Giorgio (Fig. 66), the nave is the same width and one and a half times as long as the crossing square. The side-aisles are half the width of the nave. Imitating the original, the dimension from the floor to the top of the ceiling is the same as the length of the nave. Unlike San Trovaso, which, at a reduced scale, repeats similar geometric proportions (Fig. 84), the interior of San Pietro is designed at the colossal size of San Giorgio. There is an impression of great spaciousness created by the height of the nave rather than by its width. The nave wall is divided into equal arched bays which are separated by single giant orders. In contrast to San
Giorgio, which has Composite half-columns on tall pedestals (Fig. 67), the giant orders of San Pietro are Corinthian and rest on very unusual medium-height triple bases (Figs. 123 and 124). Following Palladio, the orders are as long as the nave is wide and are carried consistently around the whole church, as well as being echoed on the facade (Fig. 112). These pilasters are set onto slender piers and introduce the three adjoining arches which announce the flanking side-aisles. As in San Giorgio, the minor pilasters of the nave arcade are Corinthian, but, unlike the Palladian arrangement, these elements are short and single and rise from the same base as the adjacent major orders. The composition of each archway perfectly frames the wall-altars behind, which, unlike the master's design, are not lit from above by thermal windows. Repeating the original, the minor orders of the side-aisles carry intersecting barrel vaulted ceilings divided by the arches of each bay into three distinct sections (Fig. 124).

Conforming to Palladio (Fig. 67), the giant orders carry a boldly dentilled entablature, which, unlike the straight element of the Redentore (Fig. 73), projects and recedes in alternating bays over the pilasters and around the wide apertures leading to the side-aisles (Fig. 124). The undulating cornice not only draws attention to the pilasters and archways themselves, but unites these vertical structures in a perspective convergence down the nave around the transepts and into the chancel. Imitating Palladio, this rhythmic system of linear ambiguities was carefully calculated to establish a multiplicity of interlocking visual complexities, which, together, create a balanced and unified spatial entity.

Opposing San Giorgio (Fig. 67), the nave vault of San Pietro does not run smooth and unbroken from the entrance wall to the crossing
arch. Instead, the semi-circular support arches of the ceiling repeat themselves at each giant pilaster, forming three clear bays (Figs. 124 and 125). The deep graining from both the large clearstory windows and the nave arches converge in the center of each bay, creating a tripartite series of intersecting barrel vaults which reflect the similar arrangement found in the upper zones of the flanking side-aisles.

The design of the crossing (Figs. 122 and 123), closely reflects the unified simplicity of Palladio at San Giorgio (Fig. 66). The transept arms of the cruciform plan are covered in corresponding white, unarticulated, barrel vaults. They arch from the main cornice and run from the two end walls to the two arches above the four corner piers which delineate the crossing square. As in the original, the ceilings derive their formal clarity from the accentuated ribbing of their bounding arches, which are parallel to the curve of the vaults. Unlike San Giorgio, Grapiglia substituted Palladio's apsidal chapels for flat arched end walls. Within the arches of these walls, there are two gigantic mullioned Roman windows, which, through their exaggerated size, transform a brilliant light throughout the crossing, reflecting itself off the white plastered surfaces of the vaults. A similar design to these end walls was first introduced in Venice by Smeraldi at San Trovaso in 1583 (Fig. 84), an important church which Grapiglia would have known.

As in San Giorgio, the crossing of San Pietro can be seen as a single outward and upward expanding space. To crown his crossing square (Fig. 124), Grapiglia adopted Palladio's dome at San Giorgio almost exactly (Fig. 68). The balustrade of the drum, which is formed by sixteen sections of bipartite balusters articulated by posts, is supported by a round dentilled cornice.
which passes over the tops of the four great arches and the corner pendentives. Behind the balustrade, the surface of the drum wall is also divided into sixteen bays, each one formed by a pair of adjoining Doric pilasters. Four rectangular windows open vertically into the principal intercolumniations while each of the other surfaces is smooth and plain. In both buildings, the windows open along the diagonal axis above the pendentives. Unlike San Pietro, the in between surfaces of San Giorgio are decorated with a series of twelve statue niches. Surmounting the pilasters, there is a thin entablature from which springs a seemingly weightless white dome with a small opening for light in the centre.

Palladio, at San Giorgio, continued his nave past the crossing to establish another square congregational space directly fronting the giant chancel arch (Fig. 66). This form was repeated at San Pietro, except that this huge space became both the head of the cross and the altar-house (Figs. 122 and 124). This formulation follows a similar arrangement at San Trovaso (Figs. 83 and 85). Following Palladio, the chancel pavement is elevated from that of the nave by a series of steps. Above the main entablature of the lateral walls, there are two large thermal windows which open at the level of the painted intersecting cross vault, flooding the area below with light (Fig. 124). Flanking the chancel square, there are two very deep lower chapels with thermal windows placed high in their end walls, reflecting San Giorgio. As at San Trovaso (Fig. 83), the outside walls of these chapels define the depth of the rectangular transepts, which are half as deep as the crossing square.

Behind the chancel square, Grapiglia constructed a large open semi-circular choir space crowned with a painted half-dome. Palladio's
architectonic wall-screen was not introduced here. Instead, the form follows the general profile of the apsidial chapels of the transepts of San Giorgio (Fig. 66) and the Redentore (Fig. 74). The large free-standing high altar is the only element that serves as a partial screen between the chancel and the choir, following patterns already established in San Francesco della Vigna in 1534 (Fig. 47) and the Tolentini in 1591 (Figs. 108 and 109).

San Pietro was twice hit with Austrian bombs in 1916 and 1917 and received heavy damage during the great flood of November, 1966. In 1973, the building was completely restored through funds provided by the Venice Committee of Los Angeles, California, and is now another example of Venetian Palladianism that can be beautifully viewed.
NOTES


2. The design of the drum and dome of San Giorgio (Fig. 68) is exactly the same as that in the Redentore (Fig. 74).

Santa Maria Elisabetta, Lido: Plan - 1620

The little church of Santa Maria Elisabetta, which stands before the large square of the same name adjacent to the motorboat stop on the island of Lido, was founded in the middle of the sixteenth century and reconstructed by an unknown architect in 1620. Its Palladian plan is another variation on the standard long nave and square chancel theme (Fig. 126), which was earlier exemplified on a grander scale in San Giacomo della Giudecca in 1603 (Fig. 117).

Following Palladio's preferred 2:1 ratio, the nave is twice as long as it is wide. Flanking this Redentore-like hall, are six bilaterally symmetrical side-chapels formed by a series of semi-circular arches with keystones springing from baseless minor Doric orders. The three bays are separated by a row of tall, thin Corinthian pilasters on high pedestals (Fig. 127), reflecting the style of San Giorgio (Fig. 88) rather than the Redentore, which has paired orders rising directly from the floor (Fig. 89). Imitating the Celeste (Fig. 81) and San Giacomo (Fig. 117), the chapels are very shallow, unvaulted, and windowless. Between the outside chapels and the four corners of the nave, there are tall, narrow bays of unarticulated walls. In the Redentore, these surfaces are indented with pairs of surmounted statue niches. This pattern is also repeated in the two tall bays of the strongly projected end walls, which terminate against the chancel arch (Figs. 73 and 86). In the Elisabetta, the end walls are plain, except for the unordered doorways open to the sacristies behind (Fig. 126).

Above the major orders, a thin, weak entablature runs around the whole church, breaking slightly over every capital. Rising from this
element, the nave is covered by an unusually squat vault. Meeting at the rectangular painted panel in the middle of the ceiling, there are six long and low triangular groins, curving from the clearstory thermal windows set above each chapel (Fig. 127). Most of the interior surfaces of the Elisabetta are covered by a brilliant white plaster. The nave hall is brightly lit by reflected light from the upper windows, which are the only openings to the exterior.

Entering the chancel, we find that the pavement is raised three steps from the nave floor. In typical Palladian fashion, the sense of separation and individuality of the sanctuary space from that of the nave is further enhanced by the balustrade which bounds the entrance, opening only at the center with a gate. As in San Giacomo (Fig. 118), the two largest Roman windows of the building rise laterally above the entablature which surrounds the tall altar set high into the small arch of the back wall (Fig. 126). In a very unorthodox manner, the tops of these side-arches are at a higher elevation than the chancel arch, which is elliptical rather than semi-circular. This odd semi-flattened curve was created by the excessive depression of the nave vault, which could not accept the construction of a full-height half-round triumphal arch without it penetrating through the ceiling. Resulting from the mixed heights of the four bounding arches, the groining of the cross vault of the chancel is extremely convoluted, folding awkwardly in and out following the mismatched ins and outs of the adjacent memberings.

The facade for the church was never built, and no drawings of its proposal have survived. After San Giacomo, the long nave and square chancel interior of the Elisabetta was the second in Venice to reflect Palladian design principles.
NOTES

San Nicolò del Lido: 1626

Two miles north of Santa Maria Elisabetta, adjacent to the Nicelli airport, stands the facadeless church of San Nicolò del Lido (Fig. 130). The building was started in 1626 by an unknown architect, and completed in nine years in 1635.¹

Writing on San Nicolò, McAndrew tells us that, "The resemblances to the Redentore are so many...and so strong that one presupposes an architect in the orbit of Palladio, such as Smeraldi or Sorella."² The Palladian nave arcade of San Nicolò (Fig. 129) recalls similar design arrangements and detailing which have been discussed earlier in San Trovaso (Fig. 87) and the Tolentini (Fig. 102).³ All three have walls featuring six deep arched side-chapel bays articulated by a series of single major Corinthian orders supporting broad straight entablatures surmounted by windowed vaults above. Unlike these churches, which have open-ended naves relating to their cruciform plans, the congregation space of San Nicolò is an enclosed cupped volume (Figs. 131 and 132), more closely approximating the circumscribed hall of the Redentore (Fig. 73). As in the original, the only openings exiting the main room are within each end wall. Opposite the entrance, a monumental arch opens the chancel wall, exposing the square sanctuary and the semi-screened apsidial choir behind (Fig. 128). These latter elements imitate the San Giorgio model (Fig. 121). The overall design of the ground plan and classical ordering of the walls also closely reflects the interior of San Giacomo della Giudecca, which successfully established the union of a Redentore-like nave with a San Giorgio-like chancel and choir in 1603 (Figs. 117 and 118).⁴
As at San Giorgio (Fig. 88), the square chancel of San Nicolò is roofed by an intersecting barrel vault formed by the strong semi-circular groins projecting from the four equally sized bounding arches (Fig. 128). The lateral arches are filled with mullioned Roman windows, flooding light into the space. Along with a rise of three steps, these elements help to effectively reinforce the Palladian perception of a special enclosed altar space.

Designed to stop the view at the end of the chancel, a reduced triumphal arch set inside a larger one frames the free-standing high altar (Fig. 128). This is the culminating element in the central axial progression from the nave and imitates Palladio at San Giorgio (Fig. 121). In the original, the portal was filled with an organ screen with its top and bottom open, affording a glimpse of the choir. At San Nicolò, the aperture is fully open from the floor to the archivolt of the arch, revealing vast amounts of the choir space behind, while still focussing the view inwards to the altar below. At San Giorgio, Palladio reduced the size of his pilasters to match and balance with the reduced scale of the minor arch that they support. Unfortunately, the architect of San Nicolò used the colossal Corinthian pilasters of the main order encircling the church (Fig. 128). Above these massive piers, there is a thick projecting entablature section with a strongly dentilled cornice. Supported above this huge structure is a thin, small stone arch, which seems very out of place and almost ungainly within its mismatched context.

The pavement of the choir, like that of San Giorgio (Fig. 88), is raised a few steps from the chancel floor. Furthermore, this long, tall space closes with a similar apsidial wall with a half-dome above (Fig. 133). High up on the walls, which are plain expanses of white stucco like the Redentore (Fig. 134),
88), there are four simply framed rectangular windows which light the twenty-seven choir stalls running together in a curved row against the side and end walls. As at San Giorgio, the stalls are richly decorated in wooden relief carvings. This lower zone of the choir is partially hidden by the high altar, allowing the monks to sing unseen by the parishioners and yet remain easily audible. The sound of their voices reverberates off the curved vaults above, passing beautiful acoustic effects into the main body of the church.

Turning to the exterior of San Nicolò, we find a blank, unfinished brick front, except for the stone portal (Fig. 130). Today, a drawing by Visentini represents the only known proposition for a facade for the church (Fig. 134). As depicted, a simplified reworking of the overlapping antique classical front design of the Redentore was proposed (Fig. 75). The facade consists of one major complete monumental temple front flanked by two lower and smaller half-temple fronts. As in San Francesco della Vigna (Fig. 55), San Giorgio (Fig. 3), the Redentore and San Pietro di Castello (Fig. 112), the tetrastyle formation of the facade is determined by the tripartition of the internal spaces behind. The central part of the elevation corresponds to the nave and the lateral sections echo the deep projecting side-chapels. Further following Palladio, the visual and physical unity of the three different sections of the facade is emphasized by the use of an intermediate entablature which is drawn across the main bay behind the giant columns at the common level of the orders of the side-wings and the central portal. At the Redentore, the two columns of the door and the six pilasters of the lateral bays are of a similar order of magnitude as those of the central pedimental system, being just over two-thirds as tall. In Visentini's drawing, the secondary orders of San Nicolò are only half the height of the primary ones. Unlike the original, this formulation creates large surfaces between the intercolumniar
bays of the giant orders of the central section above the intermediate entablature, reflecting a similar resolution by Palladio at both San Francesco and San Giorgio. In the San Nicolò proposal, the attic and the buttresses of the Redentore have been removed.

It is not known where Visentini obtained the drawing for the facade of San Nicolò, or whether it is a true representation of the original architect's intent. The design may only be an imaginary conception of Visentini himself, for the main block of the facade is twenty feet wider than the existing nave behind, which, when added to the dimension of the side-wings, "...invents a Palladian facade 90 ft. wide."  

The plan of San Nicolò del Lido is a beautiful example of Palladian eclecticism, combining elements from both San Giorgio and the Redentore. Today, the church is in wonderful condition, having been exceptionally maintained by Franciscan friars since its complete restoration circa 1926.
NOTES


3. For a detailed description of the nave elevations similar to those of San Nicolò del Lido, see *San Trovaso: 1583*, p. 56 and *San Nicolò dei Tolentini: Plan - 1591*, p. 66, herein.

4. For a detailed description of the plan and elevations of the interior of San Giacomo della Giudecca, 1603, see pp. 78-81, herein.


7. Ibid., p. 38
Santa Maria della Salute: 1630

In October of 1630, the Republic of Venice decreed the erection of a church to honor the Virgin for liberating the city from the great plague of the same year. A design competition was held and eleven models were submitted. Over standard cruciform schemes proposed by Antonio Fracao, Giambattista Rubertini, and Antonio Smeraldi, the unique centralized Baroque plan based on an octagon by Baldassare Longhena (1598 - 1682) was chosen winner (Fig. 135). Construction of the foundation, made with over one million piles, was started in 1631 and within twenty years most of the building was standing. The church was finished in 1681, one year before Longhena's death, and consecrated in 1687.¹

As Howard writes, the Salute "...is a masterpiece of Baroque architecture... and probably the only Italian seventeenth-century building to rival the creations of Bernini and Borromini in Rome."² After the Salute, there were simultaneous developments of the Baroque and Palladian styles in Venetian church design, with the later being more dominant and prevailing. Baroque designs for ecclesiastical structures were not easily accepted in the "...island citadel of architectural conservatism."³ The great classicists Spavento, Bon, Scarpagnino, Sammicheli, Sansovino, Palladio, Scamozzi, Smeraldi, Grapiglia, and many others of lesser talent, adorned Venice with an unforgettably beautiful Renaissance style which the city came to endear with an ardent conservatism, tending to resist or oppose any changes to the established classical tradition. Flamboyantly extravagant Baroque designs were thought to be "too ambitious" and most often aborted by conservative
Venetian taste. Exemplifying this, Lewis tells us that the rejections of the Baroque schemes proposed for San Vidal (Figs. 136 and 137) and San Stae (Fig. 138) were "...entirely consistent with the pattern of Venetian church building throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." The Baroque architects of Venice understood this strong and decisive sentiment towards traditional local classicism and many of their designs reveal a concordance with this aestheticism. The plans of the Baroque churches of Longhena's Santa Maria degli Scalzi (Fig. 171) and Benoni's Santa Maria del Giglio (Fig. 178), which both emphasize extra large central bays in their nave walls, are modified versions of Scamozzi's San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti (Fig. 176), which was originally influenced by Sansovino's church of the Incurabili hospital (Fig. 53). Furthermore, the paired orders of the structural system of the nave and the design of the chancel and choir of the Scalzi follow Palladio at the Redentore and San Giorgio. The plan of Rossi's Baroque-Rococo Santa Maria Assunta, known as "I Gesuiti" (Fig. 211), also emulates design principles found in Palladio's large churches. Furthermore, it also resembles similar Palladian schemes built over forty years earlier by Smeraldi at San Trovaso (Fig. 83) and by Scamozzi at the Tolentini (Fig. 80). After the religious structures of the Renaissance, and especially those by Palladio, Wittkower states that "Few Venetian churches of the Baroque age present any new elements." In agreement with Wittkower, Yarwood tells us that "Venetian churches were Baroque versions of Palladio." There are other reasons for Venice's avoidance of the more exuberant aspects of the Roman Baroque in its churches and taking to the more restrained and subtle classicism of Palladio. Venice always tried to keep itself relatively distanced from the political, religious, and artistic currents of
Rome. In 1606, the Pope attempted to force the Republic to adopt a more subservient attitude towards the church, but the Venetian government, which always had considerable control over the religious life of the city, maintained its religious independence by standing out resolutely against the Papal Interdict, expelling the Jesuit loyalists who were "...seen as unwelcome spreaders of Papal orthodoxy and rigid Counter Reformation ideas." In Rome, the Jesuits were employing Baroque artists and architects, causing the style to be associated with their name. After the expulsion of their rivals, many other religious orders with plans to erect new churches in Venice were encouraged to select schemes by Palladian inspired architects and reject those found to be excessively Baroque. The Jesuits were returned to Venice in 1657, but it was not until fifty-eight years later, in 1715, that they were allowed to build a new church, and, even then, the development of its Baroque-Rococo interior was based on a predominately Palladian plan (Fig.211).

In Venice, the Renaissance style persisted at the core of the Baroque, and this theme is wonderfully exemplified in Baldassare Longhena's famous Santa Maria della Salute (Fig. 142). As Lorenzetti writes,

"The constructive idea of this great master was not really a Baroque one. He began by following in the steps of his teacher Scamozzi...[and his] work interpreted the ideals and character of his time, without unexpected experiments, or extravagant excesses. It responded to a conception of restrained solemn grandeur, and avoided, in its loftiest moments, that unrestrained and whimsical decorativeness which in other parts of Italy were the real and typical expression of the "Baroque" style."

Although many of the details of the Salute are Palladian, critics have found it difficult to conclude where Longhena derived the "conceptual direction" which
generated the plan and form of the Salute. Lorenzetti, when describing the interior, says that it

...is surprisingly effective in the sober grandeur of the masses; it consists of a central body on an octagonal plan, on each side of which rise a corresponding number of stout arches divided by composite columns on which rest the cornice and the drum of the colossal dome. [Surrounding] this central body there is a Peribolus from which radiate six chapels and on the opposite side from the main entrance there is the huge chancel with its dome and isolated high altar like a kind of approach of Palladian inspiration, enclosed at either end by apses with coved ceilings.

It has been noted that the salient feature of the regular octagon surrounded by an ambulatory was unique in Renaissance and post-Renaissance architecture and that Longhena may have been inspired by Early Christian models, such as San Vitale in Ravenna and Santa Costanza in Rome. Surely he must have known the famous woodcut of the Temple of Venus in Colonna's Hypnerotomachia Polifili (Venice, 1499), "...which shows precisely this motif in a section through a centralized domed building with ambulatory." Howard has suggested that Longhena may have derived the idea of using a continuous ambulatory around his nave from a parallel arrangement around the high altar of the church of San Zaccaria (Fig. 141). Besides San Zaccaria, ambulatories are unknown in Venice, and "...are rare in Italy in general." In concrete terms, Longhena never explained the source of the conceptual direction that caused him to create the unique centralized character of his church. The accompanying letter with his model of 1630 holds one of the only clues, and it is a subjective one: "The mystery contained in the dedication of this church to the blessed Virgin made me think, with what little talent God has bestowed on me, of building the church in
forma rotunda, i.e. in the shape of a crown."\(^{19}\) Another mysterious answer came in 1644 in a poem written by the priest Lorenzo Longo of the Padri Somaschi order of the Salute.\(^{20}\) He claims that Longhena, "il nuovo Palladio", had a vision in a dream that told him of the form his design should take.\(^{21}\) Longhena was well aware of the novelty and marvel of his unique design and carefully guarded the knowledge of its genesis. He tells us that his design for the Salute was "...a virgin work, never seen before, strange, worthy and beautiful, in the shape of a round 'machine' such as had never been seen, or invented either in its whole or in part from any other church in this city\(^{22}\) Venice\(....\) It is true that there was no other church in Venice with a circular or octagonal nave with a surrounding aisle system attached to a front and chancel entrance and six identical side-chapels (Fig. 142), but it has been shown by numerous critics that many of the details or "parts" of the Salute, such as the orders, the columns on high pedestals, and the thermal windows of the chapels and their exterior faces, relate to Palladio's inventions at San Giorgio, the Redentore, and the Zitelle.\(^{23}\) Wittkower tells us that all the elements deriving from Palladio "...combine to give the Salute the severe and chaste appearance of a Palladian structure."\(^{24}\) But further study of the church reveals an even more essential link to Palladio.

Where Longhena derived the conceptual direction for his octagonal church attached to a centralized chancel is unconcluded, but it can be shown that the architectural planning of the church may have come from a simple grouping together of isolated structural and spatial units taken directly from Palladio and applied to an octagonal plan. To help demonstrate this idea, certain pieces of the designs for San Giorgio and the Redentore will be cut out of their plans and reformed together to create a close facsimile of
the plan of the Salute.

The plans displayed herein for San Giorgio (Fig. 143), the Redentore (Fig. 144), and the Salute (Fig. 142) have all been reproduced at exactly the same building scale. This juxtaposition reveals the important fact that Longhena determinately relied on the strict mathematical proportions of Palladio's churches, and scaled much of his building directly from them.25 Our reconstruction of the first Baroque Palladian church in Venice begins with the removal of the nave and side-aisles from the plan of San Giorgio (Fig. 143). The six aisle units are then set in bilaterally opposed positions to the right and left of the central axis of an octagonal nave space (Fig. 145). Two more aisle units, without chapels or backwalls, are positioned before the main door and chancel entrances, as they are in the Salute (Fig. 142). The aisle units of Longhena's church are formed by semi-circular arches which cross smoothly from the back sides of the main piers to a series of equally spaced pillars of the outside wall of the ambulatory. Following Palladio at San Giorgio (Fig. 143), Longhena repeated the simple device of making the sides of the major and minor piers parallel to each other, giving the units of the ambulatory and the chapels regular geometrical shapes (Fig. 142).26 As in the original, the minor orders of the aisles carry intersecting barrel vaulted ceilings divided by the arches of each bay. Together they create eight distinct sections surrounding the nave.

The design of the triumphal-arch arcading of the nave of Longhena's church (Fig. 154) parallels that of San Giorgio (Figs. 155 and 156). As in Palladio's church, the equal bays are separated by single giant Corinthian half-columns on high pedestals. The arches rise from entablatures supported above smaller coupled Corinthian pilasters on small bases. The archivolts of
the arches extend to a considerable depth over the widths of the paired pilasters and demonstrate the same bold and strong profile as those at San Giorgio. Unlike the original, each arch carries a keystone, reflecting the arrangement at the Redentore (Fig. 86). Furthermore, the arches are not as lofty as those of San Giorgio, which are two and a half times as tall as they are wide (Fig. 155), but they do follow the stouter proportions of those at the Redentore, which are simply double their width. Supported above the orders, a heavy entablature with a strongly dentilled cornice runs around the nave, breaking sharply over each capital (Fig. 154). This structural organization reflects the subtle ordering of San Giorgio (Figs. 155 and 156). Unlike the Redentore, which has a straight entablature that assists in delineating the hall-like space of the nave, the jutting ressauts of San Giorgio and the Salute emphasize the composition of the colossal columns that make up the space. They also draw attention to the archways by framing the straight lengths of entablature that run above them. In repeating Palladio's unifying system of design, Longhena also created a harmonious synthesis of the structural components of his nave. To beautify the volume of this space, he crowned it with a majestic circular dome which rises from a tall octagonal drum holding sixteen large long, narrow windows (Fig. 157). These openings, combined with those of the huge lantern topping the dome, transfuse vast amounts of uniform light onto the nave below, reflecting itself off the stuccoed surfaces of the dome, walls, and fillings. The coloristic treatment of the whitewashed surfaces enlivened by darker structural elements of grey Istrian stone derives from Palladio at San Giorgio and the Redentore (Figs. 67 and 74). The design of the drum and dome of the Salute is not Palladian, but the structure that supports it is.
From the center of the main room under the dome, Longhena created a series of eight scenographic views framed by the piers and arches of the nave arcade. Looking north and south along the central axis, the eye is directed by a sequence of arched spaces from the main entrance through the nave and on to the chancel housing the high altar (Fig. 154). As Lewis writes,

This initial effect is supplemented...by the secondary axes interpenetrating its centralized octagon, through whose brilliant organization Longhena contrived a whole ring of radiating vistas to culminate in the elaborately framed altar pictures enshrined in its surrounding ambulatory.27

The principles of scenographic design that are demonstrated in the Salute by Longhena were first introduced by Palladio at San Giorgio and the Redentore. Within the original structures, the various spaces are unified into one dynamic spatial organization through a sequence of optical devices created by the unique planning of his structural orders. By adopting much of Palladio's structural planning to his octagonal plan, Longhena created an effective scenic organization whereby the progression from the front steps of the church straight through to the high altar "...unfolds as a series of 'pictures', framed by scenic elements which are successively penetrated, first by the eye and then through physical movement, as the axis is followed to the choir."

The discovery, recognition, and crucial comparative analysis of the principles of scenographic design within the churches of Longhena and Palladio is the important work of Wittkower.29

To continue with the reconstruction of Longhena's church from Palladian plans, the flat back walls and the chapels of the six San Giorgio aisle units (Fig. 145) have been replaced with the six recessed side-chapels
of the Redentore (Figs. 144 and 146), resembling the parallel arrangement at the Salute (Fig. 142). As in the original (Fig. 86), each chapel is formed by a semi-circular arch rising from an entablature supported by minor pilasters without pedestals (Fig. 158). Unlike the Redentore, the chapels are not elliptically elongated by small apses, but are rectangular. Alternatively, they reflect the style of Scamozzi's side-chapels at the Tolentini (Fig. 103), which are also echoed in the plan of San Nicolo del Lido (Fig. 129). At the Redentore, Palladio designed six identical altars to sit within his six identical chapels, giving balance to his harmonious and encompassing system of design. Scamozzi echoed this pattern at the Tolentini (Fig. 101) and his former student repeated it once again in the Salute (Figs. 154 and 158). Unlike Scamozzi, Longhena did not copy Palladio's original altar designs, but created a matched series of relatively modest Baroque ones instead. As in the Redentore, San Giorgio, and the Tolentini, the identically designed chapels and altars together act as a repetitive and complimentary foil to the more elaborately designed main altar (Fig. 154). Following both Palladio and Scamozzi, Longhena opened the back walls of the lateral chapels above the cornice into mullioned thermal windows of the same size as the arches connecting them with the ambulatory and the nave.

Unlike the longitudinal designs of the earlier architects, the seven jutting exterior walls of the octagonal plan of the Salute, which give the church its picturesque broken profile, were designed to receive great exposure (Fig. 135). Accordingly, each wall has a facade and together they vary in importance through a change in articulation and scale from the rear around to the front of the building, culminating in the colossal facade of the main entrance facing directly on to the Grand Canal. The six facades
of the chapels are imaginative transformations of Palladio's facade for the Zitelle (Fig. 71). The back four are made of brick and faced with plaster and the two flanking the main entrance are adorned with Istrian stone and are more closely related to Palladio's work. As in the original, Longhena's chapel facades are divided into two stories of superimposed orders, horizontally separated by intermediate entablatures and crowned by single pediments over large thermal windows (Fig. 135). Emulating Palladio, the designs for Longhena's minor facades were determined by the structural organization of the spaces behind. The width and height of each is exactly the same, perfectly echoing each other. The intermediate entablature is placed at the same height inside and out, and both elements are supported by Corinthian pilasters of the same scale and design. The arch of the thermal window in the upper zone repeats exactly the arch of the vault behind and the crowning pediment corresponds with the attic behind. In an attempt to interrelate the inside and outside designs of his church, as Palladio had done in San Francesco della Vigna, San Giorgio, the Redentore, and the Zitelle, Longhena made much of the exterior of the Salute present a direct idea of the form, fabric and proportions of the interior.

Figure 147 returns us to the graphic rebuilding of the Salute. It depicts the side-aisles of San Giorgio attached to the side-chapels of the Redentore set around an octagonal nave. The domed triconch chancel of the Redentore (Fig. 144) has been loosely placed at the opposite end of the central axis from the front door. As in the original, the chancel of the Salute is situated at a higher level than the nave by three steps (Fig. 142). In both churches, the naves and the chancels form almost independent units. As Wittkower tells us,
For the two large apses of the domed sanctuary Longhena employed a system entirely different from that of the octagon; he used giant pilasters instead of columns and replaced the mullioned windows of the chapels by normal windows in two tiers. Shape and detail of the sanctuary depend on the Redentore, where Palladio had performed a similar change of system between the nave and the centralized portion.30

The most important space in the chancel is the square one directly under the dome. Combined with the volumes of the two lateral apses with coved ceilings, this space creates a transverse oval which reads as a short crowning cross-axis to the central progression through the nave. As at the Redentore, the half-domes reflect the rounded volume of the dome. The central area is defined by four powerful piers which turn on forty-five degree angles between the corner columns, accentuating the importance and unity of the space (Fig. 159). Echoing Palladio (Fig. 74), the angled walls between the piers contain superimposed statue niches. To crown his chancel square (Figs. 159 and 163), Longhena adopted Palladio's dome at the Redentore almost exactly (Fig. 74).31 The balustrade of the drum, which is formed by sixteen sections of bipartite balusters articulated by posts, is supported by a round dentilled cornice which passes over the tops of the four great arches and the corner pendentives. Behind the balustrade the surface of the drum wall is also divided into sixteen bays, each one formed by a pair of adjoining Doric pilasters. Unlike the original, which has four apertures, there are eight rectangular windows set vertically into the principal intercolumniations, while each of the other alternating surfaces is smooth and plain. At the Redentore, the in between surfaces are decorated with a series of twelve statue
niches. Surmounting the pilasters, there is a thin entablature from which springs a whitewashed dome with a small opening for light in the center (Fig. 159). Not only do the shapes and details of the interiors of the chancels of the Salute and the Redentore repeat each other, but a look at the rear facades of both buildings reveals similar compositions of domes and side apses framed by soaring bell towers (Figs. 160 and 161).

To connect together all the elements of Palladio featured in Figure 147, we need the eight alternating forty-five degree pie-shaped aisle sections of the Salute (Figs. 142 and 148). These short windowed and vaulted structural units are of Longhena's creation and compared to the other grandiose spaces of the church they seem almost insignificant. When in the center of the nave they are totally hidden from view. Nevertheless, their importance should not be underestimated, for they are the brilliant inventions which join together the many parts of Longhena's "round machine" into a complete and encompassing whole. Without them, the ambulatory would be lost and the wondrous Palladian structures and spaces of the building would remain static in their disconnection. Figure 149 depicts the Palladian elements united by Longhena's triangular connections. As in the Redentore (Fig. 144), the inner corridors leading around the exedras from the two sacristies flanking the space behind the high altar are now directly linked through Longhena's connectors to all six side-chapels (Fig. 158). Repeating Palladio, as Scamozzi had done at the Tolentini (Fig. 80), the access corridors of the Salute allow for private services to be conducted at the side-chapels without disturbing the celebration of mass at the high altar.

To complete our reconstruction of the Salute (Fig. 142), we need to add five more elements (Fig. 150) to the drawing (Fig. 149). The space
behind the high altar of the Redentore opens into a deeply receding hemicycle of six exquisitely carved Corinthian columns (Fig. 162). Resting on these orders, there is a heavy curved entablature above which springs the bright white volume of a huge half-dome, terminating against the back of the giant altar arch. Longhena only repeated the altar arch, but, unlike Palladio, he continued the main entablature straight across and closed the arch off, decorating it with circular panels (Fig. 163). A reduced triumphal arch set inside the larger one supports the main entablature and frames the free-standing high altar. As in San Giorgio (Fig. 121) and San Nicolò del Lido (Fig. 128), the arch-within-an-arch theme was designed to help stop the view at the end of the chancel, while still focusing it inwards to the altar below. At Palladio's church, the large terminating arch is filled with a double tiered organ screen with the top and bottom open to the choir behind. Longhena reintroduced the lower tier of paired isolated columns arranged in a straight line with three intercolumniations. Unlike the original, the center bay was made much wider than those to the sides, allowing easy access to the choir behind. Figure 151 depicts this arrangement in plan. The steps and gate introducing the high altar of the Salute have been added also. With the removal of the apse of the main altar of the Redentore from the reconstruction (Fig. 149), the new rectangular space has been converted into a choir, reflecting the parallel arrangement in the Salute. The row of round-headed windows high on the back wall of Longhena's choir has been introduced into the plan also.

The final two architectural elements to be included in the reconstruction of the Salute (Fig. 149) are the facade of San Giorgio (Fig. 143) and the wide, high five-sided stairs fronting the Salute (Fig. 142). At the Redentore,
Palladio had already demonstrated how effectively a flight of monumental stairs could be when used to introduce a grand entrance portal leading onto a large nave behind (Fig. 75). Longhena made his stairs fifteen steps high, repeating Palladio exactly. No other church in Venice had a flight of stairs to compare with those of the great masters. It was not until eighty-eight years after the Salute, in 1718, that the fifteen-step stairs were outnumbered by Giovanni Scalfarotto at San Simeone Piccolo, where a lofty nineteen steps were used (Fig. 212).

The overall design for the main facade of the Salute (Fig. 213) follows Palladio's solution at San Giorgio (Fig. 3). As in the original, it is composed of a temple front with two pairs of large Composite half-columns on high pedestals supporting a broad entablature. Between the giant orders themselves, there are surmounted statue niches separated by string courses of entablature which are carried across the facade from the minor Corinthian side-orders. The large center bay between the paired columnar units embraces a colossal doorway that fills the whole space. Its form and scale closely interpret the interior arches of the octagon, representing the theme of the interior to the worshipper before he enters the church. Furthermore, the minor order repeats that of the inside, and the design of the tiered statue niches are exact reproductions of the windows of the chancel apses (Fig. 159). Once again, Longhena emulated Palladio's predilection to introduce the scheme of the interior of his churches on their facades. Unlike San Giorgio, the main triangular pediment does not embrace the full width of the facade. Instead, it crowns the central bay above the door. To further emphasize the main pedimented bay, Longhena projected it forward by setting back the cornice between the paired orders. The whole composition is a majestic one. Figures 151 and 152
depict a juxtaposition of the reconstruction of the Salute from elements taken from the plans of Palladio with Longhena's building itself. Their designs are closely related.

From the Molo adjacent to the Ducal Palace, a wonderful wide southern vista of the Bacino di San Marco can be seen. The four beautiful churches of San Giorgio, the Zitelle, the Redentore, and the Salute encircle the edges of this view. Palladio's structures are creations of genius in themselves and Longhena's church is as equally brilliant for emulating them.
NOTES


4. Ibid., p. 59.

5. Ibid., p. 33. Two exceptions are found in the facades of Santa Maria dei Derelitti, or dell'Ospedaletto, by Longhena in 1670 (Fig. 140) and San Moïse by Alessandro Tremignon and Enrico Meyring in 1688 (Fig. 141), which both display excessive and grossly over-loaded Baroque sculptural effects. For more discussion on these two churches, see Umberto Franzoi, Le Chiese di Venezia (Venezia: Alfieri, 1976), pp. 444-446 and 318-321, consecutively.

6. For more discussion on the line of design descent between these buildings see pages 124-125, herein.

7. See pages 125-128, herein, for a discussion of Palladio's influence on the design of Longhena's Santa Maria degli Scalzi.


20. After the Jesuits were chased out of Venice in 1606, the Padri Somaschi, who were the only religious order to have been founded in Venice, became responsible for training the local priests and clerics. See Deborah Howard, *The Architectural History of Venice*, (New York: Holmes and Meier Publishers, Inc., 1981), pp. 179-180.


23. See footnote one, above, for a list of writings within which their authors speak of Palladio's influence on the design of the details of the Salute.

25. See Rudolf Wittkower, "S. Maria della Salute", *Saggi e Memorie*, V.3, 1963, pp. 46-47. Wittkower shows that the dimensions of the architecture of the Salute are linked together in simple mathematical ratios which reflect Palladio's own harmonized proportions.


31. The design of the drum and dome of the Redentore (Fig. 74) is exactly the same as that in San Giorgio (Fig. 68), which had been copied earlier by Girolamo Grapiglia to crown the crossing of his Palladian church of San Pietro di Castello in 1619 (Fig. 125).
Santa Margherita: 1647

The church of Santa Margherita, which stands in the large campo of the same name, was founded in the ninth century (Fig. 164). In the middle of the seventeenth century, the antique three-nave structure fell into complete disrepair and was razed.¹ Construction of the present building began in 1647, following the design of the painter and architect Giovanni Battista Lambranzi.² Both the interior and the unrealized exterior are thoroughly Palladian in their planning.

Lambranzi's church repeats the use of the popular long nave and square chancel plan (Fig. 165). As in San Giacomo (Fig. 118), Santa Maria Elisabetta (Fig. 126), and San Nicolo (Fig. 131), the closed cupped congregation space of San Margherita is derived from the Redentore hall (Fig. 89). Deviating from Palladio's 2:1 ratio, the length of the nave is only one and a half times its width, making the space appear to be short and wide instead of long and narrow. Flanking this hall, there are six bilaterally symmetrical side-chapels recessed into the walls (Fig. 166). They are formed by semi-circular arches with keystones rising from minor Doric orders. Following familiar patterns already established in other Palladian churches, the three bays are separated by a series of giant orders.³ As in the Elisabetta (Fig. 127), the tall, thin Corinthian orders rise from tall pedestals, reflecting San Giorgio (Fig. 88). The triple bases of the pedestals repeat the unusual profile of those found in San Pietro (Fig. 124). As in the Redentore, there are four tall, narrow bays of wall space between the four corners of the nave and the last side-chapel in each range. Within these spaces, there are doorways surmounted by statue niches, echoing the design of San Giacomo (Fig. 118).
These forms are symmetrically repeated within the four end walls which flank the entrance and chancel arches (Fig. 167). In the Redentore, all eight bays contain pairs of surmounted statue niches. Supported above the main orders, a heavy dentilled entablature carries a curved vault with six groined thermal windows positioned directly above the side-chapels.

Repeating Palladio, Lambranzi made the pavement of the square chancel rise a few steps from that of the nave (Fig. 166). The three walls surrounding the altar are blank and covered in white stucco. The two corners of the end wall hold unusually thin fragments of Corinthian pilasters, creating an uneasy visual tension between the heavy entablature and the spindly members supporting it. Above the entablature, there are four arches of equal size encircling the walls. The lateral arches are filled with large thermal windows, flooding light into the space below. The chancel is roofed with an unpainted intersecting barrel vault. Reflecting the same arrangement at San Giorgio (Fig. 88), the vault is formed by the groining from the four adjacent arches.

The facade for Santa Margherita was never built, but it can be understood through a drawing by Visentini (Fig. 168). Like the fronts of San Trovaso (Figs. 90 and 91), San Francesco di Paola (Fig. 97), and San Giacomo (Fig. 120), Lambranzi's proposal was closely modelled on the pattern of the Zitelle (Fig. 71). As in the original, the elevation is split into two tiers of paired superimposed pilasters, horizontally divided by a heavy entablature. Following the same simple geometric proportions of Palladio, the upper tier is half the height of the lower.

The lower section of the facade is comparable to that of San Giacomo (Fig. 120). Unlike the Zitelle, the central section of the lower
range holds a central portal only, for the long windows were eliminated. The tall inner Corinthian pilasters on short bases are located close to the doorway. The portal design is reminiscent of San Trovaso and the Zitelle, except for the use of a semi-circular pediment instead of a triangular one. Two Corinthian pilasters support broken entablature sections and between these another minor order of Doric pilasters carry a round-headed arch rising to a keystone beneath the cornice of the pediment. Between the capitals, the architrave and frieze of the entablature were removed so that the keystone of the arch could rise above the level of the adjacent orders, enlarging the opening of the door. As in San Trovaso, the entablature extends slightly past the inside orders, being supported by another pair of flanking half-pilasters.

Imitating San Giacomo, the drawing of San Margherita depicts statue niches in the walls between the paired giant orders. Unlike the former, which had two pairs of superimposed niches, the proposal calls for single units placed midway on the wall. The base mouldings of the niches are slightly raised and continue as string courses behind the major orders at the common level of the entablature of the minor order of the arched doorway. In this manner, an attempt was made to unify the side sections with the central bay. Echoing the portal design, the ends of the main entablature are broken, set back, and supported by Corinthian half-pilasters engaged into the corners of the facade. This pattern is repeated again in the minor order of half-pilasters blocking the ends of the upper tier.

The paired pilasters of the lower story are superimposed on the upper. Diverging from most imitations of the Zitelle facade, the upper orders are Doric instead of Corinthian. Unlike the Zitelle (Fig. 71), San
Francesco (Fig. 97), and San Giacomo (Fig. 120), the main triangular pediment does not embrace the full width of the facade. Instead, it crowns the central bay above the large mullioned thermal window, following the similar pattern at San Trovaso (Fig. 92). The upper entablature was reduced to an undentilled cornice strip only. To further emphasize the main pedimented bay, Lambranzi projected it forward by setting back the cornice between the paired orders. As a result, the capitals of the outside pilasters carry an unusually thin cornice fragment.

In 1808, two-thirds of the campanile of Santa Margherita was pulled down because it was structurally unsound. Two years later, the church was suppressed by order of Napoleon. For the next one hundred and seventy-five years, the building was used as a tobacco factory, warehouse, sculptor's studio, Protestant church, and eventually a movie theatre. As McAndrew tells us,

\begin{quote}
The vault has now been hidden by a new cloth ceiling; the screen hangs at the front of the chancel; the last bay has been remodelled to serve as a lobby, with two balconies in the space above; and the side chapels in the other two bays have been adapted to hold boxes.\end{quote}

Except for these alterations, the original form and detailing of Lambranzi's church remains unchanged and in a relatively good state of repair.
NOTES


3. The overall design of the nave arcading of San Margherita is comparable to discussions made herein on Santa Maria Celeste (Fig. 7), pp. 50-51; San Trovaso (Fig. 84), pp. 56-57; San Nicolò dei Tolentini (Fig. 102), pp. 66-67; San Giacomo della Giudecca (Fig. 118), pp. 78-79; Santa Maria Elisabetta (Fig. 127), pp. 89-90; and San Nicolò del Lido (Fig. 129), p. 92.

San Basegio: Plan - c. 1650

The church of San Basegio was "...dedicated to S. Basilio by the Baseggio family, whose name it unwittingly absorbed."\(^1\) The building was founded in the tenth century and reconstructed several times thereafter.\(^2\) Circa 1650, it was rebuilt for the last time by an unknown architect who created another variation on the popular nave and square chancel theme. Along with the Celeste, San Giacomo, and San Margherita, San Basegio was closed by Napoleon in the first decade of the nineteenth century. It was finally pulled down in 1824, leaving no physical trace of its design.\(^3\)

Today, Antonio Visentini's drawings of San Basegio are the only graphic records left documenting the design of the interior (Figs. 169 and 170). It is not known if a facade for the church was ever built, for no drawing revealing its design has survived. Unlike other Redentore-like congregation spaces, which, most often, are twice as long as they are wide, the nave plan of San Basegio was square (Fig. 169). For the first time in Venice, the architect used four instead of six bilaterally symmetrical side-chapels to form his lateral walls (Fig. 170). By eliminating two chapels and widening the entrance and chancel end walls, a square plan was formed out of the long nave configuration of the Redentore (Fig. 72). Similar to the original, the pairs of chapels were separated from each other and the end walls by an arrangement of paired Corinthian pilasters on diminutive bases. In this manner, the lateral walls of the nave were articulated into a series of alternating wide and narrow bays. The wide, windowless side-chapels were formed by semi-circular arches with keystones springing from
baseless minor Doric orders. Between the giant paired orders of the Redentore, there are pairs of surmounted statue niches (Fig. 86). In contrast, the walls of the narrow bays of San Basegio were smooth stuccoed surfaces. They were divided into upper and lower panels by a decorative entablature which ran from the springing of the lateral arches across the full length of the wall. As in the Redentore, this banding divided "... these awkwardly tall spaces into more harmonious rectangles."\(^4\) This horizontal element also helped to unite the vertical members of the nave elevation.

Supported above the main orders, a heavy Redentore-like entablature continued around the church, breaking briefly above the pilaster clusters beneath the chancel arch. Springing from this undentilled member, a high, wide vault covered the nave. Inserted into this cupped volume, there were four heavily groined semi-circular thermal windows set directly above the side-chapels, lighting the space below.

The structural and spacial organization of the square sanctuary of San Basegio (Fig. 170) closely resembles the altar-house designs of San Giacomo (Fig. 118), the Elisabetta (Fig. 126), and Santa Margherita (Fig. 166). The level of the pavement of each chancel is raised a few steps from the nave floor. Unlike the flimsy, vestigial corner pilasters of San Margherita, those of San Basegio were full half-pilasters, creating a balanced coexistence with the scale of the other structural memberings. Following precedential patterns, the two largest thermal windows in the church rise laterally above the entablature which surrounds the high altar. As at San Giorgio (Fig. 88), the chancel is roofed by an intersecting barrel vault formed by the groins projecting from the four bounding arches.
The plan of San Basegio was a unique design in the long tradition of Venetian Palladianism. It was the city's sole example of a church with a perfectly square congregation space with side walls modelled on those of the Redentore. Furthermore, Lambranzi's two-instead-of-three bay Palladian side-chapel solution was a first in Venice, repeated twice again by Francesco Bognolo in San Biagio in 1746 (Fig. 229) and Giorgio Massari in San Giovanni Novo in 1751 (Fig. 231).
NOTES


In 1633, the barefoot Carmelite friars settled in Venice and within thirteen years purchased land for a new church. In 1656, twenty-six years after his successful Santa Maria della Salute, Baldassare Longhena was hired by the friars to produce another beautiful Baroque church. As in the former structure, the architect's design for Santa Maria degli Scalzi reveals particular affinities to Palladio's work at both San Giorgio and the Redentore. Longhena directed the construction of the building from its foundation in 1656 until his death in 1682. It was finished without him by Giuseppe Pozzo in 1689 and consecrated in 1705.

For the plan of the Scalzi, Longhena followed the prevailing seventeenth century scheme of a square chancel preceded by a vaulted rectangular hall which is exactly twice as long as it is wide, repeating Palladian ratios (Fig. 171). Unlike most churches built on this formula, the lateral walls of the nave do not express a reworking of the six bilaterally symmetrical side-chapels of the Redentore. There are six side-chapel bays, but, unlike Palladio's scheme, the central section in each wall is expressed as a large arch of the same scale and detailing as those opening over the chancel and the entrance (Figs. 172 and 173). These big arches give on to deep barrel vaulted rectangular spaces of almost the same magnitude as the main chancel. They are brightly lit by huge mullioned thermal windows, which are the same size as the arches and vaults introducing them. Flanking these large intermediate spaces, there are four lower and narrower side-chapels. Similar to the Redentore (Fig. 72), the Tolentini
(Fig. 107), and the Salute (Fig. 142), all six chapels are linked in a series by access corridors, providing direct communication with the sacristies which flank the chancel. The use of an extra large mid-nave bay was not new to Venetian church design. Parallel solutions occurred in Codussi's San Giovanni Grisostomo (Fig. 174) of 1497, in both of Sansovino's churches of San Martino (Fig. 175) of 1540 and the Incurabili (Fig. 53) of 1565, in Scamozzi's San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti (Fig. 176) of 1601, and in Francesco Contini's San Angelo Raffaele (Fig. 177) of 1618. After the Scalzi, similar constructions continued in Venice in Benoni's Santa Maria del Giglio (Fig. 178) of 1670 and in both of Massari's churches of San Marcuola (Fig. 179) of 1728 and the Pietà (Fig. 180) of 1735.

Palladio's influence on the design of the Scalzi is exemplified by the Redentore-like paired Corinthian orders which flank the side-chapels (Fig. 172). As in San Giorgio (Fig. 88), the giant orders rise from tall pedestals. Emulating the Redentore, Longhena made the pilaster pairs mark twelve equal intercolumniar bays around the nave. Set between each one, there is a tall round-headed statue niche surmounted by a rectangular panel holding a bust. Both elements are separated by a decorative intermediate entablature, which is continued from the common level of the springing of the lateral arches of the minor Doric orders of the lower side-chapels. There are also elaborately carved garlands festooned between the pilaster capitals. Curiously enough, the overall composition of the elevation of each of these paired structural units closely copies Palladio's design for the giant coupled Composite column groups on the facade of San Giorgio (Fig. 181). In the original, as in the Scalzi, the colossal orders enclose statue niches surmounted by entablature strips and carvings in panels and garlands suspended between
the capitals.

Above the giant orders, a broad straight entablature is carried around the four corners of the nave, interrupted only by the taller arches above the central side-chapels, the chancel, and the entrance (Fig. 172). Unlike the Redentore, the curved vault of the Scalzi is not a smooth white surface with simple groining from six equally sized clearstory windows. Instead, the four huge lunettes above the major arches of the chancel, entrance and side-chapels converge with the four smaller ones over the windows to meet in the center at a flat painted rectangular frame. The nave of the Scalzi is a very dark space, even on a sunny day. Unlike the bright interiors of Palladio's churches, which gain greater luminosity through the use of white Istrian stone and whitewashed walls, the interior of the Scalzi is a Baroque profusion of overshadowed ornament and dark coloured marbles (Fig. 173). As Lewis tells us, "...not one inch of the Scalzi interior is left undecorated in simple stone or plaster." Palladio would not have agreed with the envelopment of the congregation within an elaborate system of coloristic illusionism, for, as he wrote, "Of all the colours, none is more proper for churches than white, since the purity of the colour, as of life itself, is particularly satisfying to God." As in the Redentore, the projecting end walls, which terminate into the triumphal arch of the chancel, cause the main room and the sanctuary to form almost independent spatial units (Fig. 173). The chancel, in typical Palladian fashion, is isolated and emphasized as a sacred enclosure by a number of special motifs. The pavement of this room is raised a few steps from the nave floor. There is a balustrade which bounds the entrance, opening only at the center with a gate. Two large thermal
windows rise laterally above the entablature and directly light the apex of the gigantic free-standing altar whose proportions almost fill the whole space. To imbue the space with even more significance, Longhena constructed a shallow dome which rises above the four large bounding arches framing the top of the altar.

Behind the chancel, there is a large semi-circular choir (Fig. 172). The space is tall and covered with a cupped ceiling which reminds us of the designs at San Pietro di Castello (Fig. 124) and San Nicolò del Lido (Fig. 133), which were modified constructions of the choirs of San Giorgio (Fig. 88) and the Redentore (Fig. 89). The sound of the singing reverberates off the curved vault and passes beautiful acoustic effects beyond the chancel into the nave. Unlike Palladio's buildings, the choir is not hidden by an architectonic screen. Following patterns already established at San Francesco della Vigna (Fig. 47), the Tolentini (Fig. 109), San Pietro (Fig. 123), and San Nicolò (Fig. 128), the mass of the high altar helps stop the view from the nave into the choir. The worshiper is only allowed "...a shadowy glimpse past the profiles of the Tabernacle and saints into the long receding choir." The walls of the room are flat and windowless. Light arrives only from the large chancel windows. To give the space a more complimentary architectural framework, the walls were painted with illusionistic orders, respectively imitating those of the chancel and nave.

The interior of the Scalzi is totally covered with rich polychromatic marble panels and elaborately carved ornaments and vault paintings. For variety and range of coloristic effect, Longhena's church is unsurpassed, in Venice, except by the decorative complexities of San Marco.
itself. Yet, under all this Baroque exuberancy, which, in this particular instance, was strongly influenced by Rome, much of the planning and structural ordering of the Scalzi was derived directly from Palladio.
NOTES


2. For more discussion on the morphological development of the church of Santa Maria degli Scalzi, see Umberto Franzoi, Le Chiese di Venezia (Venezia: Alfieri, 1976), pp. 98-99.

3. Lewis, The Late Baroque Churches of Venice, pp. 239-40.


5. Lewis, The Late Baroque Churches of Venice, p. 171.

6. Ibid., p. 234.
San Basso: Plan - 1670

The small church of San Basso, which faces Piazzetta dei Leoni across from San Marco, was founded in 1076. After a fire destroyed the original structure in 1661, Giuseppe Benoni was commissioned to design and construct a new church.¹

The plan is another example of the standard long nave and square chancel theme (Fig. 182). Following Palladio's ratios at the Redentore (Fig. 72), the hall is twice as long as it is wide. By foreshortening the dimensions of the original, the plan became long and narrow and tall, reminding us of San Giacomo (Fig. 117). As in the latter, the chancel square is one-third the length and two-thirds the width of the nave. The lateral walls are articulated by a strong rhythm of tall Corinthian pilasters in bold relief (Fig. 183). As at San Giorgio (Fig. 67), the height of the main orders is equal to the width of the nave. These members frame six Redentore-like bilaterally symmetrical side-chapels, which, echoing the Celeste (Fig. 7), San Giacomo (Fig. 117), the Elisabetta (Fig. 127), and San Basegio (Fig. 170), are very lightly recessed, unvaulted, and windowless. They are formed by semi-circular arches with keystones rising from entablatures supported by minor Doric pilasters. Repeating parallel constructions in the Redentore, the principal and subsidiary orders begin from the same bases and are uniformly repeated in a symmetrical pattern around the church. As in the original, both the keystones of the chapel arches and the capitals of the adjoining pilasters support a heavy entablature which runs perfectly straight around the interior, breaking only in slight planes beneath the chancel and entrance arches (Fig. 182). This linear surface acts as an axially insistent
form encouraging the eye to move down the nave around the tight clusters of pilasters in the corners of the short end walls and on into the chancel. Today, both the curved vault and the triumphal arches in each end wall are hidden by a flat ceiling supported over the strongly dentilled cornice. Above this cover, the original groined ceiling still exists in good condition. Following Palladio's lighting formula, Benoni set six thermal windows into the vault directly above the six side chapels.

Entering the chancel, the level of the pavement rises by two steps. The three walls enclosing the altar are whitewashed blank surfaces articulated by the giant orders at the corners. Above the entablature, there are two large thermal windows set into the arches of the lateral walls. Like the aperatures of the nave, these windows are also hidden by the false ceiling. Following many other Palladian churches, the chancel is covered by an intersecting barrel vault.

Along with the Celeste, San Giacomo, Santa Margherita, and San Basegio, San Basso was closed by Napoleon in 1810. Luckily enough, it was not destroyed. It was sold to the Patriarch and used for many years by the vestry board. Eventually, it became a warehouse, and later an exhibition gallery. Maintained in a very good state of repair, it is now a popular lecture and conference hall.
NOTES

1. For more commentary on the morphological development of the church of San Basso, see Umberto Franzoi, *Le Chiesa di Venezia* (Venezia: Alfieri, 1976), pp. 312-313.

San Pantaleone: 1668

Together with its immediate neighbour Santa Margherita (Fig. 164) the church of San Pantaleone was founded in the ninth century. In 1668, the antique Gothic structure was razed to make room for the construction of the present Palladian church by Francesco Comino (Fig. 189).

On a much larger and grander scale, the interior plan of San Pantaleone (Figs. 191 and 192) follows that of the Margherita (Fig. 165). Both churches have closed cupped congregation spaces deriving from the Redentore hall (Fig. 89). Deviating from Palladio's 2:1 ratios, the length of both naves are only one and a half times their width, making them appear to be short and wide instead of long and narrow. The nave of San Pantaleone is flanked by six deep barrel vaulted side-chapels. As in the Redentore, each chapel is formed by a semi-circular arch with a keystone rising from an entablature supported by minor Doric pilasters without pedestals. The deep rectangular spaces are elevated from the nave floor by four steps and linked in a row by inter-communicating doorways, like those of the Tolentini (Fig. 107), the Salute (Fig. 142), and the Scalzi (Fig. 171). Within each enclosure, there is a large thermal window set above the cornice of the minor order, lighting the altars below. Separating the six bays, there is a series of greatly overscaled composite half-columns. Comino attempted to reflect the vast scale of the nave of the Redentore within the reduced spaces of San Pantaleone by magnifying the proportions of the structural memberings, emphasizing their clarity and power.

As in the Redentore, there are four tall, narrow bays of wall
space between the four corners of the nave and the last side-chapel in
each range. They are divided into upper and lower zones by a decorative
entablature strip which runs from the springing of the arches of the side-
chapels. As in San Giacomo (Fig. 118) and Santa Margherita (Fig. 166) these
spaces enclose doorways. Within the voids above the doors, there are sur-
mounted rectangular paintings. This same pattern was repeated on both the
entrance and chancel walls (Fig. 192). Carried above the main orders, a
heavy Redentore-like entablature runs straight around the four corners of
the nave, breaking briefly above the column and pilaster piers of the
chancel and entrance arches. Supported above this strongly dentilled
member, there is a vaulted ceiling with six clearstory thermal windows set
above the six side-chapels. The whole surface of the ceiling is covered
with a spectacular illusionistic baroque painting.

Entering the relatively narrow chancel, the pavement is raised
four steps from the nave floor (Fig. 192). Breaking with local tradition,
the tall square space was covered with a barrel vault ceiling, instead
of a cross vault. Echoing parallel arrangements within the side-chapels,
the bounding arch of the rear wall above the main entablature was filled
with a large mullioned thermal window. To help enliven the space more, two
long arched windows were set into the rear wall behind the high altar.

Turning to the exterior of San Pantaleone, there is a blank,
unfinished brick facade, except for both the frames enclosing the three
portals and the front steps (Fig. 189). Today, its proposal is known through
a drawing by Visentini (Fig. 193). As depicted, Comino modelled his front
on the central section of Palladio's facade for San Francesco della Vigna
(Figs. 55 and 188). He was the first Venetian church architect to isolate
the central Palladian temple motif and dispense with the minor side-orders completely. The walls of the two lateral bays fronting the side-chapels are set back from the main section fronting the nave by ten feet (Fig. 194). These walls of masonry extend upwards to form buttresses to resist the pressure of the nave vault. Unlike the buttresses of the Tolentini (Fig. 105) and San Nicołò del Lido (Fig. 130), which are set forward in line with the main blocks and striated to accept stone facings, those of San Pantaleone are flat and covered with plaster. Eight years after the church was completed in 1686, houses had already been built tight up against these walls, further isolating the prominent nave section from its distanced and hidden side-wings.3

As at San Francesco, the temple front of San Pantaleone is divided into three tall intercolumniations formed by four giant Corinthian half-columns rising from tall pedestals. The wide middle bay holds a large central doorway surmounted by a decorative panel below a mullioned thermal window (Fig. 193). As in the original, the keystone of this window and the capitals of the four flanking orders carry a heavy entablature which supports a broad triangular pediment thrown into deep relief by flanking blocks of ressauts carried on corner pilasters. Unlike the center bay of San Francesco, Comino did not use a heavy intermediate entablature above his door, which, in Palladio's building, runs as a vestigial strip between the columns of the flanking bays and on to support the half-pediments of the side-orders (Fig. 188). Instead, he crowned the door with a simple semi-circular pediment, repeating its curve in the raised border of the panel above it. Flanking the middle section, there are two narrower side-bays.

At San Francesco, the giant columns are positioned close together on high
pedestals set against a continuous plinth. At San Pantaleone, the columns are set wider apart and the plinth sections in between the pedestals removed and replaced with two lower portals. Jammed tight in between the pedestals, the doors are of the same design as the main entrance, though not of any particular structural ordering. They all carry complimentary semi-circular pediments and open onto the same continuous line of stairs. Above the side-doors, there are four rectangular panels, separated vertically by raised horizontal banding strips. These strips divide the tall walls between the columns into smaller sections which are more harmonious with the proportions of the doors.

Paralleling the scale of the Tolentini (Fig. 102), San Nicolò del Lido (Fig. 131), and the Scalzi (Fig. 173), San Pantaleone is one of Venice's most important and beautifully structured examples of Venetian Palladianism.
NOTES


2. Visentini forgot to represent these access corridors between the side-chapels in his plan (Fig. 190).

3. A small plaque on the second story of the building built against the buttress and nave walls of the right flank of San Pantaleone gives a construction date of 1698 (Fig. 194).
In 1601, six years after he was fired as architect of San Nicolo dei Tolentini (Fig. 80), Vincenzo Scamozzi was hired to design and build the church of San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti and the surrounding hospital (Fig. 176). He supervised the construction of the buildings until his death in 1616. The church was completed on Scamozzi's scheme in 1631 and consecrated in 1636.¹

With the plan of San Lazzaro, Scamozzi introduced one of Venice's earliest variations on the standard long hall and square chancel theme, predating San Giacomo by two years (Fig. 117). Unlike the interior of San Giacomo, which echoed the Redentore, the nave of San Lazzaro was not modelled on any Palladian paradigm. As Howard tells us, "The design of the church itself borrows the single nave with four altars and raised singing galleries from Sansovino's church for the Incurabili hospital."² As in the original (Fig. 53), the lateral walls of the nave of San Lazzaro have extra wide central bays (Fig. 195) which enclose elevated choir lofts and "...infilling screen[s] behind whose miniature arcadings the sopranos sing."³

The body of the church was finished on Scamozzi's plan, but the front of the building was left unadorned for seventy-two years. The architect's facade design for San Lazzaro is unknown for no drawing revealing its design has survived. Giuseppe Sardi designed the present Palladian facade in 1673 (Figs. 196 and 197). He modelled it on the central section of Palladio's facade for San Francesco della Vigna (Figs. 55 and 188) just as Comino had done at San Pantaleone five years earlier (Fig. 193).
isolated the central Palladian temple motif, but, unlike Comino he did not dispense with the minor side-orders completely.

As at San Francesco, the facade is divided into three tall intercolumniations formed by four giant Corinthian half-columns rising from tall pedestals. Echoing the original, the pedestal pairs are set against two tall plinths. They are decorated with square panels enframing circles. Rising from the four corners of the plinths, are four tiny Composite half-pilasters, partly cut off from view by the superimposition of the adjacent giant columns. At San Francesco Palladio used engaged subsidiary Corinthian half-columns, slightly divorced from the giant orders. As in the original, the minor orders of San Lazzaro are half the height of the major ones and carry an intermediate entablature which runs behind the giant columns as a continuous horizontal band which helps to visually unify the narrow side bays with the broader middle one. At San Francesco, the minor orders of the middle bay closely embrace a tall doorway composed of another order of smaller pilasters carrying an arch rising to a keystone beneath the intermediate entablature. At San Lazzaro, this solution was not repeated. Instead, Sardi introduced a shorter portal, totally divorced from the minor orders bounding it. Curiously enough, the design of the door is almost an exact copy of that proposed but never realized by Lambranzi for the facade of Santa Margherita in 1647 (Fig. 168)\(^3\). The major design distinction between the two doors is in the form of their semi-circular pediments. At Santa Margherita, the curve of the pediment was to be full and complete. At San Lazzaro, Sardi used a broken segmental pediment in the Baroque style, which, as Howard tells us, is the only element which "... betrays the facade as a sixteenth-century monument."\(^4\) Paralleling San
Francesco, Comino crowned the main bay above the intermediate entablature with a large mullioned thermal window. As in the original, the keystone of this aperture and the capitals of the four flanking orders carry a heavy entablature which supports a broad strongly dentilled pediment. The tympanum is decorated with a round oculus between triangular panels (Fig. 196), echoing precedential arrangements found in the altars of the side-chapels of the Redentore (Fig. 86) and the doors of San Trovaso (Fig. 92). Reflecting the atrium behind, Sardi introduced a short attic above the pediment, crowning its three corners with Palladian skyline-figures.

The middle section of the facade of San Lazzaro is flanked by two narrower side-bays. These bays are divided vertically by the intermediate entablature into upper and lower rectangular zones, with the latter being larger. At San Francesco, each lower wall is indented with a round-headed statue niche enclosed by a projecting square-headed rectangular frame. In the upper zone, above the incisions of the intermediate entablature strip, there is a smaller rectangular panel placed just below the necking of the adjacent coupled giant columns. At San Lazzaro, Sardi modified the Palladian arrangement by totally filling in the spaces within each zone with large windows. Sardi's facade fronts the two-story atrium which Scamozzi designed to separate the church itself from the street outside (Fig. 176). Three of the four walls of the atrium are solid, except for doorways. The only way Sardi could light Scamozzi's huge space extensively through a San Francesco-like facade was by opening almost all available unstructured wall space for fenestration. This lighting formula departed radically from that of Palladio, who only made one window in all three of his colossal classical temple church facades. Today, the atrium has been
divided into two rooms by the introduction of a new floor midway up the walls. The lower room is lit by the round-headed long windows of the side bays and the half-round window within the arch of the main doorway (Figs. 197 and 198). The upper room is lit by the square-headed side windows of the upper zone. The large thermal window, which once flooded the whole atrium with light, has been closed in (Fig. 196).

Recently restored, the facade of San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti is in excellent condition and a very beautiful example of Venetian Palladianism.
NOTES


3. See page 117 herein, for a description of the unrealized portal design for Santa Margherita by Giovanni Lambranzi.

San Stae: Plan: 1678

The church of San Stae, which faces onto the Grand Canal, was founded in the tenth century. In the late seventeenth century, the antique Gothic structure of 1479 fell into complete disrepair and was torn down. Construction of the present Palladian building began in 1678, following the design of the little known sculptor and architect Giovanni Grassi. The church was completed in 1704, except for its facade which was designed in 1709 by Domenico Rossi and finished in less than four years in 1712 (Fig. 199).

For the ground plan of San Stae, Grassi created another variation on the standard nave hall and chancel design modelled on Palladian themes (Figs. 200, 201, and 202). Writing on San Stae, McAndrew tells us that

The precedent for the interior is Palladian: specifically, the Redentore has been assimilated to the typical Venetian box-like nave, here 45 x 60 ft, with the addition of deep chapels similar to those of the Tolentini [Fig. 102, herein], the whole being much like its slightly older contemporary S Pantalon [Fig. 191, herein].

Unlike the 2:1 Palladian proportions of the Tolentini (Fig. 80), the length of the nave of San Stae is only one and a third times its width, making the space short and wide rather than long and narrow. Grassi developed a plan even more box-like than the churches of Santa Margherita (Fig. 165) and San Pantaleone (Fig. 190), which both followed 1.5:1 ratios. He accomplished this foreshortening of the nave by greatly reducing the width of the four tall, narrow bays of wall space between the four corners and the last side-chapel in each range (Figs. 201 and 202), echoing the more radical arrangement at San Basso, where the bays are almost eliminated.
Flanking the nave, there are six identical vaulted side-chapels deeply recessed into the walls. These enclosures are separated by a series of giant single Composite half-columns (Fig. 202), which are reduced alternatives of the paired orders of the Redentore (Fig. 86) and echo the similar versions found in San Pantaleone (Fig. 191). As in the Celeste (Fig. 8), the Elisabetta (Fig. 127), and Santa Margherita (Fig. 166), the columns rise from tall pedestals, reflecting San Giorgio (Fig. 88). Following Palladio, the balanced symmetry and repetition of the structural members is uniformly expressed throughout the church. As Lewis tells us,

...the interior of S. Stae directs its energies toward a rational involvement of the worshipper's mind, rather than any appeal to his heart through the medium of the senses...re-invoke [ing] the consciously cerebral quality of a clarified and theoretically-proportioned architecture, exemplified in Palladio's great churches....

As previously rendered by Comino at San Pantaleone, Grassi reflected the giant scale of the nave arcade of the Redentore within the reduced spaces of San Stae by augmenting the size of the orders, emphasizing an uncomplicated clarity and boldness.

As in the Redentore, each side-chapel is formed by a semi-circular arch rising from an entablature supported by minor Doric pilasters without pedestals. In the original, Palladio designed six identical altars to sit within his six identical chapels, giving profound balance to his harmonious and encompassing system of design (Fig. 86). This pattern was repeated in San Stae, as it had been in the Tolentini eighty-seven years before (Fig. 103). As in the latter church, the altar designs of San Stae closely copy those by
Palladio at the Redentore, utilizing two projecting columns carrying a simple pediment with apertures for pictures framed within a round-headed arch with a keystone supported by minor orders (Fig. 202). By making the chapels and their altars all of the same design, they act as a repetitive and complimentary foil to the more elaborate main altar, which has no copy and stands alone (Fig. 204). Following Palladio at the Redentore, Grassi opened the back walls of the lateral chapels above the cornice into mullioned thermal windows of the same size as the arches connecting them with the nave. Furthermore, he adapted Palladio's structural system of extending upwards the walls of masonry separating the side-chapels to form buttresses to resist the pressure of the nave vault (Fig. 205), which had been expressed earlier at the Tolentini (Fig. 105), San Nicolò del Lido (Fig. 130), and San Pantaleone (Fig. 189).

Conforming to Palladio at the Redentore, both the keystones of the chapel arches and the capitals of the adjoining pilasters support a heavy dentilled entablature which runs perfectly straight around the whole interior, only breaking briefly in slight planes beneath the huge arches of the entrance and chancel walls (Fig. 204). As in the original, this very linear surface is an axially insistent element which encourages the eye to move down the nave across the end wall and on into the chancel. Supported above the entablature, there is a groined ceiling vault with six clearstory thermal windows set above the six side-chapels. Combined with the windows of the side-chapels, a brilliant uniform light is transformed throughout the church, reflecting itself off the smooth whitewashed surfaces of the stuccoed vault and walls. The interior scheme of extensive and brightly lit plastered surfaces enlivened by darker structural elements bears the impress of Palladio at San Giorgio and the Redentore, which are both illuminated by
a series of large thermal openings (Figs. 88 and 89). Except for isolated paintings within strongly marked frames, the interior of San Stae presents itself as an "...austere tonal harmony of white and grey." 5

Between the four corner pilasters of the nave and the four columns of the entrance and chancel arches, there are four tall, narrow bays of wall space. Within both bays flanking the chancel arch, there are doors surmounted by statue niches under bordered panels (Fig. 204). As those of the Elisabetta (Fig. 126), the Margherita (Fig. 167), and San Pantaleone (Fig. 192), the doorways open onto the sacristies behind, which flank each side of the chancel. The higher elements are divided into upper and lower zones by a decorative entablature strip. In the Redentore, these end walls, which define the chancel opening, are indented with pairs of surmounted statue niches (Fig. 73).

Entering the chancel, we find the pavement is raised four steps from the nave floor (Fig. 204). Following Palladio, the sense of separation and individuality of the sanctuary space from that of the nave is further enhanced by the balustrade which bounds the entrance, opening only at the center with a gate. Unlike most of the chancels analyzed herein, the altar-house of San Stae is not square. Grassi made the length of the back wall a slight one and one-quarter times that of the lateral walls, creating a subtle rectangular space which is wider than it is deep. This broad room juxtaposed with the short wide hall makes the large chancel arch seem even more gigantic and powerful to the worshipper, drawing his attention immediately to the imposing high altar against the back wall (Fig. 204). As in San Giorgio, San Stae has two lateral arches rising over the encircling entablature, containing thermal windows. Originally, the arch of the back wall held another large opening, now closed off and covered with a painting. The chancel is
roofed with a cross vault which has an oval painted panel placed over the intersection of its four groins.

Giovanni Grassi's San Stae was the twelfth church within one hundred years in Venice to be built with a nave developed on Palladio's design at the Redentore. It represents Grassi's only known building and one of the city's best examples of Venetian Palladianism.
NOTES


5. Ibid., p. 260.
San Marziale: Plan - c. 1680

The church of San Marziale, which flanks the small campo of the same name, was founded in the ninth century (Figs. 206 and 207). In the third-quarter of the seventeenth century, the antique three-nave Gothic structure was pulled down, and, in its place, a new Palladian inspired church was erected between circa 1680 and 1693 by an unknown architect. The church was consecrated in 1721.¹

The plan of San Marziale is another Redentore-like variation of the standard long nave and square chancel theme (Fig. 208). Deviating from Palladio's 2:1 ratio, the length of the nave is one and a half times its width, creating a short, wide space instead of a long, narrow one. This planning echoes the same ratios of Santa Margherita (Fig. 165) and San Pantaleone (Fig. 190). Flanking this hall, there are six bilaterally symmetrical windowless side-chapels lightly recessed into the walls (Fig. 209). They are formed by semi-circular arches with keystones rising from minor Doric orders. The chapels are separated from each other by an arrangement of paired Composite pilasters, echoing the Celeste (Fig. 81) and San Basegio (Fig. 170). The major orders rise from high pedestals, eclectically emulating a similar organization by Palladio at San Giorgio (Fig. 67). The structural distribution of the nave walls into a classical arcade of narrow and wide bays of paired pilasters and arched chapels was a modified copy of the same arrangement at the Redentore (Fig. 86). Each group of paired pilasters frames a long round-headed window positioned halfway up the wall. This opening replaces the surmounted statue niches
of the Redentore. On the right side of the nave, the two windows surmount two doorways which open onto the campo behind (Fig. 206). Paralleling San Basso (Fig. 182) and San Stae (Fig. 202), the widths of the four tall, narrow bays of wall space between the four corners and the last side-chapel in each range have been radically reduced.

Supported above the main orders, a broad dentilled entablature runs smoothly around the church, breaking briefly above the pilaster clusters beneath the entrance and chancel arches. Springing from this member, a high, wide vault covers the nave. Stretching across the middle of the vault, there is a rectangular frame enclosing an illusionistic painting, echoing the Scalzi. Following Palladio's lighting formula, the vault of San Marziale has six heavily groined semi-circular Roman windows set directly above the side-chapels, illuminating the space below.

Between the four corners of the nave and the pilasters of the entrance and chancel arches, there are four tall, narrow bays of wall space formed by paired pilasters, repeating the theme of the nave arcade (Fig. 210). As in the Elisabetta (Fig. 126), the walls flanking the chancel arch are plain and the doorways to the sacristies behind unordered. Long narrow paintings hang above the doors. The outside pilasters of the paired orders stand free from the corners by eighteen inches, creating two more radically reduced bays. Cramped into the corner angles are very slender vertical pilaster bands, each carrying one quarter of a Composite capital rising from a fragmentary base (Figs. 209 and 210). These unusually thin members create an uneasy mismatched structural tension between themselves and the heavy entablature they support. Furthermore, the visual impact of the one quarter members positioned between two flanking full
pilasters is somewhat clumsy and unattractive.

Entering the chancel, we find that the pavement is raised four steps from that of the nave (Figs. 208 and 210). Like most of the sanctuaries analyzed herein, the altar-house of San Marziale is square, modelled on the familiar pattern at San Giorgio (Fig. 66). Rising over the entablature of the encircling walls, there are three semi-circular arches. The lateral ones are glazed and the rear one blocked off. High against the back wall, there is an organ assembly which partially hides the in-filling of the rear arch. The chancel is roofed with a cross vault which has an oval painted panel placed over the intersection of its four groins, resembling San Stae (Fig. 204).

Turning to the exterior of San Marziale, we find that a facade for the church was never built, and no drawing of its proposal has survived (Fig. 207). There are four openings in the flat plaster surface of the large square front. The unordered central doorway is flanked by two round-headed long windows and surmounted by a mullioned thermal opening, echoing similar arrangements at San Trovaso (Fig. 92), San Francesco di Paola (Fig. 97), San Giacomo (Fig. 120), and the Margherita (Fig. 168), which were all modified copies of the Zitelle facade (Fig. 71). Another adaptation of Palladio's design may have been intended for the front of San Marziale.

In the year 1680, the hundredth anniversary of Palladio's death, San Marziale represented the eighteenth church in Venice to exhibit a design debt to the great master. This amount represents just over half of the total number of churches built in Venice which followed Palladian paradigms.
NOTES

San Giovanni Battista: c. 1695

The church of San Giovanni Battista, which stood at the very eastern tip of the Giudecca, was founded in 1340. At the end of the seventeenth century, the antique three-nave Gothic structure was pulled down, and, in its place, a new Palladian inspired church was erected by an unknown architect. In 1767, the church was suppressed by the Venetian Republic, but still continued as a private chapel for the monks of the adjacent monastery. After "Napoleon gave up the idea of making a park where it stood...the property was given to naval workshops (which still operate on the site)." Circa 1850, the building was razed, leaving no physical traces of its design.

Today, Antonio Visentini's drawings of San Giovanni Battista (Figs. 184, 185, 186 and 187) are the only surviving graphic records of the design of the interior and the facade of the church. As in the neighbouring church of San Giacomo (Fig. 117), the plan of the nave (Fig. 4) was a modified version of that of the Redentore (Fig. 72). Passing through the central doorway, the worshiper arrived in a long congregation hall with six bilaterally symmetrical side-chapels (Fig. 185). Paralleling those of San Trovaso (Fig. 83), the Tolentini (Fig. 80), San Nicolo de Lido (Fig. 129), San Pantaleone (Fig. 191), and San Stae (Fig. 202), these enclosures were deeply set and raised from the floor by a series of steps. Unlike previous designs, the chapels were made square instead of rectangular. They were formed by semi-circular arches without keystones springing from minor Doric orders. Each one had a barrel vault backing onto a windowless rear wall. Separating the six bays, there was a series of tall Composite pilasters. As in the Redentore, the
principal and subsidiary orders began from the same bases and were uniformly repeated in a balanced structural harmony around the church. Echoing the original, there were four tall, narrow bays of wall space between the four corners of the nave and the last side-chapel in each range. As depicted on the plan (Fig. 184), these spaces held doorways surmounted by statue niches, reminding us of San Giacomo (Fig. 118) and the Margherita (Fig. 166). This pattern was repeated on the entrance wall, but with statue niches only. Carried above the main orders, a heavy straight entablature supports a Palladian vault indented with six groined thermal windows positioned directly above the side-chapels, lighting the nave below.

The two very thin projecting end wall bays which flanked the chancel arch (Fig. 186) were foreshortened versions of those at the Redentore (Fig. 73). They echoed similar arrangements at San Giacomo (Fig. 119) and San Basso (Fig. 182), where the giant orders in and adjacent to the corners were brought together in tight clusters, allowing for the construction of both wider chancel arches and more spacious altar-houses.

Deviating from local tradition, the architect of San Giovanni Battista did not design a square cross vaulted chancel with lateral thermal windows. Instead, he introduced a wide but shallow rectangular sanctuary (Figs. 184 and 185), closely reinterpreting the Scamozzian model at the Tolentini (Fig. 109). Each corner of the chancel was articulated with a giant pilaster. Together, they supported entablature sections which carried two semi-circular arches. Formed between the double curves, there was a narrow barrel vault. As in the original, the high altar sat centered between and below this structural arrangement, partially screening the nave from the choir behind. Similar to the one proposed by Scamozzi for the
Tolentini, but never realized (Fig. 108), the choir was an open semi-circular volume crowned with a vaulted half-dome, which reverberated sound past the chancel into the nave (Figs. 184 and 185). This cupped space also reminds us of comparable constructions at San Pietro di Castello (Fig. 124), San Nicolo del Lido (Fig. 133), and Santa Maria degli Scalzi (Fig. 172), which have designs modified from the choirs of San Giorgio (Fig. 88) and the Redentore (Fig. 89).

Turning to the exterior of San Giovanni Battista, we find that the facade (Fig. 187) was modelled upon the overlapping classical temple front design presented by Palladio at San Francesco della Vigna (Figs. 55 and 188). As in the original, the facade was composed of one tall, main antique temple front flanked by two lower and smaller half-temple fronts. Following Palladio, the architect wanted to reflect the tripartition of the building that the facade would beautify. The central bay fronted the nave and the side-bays corresponded to the side-chapels. Both orders were raised upon a continuous plinth which stood dramatically high above head height, repeating the pattern at San Francesco. A tall, thin doorway was cut through this heavy base. Unlike the original, there was no interconnection between the door and the side-wings through the use of complimentary orders. The side-orders of San Giovanni Battista were too tall and too wide to be extended inward to fit on either side of the door. Furthermore, the columns of the central bay of the main section were set too close together to accept a copy of the portal design of San Francesco. The tall side-wing orders caused the cornices of the half-pediments to join the main bay at the awkward level where the neaking and capitals of the main orders meet. This situation reminds us of the parallel arrangement at the Redentore (Fig. 75). As an outcome, the
continuous entablature line of the secondary order was raised above the mid-point of the major columns, leaving large unarticulated wall spaces in the lower range between the orders and above the door. At San Francesco, where the side-orders are only half as tall as the colossal columns, the intermediate entablature runs low enough through the facade to rest on top of the minor orders flanking the door. Above and below this element, the wall surfaces are filled with carved architectonic elements. The lack of sculptural decorations within the large open wall spaces of the facade of San Giovanni Battista gave the main pedimented temple front a more bold and individualistic expression.

After San Giovanni Battista, many Venetian churches continued to develop nave plans modelled on the Redentore, but the emulation of Palladio's interpenetrating temple front facade design was only repeated once again by Andrea Tirali in 1734, through his faithful restatement of the San Giorgio facade on the front of San Vidal (Fig. 116).
NOTES

1. For more commentary on the morphological development of the church of San Giovanni Battista, see Umberto Franzoi, Le Chiese de Venezia (Venezia: Alfieri, 1976), pp. 260-61.


3. These drawings are held in the Visentini collection of the Royal Institute of British Architects, London, number 216, (1), (2), (3), (4).

4. Visentini did not represent these doors and niches on his nave elevation (Fig. 185).
During the first half of the eighteenth century, twenty-three churches were built or rebuilt in Venice. Sixteen of these buildings, or sixty-seven percent, exhibit, through their system of organizing plans, elevations, and spatial relationships, different degrees of debt to Palladio. These sixteen buildings also represent forty-five percent of the thirty-five Palladian inspired churches built between 1581 and 1751. Almost half of the structures of the present study were constructed in the last fifty years of the hundred and seventy year era of Palladianism in Venetian church design. Instead of waning in popularity, the emulation of Palladian design principles by local church architects entered a new period of increased interest and activity, coinciding with the spreading development of classicism all over Europe. As Lorenzetti tells us,

Venice did not remain apart from this predominant movement that tended to a revival of feeling towards the classicism which, however, even in Bernini's century had never died out completely—but which revived and spread with greater intensity in the eighteenth century. As we have already said, in the seventeenth century, painting was able to avoid the danger and remain practically immune from it through some inborn virtue, but architecture yielded and accepted the teaching of the new theory with intense enthusiasm. 'An architect who does not want to die of starvation' Giorgio Massari, one of the greatest architects of the century assented 'must of necessity adapt himself to see and think according to the classical rules'. It was, above all, before the literary exaltation and the theoretical effort of writers, thesis writers, philosophers and men of doctrine, that this new atmosphere of classical
revival was created as a reaction to the excesses of Baroque, as a more solid basis of study and a more severe source of aesthetic inspiration. In Venice Vitruvius and Palladio had their commentators who spread the gospel in huge volumes and architectural manuals.  

The strong and consistent heritage of Palladianism in Venetian church design assimilated itself easily and readily into the modern movement towards the practice of classical building design, which resulted in two-thirds of the churches built in Venice between 1700 and 1751 emulating Palladio.  

The popular standard plan of the long nave and square chancel based on the nave of the Redentore and the chancel of San Giorgio was repeated a further eight times after 1700:  

Chiesa della Fava by Antonio Gaspari, 1705 (Figs. 214 and 215); San Girolamo by Domenico Rossi, 1706 (Figs. 218 and 219); Chiesa dei Gesuati by Giorgio Massari, 1726 (Figs. 221 and 222); San Barnaba by Lorenzo Boschetti, 1736 (Figs. 224 and 225); San Tomà, 1742 (Figs. 226 and 227) and San Biagio, 1746 (Figs. 228 and 229), by Francesco Bognolo; and San Giovanni Novo by Giorgio Massari, 1751 (Figs. 230 and 231). Flanking the naves of these churches, there are the common bilaterally symmetrical Redentore-like side-chapels, articulated by either single or double orders of giant pilasters or half-columns. Supported above the main orders, heavy entablatures carry curved vaults with groined windows positioned directly above the side-chapels, echoing Palladio at the Redentore (Fig. 89).

Following Smeraldi at San Trovaso (1583) and Scamozzi at the Tolentini (1591), Rossi's spatial conception for the interior of Chiesa dei Gesuiti is another example of Palladian eclecticism, blending ornamental and structural systems from both the Redentore and San Giorgio. Indebtedness to Palladio is expressed in the formation of the nave with six identically opposed side-chapels, in the crossing with lateral transepts, and in the chancel
flanked by two lower chapels (Fig. 211).

In Venice, the only striking departure from the standard Redentore-like nave system was the new device of turning the narrow bays of wall space between the outside chapels and the four corners of the nave through forty-five degree angles across the corners to the piers of the entrance and chancel arches, creating a semi-elliptical plan. This innovation was first introduced by Gaspari in the Fava (Fig. 216) and repeated thereafter in the Gesuiti (Figs. 211 and 232) and the Gesuati (Figs. 222 and 223). In the nave of the Redentore, Palladio used square corners, but in the Zitelle he made a square interior seem circular by cutting off the corners at forty-five degree angles (Fig. 65). Gaspari may have looked to the Zitelle for inspiration when designing the bevelled corners of the nave of the Fava. To accentuate the spatial unity of the chancel square under the dome of the Redentore, Palladio defined the space with four powerful piers set on forty-five degree angles (Fig. 74). Longhena repeated this structural organization in the Salute in 1630 (Fig. 159). Following Palladio, the dome above the crossing square of the Gesuiti is supported by giant arches rising from colossal bevelled piers (Fig. 211). Rossi further repeated this device in the chancel of the Gesuiti by angling the walls between the pilasters of the four corners. He first used this arrangement in 1706 in the chancel of San Girolamo (Fig. 219). Modified versions were also developed by Massari for the chancels of the Gesuati in 1726 (Fig. 222) and the Fava in 1750 (Fig. 217).

In 1723, an unknown architect designed the church of San Bartolomeo (Figs. 234, 235 and 236) on the plan of San Giorgio (Figs. 66 and 88). Similar to the original, San Bartolomeo has a three-bay cruciform plan subdivided into a high nave and two lower side-aisles, a transept crossing, and a
rectangular chancel flanked by two lower chapels. A whitewashed Palladian barrel vault with six heavily groined clearstory thermal windows covers the nave. Unlike San Pietro di Castello of 1619 (Fig. 122), which is the only other church in Venice to emulate the overall plan of San Giorgio, the interior of San Bartolomeo is not designed at the colossal size of the original. Nevertheless, the smaller church repeats many of Palladio's geometric proportions at a reduced scale.

During the first half of the eighteenth century, two centralized churches formed on circular plans were built: San Simeone Piccolo by Giovanni Scalfarotto in 1718 (Figs. 212 and 237); and Santa Maria Maddalena by Tommaso Temanza in 1748 (Figs. 242 and 243). Similar to the Tempietto at Maser (Figs. 6 and 65), conceived one hundred and thirty-eight years earlier in 1580, the design of San Simeone is another modified version of the Pantheon in Rome (Figs. 76 and 77). As Palladio before him, Scalfarotto correctly interpreted the original as an integrated series of three basic forms: the advanced pronaos against a vestibule against a domed cylinder. Accordingly, he introduced his centric plan with a prostyle Corinthian portico which butts against a vestibule containing the main entrance. Due to its reduced scale, the portico of San Simeone, unlike the octastyle Pantheon, is hexastyle, following Palladio's paradigm at Maser. This form was also repeated in the newly finished facade of the nearby San Nicolo dei Tolentini by Andrea Tirali in 1706 (Fig. 79). Introducing the first projecting temple front in Venice, this church was also inspirational to the development of Scalfarotto's design. Introduced by seven steps, Tirali's portico is composed of six carefully carved Corinthian columns on diminutive bases, with a wider intercolumniation at the center. The columns support a heavy plain entablature,
surmounted by a large triangular pediment. Curiously enough, except for the dominant elliptical oculus in the center of the tympanum, this design closely imitates Palladio's facade proposal for his unrealized design of the Tolentini of 1579 (Fig. 100), suggesting that Tirali may have had access to the original sixteenth century design.

Under Scalfarotto's soaring Salute-like dome, the centric nave of San Simeone (Fig. 238) clearly repeats the ornamental and structural themes of the Pantheon (Fig. 77). The side-walls of the cylinder are composed of the familiar central recesses which contain free-standing Corinthian columns surmounted by a heavy curved entablature supporting a drum articulated by large rectangular pedimented windows (Fig. 239). Palladio's influence on the design of the interior of San Simeone is exemplified in the Redentore-like chancel (Fig. 240). As Wittkower tells us, "The interior somewhat varies from the Pantheon... where the congregational room opens into a domed unit with semicircular apses, a formula derived via the Salute from Palladio at the Redentore." The concept of separating the chancel from the nave by a triumphal arch results in a scenographic effect that is essentially Palladian. As in San Giorgio (Fig. 121), San Nicolò del Lido (Fig. 128), and the Salute (Fig. 163), the wall behind the high altar has an arch-within-an-arch composition (Fig. 241), which helps stop the view at the end of the chancel, while still focussing it inwards to the altar below.

Designed by Scalfarotto's nephew and student Tommaso Temanza, Santa Maria Maddalena is a radically modified version of the Pantheon (Fig. 243). The portico, which is flattened out against the cylinder, consists of two widely separated pairs of Ionic columns on low bases. Paralleling Palladio at Maser (Fig. 78), the drum above the main orders of the exterior carries a
low saucer dome with a hexagonal lantern composed of arched windows and topped with another small round dome (Fig. 244). Unlike the circular interior of the Tempietto, the nave of the Maddalena is hexagonal. Echoing Longhena's resolution at the Salute, the overall architectural planning of the church comes from a grouping together of isolated structural and spatial units modified directly from Palladio and set on a hexagonal plan (Fig. 243). In the Salute, Longhena modified the nave arcade of San Giorgio to formulate his unique octagonal congregation space. In the Maddalena, Temanza revised the nave arcade of the Redentore (Fig. 86), making the structural distribution of the walls of the main room into a deeply modelled series of narrow and wide bays of paired half-columns with statue niches and deep arched chapels (Fig. 124). Following Palladio, Longhena, and Scalfarotto, Temanza's nave also opens through a monumental arch into a square chancel flanked by a pair of semi-circular apses with half-dome ceilings. Unlike the older churches, the ceiling over the chancel is a low vault and not a dome, which closely echoes the pattern established in 1726 in the elliptical choir of the Gesuati (Figs. 222 and 223), creating strikingly similar scenographic effects.

Between 1700 and 1751, nine more examples of modified Palladian church facade designs were proposed for Venice: San Girolamo (Fig. 218), 1706, and San Stae (Figs. 199 and 205), 1709, by Domenico Rossi; Chiesa dei Gesuati (Fig. 221), 1726, and San Marcuola (Figs. 245 and 246), 1728, by Giorgio Massari; Santa Fosca (Fig. 250), 1733, by Rossi; San Vidal (Figs. 116 and 248), 1734, by Andrea Tirali; Chiesa della Pietà (Fig. 247), 1735, by Massari; San Barnaba (Fig. 224), 1736, by Lorenzo Boschetti; and San Giovanni Novo (Fig. 230), 1751, by Massari.

Including San Francesco della Vigna (Fig. 188), San Giorgio (Fig. 3),
and the Redentore (Fig. 5), there were eight large interpenetrating temple front church facades planned for Venice. The last example is the front for San Vidal of 1734 (Figs. 116, 248 and 249), which came after San Giovanni Battista (Fig. 187), circa 1695, San Nicolò del Lido (Fig. 134, unrealized proposal), 1626, San Pietro di Castello (Fig. 112), 1594, San Nicolo dei Tolentini (Figs. 108 and 251, unrealized proposal), 1591. The main bay of Tirali's facade is composed of a temple front with two pairs of large Composite half-columns on high pedestals supporting a broad entablature and a strongly marked pediment (Fig. 116). Between the colossal orders themselves, there are small rectangular windows separated by string courses of entablature from framed statue niches below. The center space between the paired columnar bays embraces a large doorway with a minor order and pediment. The pilasters on smaller bases of the secondary Corinthian order framing this entrance extend out beyond the main temple front to carry half-pediments of the side bays, which, unlike Palladio's churches, represent the presence of two rows of houses and not the internal planning of flanking side-aisles or side-chapels (Figs. 248 and 249). Within the wide bays of the side-wings, Tirali added two long, round-headed windows, reminding us of the Zitelle (Fig. 71). Barely discernible behind the metal grating of these large blind church windows, there are small square-headed residential windows which light the rooms of the houses behind. To help interlock all three bays of his facade, Tirali continued the entablature of the minor orders across the whole facade. Except for a few minor design differences, this account of San Vidal could also describe the overall composition of the fronts of San Giorgio (Fig. 3) and San Pietro (Fig. 112), but a closer look at the facade reveals an even more essential link to Scamozzi at the Tolentini (Fig. 25). After comparing
the two facades, Lewis tells us that San Vidal "...reproduces the Scamozzi facade for S. Nicolò da Tolentino with such utter precision that between the two designs there remain in fact no differences worth speaking of." 9

Ironically, after one hundred and forty-three years, the very first proposal in Venice for a Palladian overlapping temple front church facade became the city's very last example also. As has been noted by others, Tirali could have studied the original sixteenth century design, known to be in Temmanza's possession at the time. 10 It also seems possible that Tirali may have viewed Scamozzi's proposal for the Tolentini while building his 1706 reinvention of Palladio's even earlier design (1579) for a free-standing portico for the same church. Both schemes may have been in the Theatine archives and available to Tirali for consultation.

Between 1709 and 1736, there were six more Palladian central-temple-front-motif facades planned for Venice, following the earlier examples of Comino's San Pantaleone in 1668 (Fig. 193) and Sardi's San Lazzaro dei Mendicanti in 1673 (Fig. 197). To adorn Grassi's beautifully planned Redentore-like San Stae of 1678 (Figs. 200 - 204), Rossi created a large temple front (Fig. 199) on the model of the central section of the facade of San Giorgio (Fig. 181). Paralleling Palladio at the Redentore (Fig. 5), Rossi filled the center bay between the paired columnar units with a large projecting portal composed of a minor order of Corinthian half-columns supporting a pediment. Echoing Sardi's smaller entrance for San Lazzaro, Rossi used a broken segmental pediment in the Baroque style to reflect the form of the two forward-projecting columns. As in San Francesco (Fig. 188), San Giorgio (Fig. 3), and the Redentore (Fig. 5), an intermediate entablature runs across the facade behind the major columns at the level of the minor orders, emphasizing the visual
unity of the different parts of the facade. The columns of the entrance extend out beyond the main temple front to support the entablature of the side-bays, which are the exterior expressions of the shallow projecting side-chapels of the interior (Fig. 205). Unlike the overlapping temple front facades of Palladio and his followers, the external wings of San Stae are not wide enough to express full intercolumnar bays. As Wittkower writes, the structure of the facade "...is based on an unorthodox handling of Palladio's interpenetration of a large and a small order."\(^1\) The narrowness of the lateral chapels prompted the unique solution of single-column wings flanking the central mass. Supported above these graceful members, there are entablature fragments surmounted by small pedestals with free-standing sculpted figures, imitating those on the main pediment. To link the single columns with the taller central block, Rossi built steep structural volutes which descend from the capitals of the main orders to the entablature-pedestals of the minor, reminding us of Smeraldi's similar invention at San Trovaso in 1583 (Fig. 92).

For the facades of San Francesco (Fig. 55), and San Giorgio (Fig. 181), Palladio made their different wall surfaces exist on the same plane, clearly emphasizing the smooth interpenetration of two temple fronts. At the Redentore, he emphasized the dominance of the main temple front by slightly setting it forward from the side-wings, creating a physical and optical discontinuity (Fig. 5). Following Palladio, Rossi made the side-orders of San Stae recede as far as possible, creating a larger distinction between the main body and the wings (Fig. 205). To give his temple front an even more bold and individualistic expression, Rossi made the giant outside columns three-quarters round and almost disengaged, creating a clear break with the
two wings. The way in which the central and side bays interrelate in San Stae, influenced the facade design by Giambattista Fattoretto in 1715 for Rossi's Palladian planned church of the Gesuiti (Fig. 233). Wanting to emphasize the central portion of his facade even more, Fattoretto made his columns free-standing. As depicted in plan, the outside columns of the main front and the inside columns of the receding side bays, also free-standing, are set on forty-five degree angles from each other, reflecting, in reverse, the beveled corners of Rossi's nave behind (Fig. 211).

After San Stae, the next church to reproduce a Palladian temple front in Venice was the Gesuati in 1726 (Fig. 221). Following Francesco Comino at San Pantaleone (Fig. 193), Massari was the second Venetian church architect to isolate the central temple motif and dispense with the minor side-orders completely. To help give the physical and optical appearance of a projected temple facade, Comino threw his main front into deep relief by setting back the giant end pilasters which frame it. At the Gesuati, Massari followed this pattern closely. Wanting to increase the dominance of his Redentore-like front even more, Massari created "...the device of a tightly clustered pilaster group turning around the outer corners in successive planes of deep plastic relief." Interestingly enough, this arrangement echoes the column-and-pilaster clusters of the side-wing orders of San Stae (Fig. 206), which accentuate a similar three-dimensional turning of the corners, making the facade appear bolder from the front and wider from the side (Fig. 221). Furthermore, the receding orders of the corners of the Gesuati are set at forty-five degree angles from each other, echoing, in reverse, the angled corners of the nave behind (Fig. 222), reminding us of Fattoretto's solution for the Gesuiti (Fig. 211).
In 1728, two years after the Gesuati design, Massari proposed a Palladian temple front facade for the church of San Marcuola. The project was left unfinished (Fig. 245), but it can be understood through an original drawing (Fig. 246). Unlike any other facade echoing Palladio in Venice, Massari proposed a shallow four column free-standing portico, only lightly engaged where the tall projecting pedestals back onto the front wall of the church. Massari must have been influenced by Fattoretto's facade for the Gesuiti, which demonstrated a similar arrangement of free-standing columns, accentuating the prominent central section of the church (Fig. 233).

The facades of Santa Fosca by Rossi in 1733 (Fig. 250) and Chiesa della Pietà by Massari in 1735 (Fig. 247) return to Palladio's invention of projecting the elements of a portico onto the flat plane of a facade wall. For the design of the doorway for Santa Fosca, Rossi turned to Massari's portal of the Gesuati, emulating it almost exactly (Fig. 221). For the entrance of the Pietà, Massari closely copied the door of the Redentore (Fig. 5). He placed it between the giant Corinthian orders of the central bay of a predominately San Giorgio-like facade.

The front for the church of San Barnaba by Boschetti in 1736 is a modified copy of Massari's Redentore-like facade for the Gesuati, designed ten years earlier. Accordingly, the four huge half-columns of the main front support a heavy entablature which is thrown into deep relief by the flanking blocks of ressauts carried on closely set receding column-and-pilaster clusters. Unlike at the Gesuati, Boschetti wrapped his facade one full bay around the sides of his nave, creating space for two side-doors. As Lewis tells us, there "...is no comparable example in Venice of a facade treatment being carried to a distance of one bay down each of its sides."
As at the Pietà (Fig. 247), the front entrance to San Barnaba is modelled on that of the Redentore (Fig. 5).

After 1700 in Venice, there were two more churches planned with facades modelled on the pattern of the Zitelle (Fig. 71): San Girolamo by Rossi in 1706 (Fig. 218) and San Giovanni Novo by Massari in 1751 (Fig. 230). Rossi's facade was the first example of a Zitelle-like facade after Lambranzi's unrealized project for Santa Margherita in 1647, designed fifty-nine years earlier (Fig. 168). A comparison of the two facades reveals very few differences between them, suggesting that Rossi may have created his version from a study of the original design by Lambranzi. Massari's facade for San Giovanni Novo, like that of Santa Margherita, was left incomplete, except for the triangular pedimented doorway under a thermal window, the first eight feet of the lower tier of paired orders flanking the entrance, and the long, narrow round-headed windows between these orders. No drawing revealing its total design has survived, but from a study of the existing structure and the overall composition of the facade much can be deduced concerning its intended form. The arrangement suggests an elevation separated into two differently scaled tiers of paired superimposed orders, horizontally divided by an entablature and topped with a triangular pediment over a semi-circular thermal window, echoing Palladio's facade for the Zitelle.

The intense activity in church building in Venice in the first half of the eighteenth century created another eleven plans and nine more facades of Palladian descent, making the great master's architectural presence unforgettable felt in every corner of the city. Now closed and in very poor structural condition, the beautiful little church of San Giovanni Novo concludes the present study on Palladio's influence on Venetian church design between 1581 and 1751.
NOTES

1. Beginning with San Gallo (1703) and ending with San Giovanni Novo (1751), a list of these twenty-three churches can be found in Douglas Lewis, The Late Baroque Churches of Venice (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1979), pp. 8-9.


4. See pp. 5 and 6, footnote 9, herein, for a list of the sixteen churches built between 1700 and 1751, starting with Chiesa della Fava (1705) and ending with San Giovanni Novo (1751).

5. There were ten churches built in Venice between 1603 and 1705 on the standard long nave and square chancel plan echoing Palladian design principles: San Giacomo della Guidecca (1603); Santa Maria Elisabetta (1620); San Nicolò del Lido (1626); Santa Margherita (1647); Santa Maria degli Scalzi (1656); San Basso (1661); San Pantaleone (1668); San Stae (1678); San Marziale (c.1680); and San Giovanni Battista (c.1695).


12. Lewis, The Late Baroque Churches of Venice, p. 140.


15. See pp. 116-118, herein, for an analysis of the facade of Santa Margherita.
CONCLUSION

Andrea Palladio is well-remembered for his revolutionary religious architecture of Venice. His designs for San Francesco della Vigna (1562), San Giorgio Maggiore (1565), Le Zitelle (1570), Il Redentore (1576), and the Tempietto (1580), represented fresh and independent visions, exemplifying his deep-seated understanding of the classical ideas of the High Renaissance. Nowhere was Palladio's influence on the future development of ecclesiastical design more profoundly felt than in Venice itself. Collectively, the emulators of Palladian church design form an architectural legacy which can be discernedly traced from Santa Maria Celeste in 1581 to San Giovanni Novo in 1751. Between these years and buildings, thirty-five churches were built modelled after Palladian paradigms, exhibiting through their system of organizing plans, spatial relationships and elevations, different degrees of debt to Palladio. Through an examination of the architectural planning of each building, the present study has attempted to discern for each their concordance with the Palladian system, demonstrating, in the end, a clear and coherent tradition of Venetian church design which fulfilled itself through an integration of a whole series of Palladian prototypes. Together, the churches explored herein demonstrate a highly significant concurrency in the overall development of religious architecture in Venice.


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Library of the Correr Museum, Correr 4899 - 4903, a series of six etchings depicting churches of the islands of the Lagoon.


*. Trattato delle Diligenti Osservazioni Fate Sopra Le Fabbriche d'Andrea Palladio Visentino, 1762 (?), MS., Library of the Correr Museum, Codice Cicogna 3658.


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