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FUNCTION AND FORM  
OF  
THE ROMAN BELVEDERE

BY

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## PROBLEM AND THESIS

1. The formal development of the Roman palace from the middle of the sixteenth century till about 1630 has been the subject of thorough research as regards the history of style. HEINRICH WÖLFFLIN exemplified his account of the genesis of the Baroque in a masterful study of this type of building<sup>1</sup>. Taking their departure from other points of view and with partly deviating results SCHMARSOW<sup>2</sup> and BRINCKMANN<sup>3</sup> have later examined the Roman palace during the said period, likewise under the aspect of the Baroque. During the last decades German architectural research in particular has further tried to demonstrate the stylistic conception of Mannerism, also within the said category of building<sup>4</sup>.

This fruitful stylistic research has particularly considered the contrast between the severely cubic palace-type before c. 1630 and the plastically richer elaborated type during the time following. The *risalto* must accordingly become a subject for examination of capital importance; its appearance heralds a new style, the victory of the real Baroque.

The style of the undivided cube is, however, not the sole prevailing principle within Roman profane architecture during the period dealt with. It applies generally to the town palace, but not to the villas' *casino*-architecture which operates with a marked plastic articulation of the entity, though in simple stereometric forms.

<sup>1</sup> Renaissance und Barock, 4. edition by HANS ROSE, 1926.

<sup>2</sup> Barock und Rokoko (1897); A. RIEGL: Die Entstehung der Barockkunst in Rom (1908) should also be mentioned here.

<sup>3</sup> Bauk. des 17. u. 18. Jahrh.s in den roman. Ländern (1915); Plastik und Raum (1922).

<sup>4</sup> An analysis of the belvedere in relation to Mannerism cannot be undertaken in this treatise; it is my intention elsewhere to return to a discussion of Mannerism as an architectural-theoretical concept.

This contrast may seem easily explainable. The two types of buildings, and the social functions corresponding to them, are partly determined by mutually strongly deviating conveniences. Moreover the types in question are bound by their widely differing situations. The palace normally stands confined in a narrow street or a cramped square. The villa is generally placed high up and freely situated in connection with a formal garden dominated by it. Without any wish to underrate the importance of the conveniences we must consider the placing of a building as a paramount determining factor for its general architectural form, its plastic type. Also from this point of view has it been possible to find an explanation of the restraining and hesitant development of the *risalto* in Roman palace building; it has not only been interpreted as the result of a "Formwille".

Whichever view one takes—a stylistic-theoretical, a sociological, or a practically-constructive one—the principally undifferentiated form so characteristic of the palace as plastical volume must in spite of all appear striking when seen on the background of the *casini* of the villas. On the *a priori* assumption that the contemporary tendency distinctly to be traced in the churches as well as in the villa-architecture towards rhythmical modelling and articulation at any rate *latently* must exist also in the palace-building, one is evidently obliged to acknowledge that the development has stopped, or at any rate been surprisingly much retarded in the latter category. The palace seems to have reserved for itself an isolated position and to dismiss any form of plastic articulation of its body, even within the limited possibilities granted by social conveniences and narrow emplacement.

In our opinion such a solution of the problem would, however, be subject to a questionable narrowness of outlook. On closer examination we will notice that the Roman palace *malgré-tout* often tried to acquire a kind of exterior plastic accentuation where it was desirable and practicable.

Under the investigations hitherto made into the plastic function of the Roman palace in the period treated here, attention has to such great extent been focused on the modelling of the *walls* of the cube, thus i. a. by means of the *risalto*, that the *structure above the main cornice* of the buildings discussed has been completely overlooked. From this follows that the importance of the

*belvedere* as an architectural component has not at all been recognized in scientific literature<sup>5</sup>. And nevertheless the *belvedere* has not only been extraordinarily widely employed, but it also filled an important function as a part of the plastic entity of the palace exactly during the period about 1550—1630—and in this period only.

Thus a gap has arisen in the history of the Roman Baroque style (respectively its earlier history) that particularly is remarkable, because it makes a true understanding of an important problem in the morphological process of the palace rather difficult.

The aim of the present paper is an attempt at filling up the said gap.

The *belvedere* has in our view to a certain extent compensated for the lack of the *risalto*. It might be said to be significant of the period dealt with here—apart from the way its style as concept is defined, whether we call it “Early Baroque” or “Mannerism”—that the cube of the palace preferably increases and if possible differentiates its structuring power not by a modelling of its limiting surfaces but by the addition of smaller cubic bodies upwards. This purely additive process, mass added to mass, is in principle as fully valid in the case of the palace as the *casino*. The *belvedere* is eminently typical for the consistent cubism of the period.

Considered in this way the *belvedere*—an otherwise ignored compositional factor—must be recognized as exercising a not

<sup>5</sup> Formulation of the *belvedere*: “petit donjon ou pavillon élevé au-dessus d’un bâtiment quelconque, d’où on peut jouir d’un point de vue étendu et agréable” (D. RAMÉE: *Dict. gén. des Termes d’Architecture*, 1868). A brief defining passage (188) in J. DURM: *Die Bauk. der Renaiss. in Italien* (*Handb. d. Arch.* V, 1903, 274); only two Roman examples are mentioned, both of villas. Otherwise the *belvedere* is practically speaking overlooked in architectural-historical literature; it is characteristic that not even the function of the *belvedere* as *roof-loggia* is mentioned in the definition in WASMUTH (*Lex. d. Baukunst*, 1929). Its appearance—even in a monumental form—is only quite sporadically mentioned, and a systematic treatment of the *belvedere* generally, or of its history and importance within one single period, is unknown to me. Neither the concept nor the reality of the *belvedere* is to be found in the very comprehensive subject index in A. E. BRINCKMANN’s fundamental work, *Die Bauk. des 17. und 18. Jahrh.’s in den roman. Ländern* (1915 ff.), not even hidden away under such terms as *roof-loggia*, balcony, or the like; nor is it mentioned in either H. WILICH & P. ZUCKER: *Die Bauk. der Renaissance in Italien* (1914 ff.) or in WÖLFFLIN’s *Renaiss. und Barock* (4. ed. 1926). In VENTURI (*Storia dell’ Arte italiana* XI, 2, 1939) a few instances are given, but nowhere accompanied by a compositional analysis. PIERO TOMEI: *L’Architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, 1942, has some fine reflections on the *roof-loggia* (*lovium*) and its importance.

unessential rôle also as a stylistic element. Originally this traditional Italian structural element was exclusively practically determined and completely lacking stylistic implications. But the Roman profane architecture after the Renaissance could also otherwise employ the belvedere. After having been cultivated architecturally it was possible for it to accentuate the palace without compromising its austere cube and without (from a theoretical point of view) bringing its façade into collision with the surrounding buildings. On the *casino* the belvedere had an ancient right of existence as a natural consequence of its purpose. The belvedere now supplemented its constantly practically valid function as a place affording a view with another one—namely an artistic function. The belvedere acquired its style and served a style. The roof-loggia, the belvedere as “*aedicula*” entered flawlessly into the expressive harmony of the simple bodies.

2. During the following we intend to give a survey of the appearance of the belvedere in Roman architecture c. 1550—1630 in so far as the material accessible to us permits it, and to trace and analyse its various types.

For this examination two points of view will be decisive:

1) An attempt must be made at ascertaining *in how far the history of the belvedere may be placed in direct relation to that of the risalto*,—and particularly whether the belvedere under special circumstances may be said to have ‘replaced’ the risalto. The first sections (§§ 1—4) must serve as a point of departure where the early history of the risalto is dealt with in concise form.

2) Finally it must in each individual case be examined *whether outer conditions (the situation of the building, etc.) may be supposed to have been determining for the placing and elaboration of belvederes*.

When the two elements, the risalto and the belvedere, thus are considered under the same main aspect it ought to be possible to form an opinion of their mutual relations as well as of their respective characters. We thus put the questions in concrete form to each individual monument which the theory of WÖLFFLIN (carried further by BRINCKMANN) has raised and answered generally concerning the dynamic relationship between plasticity and space.

3. As we have set the problem, only the belvederes on palaces and other civic architecture may have been considered as primary subjects. It has noways been our intention to account for the general typological development of the belvedere in Rome. We shall only try to illustrate its locally conditioned morphology through analyses of selected monuments. In order to lay clear the nature and trend of the process and show the ever increasing possibilities of the belvedere as a compositional factor, though in new connexions, we have in various cases carried the lines beyond the earlier timelimit and exemplified the development of the belvedere also in the mature and late Baroque style.

As the aim of our examination—as stressed—is not to account for the genesis and history of the Roman belvedere-motif in a chronologically fixed account, stage by stage, we have dared to leave out of consideration the exact dating of each individual monument discussed. Much the greater number of the said palaces are exceedingly well-known. But in the case of many of the less important buildings an approximate dating only is possible.

Tempesta's plan of Rome from 1593, drawn in bird's eye view<sup>6</sup> gives an excellent idea of the belvedere-architecture existing at the time, and simultaneously it serves as an important instrument of dating. The said plan is supplemented, amongst others, by the likewise perspective plans of Maggi from 1625 and of Falda from 1676.

<sup>6</sup> *Urbis Romae Prospectus*, ed. H. SCHÜCK, 1917.

## § 1. Tower, Risalto, and Belvedere.

The risaltos found at the end of a façade may in many cases be supposed to derive from the corner-towers. This circumstance is particularly conspicuous within the architecture of the country house where the mediæval rectangular *castello*-type with four corner-towers often is dominating<sup>7</sup>. If such a rectangular plan is introduced in a town the palace (*castello*) will stand in the street-line as a front between two corner-towers, which latter by an urbanising of the fortification-like character of the building are predestined to end as risaltos. A main example in Rome is the *Pal. di San Biagio* planned, and begun only, by Bramante (c. 1508), a symmetric block with four wings. Its main façade on the Via Giulia is flanked by corner-towers which are echoed in the plan as risaltos<sup>8</sup>. Already in *Pal. della Cancelleria* (begun 1485) light side-risaltos occur; we are inclined to consider them as encased rudimentary corner-towers. Further *Pal. Sora* (1509) (Pl. 2) has low end-towers over the outer windows. The latter

<sup>7</sup> For the history of the development of this type see B. PATZAK; *Die Renaiss.-und Barockvilla in Italien*, III. *Die Villa Imperiale bei Pesaro* (1908), 130—133; FRITZ SCHREIBER: *Die französische Renaiss.-Arch. und die Poggio Reale-Variationen des Sebastiano Serlio* (Diss., 1938). — The side-risaltos on Innocens VIII's Villa Belvedere at the Vatican (1485—87) are by H. WILlich (*Die Bauk. d. Renaiss. in Italien*, 1914, 107) seen in connection with the antique villa type with a frontal portico between projecting corner-sections; in our opinion their fortifying origin is evident and in perfect harmony with fundamental features in the character of the building. About Villa Belvedere see H. BROCKHAUS in *Mitt. des kunsthist. Inst. in Florenz*, I, 152—153, and EUGÈNE MÜNTZ in *Archivio storico dell' Arte*, III (1891), 458.

<sup>8</sup> D. GNOLI in *Nuova Antologia* 1914; G. GIOVANNONI: *Saggi sull' Architettura del Rinascimento*, 2. ed. 1935, 84. — Possibly the extension of *Pal. di Venezia*, planned in 1468 by Paul II, aimed at "un grande quadrilatero turrato"; already then the mediæval Torre della Biscia, rebuilt after 1455, existed as a flank-tower at the oldest wing of the palace facing the present Piazza di Venezia (TOMEI: *L'Architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, 1942, 64, 77). — Also the corner-risaltos on *Pal. del Senatore al Campidoglio* originally derived from side-towers.

appear as risaltos built with coupled pilasters at each story. Much the greater number of the towers have no independent existence; they seem to be enclosed in the corners of the palaces. Here the organic connection of the risalto with the corner-tower is clearly seen.

These first steps in the High Renaissance of Roman architecture towards the formation of risaltos, brought about by the corner-towers, were stopped by the Baroque. In the homogeneous style of this palace-architecture the tower-motif was out of place. But the tendency towards the forming of risaltos continued, waiting for a possibility to be realized. The existence of the "crypto-risalto" will be treated below (§§ 3—4).

The symmetrically placed couple of low towers were, however, a theme that was only reluctantly abandoned. It was particularly well suited for the country house architecture. We may assume that an original form of the purely architectural belvedere from the very first developed as a lighter, less pretentious, variant of the duplicated tower. The earliest example, known to us, of two symmetric, typical belvederes which function as outer accents on the roof of a monumental building is to be found in the *Villa Imperiale* at Pesaro (c. 1520)<sup>9</sup>.

It is instructive to compare Pal. Sora with the main façade of *Pal. (Archiginnasio) della Sapienza* (1575 ff.) (Pl. 3). In the latter monument the reaction of the Early Baroque against the High Renaissance is particularly conspicuous as the similarity in theme between the façades of the two buildings is so striking. The genuine corner-risalto (in Pal. Sora) has been reduced to a "pseudo-risalto" (vertical isolation of an outer window by rusticated pilasters) just as the "genuine" free tower formation at top has been transposed into a light open belvedere (a roof-loggia). And yet the motif of the "corner-tower" is still distinctly felt as a source of inspiration to Pal. delle Sapienza's corner section with belvedere. The difference between the two corner solutions does not lie in the composition of the elements, but depends only on the different articulation<sup>10</sup>. — See § 9 for the "double-belvedere" proper.

<sup>9</sup> B. PATZAK: Die Villa Imperiale bei Pesaro, 95—95, Figs. 61—62.

<sup>10</sup> The exterior parts (incl. of the pseudo-risaltos) on La Sapienza's main façade correspond to the interior stairs (LETAROUILLY: Les Édifices de Rome moderne, I, 1860, Pl. 70).

## § 2. The Genuine Risalto.

Apart from the numerically few façades with genuine risaltos thematically motivated by a harmony with or through a direct derivation from the corner-towers it is in our opinion possible to point at few examples only from the said period of Roman palaces where genuine risaltos are found. The oldest one is *Pal. Salviati alla Lungara* (Pl. 12). According to an inscription on an engraving in Ferrerio<sup>11</sup> it was erected in 1557 by Annibale Lippi for Cardinal Giovanni Salviati. As the Medicean papal coat of arms is seen at the top of the portal axis the building can, however, presumably not have been finished till the pontificate of Pius IV Medici (1559—65). The palace has a central risalto of three axes and side-risaltos of each one axis (the scheme of the façade: “1” — 2 — “3” — 2 — “1”). Not only the risaltos, but further the façade-sections between them are enclosed in powerful, rusticated pilaster-strips; also the windows of the lower stories have rusticated frames.

Lippi was a Florentine; his rustication manner is Tuscan<sup>12</sup>. But it will be impossible to find a façade which may have served as model for the risalto façade of *Pal. Salviati* in contemporary or earlier Florentine palace architecture. It lies near to assume that Lippi is influenced by Galeazzo Alessi's Genoese style; *Villa Cambiaso* in Albaro (1548) has pronounced side-risaltos<sup>13</sup>. The main portal of *Villa Medici* in Rome after Lippi's design is in Alessi's manner<sup>14</sup>; and the main vestibule in *Pal. di Spagna* that by Gurlitt has been attributed to Lippi<sup>15</sup>, reminds one of Genoese palace vestibules.

However, the decisive question in this connection is not, “from where did Lippi borrow his risalto scheme?” but “how did he find courage to use it?” *Pal. Salviati's* façade was indeed remarkable at that time in Rome. There is scarcely any doubt that by considering the situation of the palace we may find an answer to the latter question. As appears from Tempesta's view of Rome, 1593, the *Lungara* between *Porta Sto. Spirito* and

<sup>11</sup> *Palazzi di Roma dei più celebri Architetti* (s. a.).

<sup>12</sup> Venturi, XI, 2, 669.

<sup>13</sup> G. KÜHN in *Jahrb. für Kunstwiss.* 1929, 155 f.

<sup>14</sup> WÖLFFLIN, *op. cit.*, 142.

<sup>15</sup> *Gesch. des Barockstiles in Italien* (1887), 96.



Porta Settimiana was an extremely sparsely built district. Apart from Pal. Riario (later Corsini) and Villa Farnesina only insignificant small houses alternated with gardens and plots. The sites between Pal. Salviati and the Tiber were thus unbuilt. The palace has in other words had a location suitable for a *villa suburbana*. Villa Farnesina had indeed that character. The whole distance between the Tiber and Monte Gianicolo, the slopes of which were covered by gardens, was a rural suburb. The restrictions that confined all building of palaces within the actual town-area, were not in force here. The house of an aristocrat, built in this place, might assume the formal rights of a villa with regard to a differentiated plastic execution and accordingly make use of risaltos.

The second example of a Roman building with genuine risalto is *Collegio Romano* erected after designs made by the architect of the Jesuit Order, Giuseppe Valeriano (*not* by Ammanati)<sup>16</sup>. The building has a wide, not particularly projecting, but distinctly marked, central risalto and is without side-risaltos. Collegio Romano is certainly situated in the most densely built part of Rome. It is, however, possible to point at factors that have made the risalto acceptable also in the case of this building. In contrast to most other Roman palaces Collegio Romano faces a place (Piazza del Collegio Romano) the width of which surpasses that of the façade and consequently allows the building to show to full advantage. The said Piazza functions as a kind of fore-court to the building of the Collegio and is completely dominated by the latter. It is of less importance that the depth of the piazza is relatively small in consideration of the fact that its volume permits a complete visual conception of the front of the building. There is another significant factor. Just in the centre of the longitudinal side of the place a street opens thus leading at right angles to the middle axis of the Collegio. A risalto enclosing the axis must accordingly be considered particularly well motivated: It acts as *fond* for an axial prospect of no small depth (cf. Tempesta). It must thus be maintained that the situation of Collegio Romano in the town body offered extraordinary possibilities for a plastic accentuation of its front by a central risalto.

<sup>16</sup> On Valeriano see Zeitschr. f. Kunstgesch. 1933, 299; Carlo Bricarelli i Civiltà Cattolica, 1932, Aug., 251—264.

The fact that the Piazza at any rate was regulated in connection with the erection of the building makes the matter even more evident.

When considering the design of Collegio Romano it must further be borne in mind that this building was not a *palazzo* of the usual description, in fact not at all the residence of a patrician. Strictly speaking it lies quite outside the genre of the ordinary palaces. As the main quarters of the Jesuit Order the College received the rank of a public building. It was built under the supervision of the General of the Order for the Apostolic Chair. The centenary of the Order, in 1639, was celebrated in this College<sup>17</sup>. From a purely formal point of view the building must be considered as a University, the *alma mater* of the counter-reformation. Nothing could be more natural than building it *in sito principalissimo della Città*<sup>18</sup> and to draw all the consequences thereof in the composition of the façade. Pal. Salviati had its nearest relations in the villa architecture. Collegio Romano ought in point of principle to be classed with *Pal. del Senatore* in Campidoglio (erected in 1592, partially after Michelangelo's plan from 1536), the most monumental public profane building in Rome — and as such furnished with risaltos.

About Collegio Romano's high "attica" over the central risalto, see § 11.

### § 3. The Pseudo-Risalto.

In some cases a few axially determined sections of a façade are vertically encased by rusticated pilasters. As they are thus bounded and thereby emphasized they come to appear as drafts for risaltos. They do not protrude in the plane beyond the other façade sections, but we feel that they are predestined to do so. On the side façade of *Archiginnasio della Sapienza* towards Via Canestrari the two outer windows appear as such "pseudo-risaltos" (Pl. 5), in this case thematically based on their interdependence on end-towers (side-belvederes) facing Piazza S. Eustachio<sup>19</sup>. Particularly instructive is the treatment of the main

<sup>17</sup> HIPPOLYTE HÉLYOT: *Ausführl. Gesch. aller geistl. und weltlichen Kloster- und Ritterorden*, VIII (1756), 564.

<sup>18</sup> DE ROSSI: *Descrizione di Roma moderna*, II (1738), 532.

<sup>19</sup> GIUSEPPE VASI: *Delle Magnificenze di Roma* (1747 ff.), IX, Pl. 161.

façade of *Palazzo della Famiglia Borghese* (Pl. 6) situated opposite the long broken façade of Pal. Dezza-Borghese, as the division follows the scheme: “3”—7—“3”,—the side-sections emphasized by rusticated pilaster-strips as sketched side-risaltos<sup>20</sup>. It is suggestive that just this façade works with masked risalto effects as it faces an open, regular square which was—and still is—finished towards Via Condotti with borns and chains. It is likewise characteristic that the building which served as residence for the *famiglia* (i. e. domestics and clients) of the princely Borghese-family indeed dares to distinguish itself spatially, but nevertheless relapses into a plastic accentuation of a secondary nature in relation to the opposite façade of the real Pal. Borghese. The risalto motif is at a preliminary stage, a little more backward in development than in Pal. Borghese; the façade of the house of the “famiglia” must be subordinate to its powerful neighbour, the residence of the prince himself.

In principle *Pal. Del Bufalo* (Ferraioli) on Piazza Colonna<sup>21</sup> (Pl. 7) composed in a quite corresponding manner: “2”—7—“2” due to a situation analogous with that of Pal. della Famiglia Borghese, as also the former was placed opposite a monumental palace, in this case Pal. Aldobrandini-Chigi, and in the same way formed one of the sidewalls in a regularized square. The striking analogy between the situation of the two buildings in the town picture and function at the place has its exact counterpart in their mutually identical solution of the “pseudo-risalto”-problem—a fine example of the importance of the situation for the morphological process of the style.

WÖLFFLIN seems to reckon with genuine risaltos in *Pal. Dezza-Borghese*<sup>22</sup>. In our view incorrectly. By a risalto is understood a projection of the wall carried up through the full height of the façade in question. That is not the case here. The lowest story and the mezzanine are rusticated. The two outer axes of the façade are treated in a corresponding way also in

<sup>20</sup> G.-B. FALDA: Nuovi Disegni delle Architetture e Piante di Palazzi di Roma, II, Pl. 25; DE ROSSI: Nuovo Teatro delle Fabriche et Edificii in Prospettiva di Roma moderna (1665 ff.), IV, Pl. 12. — As architect is mentioned Ant. de Battistis.

<sup>21</sup> FALDA: Nuovi Disegni, II, Pl. 47. — Architect: Francesco Peperelli.

<sup>22</sup> Op. cit., 129, built 1590 for Cardinal Dezza (NINA CAFLISCH: Carlo Maderno, 1934, 72) by Martino Longhi the elder. The main block is seen erected in Tempesta's plan, 1593.

the upper stories. But a part of a motif that is *common* for the lower story and mezzanine of the *whole* façade cannot at the same time be described as something *special*, an *additamentum*, applying to the outer axes alone and give the latter an independent existence. Even in the case that the rustication was reserved for the said sections of the façade it would nevertheless be extremely doubtful whether the latter for this reason might be considered as risaltos. The rustication is added as an extra, rather thin, layer; the process is purely additive. The rustication in reality does not correspond to a projection of a connected façade-line due to an expansion from within the very wall. The outer sections in question have become *different* in the decoration of the surface, but *no more than that*; within their vertical boundary-lines they lack structive independence in relation to the relief of the whole façade. Two factors are determining: 1) the rusticated vertical façade-bands are coherent with the horizontally constructed lower parts; 2) the rustication of the said vertical bands have involved no breaking of the cornices.

We must then look at the discussed rusticated sections as partial strengthenings of the main front in direction of the corners in a natural connection with the treatment of the walls in the basic stories; they are accordingly features in a pilaster-strip-division that as a coarse net circumscribes the main façade.

In conformity with this view we cannot either consider the rusticated end sections of the Pal. Corsini<sup>23</sup> (Pl. 4) as genuine risaltos. Only at the moment when there is a breaking of the string-course and the main cornice as an unmistakable symptom of projections beyond the basic surface of the façade the diagnosis "risalto" is acceptable. But it should be obvious that rusticated façade-sections naturally must be considered as direct forerunners of the genuine risalto. It must further be stated that the middle section of the façade of Pal. Corsini is marked by two rusticated pilaster-strips of the same description as those which encase the rusticated end-sections.

<sup>23</sup> Rione del Ponte, Piazza Fiammetta; cf. § 8.

#### § 4. Rhythmical Composition of the Façade.

Already WÖLFFLIN<sup>24</sup> has drawn attention to the fact that a rhythmic arrangement of windows is to be found in some early Roman Baroque palace-façades—a detaching of the outer windows and (or) a contraction of the middle ones. A main example is the façade on the Corso of *Pal. Aldobrandini-Chigi* (about 1593—1605)<sup>25</sup> where the windows are arranged according to the scheme: 1—1—4—1—4—1—1 (Pl. 8). As the intervals between the windows in the two 4-groups are shortest, the contrast between the two serene outer sections and the quick rhythm in the two closely set groups towards the middle window becomes very remarkable. BRINCKMANN<sup>26</sup> gives an excellent interpretation of this composition: “Man spürt, dass dahinter im Baukörper Dinge vorgehen, die auch die Fassade in Aufregung versetzen”. Also on the façade of *Pal. Serlupi* (1585)<sup>27</sup> the windows are drawn closer together towards the centre. This movement in the façade with a marked concentration of the windows no doubt indicates latent powers in the building which wait only for the plastic release of a centre-risalto (Pl. 9). In the contemporary Roman church façade we know, of course, that several analogies are to be found to this contraction of the windows<sup>28</sup>.

A few palace-façades, finally, show a distension of the outer windows, while the intermediate row of windows between them has constant intervals—thus *Pal. d'Este-Marescotti* (c. 1590)<sup>29</sup> whose portal is shifted in relation to the centre-axis. In this case it is therefore scarcely possible to work with the conception of the 6-window middle section as a wide “crypto-risalto” (a centre-risalto on an “embryological stage”), one is rather tempted to consider the isolated outer windows as predestined in time to develop plastically into narrow side-risaltos (cf. La Sapienza) (Pl. 5).

Naturally we need not at all consider the use of detached

<sup>24</sup> Op. cit., 129—130.

<sup>25</sup> History and dating: ARSLAN in *Bolletino d'Arte* 1926—27, 524; CAFLISCH: *Maderno*, 67—70.

<sup>26</sup> *Bauk. des 17. u. 18. Jahrh.s in den roman. Ländern* (1919), 35.

<sup>27</sup> ARSLAN in *Boll. d'Arte* 1926—27, 522 ff.

<sup>28</sup> WÖLFFLIN, 64, 100 ff.

<sup>29</sup> ARSLAN (op. cit., 518 ff.) considers the palace as erected after 1585; as it is to be seen in Tempesta's prospectus it must have been built before 1593. Cf. T. H. FOKKER: *Roman Baroque Art. The History of a Style* (1938), 81. Venturi, XI, 2, 843, denies that this palace is by G. Della Porta.

outer windows as a compositional principle aiming in the first line at the forming of risaltos. It may generally be meant to counteract the monotonous distribution according to the rhythm: 1 — 1 — 1 — . . . . It would at any rate be most natural to apply this viewpoint also when Rome's simpler *casa*-architecture is to be examined—a field which in our experience has not hitherto been made the subject of a methodical study of style; no work within this field is known to me. On going through the pictorial material at our disposal it seems, however, possible to show so many examples of the use of an elementary rhythmical distribution of windows of simpler house façades that it is to be supposed that this practice has been relatively much used in Roman Baroque. As none of the said monuments, however, could be exactly dated it will for some time to come remain impractical to refer this method of composition within civic architecture to the period of the Early Baroque. The possibility must then for the present be considered likely that the said practice derives from the monumental palaces mentioned, and thus has been accepted after c. 1600 only. But indeed the presumably relatively quick spread of the said compositional schemes in building generally shows that it has been symptomatic to a higher degree of the Early Baroque's "Formwille" than their rare appearance, previously noted, actually might entitle us to assume.

One of the said façade types, however, occupies an absolutely exceptional position: the rhythmic distribution of the windows after the scheme: 2 — 2 — 2 — . . . It has a very long tradition behind it at Rome. Tomei has proved the frequent appearance of this scheme during the Quattrocento and determined the characteristic type of the building<sup>30</sup> (Pl. 15 *b*). A longitudinal house with the windows coupled together, 2 and 2, has arisen by the coordination of several narrow houses; each of the said unities has two windows shifted each to its side of the façade. As the said unities are coordinated the outer window of each house is coupled to its neighbour and the rhythm 2 — 2 — 2 — thus appears in the total distribution of windows. It is in other words a question of *case in serie*. As each "house" in the unity has its own door and its own wider *bottega*, these apertures share the measured rhythm.

Tomei mentions that this type of Roman terrace-houses

<sup>30</sup> Op. cit., 266—267; the same in "Palladio", II, 1938, 83 ff., Figs. 191—197.

developed in the second half of the fifteenth century<sup>31</sup>. Apparently he has not noticed that it is a direct continuation of a characteristic type of houses from ancient Rome, the existence of which was pointed out by BOËTHIUS and LUGLI. The causal connection is perfectly evident. Houses still retained from mediæval times connect Antiquity with the Quattrocento: "Particularly common in the detached narrow house is the fact that the upper departments have two windows placed at the outer edges in the façade to the street. By coupling together two such houses the ground floor compartment generally obtains two *tabernae* (= *botteghe*). In the upper compartments arises a particularly characteristic distribution of the windows, as two and two windows are carried close together at the gap between the two houses coupled together."<sup>32</sup> This typical distribution has been shown in the house from the Imperial time, the façade of which is built into Aurelian's wall between Porta Prænestina and Porta Tiburtina.

Thanks to the mutually independent investigations by BOËTHIUS, LUGLI and TOMEI we may, by a combination of their results, follow the history of the characteristic type of façade from Imperial Rome up to the time about 1500<sup>33</sup>.

As already hinted it, however, lives on through the Renaissance and into the Baroque. This theme has up to now not been treated in literature. We shall illustrate the subject by mentioning some examples. A long house in Piazza del Popolo was divided into eight regular double windows and doors and thus closely corresponded to the primary type of terrace-houses<sup>34</sup> (Pl. 11 *a*; cf. Pl. 11 *b*). It is now interesting to see how the type was worked into the Roman Baroque palace and adjusts itself to the norms of the latter. *Pal. della Famiglia Ludovisi*<sup>35</sup> (Pl. 18) is instructive to study. The

<sup>31</sup> Op. cit., 265.

<sup>32</sup> Den romerska Storstadens Hyreshusarkitektur och dess bebyggelse-geografiska Sammanhang (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift, L, 1944, 4), 19—21, Figs. 5—6. Cf. G. LUGLI in Rendiconti della Pont. Accad. d. Archeologia, XIII, 1937, 73 sq.

<sup>33</sup> On the same type of house in Mediaeval Florence see Walter Paatz in Röm. Jahrb. für Kunstgesch., III, 1939, 129—140.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. f. i. a convent (demolished) opposite S. Maria Maggiore (Architettura minore i Italia. Roma II, Pl. 76).

<sup>35</sup> Later "Residenza di Mgr. Viceregente". Was (until 1838, cf. FOKKER, 92) lying as a building in the background on Piazza Colonna; it thus had a monumental situation even though the rather plain palace was subordinate to Pal. Aldobrandini-Chigi and Pal. Del Bufalo-Ferraioli (cf. § 3). EGGER: Röm. Veduten, II (1931), Pl. 77 (Lieven Cruyl); VASI, II, Pl. 22.



lowest story is dissolved into *botteghe* alternating with frontdoors. The distant background is to be found in the *tabernae* of antiquity. Also as far as regards the distribution of windows (2 — 2 . . .) both in the whole stories and in the mezzanine, the continuity from the antique type appears clearly. But we notice that the façade of the palace has a stressed mid-axis: over the portal there is a group of three windows. This concession to Baroque ways of feeling signifies that the building has forgotten, or hidden, its origin as a plurality of coordinated unities, as a series of individually independent “houses” connected only by a purely additive process, and consequently quite foreign to any inclination towards a “dynamic” effect in the composition of the windows. In conformity with this characteristic change of the basic scheme the façade has further to each side been finished by a single, not a double, window. Thus a Baroque tendency towards a rhythmic centralization of the windows has crept into the façade. Traditional and new viewpoints are blended.

A regular distribution of coupled windows, however, also appears in Baroque secular buildings which completely lack the connection with the *tabernae*-house which still existed in Pal. della Famiglia Ludovisi. We think of a monumental building like *Pal. della Sapienza*, the side-façades of which (Pl. 5) show the said motifs in pure execution (apart from the extreme “pseudo-risalto” and adjoining windows, thematically motivated by their connection with the corner-towers of the main façade). The mid-axis is in this case not even emphasized by three windows, but only by a slight distension of two coupled windows. Giacomo Della Porta, Pal. della Sapienza’s architect, has further made use of the old Roman two-window-motif in the façade of *Villa Aldobrandini* at Frascati. WÖLFFLIN finds that an attempt has in this case been made at allowing rustic conditions to find expression “in einer gewissen Willkür . . . die zu den mürrischen Formen am allerwenigsten passt”<sup>36</sup>. We are inclined to look at the façade in another way and prefer to give our attention to Della Porta’s artistically very conscious employment of a traditional motif. If we look at each of the side-sections of the façade as a whole (reckoned from the pilaster-strips of the central part which are carried all through) the four window-axes are seen to

<sup>36</sup> Op. cit. 162—63, Fig. 103.



be drawn together by couples. It is now interesting to observe that while the architect tries to introduce vertical bands into this façade-section parallel to those of the central section, he places them as vertical *cæsuras* between the windows which have been drawn together. Naturally it is also his aim hereby to isolate an outer window as a "pseudo-risalto" (cf. Pal. della Sapienza), but the placing of the interior vertical band is striking. It cannot be due to chance, still less the result of arbitrariness that these two vertical lines just in this place are drawn where the borderlines for a *casa in serie* normally is to be found. It looks as if Della Porta in the handling of his pilaster-strips has been thinking of the traditional Roman border lines. The central 2-window sections of the flanks of Villa Aldobrandini's front look as if they were projections of the façades of the ancient house type.

A more completely documented account of the further spread of this theme within Roman Baroque lies outside the frames of the present treatise. It is sufficient in this place to draw attention to the existence of the problem and point at the importance the motif discussed presumably must have had for the façade-compositions of the Early Baroque. Many things seem to indicate that the traditional birythmical division—which measured by the ideals of the classical Renaissance indeed must be described as extraordinary—quite well may have contributed towards an easier rhythm in the façade, not least by the fact that in principle it works with a detachment of the windows with strong contrasts between closed and open sections.

When the same number of outer windows are drawn together in groups on each side of the façade, while the intermediate windows are distributed at relatively large intervals, a symmetric composition appears (scheme: 3 — 1 — 1 — 1 . . . — 3) which seems to imply a tendency towards side-risaltos, however distant the realization of such a thing may be in civic building; an emphasizing of the side is at any rate indisputable; the close-set windows attract one's attention. We have a fine example in the *casa professa* at St. Ignazio<sup>37</sup> (Pl. 10). The existence of buildings the façades of which have window groups at the extreme side only (scheme: 3 — 0 — 3)<sup>38</sup>, confirms what has been said. In this

<sup>37</sup> Adjoins Collegio Romano as a sidewing.

<sup>38</sup> Trinitarian convent at S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (Nuovo Teatro, III, Pl. 12).

as in other styles of profane architecture (i. e. all architecture apart from the ecclesiastical in the proper sense) the side-risaltos may be taken to represent an earlier stage than the centre-risalto; normally the corner seems disposed for an accentuation where it is free (cf. "Tower and Belvedere", § 1). But as far as regards the examples just mentioned it must naturally not be overlooked that the half civic, half sacral buildings (monasteries, seminaries, colleges, canonicates, etc.) that often adjoin a church façade on one side generally purposely are kept relatively neutral to rest subordinate to the front of the church, and that their architects frequently will find it æsthetically right actually to add a certain accent to them as side façades to avoid a competitive effect with the indisputable accentuation of the central axis of the church façade. If such ecclesiastical houses join by pairs in symmetry with a front of a church as flanks in the transverse axis, their façades will often tend towards emphasizing the sides.

## II

### § 5. The Non-Architectural Belvedere.

The application of roof-galleries was extremely wide-spread in the Rome of the Late Renaissance and Baroque. Only a glance at Tempesta's very detailed bird's eye view from 1593 will convince the spectator of this fact. These small buildings, to be counted by the hundred, spring up everywhere. Together they have, so to speak, formed a town by themselves above the town proper<sup>39</sup>. Also in the town of the belvederes the types vary greatly, even though naturally architectural possibilities are greatly limited by the nature of the genre. Large belvederes exist, the aristocrats within the genre, which as palaces assert themselves strongly not only in the town over the roofs, but also as seen from the streets and squares. Several of them are not unimportant accents in the Roman town picture proper, as it unfolds in prospects from the most important views. This fact thus applies to the two large belvederes of Pal.

<sup>39</sup> An artist like ABEL BONNARD has fixed on this Rome of the belvederes: "une autre ville ... variée comme une campagne" (Capitales du Monde, Rome (1931), 38—39).

del Quirinale (Pl. 1) and the end-belvederes of Pal. Borghese towards Ripetta<sup>40</sup>. The greatest number of roof-loggias are—in similarity with civic houses—modest in size and unostentatious of exterior. Their importance from a purely architectural point of view lies only in a harmony with the buildings that bear them.

Much the greater part of the Roman belvederes have lacked an architectural elaboration and, therefore, they have been unable to contribute towards an artistic articulation of the buildings in question. The primary aims of the belvedere in a Roman *casa* have been, 1) to supply a good view and, 2) to offer the inhabitants a place from where they might get a breath of fresh air. A deep desire in the Romans to get out of the narrow, stuffy streets underlies the building of the many belvederes. It is obvious that they, moreover, have served as suitable work-rooms for the women of the houses. The poorer a house was situated from a social point of view the more the belvedere must be supposed to have fulfilled its mission as a practical factor. In the palace it may be a “pavilion”—or—if you prefer to call it so, a “bower”; in the ordinary civic house it forms the usual living room and workshop in summer-time.

In its simplest form the belvedere is only a rectangular platform built on the roof, a terrace. Often it is furnished with vertical beams at the corners, sometimes connected by horizontal beams. This simple frame may be covered with textiles and serve as shelter against the sun or be used for drying clothes. A modest roof-garden is frequently arranged; thin sticks fastened to the top-beams form espaliers; pots and jars with plants are put up. Sometimes a flower-pot is placed at each corner in stead of beams, and a modest architectural-decorative effect of the roof terrace is attained<sup>41</sup>.

<sup>40</sup> Nuovo Teatro, III, Pl. 25; EGGER, II, Pl. 78; VASI, VII, Pl. 139. Several of CRUYL'S views are drawn from belvederes (for instance EGGER, II, Pls. 78, 99). Juvara has left a drawing of Rome (“veduta delle sua casa”) showing the view from his balcony or loggia with a large closed belvedere on a neighbouring house (reprod. in AUG. TELLUCCINI: L'Arte dell' Architetto Fil. Juvara in Piemonte, 1926, 7).

<sup>41</sup> When BORROMINI erected the monastery at S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane with the library in the uppermost story he let the latter be flanked by two loggias “in order that the students might enjoy the wide view and also, if they wanted to do so, work in open air, alternately in the sun and in the shade” (EBERHARD HEMPEL: Francesco Borromini, 1924, 35, cf. also p. 79). About the use of roof-loggias for ‘sun-bathing’ (bleaching of hair) at Venezia during the sixteenth century

Not until the belvedere becomes a house, a small covered arcade-building of bricks, it has a possibility of serving not only as a dwelling, but also an architectural-structive function. But naturally this does not imply that this function leads to a well calculated æsthetic effect. The latter would probably be due *partly* to the character of the building bearing the belvedere, *partly* to its situation (as we leave out of consideration any wishes of the proprietor's and the artistic ability of the architect). If the simple town house is quite inartistically formed without any architectural values, an attempt at a plastic accentuation of it by means of a belvedere will *eo ipso* be to no purpose (Pl. 13). The same applies to more stately houses placed in such relations to their surroundings that nothing in their situation enforces, or just makes possible, the artistically active emphasizing of a plastic nature which the belvedere may add—whether this emphasis aims at creating a central-axial composition or a willed dissonant effect.

However, even the average Roman town house of a reasonable size during the period dealt with here very often possessed such good proportions and such a firm cubic effect that it in itself might very well support a well-balanced belvedere on the ridge of its roof, and possibly draw advantage from it. When, nevertheless, the belvedere relatively rarely seems to have been employed as an artistic element in Roman house-building of a certain quality (apart from the category of the palaces) the reason is obvious. As the very name *belvedere* indicates, its placing on the roof of the house on account of the special possibilities of obtaining a free view is the *raison d'être* of this very construction. The house in the street has not itself chosen the said possibilities, it must put up with them and try to exploit them in the best way possible. If such a house has an unfortunate, narrow situation,

curious information is to be found in: *Les Femmes blondes selon les Peintres de l'École de Venise, par deux Vénitiens, 1865, 78—79.* Simple roof-loggias are not rarely rendered in Tuscan trecento- and quattrocento-paintings (exempl.: Pupil of Giotto: Entry of Saint Francis in Assisi (the uppermost story > belvedere in the side-tower), reproduced in C. VITZTHUM & W. F. VOLBACH: *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters in Italien, 1924, Fig. 214;* AMBROGIO LORENZETTI: *Fresco in Pal. Pubbico at Siena (ibid., Pl. XVII); Fra ANGELICO: The birth of Saint John the Baptist, San Marco (F. SCHOTTMÜLLER: Fra Angelico, 2. ed. 1924, Pl. 23; cf. B. PATZAK: Die Renaiss.- und Barockvilla in Italien, II (1913), 104, Pls. XLIII, XLVI).*

and moreover, if it is without any "monumental" aspirations, the belvedere will as a rule be erected only on account of the possibilities it may possess for gaining a *veduta*, even though it involves an architecturally absurd, or directly destructive, effect as regards the building as a whole<sup>42</sup>.

Only when the Roman town house fulfils two conditions: 1) an artistically calculated conception of the ensemble, however simple it may be, 2) a situation in the town-body of such a nature that the existing possibilities of a view do not counteract—but make possible or even form the condition for fitting the belvedere into the building as an artistic whole, then the belvedere may assert itself as a compositional element of æsthetic importance within Roman Baroque architecture.

### § 6. The Corner Belvedere.

As already mentioned (§ 1) a belvedere placed isolated over the corner of a building may be supposed to derive from a corner-tower; but its form and special function is decided by another, likewise mediæval, building-factor, namely the loggia with a vista (*lovium*). The palace with side- or corner-towers is to be found in most of the mediæval towns of Italy, but the type continued to exist in Rome longer than in any other place, retaining its popularity all through the whole of the fifteenth century. The reason for this may presumably partly be found in the active conservatism which was also felt in other artistic fields in Rome, partly it may be traced back to a special building convention prevailing among the noble families and taken over by the cardinals. Albertini establishes the fact that *unaquaqueque enim domus cardinalium turres habet*<sup>43</sup>. The retention of the tower-motif in Rome must also be seen in connection with the fact that the palaces in this city through the chief part of the fifteenth century had no cortiles (as in Firenze, where the tower was abandoned

<sup>42</sup> NUOVO Teatro, II, Pls. 3, 4, 23, and other places; EGGER, II, Pls. 62, 71, 95; VASI, II, Pls. 23, 25, 29, 30; VI, Pls. 105, 109, 112, 120; X, Pl. 167, etc.; numerous examples in PIRANESI's *Vedute di Roma*.

<sup>43</sup> TOMEI, 51; the following brief survey of Roman tower palaces is based on TOMEI's investigations. See also EMMA AMADEI: *Roma turrata* (1943), *pass.*

much earlier), but were simple rectangular blocks in the street-line with a single row of rooms in each story only. An addition of a flank-tower was a natural process easily carried through.

By such an addition of the two factors, house and tower, the latter might be the original factor, the tower (the tower-house) supplemented on one side by a rectangular palace (for instance *Pal. di San Marco* (Venezia), begun in 1455). The palace may also be supplemented by a flank-tower (for instance the palace of Nicolaus V in the *Vatican* (1447 ff.) increased by Torre Borgia). Finally house and tower may be built under one, the latter entering as a carefully considered compositional factor in the entity; the best examples of this are *Pal. Capranica* (completed in 1451) (Pl. 14) and *Pal. Santacroce* (shortly before 1500); in both cases the flank-tower formed part of a street-corner.

We are now at the stage when the flank-tower intercrosses with *lovium* and develops into the corner-belvedere. The evolution which takes place during the second half of the fifteenth century is completed in several ways. In all cases two factors are decisive: 1) an increasing tendency towards abandoning fortification purposes, 2) a desire determined by the situation of the building in question to include prospects in several directions. We note some stages and transition-forms.

An extant flank-tower may lose its character as a tower when the palace-block connected with it is heightened. This was what happened in the case of *Pal. Capranica*; the tower originally rose at the height of two stories, the top-story of which had open arcades above the roof-line of the palace; but through a later addition to the palace by one story the arcade-story of the tower acquired a pronounced belvedere-character<sup>44</sup>; the loggia was left isolated as a reliquary. *Vice versa* a corner-tower may lose its character by, a) being reduced in height and, b) possibly simultaneously having its arcades broken through in what became its new top-story (after the reduction). A good example is *Torre degli Orsini* in Piazza Navona (Domitian's stadium) belonging to Pal. Orsini of the Middle Ages, standing at the corner of the square where since 1791—92 Pal. Braschi rises<sup>45</sup>. Rebuilt in the Renaissance (c. 1516) the uppermost free story of this tower received

<sup>44</sup> TOMEI, 62; the elevation is not dated.

<sup>45</sup> LÉON HOMO: Rome médiévale (1934), 131.

the pure shape of a belvedere, as among other things appears from an engraving by ISRAËL SILVESTRE<sup>46</sup>, as well as the engraving reproduced here by FALDA (Pl. 16). The original mediæval *Pal. Ornano* was of a similar character and situation standing as it was on the corner of Piazza Navona and Via S. Agnese (Via Tor' Millina). During the Late Renaissance it appears in a regularized form and cut down to a rectangular belvedere dissolved in arcades and furnished with a terrace-roof<sup>47</sup>. The military flank-tower of the feudal palace was thus civilianized as a consequence of the completely altered social conditions and naturally transformed into a loggia with a view due to the fact that its position at the opening of a narrow street into a monumentally large square procures for it a new and expedient function.

The eldest independently formed examples of corner-belvederes found in Rome—without direct relation to any already existing corner-tower—would probably derive from the second half of the fifteenth century. In *Pal. Della Rovere*, Piazza dei S. S. Apostoli, erected 1474—80<sup>48</sup>, a low corner-construction is erected above the roof-line with the massive and compressed proportions of a severely reduced tower, but which, nevertheless, must be described as a rudimentary belvedere cast in one with the cube of the palace; it lacks arcades, but its two windows facing the square are relatively very large and run up the full height of the story (Pl. 15*a*). Still purer in type are the belvederes on a group of civic houses; in the latter case where feudal traditions did not exist it was easier for the ancient *lovium*-motif to disengage itself and become transposed into a detached, architecturally executed, roof-loggia, the prototype of the belvedere. At the moment that a tall and narrow house standing on the corner of a street appeared with an upper story completely dissolved into arcades it represented a natural transition to the steep civic house with a large corner-belvedere (examples: Casa Bonadies opposite Ponte S. Angelo; a house in Via del Governo Vecchio on the corner of Vicolo Savelli)<sup>49</sup>. From about the year 1500, at any rate, the corner-belvedere was acknowledged as a usable

<sup>46</sup> H. SCHÜCK: Rom, II (1923), Fig. 22; "Palladio", III, 1939, 174.

<sup>47</sup> D. FREY: Beiträge zur Gesch. d. röm. Barockarch. (Wiener Jahrb. f. Kunstgesch., III, 1924) offprint pp. 44—54, 54; Figs. 19—21.

<sup>48</sup> TOMEI in Rivista d'Arte VI, 1937, 131 ff.

<sup>49</sup> TOMEI: L'Architettura del Quattrocento, 283, Figs. 183—186, cf. Fig. 201.



element in the Roman profane architecture. Originating as it did in old local building customs this type of belvedere spread enormously in the following centuries, but it remained true to its origin; in by far the greatest number of cases it exclusively served the claims of practical life, not the laws of art (cf. § 5). It survived through the Renaissance, the Baroque, and the Rococo, indeed Classicism even, and it is still a thriving feature as any wanderer about Rome may satisfy himself. Yet—nothing shows more distinctly how firmly rooted an element the belvedere had grown to be than the fact that it also allowed itself to be rather extensively employed in strictly architectural compositions, and that changing styles made an easy use of it. As a consequence of its constitutionally asymmetrical position on a building the isolated corner-belvedere had no possibility of being tolerated, still less of becoming artistically active in the palaces of the High Renaissance proper. But the Baroque, particularly in its early period, offered it other and richer fields of development.

To begin with we shall draw attention to some palace-belvederes from the latter period the building of which over a corner undoubtedly is dictated only by the possibility of affording a good view. When the very *Pal. della Cancelleria* is furnished with a small belvedere over the north-eastern corner a reason for it is surely not to be sought in the structure of the building, but particularly in the orientation of the said corner. The adjoining section of the façade, looking like a light risalto, indeed corresponds to a projected tower<sup>50</sup>; but it may be considered decisive that this corner of the palace faces straight towards Piazza Navona, the largest monumental place in the district and its mercantile as well as its fashionable centre<sup>51</sup>. The belvedere itself was further much too insignificant in any way to attract attention on the enormous body of the building as a possible corner accentuation—quite apart from the fact that it lacks any plausible motivation in this case; it is neither to be found in the form or the situation of the palace in the street.

<sup>50</sup> Cf. the plan in Letarouilly.

<sup>51</sup> L. VON PASTOR: *Die Stadt Rom zu Ende der Renaiss.* (1925), 41; B. VON TÖRNE: *Från Domitianus til Gustav III: Ett romersk Kejserstadions öden genom tiderna* (1935), 106 ff., 118 ff.; FR. CANCELLIERI: *Il Mercato di Piazza Navona* (1811).



That the Cancelleria-belvedere was to secure a view towards Piazza Navona is confirmed by an analogy, namely the belvedere on *Pal. Altemps* whose distance from the place north of the latter corresponds to that of the Cancelleria to the south. The Altemps-belvedere, one of the most stately from that period,  $1 \times 2$  arcade windows of considerable measures with pilaster-divided walls and a low tent roof adorned with an obelisk at each corner (Pl. 17) was erected between 1569 and 1591 by a rebuilding supervised by Martino Longhi the elder<sup>52</sup>. It rises over a corner towards Piazza di S. Apollinare, but is visible from all over the district; it is thus seen standing in the background of several prospects of Piazza Navona<sup>53</sup>. *Pal. di Torres* (Lancellotti) in the very Piazza Navona next to Pal. Orsini on the southern short-side was in the same way furnished with a vigorous belvedere, in the latter case over the corner facing a narrow by-street (the present Via della Posta) (Pl. 16). As appears, for instance, from FALDA's engraving the latter robust loggia cuts a queer figure in Pirro Ligorio's Palace with its severely symmetric façade<sup>54</sup>; one would imagine that all conditions for a belvedere over the central axis were present here (cf. § 8). As the loggia-building has been placed it most seriously disturbs the well-balanced serenity of the palace. Quite particular factors must, however, be considered. A placing of the belvedere over the portal-axis would in the first place bring it into an undesirable vicinity of the tower-loggia of Pal. Orsini; finally the building of the belvedere is indeed a solution enforced by outer conditions only. Not long after Pal. di Torres was finished a high and mighty site-owner opposite had shown its possessor his displeasure by building a block of houses which protruded well into the square and partly hid Pal. di Torres<sup>55</sup>. In order to gain air, as well as a view, the owner of the latter had to erect a belvedere. When Innocens X Pamfili wanted to regulate the place in front of his family-palace he had the irritating block demolished in 1647, and Pal. di Torres gained a free position; in the latter condition it is shown by FALDA, but the

<sup>52</sup> Venturi, XI, 2, 874; Figs. 801—802.

<sup>53</sup> I. a. on DOM. BARRIÈRE's engraving 1650 (FREY, o. c., Fig. 19) and in a painting by PANNINI.

<sup>54</sup> Built in 1552 for FERDINANDO TORRES (Venturi, XI, 2, 980).

<sup>55</sup> v. TÖRNE, op. cit., 136; P. ROMANO & P. PARTINI: Piazza Navona (s. a.), 73.

belvedere was retained for some time to come<sup>56</sup>. Its rôle was in this as in the former case decided by practical conditions; a traditional type lives on under different conditions.

One may, however, take it for granted that the Early Roman Baroque to no slight extent purposely used the belvedere as an architectural factor, which in certain circumstances was suited to add an increased emphasis to a conspicuous corner of a building. Also one which was required. In the narrow and crooked streets of Rome many a palace has asserted itself in the eyes of the spectator only as a fragment of a whole impossible to get into focus at a first glance<sup>57</sup>. The more important it therefore became to emphasize it. The problem thus has two aspects: a) seen from *within* the enclosed monumental palace seeks to obtain a prospect through the narrow cleft of the adjoining street, or over the roofs into the bottom of the latter, and b) seen from *the outside* it has a claim to potentialize its plastic effect in the visible section. But also palaces and other stately profane buildings forming part of a large regularized space with a protruding corner, for instance diagonally on the main axis of the latter, must be predisposed to emphasize the latter by means of a belvedere. In that case it might gain a particularly animated perspective as a subsidiary prize.

The Roman palace-cube from the time of the Baroque is indeed not *eo ipso* frontally orientated as Pal. Farnese is; its situation in the town and its proportion to the street-net are decisive factors. Two aspects exist: a) the main façade in a street-line or in a place-wall, respectively, which is symmetric, or tends towards becoming so, must in principle be frontally conceived, but b) the cube of the palace as a whole must according to its situation also be able to count on a conception from an optic angle shifted to the side, and may accordingly be subject to a wish also to manifest itself by a special architectural accentuation of the section appearing under the said angle. The frontal optic conception raises certain claims to the isolated front, the given conception from a slanting perspective raises claims to the building as a whole. It has long ago been recognized that the diagonal

<sup>56</sup> FREY, 47, particularly note 9.

<sup>57</sup> "Zur malerischen Unordnung gehört, dass die einzelnen Gegenstände sich nicht ganz und völlig klar darstellen, sondern teilweise verdeckt sind. Das Motiv der Deckung ist eines der wichtigsten für den malerischen Stil" (WÖLFFLIN, 24).

aspect is a particularly favourite phenomenon of the Baroque; it may be constructively active in the grouping of the buildings and shaping of squares, and it is fundamental for the perspectivistic reproduction of plastic art in architecture<sup>58</sup>.

The belvedere is excellently suited to add a desired accentuation to a corner appearing in slanting perspective; it may presumably be maintained that during that period it was even the only architectural form-element which might be employed for that purpose<sup>59</sup>. Unpretentious in character its function needed not involve any encroachment on the plastic entity of the very palace; the integrity of the cube was retained, its horizontal upper conclusion was in principle respected. But the corner obtained a greater elevation, a stronger silhouette, from a wide as well as a narrow optic angle it attracted attention; it added relief to the section without in any way destroying it as a whole. Overlooked and apparently of small importance the belvedere (*in casu* the corner-belvedere) has had its special mission also as a factor of composition in the profane architecture of Early Roman Baroque.

*Pal. Aldobrandini-Chigi* has a particularly conspicuous corner-placing, one façade towards the Corso, the other towards Piazza Colonna (Pl. 18). There is no doubt that this palace considered as a whole stands there as a corner-building which in the first line is meant to be conceived in the diagonal axis seen from the southern part of the Corso; several prospect-engravings prove this fact. The rich possibilities of obtaining views along the Corso in both directions as well as towards the distinguished square<sup>60</sup> were utilized through a comfortable balcony on a level with the *piano*

<sup>58</sup> When in 1665 BERNINI showed Louis XIV a project for the façade of the Louvre towards the Seine the king wanted to see the plan in connection with that for the eastern façade, "and", says CHANTELOU, "he let me hold both façade drawings up next to each other in order to be able to judge the corner effect of the new façades" (Tagebuch des Herrn von Chantelou über die Reise des Cavaliere Bernini nach Frankreich, ed. HANS ROSE, 1919, 55). When a little later BERNINI showed his drafts to Maréchal d'Aumont in the presence of Chantelou "we tried to imagine how the finished building would look, particularly seen in the diagonal axis (Eckansicht) from Pont-Neuf, which indeed is the most favourable optic angle" (*ibid.*, 56).

<sup>59</sup> The decorative stressing of façades on cut off house-corners is of course not taken into consideration (R. JOSEPHSON: *Hur Rom byggdes under Renässans och Barock* (1926), 35—40).

<sup>60</sup> About the plans for a monumental lay out of Piazza Colonna in honour of the Chigi-family see: E. COUDENHOVE-ERTHAL in *Hermann Egger Festschrift* (1933), 101—102; ANTONIO MUÑOZ: *Pietro da Cortona* (s. a.), 13—15; FOKKER, I, 92; CHANTELOU, 32, 340; FREY: *Beiträge*, 55—57.

*nobile*<sup>61</sup>. To this came further a small belvedere, somewhat withdrawn, active in the diagonal prospect. It is like a note of exclamation, an accentuation of the meeting at right angles between the two façades so differently articulated. But the accent is not, and shall not be so effective as to encroach on the homogeneity of the block of buildings.

With regard to the situation *Pal. del Laterano* (erected in 1586) is so far closely related to *Pal. Chigi*, as both blocks with one of their façades contribute towards the formation of a square, but from a perspective viewpoint are most striking seen in a diagonal axis. The main street from the interior of Rome out to the Lateran, *Via Merulana*, was constructed by Gregor XIII Boncompagni in a straight line from *S. Maria Maggiore*; according to DUPÉRAC's plan over Rome it was halfway built in 1577, and was completed in Sixtus V's papacy (1585—90)<sup>62</sup>. This street was drawn up with the benediction-loggia (renewed 1587) in front of the northern transept of the basilica as *point-de-vue*. On coming from *Via Merulana* into *Piazza di S. Giovanni* in Laterano we catch sight of the Lateran-palace in diagonal perspective. The same applies if we approach the Lateran along the other main thoroughfare from within the town, the present *Via di S. Giovanni* in Laterano, that issues from the Colosseum. Seen in this way it is no wonder that the Lateran-palace, erected by Domenico Fontana, was furnished with a belvedere over the (north western) corner in question. Here, as in *Pal. Chigi* (Aldobrandini), the architect has thus succeeded in indicating a definite optic angle for the square palace-block by slightly emphasizing the projecting corner and augmenting the vertical effect of same (Pl. 19).

*Pal. del Quirinale* is as an entity angularly orientated. The main front of the palace facing *Monte Cavallo* does not run parallel with the opposite wall of the place that consists of the papal stables (*Scuderie Pontificie*) but protrudes in the place as a rectangular corner. It is the said corner that at once reveals

<sup>61</sup> Corner-balconies were very often to be found in the Rome of the Baroque; they appear on broken corners (EGGER, II, Pls. 47, 70, 90) as well as on those with right angles (Nuovo Teatro, II, Pls. 26, 32; EGGER, II, Pls. 71, 77; VASI, IX, Pls. 170, 177, etc.).

<sup>62</sup> WÖLFFLIN, op. cit., 242, 244 (ROSE's Commentary); cf. comparative plan of the old and the new Lateran in ALFR. v. REUMONT: *Gesch. der Stadt Rom im Mittelalter*, I (1868), tab. I. Also *Ospedale di S. Giovanni's* projecting corner on the Lateran-square is decoratively emphasized (Pl. 19).

itself to anyone approaching along the street leading up to it, the upwards sloping Via del Quirinale. The two papal palaces, the Lateran and the Quirinal, have thus both been placed diagonally in relation to the adjoining squares and to the main thoroughfares that lead up to them. The corner of the Quirinal is quite conspicuous and (and vulnerable), 1) on account of the high situation of the palace in relation to the carriage drive up to it, 2) as a consequence of the uncommonly deep perspective formed by its long side-wing that follows Strada Pia in direction of Quattro Fontane. If anywhere, a vigorous articulation was demanded of this corner which protrudes like the stem of an enormous ship. It received its weighty over-building in the shape of a closed belvedere that was prolonged along Strada Pia (Pl. 29). The silhouette of the Quirinal to that side was just as decisively characterized by this addition over the main cornice, as the "casino" at the opposite end of the inner Cortile was by its central belvedere.

*Pal. Mattei di Giove*<sup>63</sup> protrudes with a sharp corner towards the narrow place in front of S. Caterina dei Funari. On approaching the palace down the street from the Piazza Campitelli nearby one conceives its only partially visible cube in a diagonal prospect. What an important rôle a large belvedere would play as a corner accent in this perspective—and in this only—appears from the engraving by SPECCHI reproduced here (Pl. 21) (in which the space of the adjoining streets is rendered in greatly exaggerated width). *Pal. Albani-Del Drago*<sup>64</sup> which fills the one angular site at the crossing between Via del Quirinale (Strada Pia) and Via Quattro Fontane (Strada Felice) with a corner cut straight off ("broken") (Pl. 20) heightens it upwards by means of a closed belvedere corresponding to the plan; the foremost front is thus just as the said flattened corner façade diagonally orientated. The side fronts of the belvedere were, however, not symmetric, as little as those of the palace itself, as the front towards the large gardens of the Quirinal originally was the longest (3 axes), while the front to Via Quattro Fontana had one window only; the view from here was also more limited. On the other hand the relation

<sup>63</sup> CAFLISCH: Maderno, 83—89; FOKKER, I, 79—81, II, Fig. 31. — Built 1598—1611.

<sup>64</sup> Venturi, XI, 2, 921. Architect: D. Fontana.

between the lengths of the palace façades respectively was the reverse. Concerning the building as a whole the belvedere also in this case followed its own law, namely that of the balcony with a view; only in the pure corner prospect it cooperated regularly together with the building which carried it (cf. the Quirinal).

### § 7. The Belvedere as Accent over Breaks in Façades.

In the cases where a row of houses or a palace shows a break, convex or concave, in the façade, it may be emphasized by a belvedere. One receives the impression that the architect by such accentuation makes a virtue of necessity and tries to convert his sin against the ideal of regularity into a compositional subtlety. Naturally such a break—the blunt meeting between two wall-façades—is a vulnerable point; if the line of the meeting is crowned by a belvedere, for instance, it at once acquires the character of an important vertical axis. *Pal. Petroni*<sup>65</sup> in Piazza del Gesù (where now Pal. Bolognetti is standing) protrudes in an obtuse angle to the square. Over this was erected a belvedere with the short-side towards the front determined by the mid-line of the angle. Though the palace thus was not a corner-building it has been attempted as in the case of one to underline a diagonal orientation by means of the belvedere. The façade broken by the angle is considered like a “bastion”. The irregularity of the palace (the two façades are differently treated) is veiled and gathered into an entity, the vertical fracture line becomes the spine. It is suggestive that the corner was also surrounded by a balcony that had the effect of an enormous butt or hinge.

*Collegio Nazzareno* (erected before 1622)<sup>66</sup> (Pl. 22), situated in the crooked Via Nazzareno, adjoins the neighbouring building in an obtuse angle; the break in the street is emphasized by a large belvedere and the college is thus made more distinct in the perspective of the narrow street. Not regarding from which place in the street it is seen the effect of the belvedere is constant. In ALESSANDRO SPECCHI'S engraving of the long side-façade of *Pal. Borghese* a belvedere is noticed, which—though being carried

<sup>65</sup> TEMPESTA.

<sup>66</sup> VASI, IX, fol. XXIV.

down to the cortile—nevertheless distinctly appears as a crown (though a trifle shifted) by the inward break in the façade; the breaking-line of the latter is further emphasized by a rusticated pilaster-strip. In reality this belvedere is however not placed directly facing the break, the artist has brought about its accentuated effect by optical means only;—another proof (cf. § 6) that the problems to which attention has here been drawn by us have their origin in a deeply sensible artistic feeling.

### § 8. The Centre Belvedere.

A belvedere may be placed over the centre of the ridge of the roof and accordingly enter as a centralising upper finishing feature of the building in question. In the cases where the belvedere is inconspicuous, but the building large, and particularly in such cases where the building stands in a narrow and crooked street, and it accordingly is difficult to command a full view of it, the belvedere will naturally not be able to assert itself from an architectural point of view and become frontally active. Examples are the central belvederes in *Pal. Dell' Aquila* as seen in a drawing by Dosio c. 1560<sup>67</sup> and in *Pal. Cicciaporci* in Via dei Banchi di S. Spirito<sup>68</sup>. None of the latter may be considered original.

If the building stands in an open square and is of a decidedly monumental character things are different. In such a case a central belvedere may gather the frontal effect of a façade, emphasize a mid-axial section and by that to some extent replace the functions of a centre-risalto. The central belvedere must be considered as the most important type within its category.

It is obvious that a building which, 1) is symmetric (or at any rate balanced) built up round a depth-axis, and 2) is placed in a mid-axial prospect, or as dominant part in a regulated space, above others is predisposed to be covered by a central belvedere. The said principal conditions are fulfilled in the first line by a *casino* in its "formal" garden (cf. Villa Montalto, Pl. 25a). A *casino* formed as a central building will be quite specially predisposed to be crowned by a belvedere over the vertical mid-axis

<sup>67</sup> Egger, I, Pl. 16.

<sup>68</sup> Vasi, VI, Pl. 109.



of the building, cf. *Casino Sforza* (later part of the *Monastero delle Religiose Filippine*, Via d. Quattro Cantoni), highly situated on the Monte Esquilino, with a *vista* towards S. Maria Maggiore (Pl. 27a).

In Roman palace-architecture from the said period three important monuments are found, which both as regards type of plan and location form a group by themselves with a strong affinity to the villa architecture. In reality we can only rightly appreciate them when they are seen under the aspect of the *casino*, the main building in a *villa urbana*. Considered as *palazzi* (under the category of which they are placed in text-books and histories of architecture)<sup>69</sup> they are all anormal, and are only with the greatest difficulty introduced into the typology of palaces. The three monuments in question are distinguished by very marked centre-belvederes.

The large cortile of *Pal. del Quirinale*, a long, narrow, rectangular courtyard, is in character related to a regulated square, for instance the *prato* in a formal garden. It is therefore felt as a logical consequence of this type of building that the end-wing of the cortile, the northern short-side, is furnished with a square belvedere (3 × 3 windows) (Pl. 25b). This quite dominates the *point-de-vue* in the depth-axis of the cortile. The belvedere here plays a perfectly decisive rôle in the architectural composition; a centre-belvedere must be said at the time to be the only possible way of giving the said transverse wing the necessary elevation, —necessary partly because the building is the *fond* in a severely axial structure, partly because its façade is symmetric. It must further be borne in mind that the Quirinal is built as a summer house for the pope (the high and healthy situation), and it may be supposed that the *casino* of the Quirinal has received its form under the influence of the contemporary Villa Montalto which is furnished with a characteristic centre-belvedere<sup>70</sup>.

<sup>69</sup> For instance in WÖLFFLIN and BRINCKMANN.

<sup>70</sup> That part of the Quirinal is built by Ottaviano Mascherino (completed 1584) (Venturi, XI, 2, 954—955, Fig. 872); the villa Peretti-Montalto was begun by Sixtus V Peretti while he was cardinal (i. e. between 1570 and 1585). ROSE (Spätbarock, 107) assumed that the arcade-façade of the Quirinal-Casino is influenced by Caprarola; it may be added that the short sidewings which flank Mascherino's building like risaltos and its whole adjustment into the short-side of a deep and narrow cortile looks as if it were inspired by Pirro Ligorio's *teatro* in the southern part of the Cortile di Belvedere (C. ELLING: Villa Pia in Vaticano, 1946, 38, Pl. 9). — The Quirinal-belvedere has acquired an extra silhouette effect by being crowned by an *orologio*-structure. This chiefly sacral motif, particularly



A similar one further functions as an important element in such a distinguished building as *Pal. Barberini* (1624 ff.). Considered as a town palace it has, indeed, quite an atypical character and is most naturally considered a *casino* of large dimensions. With its short side-wings, which form a forecourt, and its free situation it has its closest parallels in the villa architecture; the heavy, closed centre-belvedere highly contributes towards gathering the frontal effect of the main façade towards the courtyard and give this part of the structure, which as a whole is unsymmetric, a conclusive balance<sup>71</sup> (Pl. 24). We have here an example not generally recognized of the decisive importance of a belvedere in spatial composition<sup>72</sup>; regarding the relation of the belvedere to the centre-risalto, cf. § 11.

The third monument within this group of palaces with villa-character is *Pal. Rospigliosi*, erected 1611 ff.<sup>73</sup> for Cardinal Scipio Borghese, who as a secretary of state desired to have a summer residence in the vicinity of the Quirinal, while his uncle Paul V lived here. The palace was built within the area of the *thermæ* of Constantine with a partial utilization of existing antique remnants of buildings, which circumstance may explain certain peculiarities in the plan of the ensemble; the robust central block protrudes strongly in front of the side-wings and may by its cubic effect remind of the *casini* of the Quirinal as well as that of Villa Montalto<sup>74</sup>.

well suited as accent over a main exit to the public buildings of the pontificate is for instance to be found on Pal. Pontificio in Castelgandolfo, restored by Alexander VII Chigi (Nuovo Teatro, II, Pl. 9) on each of the two *canonici*, which flank S. Maria in Campitelli (ibid., II, Pl. 32), on Pal. di Montecitorio, on Ospedale di S. Giovanni in Laterano (VASI, VI, Pl. 101), on Collegio Romano, Collegio Germanico, Piazza di S. Apollinare (VASI, IX, Pl. 164), Seminario di S. Pietro in Vaticano (ibid., Pl. 166) Collegio Ecclesiastico a Ponte Sisto (ibid., Pl. 177), Monte di Pietà (ibid., Pl. 180); Paul V's clock-tower (1616), the main entrance to the Vatican was the most monumental *orologio* of Rome (cf. H. EGGER in Mededeelingen van het nederlandsch histor. Inst. te Rome, IX (1929), 71 ff.). See also § 11.

<sup>71</sup> ROSE (o. c., 107) rightly refers to Pal. del Quirinale as prototype for the arcade-motif.

<sup>72</sup> Neither BRINCKMANN (ed. 1915, 90—91) nor ROSE (Spätbarock, 107—108) mention the belvedere: A. RIEGL (Baldinucci's Vita des G. L. Bernini, 1912, 102) mentions "ein niedriger Aufbau als Vertikaldominante".

<sup>73</sup> JOHS. MANDL in H. Egger-Festschrift (1933), 63—66. FL. PONZIO has presumably been the leading architect, and was followed by MADERNO and VASANZIO.

<sup>74</sup> These three buildings can most easily be compared by a glance at MAGGI's perspectivistic plan of Rome 1625 (CAFLISCH: Maderno, Pl. XXVIII). *Pal. Rospigliosi* i. a. reproduced in FIL. DE ROSSI: *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (1645), 504.

To this comes further that *Pal. Rospigliosi* lies withdrawn from all streets, enclosed behind barring walls, like a villa surrounded by stables and gardens. It is then not to be wondered at that the main block in analogy with the palaces just mentioned is furnished with a large and carefully worked out centre belvedere ( $3 \times 1$  arcades with pilasters) attributed to Ponzio<sup>75</sup>; its short-sides face the drive-frontage and the back-façade respectively (Pl. 27 b).

Some Roman palaces have a situation in the town body, which without possessing the very characteristic villa-like isolation that marked the group just dealt with, however at least lie withdrawn from the street-line—an unusual feature in the Rome of the Renaissance and the Baroque—and accordingly possess a courtyard (“*cour d'honneur*”) in front. Thus in the case of *Pal. Mignanelli*, situated at Piazza di Spagna (where now Piazza Mignanelli is laid out)<sup>76</sup>; in TEMPESTA'S view 1593, a centre-belvedere appears over the main building<sup>77</sup>. According to TEMPESTA the likewise retired main building of *Pal. Colonna* (an angular plan) has possibly possessed a centre-belvedere too<sup>78</sup>.

As already mentioned we may further expect to find a pre-disposition for the formation of centre-belvederes in palaces which function as square-dominants, i. e. which by size and architectural elevation dominate an open, more or less, regular space. The palace may exercise such dominance, 1) by rising above, possibly centralizing, one of the longitudinal walls in such a piazza. As typical—in literature on the subject always overlooked examples—may be noted: *a. Pal. Gamberucci* in Piazza Aracoeli<sup>79</sup>; *b. Pal. Capizucchi* (Gasparri) in Piazza Campitelli<sup>80</sup>; *c. Pal. Cardelli* in Piazza Margana<sup>81</sup>; *d. Pal. Corsini* (Sagripanti)

<sup>75</sup> Venturi, XI, 2, 898—900, Fig. 830.

<sup>76</sup> G. B. NOLLI: *Pianta di Roma* (1748), nos. 388—389.

<sup>77</sup> Likewise on MAGGI'S; not entered on FALDA'S map (1676), no. 413.

<sup>78</sup> Cf., however, ROSSI: *Roma moderna* (1645), Fig. p. 284, where the belvedere is placed on the corner over the joining of the wing.

<sup>79</sup> TEMPESTA; MAGGI; no belvedere in FALDA; NOLLI no. 913.

<sup>80</sup> TEMPESTA; NOLLI no. 987; *Nuovo Teatro*, II, Pl. 32, erected c. 1585, possibly by Giacomo Della Porta (W. KÖRTE in THIEME-BECKER XXVII, 279); LUIGI CÀLLARI: *I Palazzi di Roma* (1944), 464. — S. Maria in Campitelli (on the opposite side of the square) not built till 1655 ff.

<sup>81</sup> TEMPESTA; NOLLI, no. 992.

in Piazza Fiammetta<sup>82</sup>; *e. Pal. Odescalchi* (Chigi) in Piazza dei S. S. Apostoli<sup>83</sup>. These palaces are all situated in relatively small squares; the four first-mentioned (*a—d*) have rather short symmetric façades. And all the said palaces possessed centre belvederes<sup>84</sup>.

Further a palace may assert itself strongly, 2) along one short-wall in a space. Thus *Pal. Ferratini* (later Collegio di Propaganda Fide) at the southern end of Piazza di Spagna<sup>85</sup>; five-window-façade with centre-belvedere over a width of three windows. A corresponding situation at the end of a deep and narrow square is found in the case of *Pal. Alessandrino* (Bonelli) opposite Piazza dei S. S. Apostoli; an original belvedere cannot indeed be proved, on the other hand it is furnished with a low attica<sup>86</sup>.

However natural it is that palaces which assert themselves strongly in space preferably accentuate their importance—and at the same time make use of their possibilities for vistas—by means of a centre-belvedere, it must not be overlooked that the last-mentioned factor may be determining in the case of any building that faces an open square. *Case* as well as minor palaces may very well want a roof-loggia exactly over the middle of the building to catch a prospectus either in depth or width. We here leave ordinary houses and their belvederes (cf. § 5) out of consideration<sup>87</sup>; within the category of the palace a series of buildings

<sup>82</sup> TEMPESTA; FALDA, no. 382 (no belvedere); NOLLI, no. 529; R. VENUTI: *Descrizione . . . di Roma moderna* (1766), 187; CÀLLARI, *op. cit.*, 435.

<sup>83</sup> TEMPESTA; about this palace in its original form (before BERNINI's rebuilding of it in 1665) see THS. ASHBY in *Papers of the Brit. School at Rome*, VIII, 1916, 55; IX, 1920, 67; CAFLISCH: *Maderno*, 90 ff.; it must be borne in mind that *Pal. Colonna* opposite was standing behind a barring wall and did not dominate the view of the place.

<sup>84</sup> A few palazzini of similar simple façade types and with centre belvederes: on Piazza Borghese, 5 axes (LETAROUILLY, II, Pl. 169), on Piazza Serlupi, 3 axes (*ibid.*, I, Pl. 92), on Piazza S. Marta (Piranesi's *Vedute di Roma*).

<sup>85</sup> "Palladio", III, 1939, 172; HEMPEL: *Borromini*, 157.

<sup>86</sup> Begun 1585, is seen erected in TEMPESTA; architects: Dom. Paganelli, thereafter Mascherino and M. Longhi the elder (Venturi, XI, 2, 962); acc. to WÖLFFLIN-ROSE (203) finished by Dom. Fontana. — *Pal. Cini* (18<sup>th</sup> century?), at the west end of the narrow Piazza di Pietra, has a monumental corner belvedere, presumably to catch a view of Piazza and Palazzo di Montecitorio; a fine centre belvedere on *Pal. Lovatelli* at the closed end of the narrow Piazza Campitelli.

<sup>87</sup> The following typical examples only should be mentioned: *Casa* on

are to be found which undeniably were subordinate to some stately monument—sacral or profane in character—in the said square, but which in their situations alone found a motivation for a centre-belvedere. Examples: *a. Pal. Maffei* in Piazza Borghese<sup>88</sup>; *b. Pal. Celsi* in Piazza Gesù opposite the main church of the Jesuits<sup>89</sup>; *c. Pal. De Cupis* in Piazza Navona<sup>90</sup>; *d. Pal. di Spagna* in the square of the same name<sup>91</sup>. The said palaces are standing in the grandest squares of Rome; they do not dominate them architecturally, but their centre-belvederes seek nourishment partly from the spatial values of the squares, and partly from their crowded life.

The instance of *Pal. Cesi* is particularly suggestive. This palace was standing in Borgo Vecchio facing Piazza di San Pietro, opposite the Vatican, erected at the beginning of the sixteenth century<sup>92</sup>. It appears from Tempesta's view that almost all houses on this side of the place of St. Peter's had belvederes—in no other place in Rome so many magnificent processions were to be seen—and possibly *Pal. Cesi* was also furnished with one to catch a *veduta* of the grand place of festival above an opposite row of houses; but the reproduction in Tempesta is indistinct. It is on the other hand certain that *Pal. Cesi* later received a belvedere over its central section, namely after 1663, when Bernini's colonnades round the Place of St. Peter's had been built. On that occasion the foremost part of the palace had to be taken down to afford room, and a new front was built over a slightly concave ground plan following the line of the colonnade. It was surely at this time that a large belvedere was erected, as it is seen in FALDA's plan in perspective from 1676; the hemmed-in

Piazza di Spagna, next to *Pal. di Spagna*, (façade of 3 windows, 1-window belvedere over the mid-axis) is to be seen in the painting by PANNINI (reproduced in "Rome past and present", The Studio Special Number, 1926, Pl. LXVI), the houses Piazza Lovatelli Nr. 35—36, Piazza Trevi Nr. 94—95 (opposite the fountain), and a great house in front of S. Clemente.

<sup>88</sup> MAGGI; FALDA, no. 403; NOLLI, no. 450.

<sup>89</sup> TEMPESTA (schematically); FALDA, no. 366.

<sup>90</sup> TEMPESTA; MAGGI; FREY: Beiträge, 45; originally *Pal. Ascanio Sforza* (PASTOR: Die Stadt Rom zu Ende der Renaiss., 41—42, Figs. 38—39; TOMEI, op. cit., 243—244).

<sup>91</sup> FALDA, no. 339; NOLLI, no. 429; the belvedere is not to be seen in PANNINI's painting at Apsley House ("Rome past and present", Pl. LXVI).

<sup>92</sup> TOMEI, 199—203; PASTOR, 11—12; SCHÜCK, II, 212; F. EHRLE in *Memorie d. Pont. Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, II, 1928, 51.

palace arose over the enclosure of the giant columns<sup>93</sup>. The very long side-front of *Pal. Barberini* (of which *Vinea Sfortia* formed part) towards Piazza Barberini stressed its middle part slightly through a belvedere (Pl. 26), which formed part of a whole group of structures on the roofs of the palace (cf. § 11)<sup>94</sup>.

In the interior of the town with its narrow streets and small squares the centre-belvedere only had a possibility for growth when the middle section of the palace had a frontal street prospect stretching before it—thus *Pal. Verospi* on the Corso opposite Via S. Claudio<sup>95</sup>. Also *Pal. Rucellai-Ruspoli* (Gaetani) on the Corso had a small belvedere over the middle of an enormously long street-front (19 axes) (Pl. 23). The palace was begun in 1556 by Ammanati, completed 1586 by Breccioli. WÖLFFLIN<sup>96</sup> particularly stresses this palace as an example *instar omnium* of the slightly plastically differentiated Early Roman Baroque palace: “Auch bei grösster Breite wird der Körper weder durch vortretende Eckflügel, wie etwa die Cancelleria, noch von einem Mittelrisalit gegliedert, sondern als einheitliche Masse zusammengehalten”. This characterization is undeniably correct—but it is scarcely sufficiently comprehensive; a slightly modifying detail is overlooked, namely the belvedere<sup>97</sup>. The main frontage of the palace towards the Corso is symmetrically divided into windows according to the scheme: 9 — 1 — 9. The middle window is just lightly stressed by a simple rusticated portal that only little asserts itself in the long front and just forms a vaguely marked *cæsura* in the monotonous perspective of the row of windows. But if the spectator raises his glance beyond the main cornice of the long block he is forced to look at the centre-belvedere as a continuation and termination of the symmetry-axis that started below in the portal. The homogeneity of the block is in no way obstructed, but the combination, portal + belvedere, has yet in a way anticipated the centre-risalto as a vertical feature.

<sup>93</sup> FALDA, no. 372; NOLLI, no. 1261.

<sup>94</sup> VASI, II, Pl. 36.

<sup>95</sup> FALDA, no. 458; Nuovo Teatro, II, Pl. 15; erect. c. 1616 by Onorio Longhi. (GURLITT: *Gesch. des Barockstiles in Ital.*, 202); CÀLLARI, 385.

<sup>96</sup> Op. cit. 128.

<sup>97</sup> TEMPESTA; FIL. DE ROSSI: *Ritratto di Roma moderna* (1689), Pl. 341; the belvedere built by BRECCIOLI (Baglioni); in an engraving in G. B. DE ROSSI: *Palazzi diversi nel alma città di Roma* (1655) the palace is represented with two symmetric belvederes; but the representation is incorrect, also the number of the windows is wrong.

Pal. Ruspoli is a corner building with a wing of 19 axes giving on the Corso, and a wing of 12 axes on Via Condotti. When the belvedere that is seen in Tempesta's prospect from 1593 was placed over the middle of the Corso-façade and not—as one might naturally have expected — over the corner between the two fronts, sound reasons for this fact may certainly be given. For the corner in question does not aim at any architectural unity of special importance (as the corner of Pal. Chigi towards Piazza Colonna). It must be borne in mind that when Pal. Ruspoli was erected the northern part of the Corso still lay as a road among gardens and spread house-building; the palace was the oldest and for a long time an isolated monumental private building in the quarter. And Via Condotti (*Via Sanctae Trinitatis*) was not planned till about 1544; the building was continued through the following decades<sup>98</sup>. A belvedere over the north-eastern corner of the palace would from the very beginning lack a reasonable function. The original free situation of the palace is exactly a condition for the emphasizing of the central Corso-façade by a belvedere. This front rose high, not only over the neighbouring houses, but also over those on the opposite side. Not until later the Corso became the more densely built, narrow, palatial, street. And opposite the main front and the belvedere was S. S. Trinità ai Monti and the gardens on the slopes of Monte Pincio.

Finally the palaces standing on the banks of the Tiber enjoyed a perfectly free situation and a wide view—not even bounded by gardens. It needs no further demonstration to show that the buildings thus situated generally made use of a centre-belvedere. *Pal. Salviati alla Lungara* with its frontage towards the river supplemented its centre-risalto (cf. § 2) with one<sup>99</sup>. *Pal. Falconieri* in Via Giulia on the other hand turned its back towards the Tiber—just like Pal. Farnese, standing close to it. Giacomo Della Porta had cut its large arcade-loggia into the Tiber-façade of Pal. Farnese; and in Pal. Falconieri Borromini by a rebuilding at about 1640 added a magnificent highly elevated belvedere from which a *veduta* of the flow of the river as well as of Monte Gianicolo might just be caught<sup>100</sup>. This *loggiato* had the same width

<sup>98</sup> R. LANCIANI: *Storia degli Scavi di Roma*, II (1903), 234—236.

<sup>99</sup> TEMPESTA; FALDA, no. 443.

<sup>100</sup> HEMPEL: Borromini, 51—54, Pls. 26—28.

as the narrow façade, but quite a different structure (arcades with "Palladio-motif"), and it rose high over the building with a vigorous silhouette effect<sup>101</sup>.

The situation and irregular block-shape of *Pal. Dezza-Borghese* caused the built-in loggia to be placed in the end-wing projecting towards the Ripetta-Harbour<sup>102</sup>.

### § 9. The Longitudinal Belvedere.

Whether the belvedere derives from the corner-tower or from the roof-loggia (*loviūm*) it will naturally assume a relatively elevated form over a ground plan which tends towards centralization. This of course particularly applies to the belvedere with a centralising effect, also often to the corner-belvedere. In the cases where the belvedere is built over an oblong plan this is chiefly due to the desire to procure increased possibilities of a view to the side; the short-sides of it will then be orientated at right angles to the main façade and its length follow the flanks of the building in question, often towards a street of secondary importance, though with a view to a desired far-away object.

The belvedere—appearing as a turret riding on the ridge—may, however, also be prolonged along the top of the roof and attain a frontal effect of a longitudinal character. It may even run the full course of all possibilities and utilize the complete length of the roof. A *longitudinal belvedere* of the latter type was, for instance, seen in a house situated at the foot of Monte Pincio in Piazza di Spagna (Pl. 28); thus the broad-sides of this roof-loggia, opening into arcades, caught the full prospects of Monte Pincio's gardens behind, of the people moving along, and the fashionable promenade in the square in front. This example may demonstrate the longitudinal belvedere in its primary form; it has come into existence quite consistently by an extension of a short belvedere which might just as well be imagined above the middle of the building as over one end of the roof.

It is clear that the belvedere as it is here formed in reality

<sup>101</sup> VASI, V, Pl. 88.

<sup>102</sup> Erected 1611—12 by Ponzio (CAFLISCH: Maderno, 73). — Sangallo's Banco di S<sup>to</sup> Spirito as well as Pal. Vecchiarelli are supplied with belvederes in order to catch a *vista* of Ponte and Castel S. Angelo.



has entered into a new architectural phase. We must maintain that it has now lost the original character of its genre as an outer, though sometimes compositionally rather active, addition. For the corner- and centre-belvedere is, as it were, mobile in principle, shiftable to the side (or sides), and its length is not limited within the boundary of the given possibilities (the length of the roof). It is possible to "compose" frontally and plastically with belvederes of the latter types just because they are able under given circumstances to replace the articulation by means of risaltos. It is different in the case of the belvedere which stretches along the roof at the total length of the building parallel with its main frontage. It serves the building evenly as a plastic totality, is completely incorporated in its structure, and is felt as an integrate part of the composition of the roof<sup>103</sup>.

That this view presumably is correct may be proved by an analysis of the new, hitherto scarcely sufficiently noticed forms of building that arise in the Roman profane architecture of the Baroque with the complete longitudinal belvedere as an inevitable condition. In the cases where the latter (in analogy with other types of belvederes) lose the arcades and thereby abandon the loggia-like stamp in order to appear with closed wall façades, the longitudinal belvedere has in reality acquired a new existence, namely as a strongly withdrawn top-story. It may in that case come to take over a function similar to that of the rather informal attica-stories known from the palaces of the High Renaissance in Rome (for instance Pal. Vidoni, Pal. Costa)<sup>104</sup>. Decisive is at any rate the stronger or weaker withdrawal of the longitudinal belvedere. The upper construction of the wing of *Pal. del Quirinale* along Via del Quirinale (presumably undertaken by DOMENICO FONTANA) (Pl. 29)<sup>105</sup> is only slightly withdrawn, and looks like an extra added story and mezzanine, but indeed appears to be built in a lighter material than the very cube of the palace. Already the recess-decoration with its vertical lines characterizes this part of the building as extraordinary. And the narrow balcony passage with the railing is a sign of its connection with the category of the belvederes.

<sup>103</sup> About the "Säteritak" in Swedish Baroque architecture and its derivation from Rome see KARLING in *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift*, II, 1933. 1—19.

<sup>104</sup> WÖLFFLIN-ROSE, 231.

<sup>105</sup> Venturi, XI, 2, 928.



In other cases the closed longitudinal belvedere may only go as far as to accentuate a mid-section of a very long wing as in one of the side-wings in the large cortile of the Quirinal; a corresponding recess system is employed here. *L'Ospizio Apostolico di S. Michele* is situated at Ripa Grande with the main building facing the Tiber. A longitudinal belvedere of the same type as the one last mentioned centralizes the building and gives it a greater elevation<sup>106</sup> (Pl. 30). Purely practical purposes have of course in cases like these mentioned been more decisive than the consideration of the view. Vast palaces were to house an enormous staff of servants; hospitals and charitable institutions demanded as much space as possible at the lowest price and often within narrowly restricted areas. It is obvious that the longitudinal belvedere must be excellently suited to increase the housing capacity of such buildings;—in the case of the palaces in a manner that was not binding from an architectural viewpoint; in the case of purely useful buildings in fine harmony with their simple style. But the Roman architects' strong feeling for proportions and their long experience in the simple plastic composition allowed them to work with the longitudinal belvedere in an admirable—and even exemplary way.

*Pal. Giustiniani* (ascribed to GIOVANNI FONTANA) has a side-façade of not less than 25 windows (Pl. 31). It is divided into two sections clearly separated: 1) one finer section of eight windows nearest the main façade towards Piazza S. Luigi dei Francesi, but for an insignificant detail closely corresponding to the latter, and 2) the remaining section (17 windows) that have simple window frames in the two main stories and partly different and more simple window types in the others, also stable drives in the lowest story; this part of the palace has certainly been reserved for *la famiglia*. A rusticated pilaster-strip separates the two façade sections. In the roof is found a closed longitudinal belvedere of 13 windows. Its placing in relation to the façade is remarkable. An emphasizing of the mid-axis of the total façade was absurd in this case; the *cæsura* of the rusticated pilaster-strip was of course a determining vertical in the entity; accord-

<sup>106</sup> ED. COUDENHOVE-ERTHAL: Carlo Fontana (1930), 68, 117—118; begun by Mattia de Rossi, finished 1703 ff. by Carlo Fontana. VASI, V, Pl. 97 shows the hospital after its extension with consistent further employment of the belvedere-motif.

ingly the longitudinal belvedere is pushed in over the latter and is balanced with one window over the pilaster-strip and six at each side. Thus both the two sections of the façade have been joined, and the rambling and rather bare side-front as a whole accentuated. A corresponding composition was found in *Pal. Nunez* in Via Condotti (erect. by Giovanni - Antonio de Rossi)<sup>107</sup>, but the separating rusticated pilaster between the façade section of the masters and *la famiglia* has only been emphasized here by an arcade-belvedere of three windows (Pl. 32).

Perhaps the most striking example of a well considered compositional employment of the longitudinal belvedere is to be found in *Pal. Altieri*<sup>108</sup>. The façade of the enormous block towards Piazza del Gesù and the flank of this church in the present Via del Plebiscito comprises 26 axes (Pl. 33). It falls into two sections, which distribution in this case is a consequence of the neighbourship of the said parts. The actual palace-front faces the church square, it is symmetric and pilaster-strips divide it into a wide mid-section (*risalto*) and two narrower side-sections (2 — 5 — 2). This front with the square before it thus rests isolated seen by itself. A rusticated pilaster-strip supports the free corner, a corresponding one cuts off this façade from the other part of the whole front along the street. There is no differentiation with regard to window forms and the like at all, the stamp of totality is preserved; the architect has been greatly interested in giving the Via del Plebiscito-façade a vigorous completion as suited a building of such dimensions: the outer axis is enclosed in two rusticated pilaster-strips and further strengthened by two balconies. This asymmetric "pseudo-*risalto*" is only of importance seen in relation to the façade-section towards the square; now the two sections are again drawn together.

This play of balance between part and totality is continued and is brought to perfection higher up in the region of the belvedere. The problem has been to bring about a labile balance.

<sup>107</sup> Situation in the street-view: VASI, VII, Pl. 128.

<sup>108</sup> Begun in the sixteen-fifties, architect: G. A. de Rossi (FOKKER, I, 195; II, Pl. 150). The Swedish architect Nicodemus Tessin the younger, in Rome 1673, has left the following note on Pal. Altieri: "Prencipe Don Gasparo [Paluzzi] hat lassen *au dépit des Giesuites* eine grosse logge oben auff sein Palais setzen gegen der seiten von Giesu bloss umb ihnen allen Prospect zu benehmen" (Osvald Sirén: Nicodemus Tessin d. y.'s Studieresor, 1914, 50).

If we look at the engraving here inserted, showing the whole façade of Pal. Altieri, and cover up the belvedere architecture, it will be noticed that the long street-front with its heavy outer windows is of greater importance than the cut off front towards the square. A longitudinal belvedere is now erected and shifted so as to remedy it. If we follow this process we may by a close association be reminded of a steel yard with a sliding weight. This longitudinal belvedere (ten windows) ought to be pushed so far down towards the Piazza del Gesù that the balance is established. However, the main façade towards this square must in no way be interfered with, a partial placing over it of the belvedere would disturb its symmetry. Consequently the belvedere had to stop at the boundary of the rusticated pilaster-strip. But this forced consideration indeed prevents the belvedere from creating the balance desired; when we put the axis-figure covered by the belvedere between quotation signs, the scheme becomes: 9 — “10” — 7. The roof building thus rests too heavily on the right half of the façade. As it is now impossible to “push the weight” further to the left one gets round the difficulty and arrives at a result by working on with the belvedere itself. Its placing and extension is retained, but it is augmented to the left by the erection of the small upper belvedere, lower than the large one and with a terrace-roof. All masses and lines are now brought into position, by slight shiftings the parts have reached a harmony with the whole and a balance is attained. In our opinion this employment of the belvedere motif at once simple and sophisticated is a convincing proof that the Roman architects even by the utilization of secondary loggia-forms worked very consciously with the compositional possibilities of the motif, at least in theory.

An analysis of the belvedere group of the *Pal. Barberini* will also prove to what an extent the often overlooked architecture over the main cornice is able not only to accompany the chief themes in a composite building structure, but also to veil, or dissolve, its dissonances<sup>109</sup>.

<sup>109</sup> Glass-reflected title engraving of the garden façade in H. TETIUS: *Aedes Barberinae ad Quirinalem descriptae* (1642) = our Pl. 26. Other longitudinal belvederes: on a house in Via Babuino, near Piazza del Popolo (*Nuovo Teatro*, I, Pl. 7); on a house at the foot of Scalinata del Campidoglio (*ibid.*, I, Pl. 11); on Pal. Spada a Capo di Ferro (the side-façade) as fragment of mezzanine (*ibid.*, IV, Pl. 36).

### § 10. The Double Belvedere.

By this we understand two belvederes that each severally is without direct relation to the corners of a building (i. e. are detached from the corner-tower as basic type) and are coupled together on a special podium, placed in the mid-axis of a building with markedly frontal effect. The double belvedere may be seen as a decoratively reduced variant of the tower  $\langle \rangle$  belvedere - motif (§ 1). Common for both types is the symmetric placing of the two belvederes, but while the balanced couple of corner belvederes owing to the derivation of the latter from the side-towers compositionally cause a lateral accentuation, the double belvedere furthers a mid-axial concentration of the façade in question and may thus substitute the effect of a centre-risalto.

As the execution of a double belvedere is eminently dependent on the possibility of wide vistas and in most cases depends on the frontal prospectus, the exterior causes for its employment are of a similar character as those that determine the employment of the central belvedere. That again means that the double belvedere most naturally belongs to the detached *casino* of a villa and only can be placed in town palaces with relatively free and preferably axially determined placing (cf. § 8). There is thus a certain tension in the genetic process of this belvedere type between, 1) the supposed genetic origin (from the corner-towers) of the loggia-couple, and 2) the tendencies determined by the situation of a building towards a compositional mid-accentuation. This conflict and its solution is best illustrated within the villa architecture. *Villa d'Este* (Tivoli) with its low turrets above each end of the long-stretched front towards the garden<sup>110</sup> stands from the point of type at the same stage as Pal. Sora (cf. § 1); the strong distension is conspicuous, the way to the double belvedere still seems long. It looks as if the request for concentration comes from more than one side.

*Villa d'Este* is a monumental building of palatial character with a very vigorous block effect; it dominates the rising mid-axis of the garden—the famous avenue of Cypresses—by its enormous massif. There are considerable distances and very great

<sup>110</sup> M. L. GOTHEIN: *Gesch. der Gartenkunst*, I (1914), Fig. 183 (engraving by DUPÉRAC).

differences in level in the lay out; palace and garden are placed in energetic counterposition—the former cannot bear a special belvedere, the whole building dominates; it only demands an accentuation of the expanse of its façade to the sides and receives it by means of side-risaltos and turrets.

In some few smaller monumental villas from about the same time—only slightly younger—the rising mid-axis of the garden has been able to acquire constructive importance for the whole lay out of the building. It applies to *Villa Gambara-Lante* in Bagnaja (at Viterbo), constructed between 1560 and 1580, with two small square *casini* (each with a central belvedere)<sup>111</sup>, and *Orti Farnesiani* in Rome (about 1570) after a draft by VIGNOLA: here are two garden pavilions crowning the building on the top terrace with the effect of a couple of symmetric belvederes<sup>112</sup>. In both cases the mid-axis in the villa is thus emphasized by a pair of small twin buildings tending towards the motif: belvederes coupled in pairs.

It is clear that the transfer of such a crowning motif to the roof of a building must be influenced by churches with two-tower fronts, particularly by monuments the towers of which have been drawn closely together in the front. In Rome Sant' Atanasio (about 1583, by G. Della Porta) and the contemporary Chiesa della Trinità dei Monti<sup>113</sup> are the oldest examples; thereafter Maderno's façade project with side-towers for St. Peter's (1612)<sup>114</sup>. On S. Maria in Aquiro by Filippo Breccioli completed under the inspiration of Maderno, the side-towers have been reduced to small loggia-like campaniles<sup>115</sup>; similar to them are Bernini's notorious "asses' ears" (1643) on S. Maria Rotonda (Pantheon)<sup>116</sup>. Further the symmetric tower buildings on S. Giovanni in Laterano (renewed 1586 by D. FONTANA), particularly important partly because they crown a benediction-loggia, partly because they are coupled together on a common podium of an attica<sup>117</sup>.

<sup>111</sup> GOTHEIN, I, 285—290.

<sup>112</sup> *Ibid.*, 280—282; Venturi, IX, 2, 696.

<sup>113</sup> GIOVANNONI: *Saggi*, 216 ff.

<sup>114</sup> CAFLISCH, *op. cit.*, 30 ff., Pl. IX.

<sup>115</sup> GIOVANNONI, 226, Fig. 42.

<sup>116</sup> ANTONIO MUÑOZ: G. L. Bernini (1925), Fig. X; BALDINUCCI's *Vita des G. L. Bernini*, ed. A. RIEGL, 87—88.

<sup>117</sup> Engraving 1575 by LAFRERI reprod. in "Rome past and present", Pl. IV; J. RABUS: *Rom. Eine Münchener Pilgerfahrt 1575*, ed. K. SCHOTTENLOHER (1925), Fig. p. 49; our Pl. 19.

We have a very close parallel to the last mentioned employment of the motif within the villa-architecture, namely on the main building of *Villa Medici* (1574, by Annibale Lippi) (Pl. 34). In this case the double belvedere is employed in a way that became the prototype, so to speak; as a crown over the austere front of the casino which dominates the Monte Pincio slope (together with S. S. Trinità de' Monti) it forms an expressive silhouette. Towards the garden the belvederes are fitted into the strongly articulated plastic construction in such a way that each of the said loggias is combined with a terrace-building in front (Pl. 37 *a*). Seen from the city the belvedere-couple has a marked distant visual effect; seen from the back they act as summer houses in an intimate garden *milieu*.

A similar dualism in *Villa Borghese's* casino (1612, by Vasanzio); the belvederes are, however, here replaced by "tower" buildings<sup>118</sup>. *Villa Mondragone* in Frascati (1569 ff.)<sup>119</sup> has two belvedere-like "pavilions" in the main front, flanked by a lower middle part with arcade-loggia (Pl. 36 *a*). The capricious *Villa Benedetti* (Casino del Vascello) in Monte Gianicolo in Rome erected during the papacy of Alexander VII Chigi (1655—67) shows two symmetric belvederes, each of them cylindrical and furnished with cupolas (Pl. 36 *b*)<sup>120</sup>. Typical double belvederes with connection to those of *Villa Medici* further appear in *Villa Lanfranco* (ca. 1625) (Pl. 38) and in a series of Roman *casini* from the 18th century: *Villa Patrizi* (1717)<sup>121</sup>, in form of turrets (Pl. 43), *Casino Corsini* (from the 1730's)<sup>122</sup>, *Giardino Colonna* (at S. S. Apostoli)<sup>123</sup> (Pl. 37 *b*), and finally *Villa Albani* (1757 ff.)<sup>124</sup>.

<sup>118</sup> WÖLFFLIN, Fig. 100.

<sup>119</sup> Ascribed to M. LONGHI the elder, continued by PONZIO and GIOVANNI FONTANA (Venturi, IX, 2. 870).

<sup>120</sup> MATTEO MAYER: *Villa Benedetta* (1677); about the builder, Abbate Elpidio Benedetti and his connection with France (which explains several features in the building) see BALDINUCCI-RIEGL, 190; CHANTELOU-ROSE, 9; CHARLES PERRAULT: *Mémoires de ma vie*, ed. P. BONNEFON (1909), 57—58; L. SCHUDT: *Le Guide di Roma* (1930), 158.

<sup>121</sup> VASI, X, Pl. 191.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*, 199; VENUTI: *Roma moderna* (1766), 424; Armando Schiavo: *Villa Doria Pamphilj* (1942), 125—138.

<sup>123</sup> Executed by Paolo Posi (VASI, X, Pl. 193; VENUTI, 102); strictly speaking only "a half double-belvedere" is to be found here; its combination with a terrace placed in front is directly influenced from *Villa Medici*; cf. also Pal. Borghese's loggia plus terrace facing Ripetta.

<sup>124</sup> VASI, X, Pl. 190.

Within the palace architecture the double belvedere was not a success. A project by Girolamo Rainaldi for *Pal. Spada* in Piazza Navona should be mentioned; it was the plan to incorporate the existing belvedere on Pal. Ornano (cf. § 6) in the building, accordingly it was duplicated with a corresponding new one; a connective building section between the said two loggias bridged a street and allowed it to open into the square through the central portal<sup>125</sup> (Pl. 35).

### § 11. The Later Development of the Belvedere.

Within Roman palace architecture a tendency towards stronger plastic expression is prevailing during the time after about 1630. It is in the first line realized by the formation of risaltos, especially centre-risaltos, a process which is furthered by the division of the façade by pilasters. Further, the said tendency leads to a breaking of the upper horizontal line of the palace façade—particularly in the mid-axis—aiming at a free and energetic silhouette. Thus the pure block effect—so characteristic of the Roman palaces of the Early Baroque—is weakened by a differentiation of the planes and lines of the cube.

At that stage of the development the structure of the centre belvedere had to undergo a change. At the moment when a centre-risalto appeared its substituting function as a plastic component was no longer required, while its practical purpose as a loggia with a view (open or closed) quite naturally according to the given circumstances could assert its right. As long as the palace retained a severely closed and simple cubic form with plane fronts it was of course possible to supplement it upwards by means of other cubic element, as belvederes. An additive process. But as the foremost front of the palace (the main façade) is now modelled up and thus is an expression of the plasticity of the building in its relief, a belvedere on the roof will be completely isolated and deprived of any possibility of taking a part in the articulation of the palace where it is most active. The belvedere

<sup>125</sup> FREY: Beiträge, Fig. 27; an early, not utilized, project for Pal. Barberini has symmetrical, closed corner-belvederes (CAFLISCH: Maderno, Fig. 58); an affinity to the main façade of Pal. di Sacro Uffizio may be noted (cf. Rossi's engraving). Further a proj. by Borromini for a Pal. Spada with 2 pairs of cylindrical frontal belvederes. (HEMPEL, Fig. 66).



is, as it were, forced to express itself in another language. In order to be utilized in the new compositional system it must undergo a certain adaptation: the belvedere must be brought into direct contact with the risalto to be able to exist together with it. Such a change is possible only by a radical measure which completely alters the structure of the belvedere. The traditional placing of the loggia on the ridge of the roof to a certain extent gave the latter an isolated existence as the loggia (the belvedere) was cut off from direct connection with the façades of the building by a zone of the roof-surface, and in the end by the absolute horizontal line of the main cornice. The cooperation between the belvedere and the risalto was realizable only by a projection of its foremost plane into a line with the risalto. The consequence became one of two alternatives: 1) *either* the belvedere must be augmented so much in its depth that it corresponded to that of the very building, in which case the foremost as well as the back-most façades of the belvedere came to be in line with the façades of the building respectively, *or* 2) only the foremost façade of the belvedere might be projected into line with that of the palace in which latter case the position of the belvedere was shifted, and its structure became crippled.

The *former* alternative detaches the belvedere from the zone of the roof and makes it a raised part (the mid-part) of the very body of the building. A corresponding process is the cause of certain forms of the longitudinal belvederes (cf. § 9), but while the latter (for inst. on Pal. Giustiniani, Pal. Altieri) only act as component parts in the plastic composition of the palace as a whole and for good reasons are cut off from heightening the effect of a centre-risalto, the type just defined of the transformed central-belvedere has actually been created for the purpose of intensifying the centre-risalto upwards. The *second* alternative, the belvedere with a front effect only in the plan of the main façade is as a consequence of its one-sided orientation and mutilated construction predestined to enter into connection with the attica. We recapitulate: The former type of the transformed central-belvedere, which we may call "the double-sided front-belvedere", has the character of a fragment of one (subsidiarily more) story (or stories). The other type "the one-sided front-belvedere" develops in direction of a screenlike construction.

By thus entering into new connections the belvedere as a pure type has been reduced, and is finally dissolved. But both the new conditions have to a great extent contributed towards leading the Roman palace and the *casino* into the phase of the High Baroque by intensifying the significance of the centre-risalto both in second and third dimensions. The history of architecture has hitherto not realized the significance of the transposed belvedere in the history of Baroque style in the transition stage from the older to the younger period. This is felt by the very often uncertain interpretation of the most important monuments.

Within the palace-architecture attention is in the first line drawn to *Pal. Pamfili* in Piazza Navona (Pl. 39). It has come into existence through collective work in which GIROLAMO RAINALDI was the leading personality, but Borromini's proposals were in several ways decisive<sup>126</sup>. After FREY's investigation there can scarcely be any doubt that the belvedere motif was due to Borromini, who with great originality has used it also elsewhere and well may be supposed to be the Roman architect who before anyone else has been able to fit the belvedere into the palatial architecture of the High Baroque.

Three drafts by Borromini to the façade of *Pal. Pamfili* show with programmatical clarity just as many phases in the relationship of the belvedere to the risalto-theme—a typological course which his biographers have not fully appreciated<sup>127</sup>; it confirms link by link the theories advanced in the present treatise.

In "Project I"<sup>128</sup> the cube of the palace is an austere closed massif without risaltos, almost brutally cut off upwards by a vigorous cornice. The three belvederes—a wide one over the three mid-axes, a narrow one over each of the outer windows of the façade—has a very light unpretentious construction reminding more of pavilions than of normal roof-loggias and are completely open column constructions; the middle one might be compared with a "gloriette". In "Projekt II"<sup>129</sup> centre- and side-risaltos now appear. At one stroke the nature of the belvederes

<sup>126</sup> FREY, *op. cit.*, 57 ff.

<sup>127</sup> FREY (*l. c.*) abstains from throwing light on the appearance and form of the belvedere by analogies, nor does he make use of *terminus technicus*; HEMPEL (*Borromini*, 135) speaks of "towers".

<sup>128</sup> Frey, Fig. 45.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, Fig. 46.

is changed; they are now—as before—not only drawn forward into the plan of the façade but are also bound together with the respective risaltos as a continuation upwards of the latter and thus assume a constructively more emphasized form (with arcades among columns). We have here a capital example of the incorporation of the belvederes in the mass of a building with absolute relation in the front to the risaltos. “Project III”<sup>130</sup> shows an attempt at a strong concentration of the façade: the side-risaltos are reduced into small 1-axis sections between colossal pilasters, while the centre-risalto has gained much in expressive power—not by an increased decoration but characteristically enough by a monumentalisation of the crowned belvedere, the arcades of which are now closed; i. e. a *loggiate chiuso* with marked gable-or screen-effect.

In 1645 the building authorities in Rome gave permission for Pal. Pamfili to be built with three risaltos. At this time the final façade project has then been ready in all essential features<sup>131</sup>. RAINALDI took over Borromini’s proposal for a closed belvedere over the centre-risalto which was erected. But it had a heavier form than the one designed by Borromini and appeared as a characteristic “double-sided front-belvedere”, the main example of such one in Rome.

The rich composition represented in Borromini’s project with three front-belvederes all attached to the risalto was scarcely realisable in the Roman town palace of normal dimensions; it required a building of a majestic width of façade and with a dominating location; it was actually only suited for the residence of a sovereign. The type was indeed used in a modified form in two princely castles, namely *Pal. Ducale at Modena*<sup>132</sup>, and *Pal. Reale at Caserta*<sup>133</sup>.

In the palaces of the High Baroque in Rome the reduced front belvederes, and partially their substitutes, were therefore definitely preferred. In *Pal. D’Aste-Bonaparte*, erected in 1666 by G.-A. de Rossi<sup>134</sup>, situated on the corner of the Corso with front

<sup>130</sup> Ibid., Fig. 47.

<sup>131</sup> HEMPEL: Borromini, 134, note 6.

<sup>132</sup> The typological and chronological relationship of this palace to Pal. Pamfili is discussed by LEONARDO ZANUGG in *Rivista del R. Istituto d’Archeol. e Storia dell’ Arte*, IX, 1942, 212 ff.

<sup>133</sup> Gino CHERICI: *La Reggia di Caserta* (1937).

<sup>134</sup> FALDA, no. 345.

towards Piazza Venezia, the narrow façade (in this case without any risalto) was centralized with great elegance by the belvedere that is drawn forward with the effect of a screen<sup>135</sup> (Pl. 46). Most frequently it was the attica that crowned the centre-risalto in the town palaces. *Pal. Ludovisi - di Montecitorio* (1650 ff., Bernini)<sup>136</sup> has an attica over its enormous central part which in the last decade of the century was made higher by CARLO FONTANA by a steep *orologio*<sup>137</sup>, by which the palace—which had just been bought by the papal chair and adapted into a courtbuilding—received an “official” accentuation in similarity with Collegio Romano. Further *Pal. Spada* in Piazza di Monte Giordano, erected during the papacy of Alexander VII Chigi (1655–67) by Borromini<sup>138</sup>, and *Pal. Chigi-Odescalchi* (1665, Bernini) which in its original form emphasized its wide centre-risalto by means of a balustrade over a very monumental cornice section and thus became the prototype for a great many European palaces in the Baroque Era.

The transposed belvedere-forms appear, as was to be expected, most frequently and with the greatest purity in the *casini* of the villas. *Villa Doria-Pamfili* has still a solid block-like character and is therefore furnished with a centre belvedere of a severe cubic form over the very building<sup>139</sup> (Pl. 45). For comparisons see *Villa Peretti dei Termini* (c. 1585, D. FONTANA<sup>140</sup>) (Pl. 40) and *Villa Altieri* (c. 1670) (Pl. 41): in both of the said *casini* the belvedere has reached forward to the plan of the façade and has obtained a strong frontal effect as it rises freely over the upper horizontal line of the façade of the building; and it has a slight lateral connection with it through a couple of cornice shaped joints (degenerated volutes). In both the said cases the buildings are without centre-risaltos; the front of the belvedere

<sup>135</sup> It is characteristic that this palace was particularly favoured by the men of the French Rococo (DE BROSSES: *Vertrauliche Briefe aus Italien 1739–40*, ed. SCHWARTZKOPF, I (1918) 89; J.-F. BLONDEL: *Cours d'Architecture*, III (1772) 426–429, Pl. LXIII).

<sup>136</sup> BALDINUCCI-RIEGL, 166–167; FOKKER, I, 184–185, II, Fig. 140; proj. by Bernini, *reprod. in L'Arte*, 1899, II, 277 ff.

<sup>137</sup> COUDENHOVE-ERTHAL: *Carlo Fontana*, 78.

<sup>138</sup> *Nuovo Teatro*, II, Pls. 22–23; HEMPEL, o. c., 176–177, Fig. 67.

<sup>139</sup> Erected 1644–1652 by Grimaldi and Algardi; Armando Schiavo: *Villa Doria Pamphilj* (1942), 41–78. BRINCKMANN, *op. cit.*, 171–172; Bernini's *Villa Rospigliosi* at Lamporecchio (ROSE: *Spätbarock*, Fig. 122) elevates the whole cube of the mid-section by means of a closed “bilateral frontbelvedere”; ROSE less adequately calls it an “Obergeschoss”.

<sup>140</sup> Venturi, IX, 2, 928; VASTI, X, Pl. 194.

supplements that of the casino, but it has not grown organically out of a mid-part. Such a typical High Baroque process is exemplified by a small group of Roman *casini*. Common for the latter is the fact that the buildings all have a rectangular form and one-sided, perfectly flat front effect towards the gardens (thus in contrast to a monument like *Villa Falconieri* at FRASCATI<sup>141</sup>, the compound plastic form of which may be considered as belonging to the Villa Medici type). The villa-façades as those in question have generally considered affinity to the palaces. The following monuments are referred to, a) *Villa Ludovisi* at Porta Pinciana in Rome<sup>142</sup>, b) *Villa Ludovisi-Torlonia* at Frascati (Pl. 42)<sup>143</sup>, c) *Villa Lancellotti* at Frascati, d) *Villa Patrizi* in Rome<sup>144</sup> (Pl. 43). The centre risalto on each of the said *casini* finds its direct structutive continuation upwards by a breaking of the main cornice; a story is fixed in its transition through the horizontal line. The dynamic character of the process is in the cases of the villas Patrizi and Lancellotti clearly demonstrated by the fact that the very cornice that theoretically seems to be violently extended by the pressure from the bottom of the growing part of the building, here is forced upwards in elastic curves on each side of the place where it is broken through—a further extension in growth of the function of the side-volutes. In Villa Ludovisi in Rome the rising front belvedere had a marked screen-character<sup>145</sup>.

## § 12. Appendix. The Belvedere in Denmark.

The compositionally elaborated corner belvedere of the palace must be considered as an Italian, or particularly Roman, phenomenon. The centre belvedere, and the front belvedere derived

<sup>141</sup> Rebuilt by Borromini c. 1650 (HEMPEL, 173—175).

<sup>142</sup> GOTHEIN, I, 352, Fig. 265; VASI, X, Pl. 189. Erected in the sixteenth-twenties.

<sup>143</sup> Venturi, XI, 2, Fig. 838; drawing by TESSIN the younger in R. JOSEPHSON: Tessin, I, 1930, Fig. 54.

<sup>144</sup> VASI, X, Pl. 191 (cf. § 10).

<sup>145</sup> Analogies to the mid-sections of the villas that grow up into loggias (belveres) in the façade-plane are in many cases known from Roman *case*-architecture; here we generally find large semicircular windows that drive part of the house up into an attic. They are also used in monasterial buildings and the like (Pl. 10 to right) (for instance VASI IX, Pls. 165, 170, 175; cf. *ibid.* V, Pl. 90, and Venturi, Fig. 752).

from it, had, however, formally many possibilities of being fitted also into the architecture north of the Alps.

As the upper conclusion of the centre-part of a villa, a smaller manor or country house that dominated a regular frontal prospectus it possessed an inner logic and had attained a prototypical development in the main buildings of the large Roman villas. When the centre-belvedere nevertheless did not succeed in making itself more widely felt in the transalpine countries the reason is chiefly to be found in the prevailing conflicting position of French and Italian building ways within the manor-house architecture, i. e. between the triclinic type and the extended wing-scheme on one hand and the block-like *casino*-like ideal on the other. At any rate the open belvedere-forms, possibly with a terrace-story, were also usable in southern countries only. It will then be seen that the appearance of the centre-belvedere is dependent on the spread of the Italian Baroque style and chiefly connected with the building types of Italianism, and particularly the villa-architecture. After 1600 it appears in various cases in southern Germany and Austria<sup>146</sup>, at times modified through coupling with the French *dôme-motif* (Vaux-le-Vicomte-type). As

<sup>146</sup> From the beginning of the seventeenth century dates the castle Haimhausen in Bavaria (GOTHEIN, op. cit., II, 113, Fig. 382); under the Duke, later the Elector Maximilian I (1597—1651), who was a leader of the Catholic counter-reformation, strong Italian currents reached the Bavarian architecture (the Royal Palace at Munich). Haimhausen is a casino of a pure Roman type with a centralized belvedere of 3 windows in the frontage and a pyramid-roof, evidently directly influenced from Villa Montalto. Lustheim in Schleissheim's garden was of a similar type as regards the central section; it was built by Enrico Zuccalli (R. PAULUS: Der Baumeister Henrico Zuccalli, 1912, 79—83, Fig. 57).

Carlo Fontana in 1696 made a project to the Liechtenstein palace in Vienna (not erected) the mid-section of which was accentuated by an octagonally closed "belvedere"; the motif has in this case been coupled with the central-cupola theme (HANS TIETZE: Domenico Martinelli u. seine Tätigkeit in Österreich, 1922, Fig. 7); cf. the castle of Belvedere at Weimar, erected in 1724—32 (P. KÜHN: Weimar, 1919, 15—16, Pl. at p. 188). Klesheim at Salzburg (c. 1700, J. B. Fischer von Erlach) has a closed centre-belvedere on the terrace-roof on the elevated mid-axis (H. SEDLMAYR: Fischer von Erlach der ältere, 1925, Pl. 32). Leopoldskron at Salzburg (1736), a rectangular block of a marked Italian character, has a belvedere the whole length over the middle section with a broken gable in connection with a *risalto* (H. SEDLMAYR: Österreichische Barockarchitektur, 1930, 80—81, Pl. 98). Also the castle Eszterház in Hungary (at Eisenstadt), dating from the same period, has a block-like belvedere with terrace-roof over the mid-section (3 axes); on the whole this block is, by the way, influenced by Prince Eugen's Belvedere in Vienna. About the interchange between Italian and French influence in the Austrian Baroque, particularly in HILDEBRANDT, see B. GRIMSHITZ: J. L. v. Hildebrandts künstl. Entwickel. bis 1725, (1922) 72 ff. — A double belvedere on Favorite at Ludwigsburg (1718, Frisoni).

was to be expected the central belvedere is found—as far as I can see—sporadically only in France<sup>147</sup>. In England and the Netherlands where classical Palladian ideals dominate it seems unknown in the manor-house and country-house architecture. It is characteristic on the other hand that it is rather richly represented in Sweden, where Italian influence was so strong in the second half of the seventeenth century, particularly through the elder as well as the younger TESSIN<sup>148</sup>.

The appearance of the belvedere in Danish Baroque architecture, that has hitherto been overlooked, dates back to the time after 1660. L. VON HAVEN in 1670—72 had the so-called “Blue Bower” in Rosenborg Garden, erected by Christian IV in 1606, rebuilt and extended so that it appeared in quite a new form. The roof became flat like a terrace, and the upper part of the central tower was taken down, while the gable projections were augmented into turrets with pyramid-roofs. Thus a casino of quite a modern character arose, badly reduced in size, but with a marked Italian elevation. The turrets indeed look like independent, flanking organisms; they are not built on the very *casino*. Nevertheless it must be considered indisputable that the theme “double belvedere with frontal effect” must have been L. VON HAVEN’s basis. He was intimately familiar with this theme from his stay in Italy 1668—1670 (cf. for instance Villa Medici); in an inventory from 1696 over his collections several Italian engravings of architecture were found, among others FERRERIO’s “I Palazzi di Roma”, in which publication Villa Medici is also represented<sup>149</sup>.

The oldest Danish profane building in pure Italian Baroque, *Sofie Amalienborg* (begun in 1667, completed in the sixteen seventies)<sup>150</sup> is a marked *casino*. It has a typical rectangular belvedere

<sup>147</sup> The Jesuits’ countryhouse at Menilmontant (Paris) called “la maison du Père La Chaise”, erected in 1682 or 1683, highly situated with a wide view is an Italianizing casino with centre-belvedere (M. POËTE: Paris de sa jeunesse à nos jours, Album, 136—137, Fig. 225); also a project by J. Bruand (ca. 1655) for Hôtel Jabach in Paris (L. Hauteceur: Hist. de l’Arch. classique en France, II, 1, 1948, Fig. 127).

<sup>148</sup> Examples: Seved Bååts Pal. (Svecia antiqua et hodierna, ed. A. RYDFORS, 1935, reprod. p. 43); The Town Hall (Stadshuset) at Södermalm (ibid., 50); Östanå (ibid., 104); Mälsåker (ibid., 148); Sandemar (ibid., 150), etc.

<sup>149</sup> J. STHYR in Kunstmuseets Aarsskr. XXVI, 1939, 145.

<sup>150</sup> FR. SCHIÖTT in Architekten IX, 1906—1907, 247—248.



(*loggato chiuso*) over the centre, further elevated by a lantern covered with a cupola (Pl. 45). As regards type this *casino* which in the transverse axis is flanked by low orangery-wings and closed at the extreme part of each side by two-storied pavilions with a pyramidal roofs may be compared with the scheme of Villa Montalto (the *casino* of which is, however, only supplemented by a transverse axis of symmetric wall-hedged *giardini segreti*) and particularly with Villa Pamfili in its originally planned shape with low transversal side wings, ending in cupola-pavilions<sup>151</sup>. The horseshoe shaped free staircase is a Florentine motif (Villa Poggio a Cajano, Villa Pratolino, Villa Ferdinanda); it appears, however, also in Villa Altieri in Rome (about 1670).

Of particular interest is the execution of the detached end-pavilions. It will be noticed that they are withdrawn behind the terrace-gallery built towards the garden on top of the low wings. In a completely corresponding way the two belvederes of Villa Medici have been placed behind each one terrace opening onto the garden. This similarity in motif may presumably only be explained by a causal connection between the elder Italian and the younger Danish plan. When we remember, 1) that L. VON HAVEN actually employed the motif of the double-belvedere (each with its pyramidal roof) on the *casino* in Rosenborg Garden, 2) that the latter was rebuilt at the same time as Sofie Amalienborg was erected, and finally, 3) that VON HAVEN at this time was the only architect in Denmark who had a thorough knowledge of Roman Baroque architecture, there might be every reason to ascribe to him an essential, indeed a decisive, share in the final execution of Sofie Amalienborg.

The main façades of *Niels Juel's* (later Thott's) *Palæ* in Kongens Nytorv (about 1683—1686) and at *U. F. Gyldenløve's* (later Moltke's) *Palæ* in Bredgade (about 1699—1702) have each a 3-window centre-risalto running up into a heightened rectangular structure. The description of "attica" cannot possibly be applied in this case. Nor with the conception of "garret" has this part any real connection<sup>152</sup>. The Danish Baroque gable-attic as a crowning part over the middle of a façade, shaped during the

<sup>151</sup> CHAS. CHRISTENSEN in *Architekten* XXVIII, 1926, 365 ff.

<sup>152</sup> VILH. LORENZEN uses this expression in his book: "Københavnske Palæer", II, 1925, 6, 41, 68.

period after 1650, followed quite different lines of development. The above discussed building-section with a strong horizontal effect can scarcely be derived from the Danish traditions of the Renaissance in the case of the gable-attic, and it is without models in contemporary and the immediately preceding Dutch architecture, where the triangular pediment, more rarely the attic (with or without balustrade) is the common crowning of a pilaster-divided centre-risalto.

In our view the heightened mid-sections on Juel's and Gyldenløve's palaces must be considered as light variants of the "one-sided front-belvedere" as we for instance know it from Villa Peretti and Villa Altieri. When they have not previously been recognized as derivatives of the said type it is presumably due to the fact that their character of a freely erected (closed) belvedere quite naturally had to undergo a change before being fitted into the Nordic, high saddle-roof and was dominated by the large slanting planes of the latter. The belvedere was forced down and squeezed in.

It must not be overlooked that the employment of an adapted front-belvedere was permissible on the said palaces, also after Italian custom. For the situation of both monumental buildings was completely free—Juel's Palæ with its front towards the large "Kongens Nytorv", Gyldenløve's Palæ with an open view over Sofie Amalienborg's garden—both great manor-houses were actually to be considered as *ville suburbane*. Their architects are unknown; in the case of Juel's Palæ L. VON HAVEN may well be considered.

*Bjelke's* (later Holstein's) *Palæ* in "Kongens Nytorv" seemed in its original form (before 1687) to have had a longitudinal belvedere constructed within the roof, over its centre-part (without risalto)<sup>153</sup>; on the basis of the limited pictorial material it looks as if one may conclude that this belvedere by a rebuilding in 1721 was drawn forward into level with the façade and was enclosed by volutes (cf. Villa Ludovisi in Rome), i. e. it became a characteristic, though somewhat longitudinal, one-sided front-belvedere. On the same occasion the two isolated side-pavilions were probably built withdrawn behind terrace-parts. The latter motif (pavilion × loggia + terrace × balcony) we have already

<sup>153</sup> Lorenzen, I, Fig. 18, II, Fig. 29.

shown in Sofie Amalienborg and traced back to the Italian double-belvedere<sup>154</sup>.

Finally *Frederiksberg Castle* under the rebuilding 1707—1709 obtained a belvedere-like elevated centre-part in perfect conformity with the Italian style of the building, and of the elevated situation with a formal garden at bottom. The belvedere has a terrace-roof and the corresponding centre-risalto a contraction of the window axes.

The Dutch stylistic features in Early Danish Baroque have long ago been discovered; they are very conspicuous in Sofie Amalienborg too, as well as in Juel's and Gyldenløve's Palaces. A more elaborate investigation of the style of that period will undoubtedly prove that the Italian influence in several fields has been stronger and more fruitful than hitherto supposed.

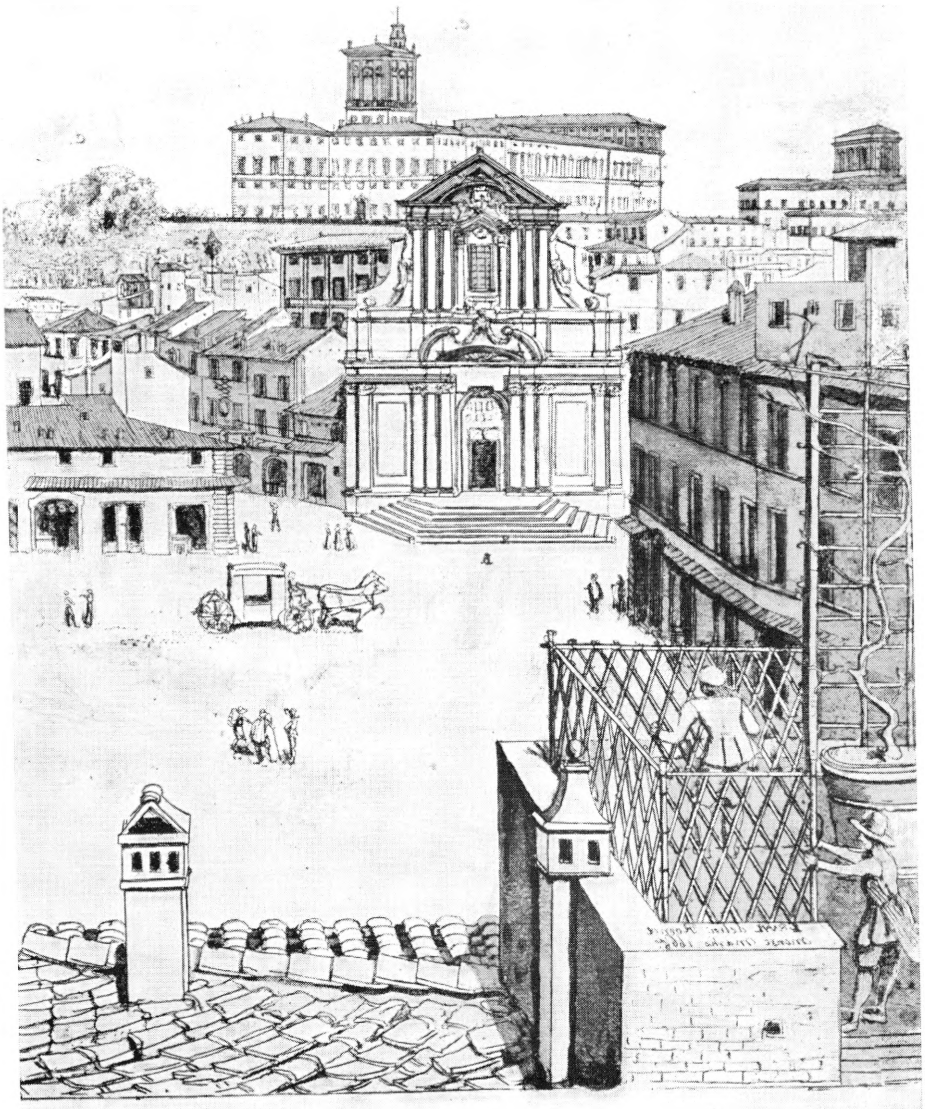
<sup>154</sup> LORENZEN finds analogies in Pal. Doria-Tursi or Pal. Balbi in Genoa, "transposed into French château-style".





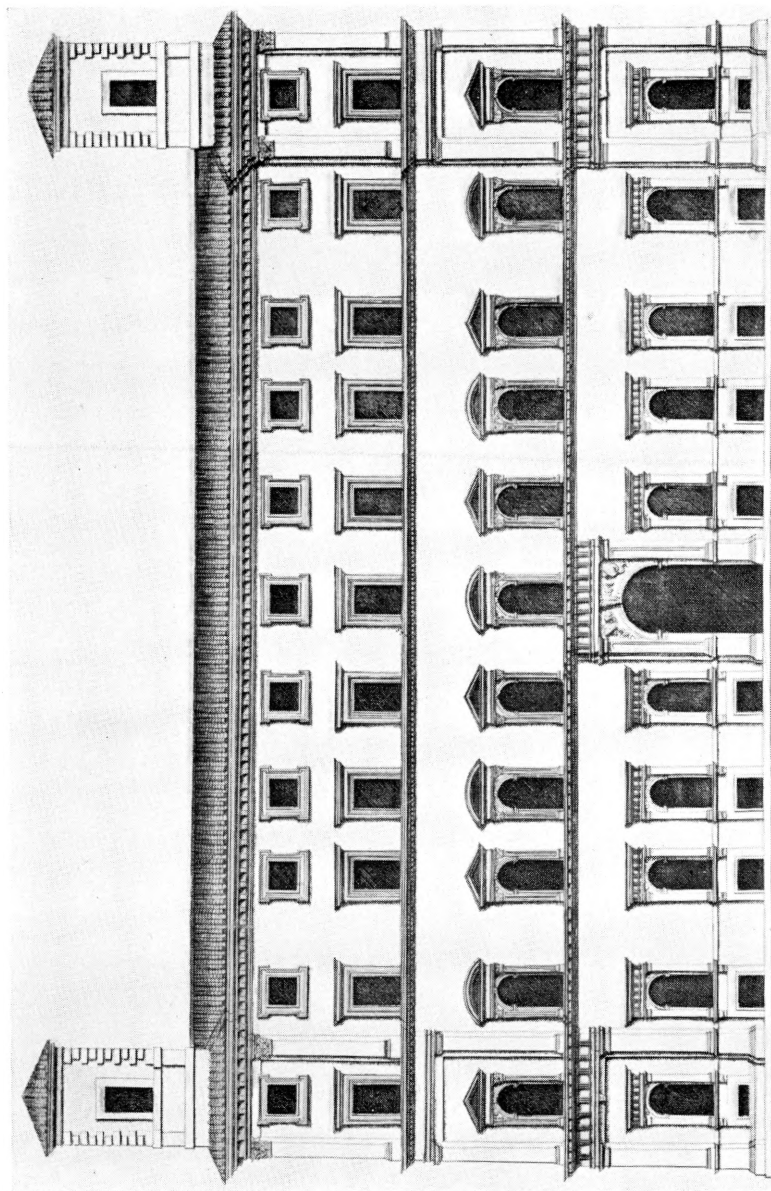
PLATES





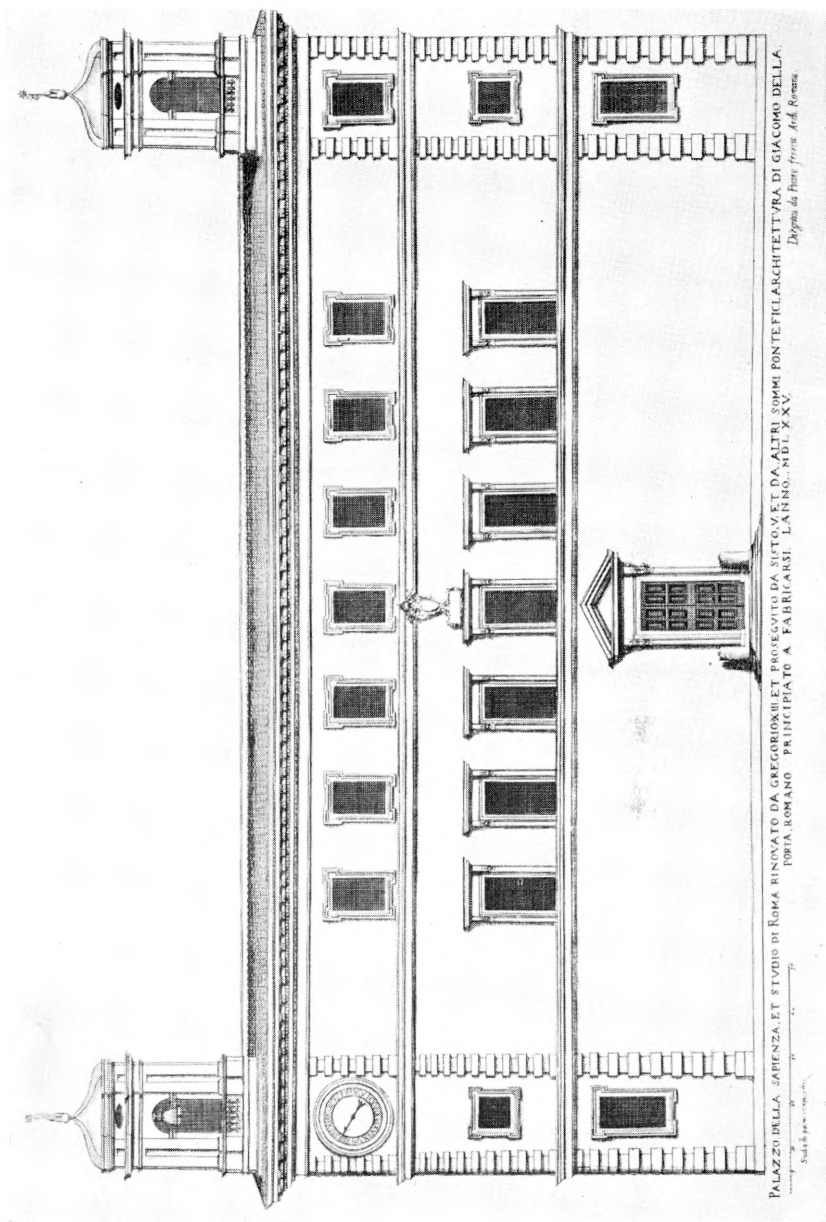
Piazza di Trevi. In the background Pal. del Quirinale and (to the right) Pal. Rospigliosi. (Cruyl.)



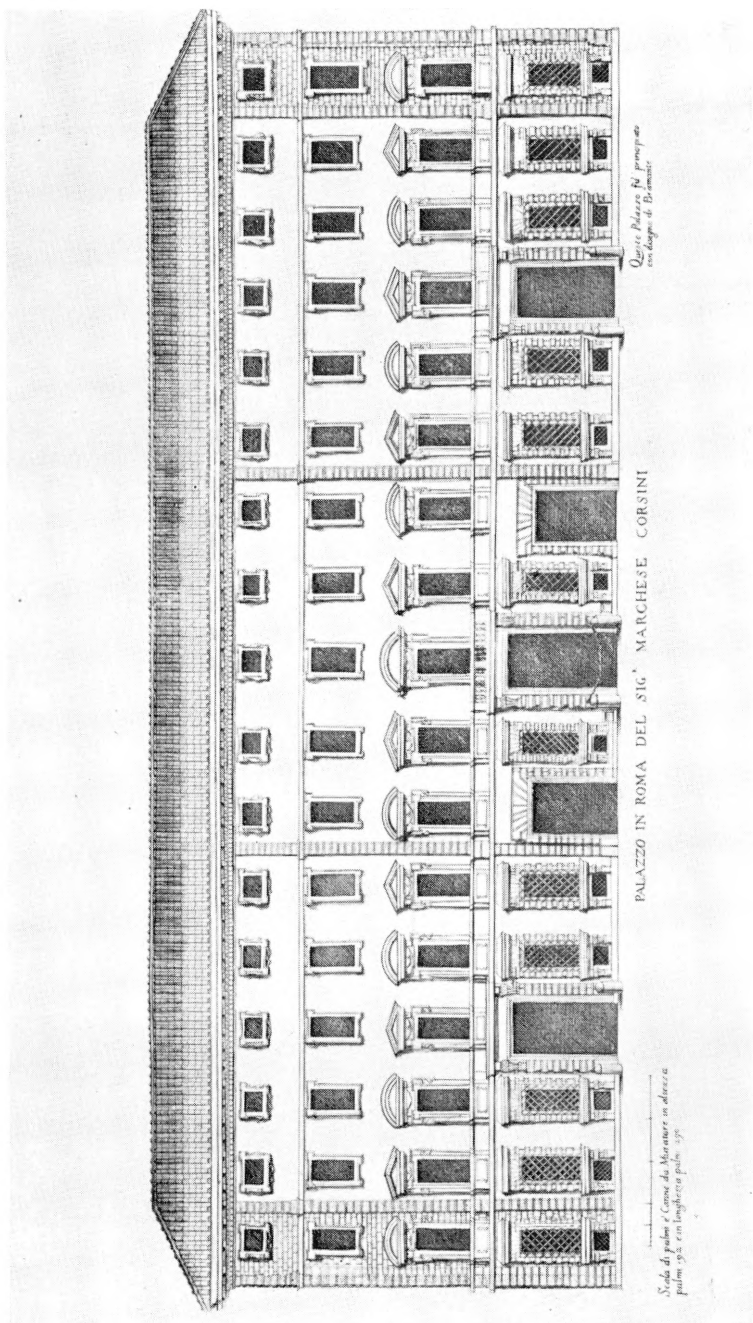


PALAZZO DEL SIG.<sup>ro</sup> DVCA DI SORA, NELLA REGIONE DI PARIONE VICINO LA CHIESA NUOVA FABRICATO DAL CARDINAL NICOLO' FIESCHI CON ARCHITETTURA DI BRAMANTE  
D'AVRILINO L'ANNO .MDV.  
F. Ferrario del. scult. P.

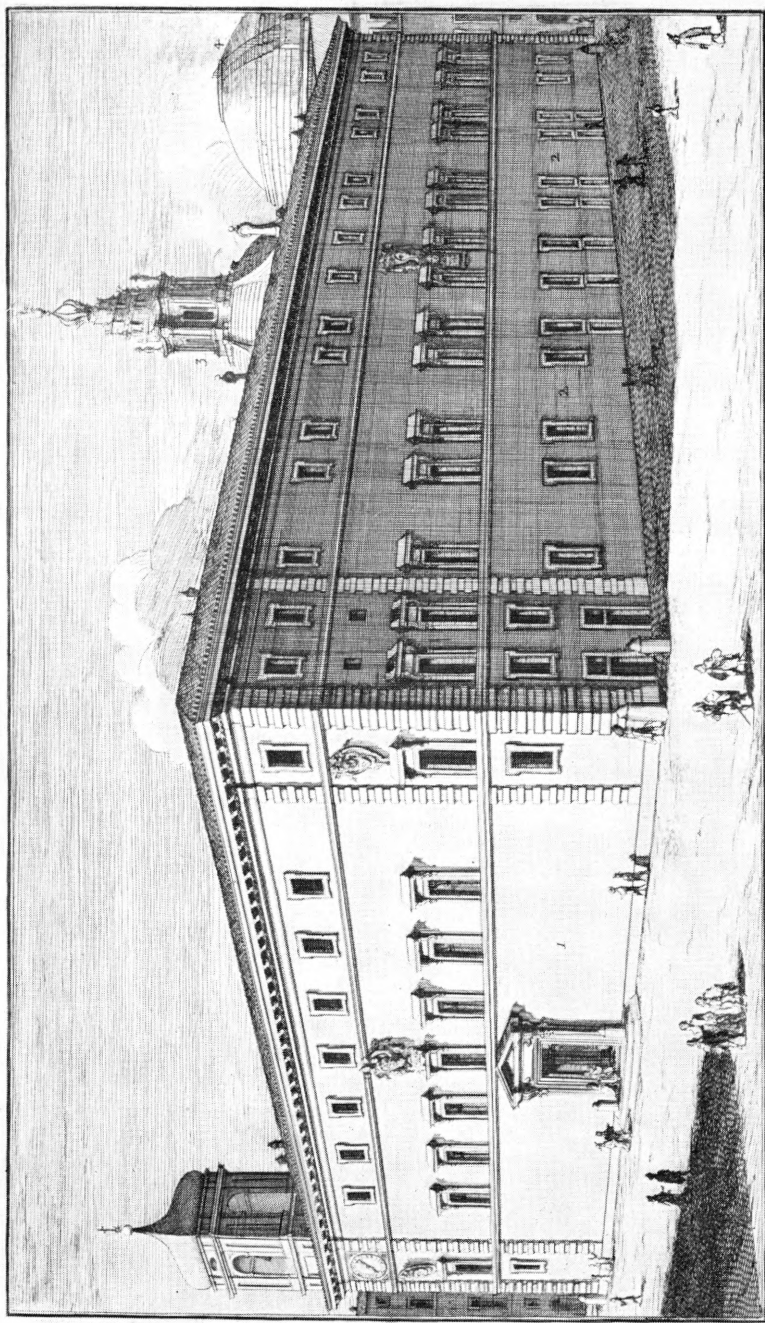
Palazzo Sora. (Ferrerio.)



Palazzo della Sapienza. (Ferrario.)



Palazzo Corsini. (Ferrario.)

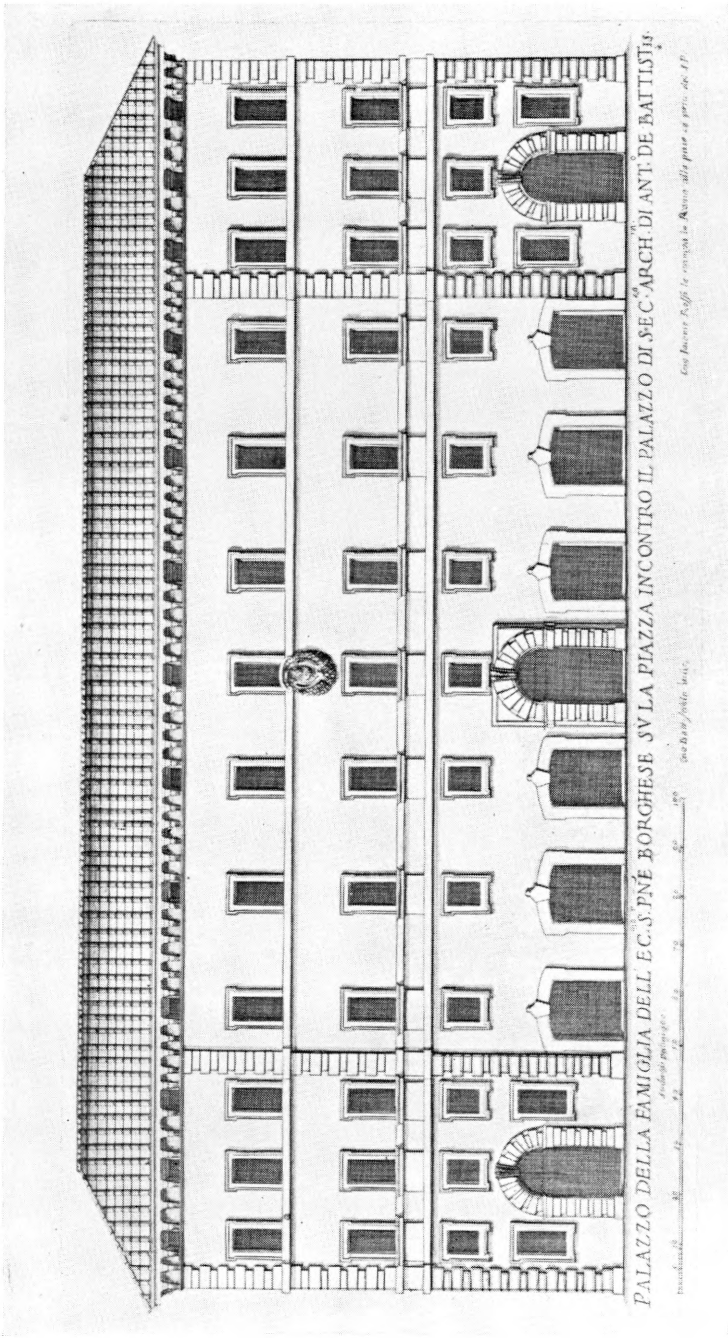


PALAZZO DELLA SAPIENZA. È STUDIO PUBBLICO DI ROMA  
*Architettura di Giacomo della Porta.*

1. Facciata principale, 2. Fianco dello Studio, 3. Cappella della Chiesa di detto Palazzo, 4. Cappella della Rotonda.

Disegnato da Domenico Beccarelli, Incisa dalla Off. Litograf. di Roma, sulla Piazz. del P. Sapienza di Sp.

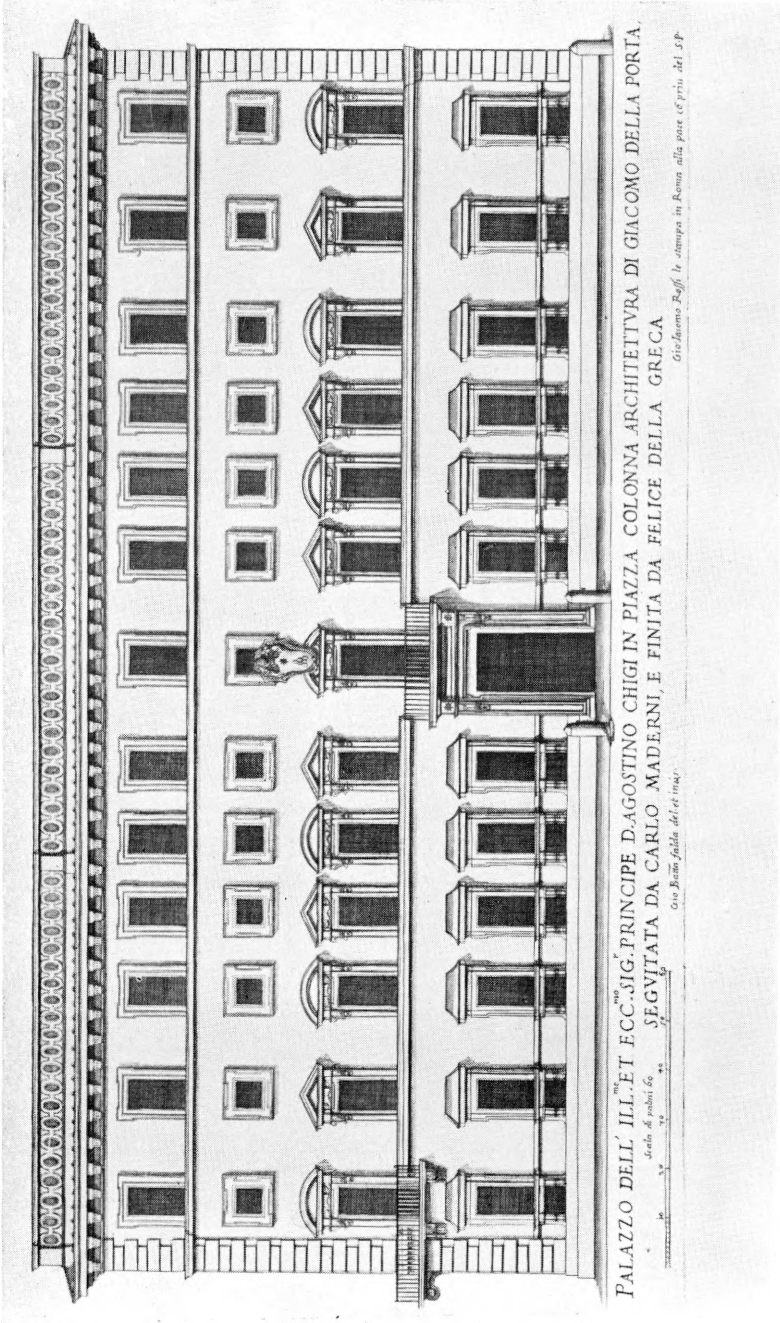
Palazzo della Sapienza. (Specchi.)



Palazzo della Famiglia Borghese. (Faldia.)







Palazzo Aldobrandini-Chigi. (Faldia.)







ALTRA VEDUTA DELLA CHIESA DI S.IGNAZIO DE PP. DELLA COMP. DI GIESÙ NEL RIONE DELLA

*Pigna condotta da uarij disegni dalPHoratio Graffi,Matematico.*

1 Chiesa de PP. Gesuiti del Collegio Rom. 2 Conuento de PP. Domenicani.

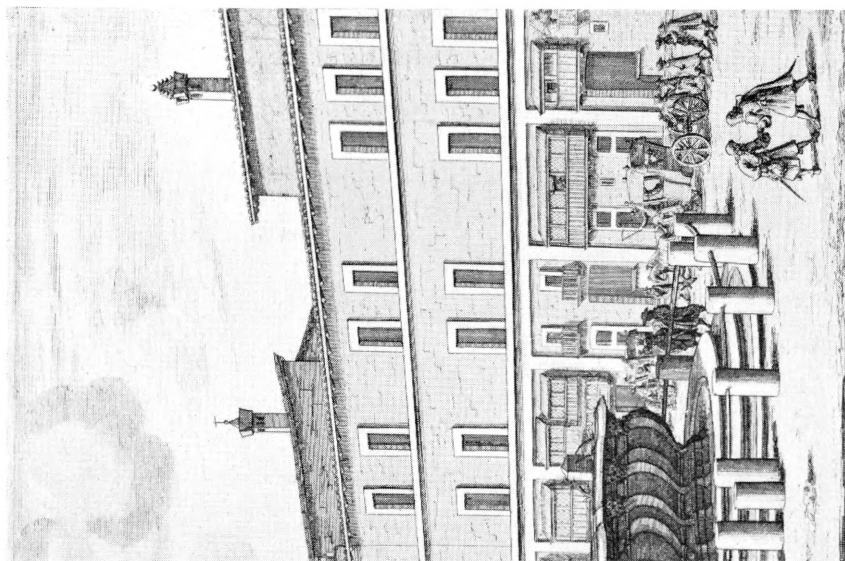
*Geo. Bern. Guad. Scultore.*

*Fig. Gio. Ignazio, Disegn. in Roma alla par. o prin. del S. Paul.*

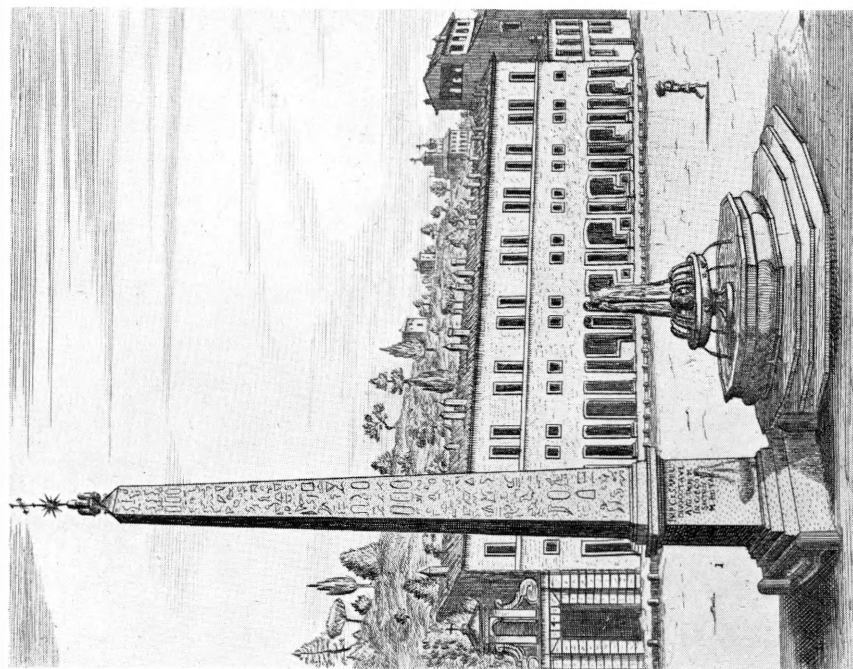
3 Guglia di S. Mauro.

4 Otatono di S. Fran. Squero.

Chiesa di Sant' Ignazio, with Jesuits' Convent. (Falda.)



b. House in Piazza Colonna. (Faldá.)



a. House in Piazza del Popolo. (Faldá.)

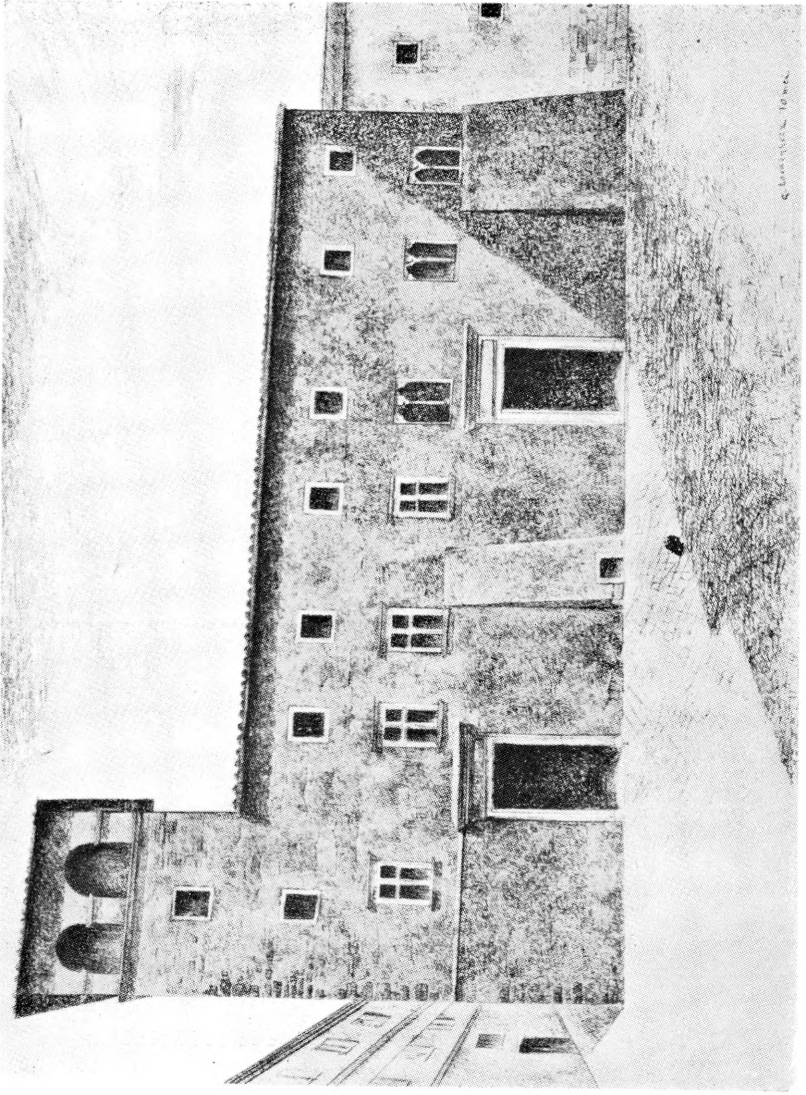


Palazzo Salviati. (Falda.)

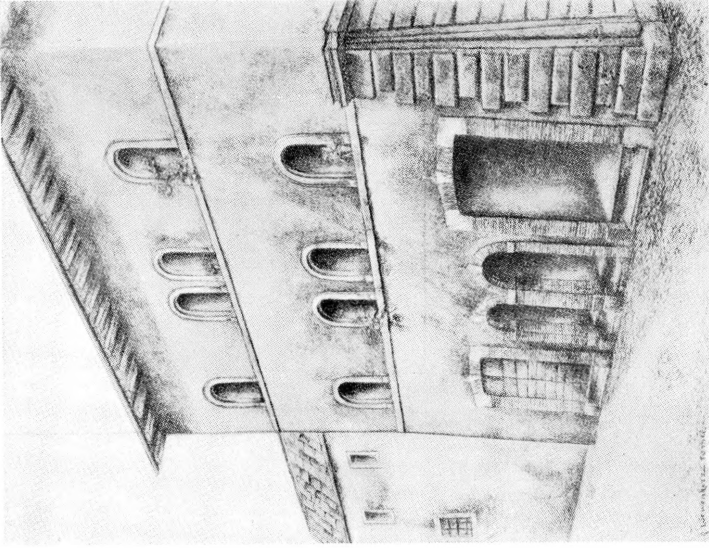


Via delle Quattro Fontane seen in the direction of S. Maria Maggiore.  
(G. Terborch the Elder.)

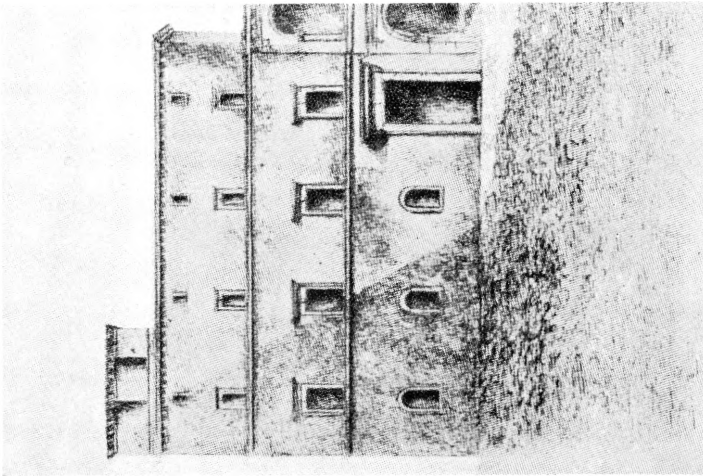




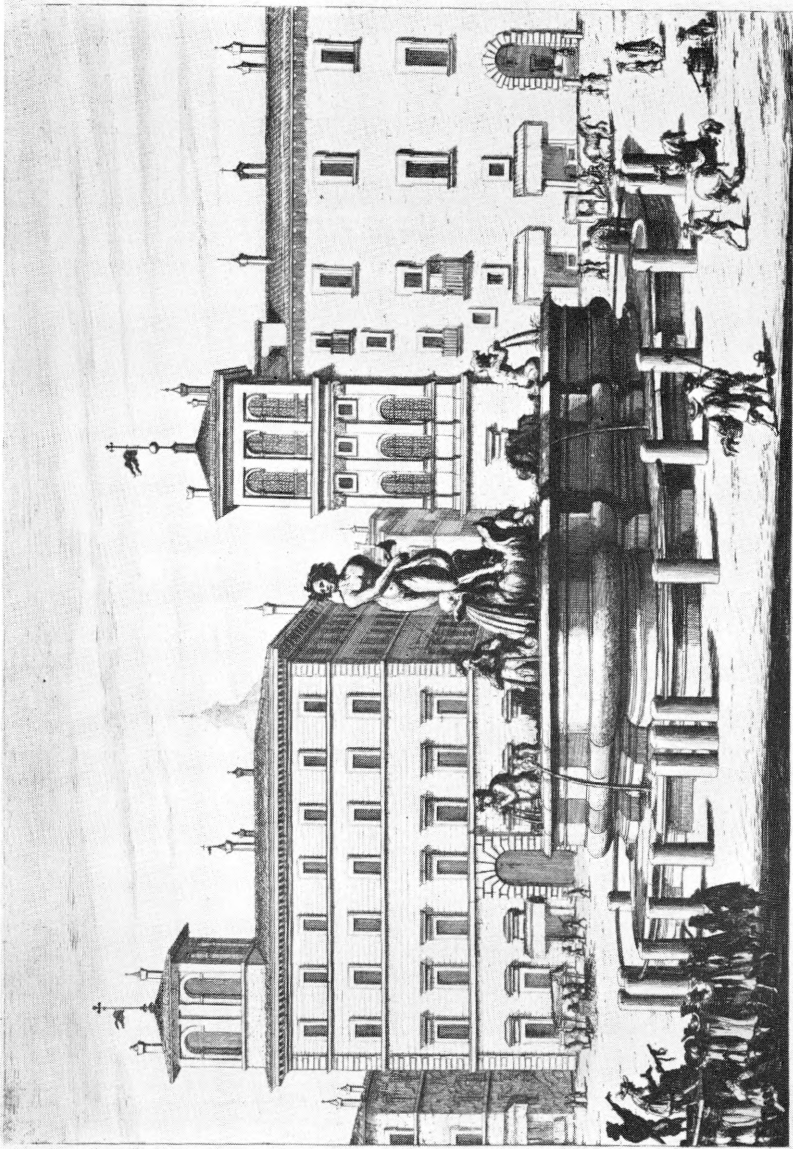
Palazzo Capranica. (After Tomci.)



b. House in Vicolo Sugarelli. (After Tomèi).



a. Palazzo Della Rovere. (After Tomèi.)



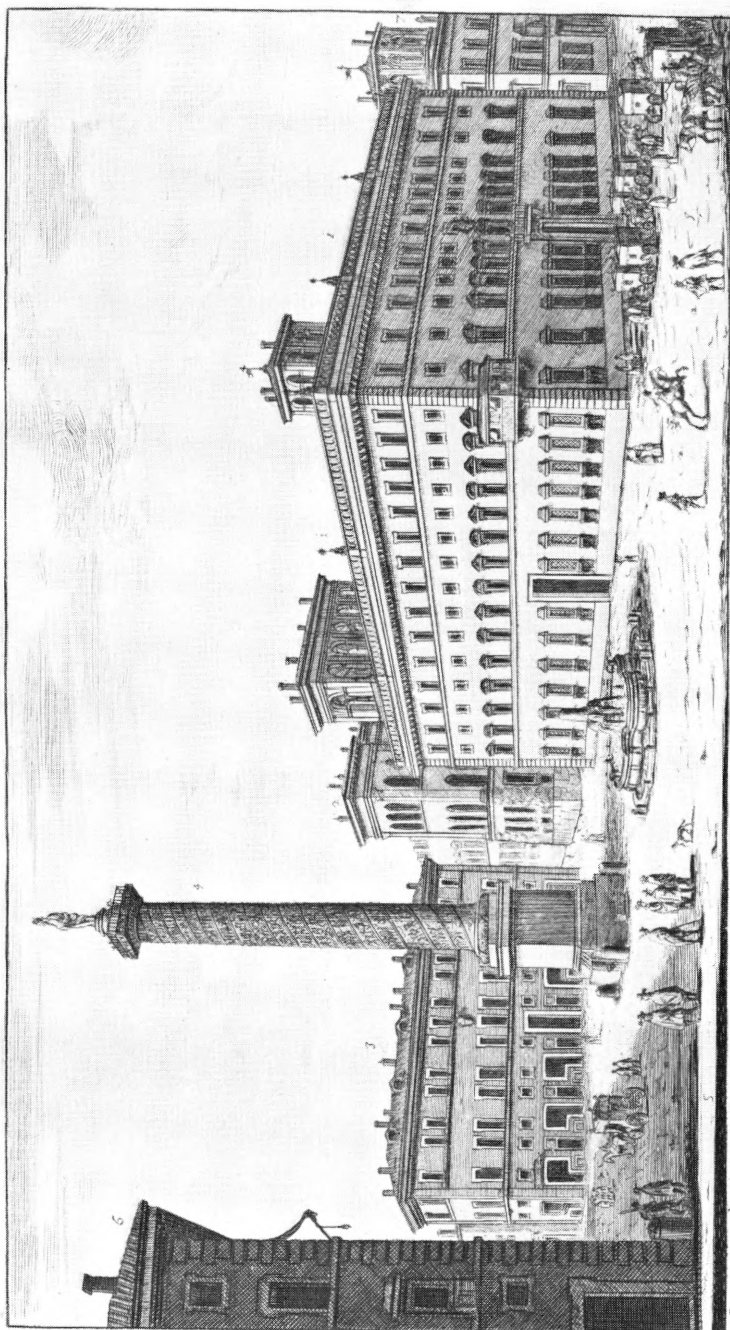
FONTANA IN PIAZZA NAVONA.

avanti il Palazzo del E.c.c.<sup>mo</sup> Sig. Principe Pamphilo, Architettura di Giacomo della Porta, rifabbricata dal Cav. Bernini, et abbellita col la statua di Nettuno.  
G. B. Falda del. et inc. G. L. Piffi, le stampa in Roma alla pace et presso del ST.

Piazza Navona with Pal. Ormano (right). (Falda.)



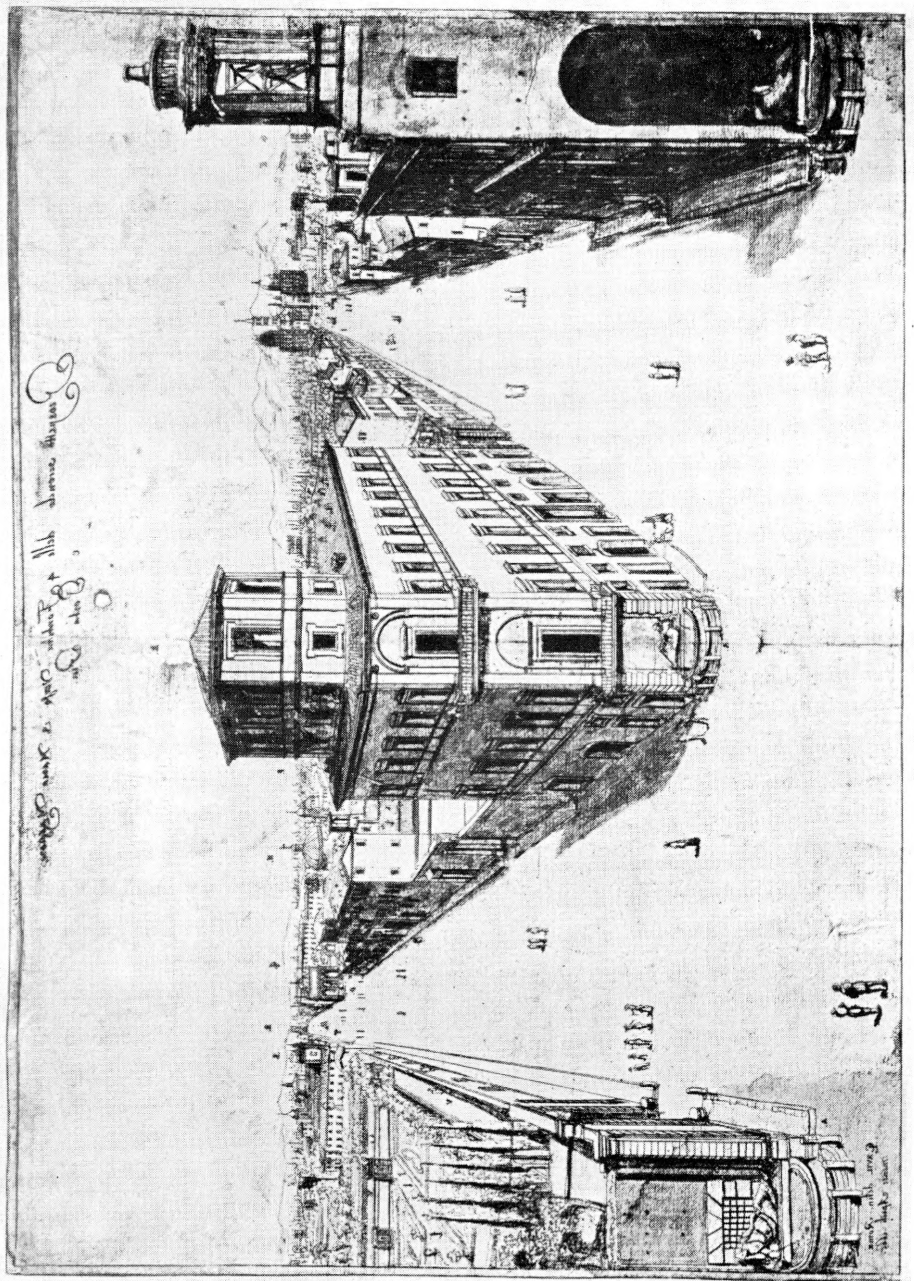




1 Palazzo degli *Ermi* Sig.<sup>ni</sup> Chigi.  
2 Palazzo degli *Ermi* S. Ludovici verò *M. Citorio*.  
3 Palazzo della Famiglia *Ludovici*.  
4 Colonn. *Antonini*.  
5  
6  
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Palazzo Aldobrandini-Chigi in Piazza Colonna. (Falda.)

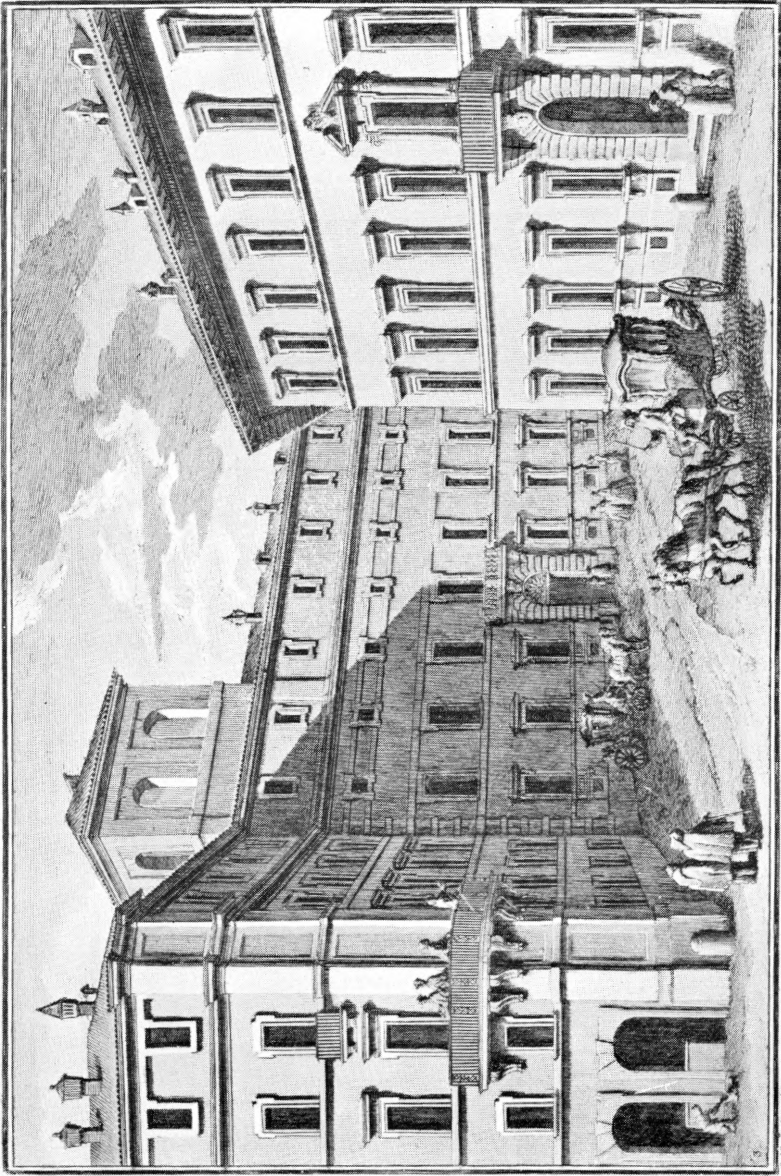




Palazzo Albani-Del Drago alle Quattro Fontane. (Cruyl.)

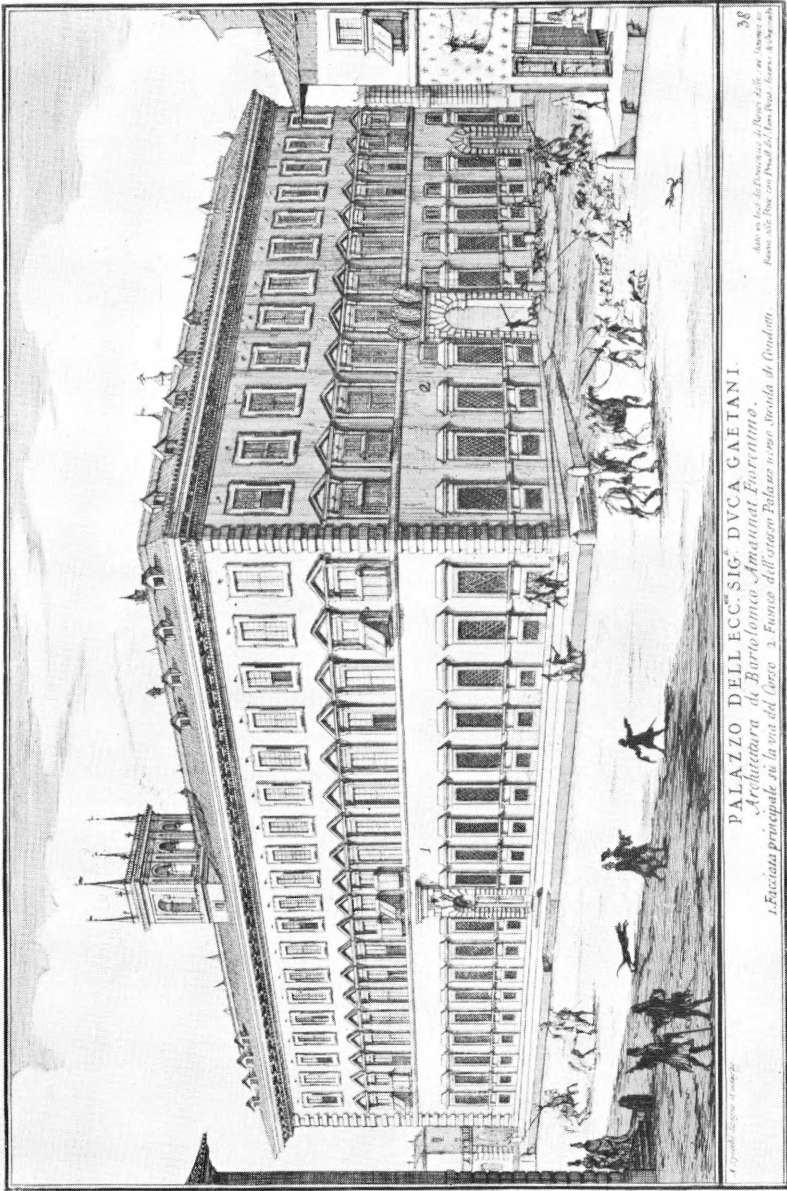




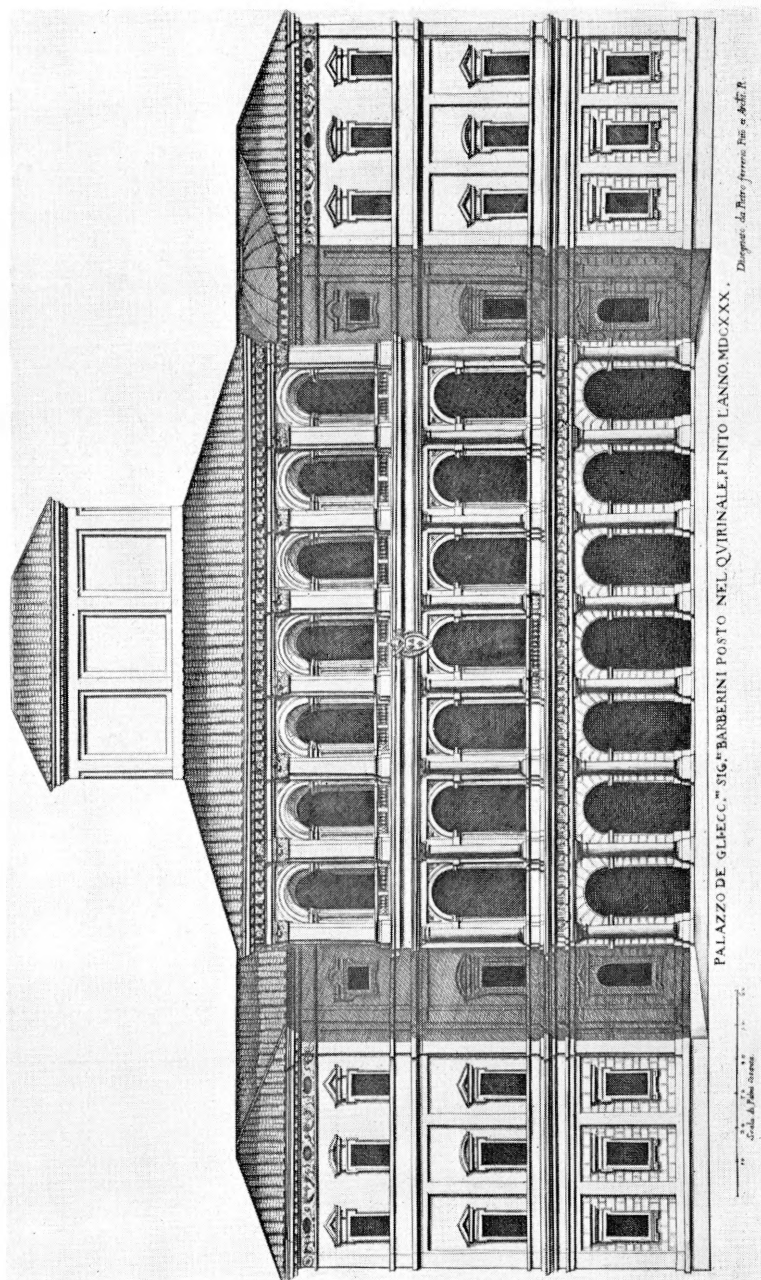


Collegio Nazzareno in Vasi, che porta alla Chiesa di S. Andrea alle fratte.  
- 1 - Palazzo del Marchese del Bufalato, a. Strada, che porta alla Chiesa di S. Andrea alle fratte.

Collegio Nazzareno. ( Vasi )

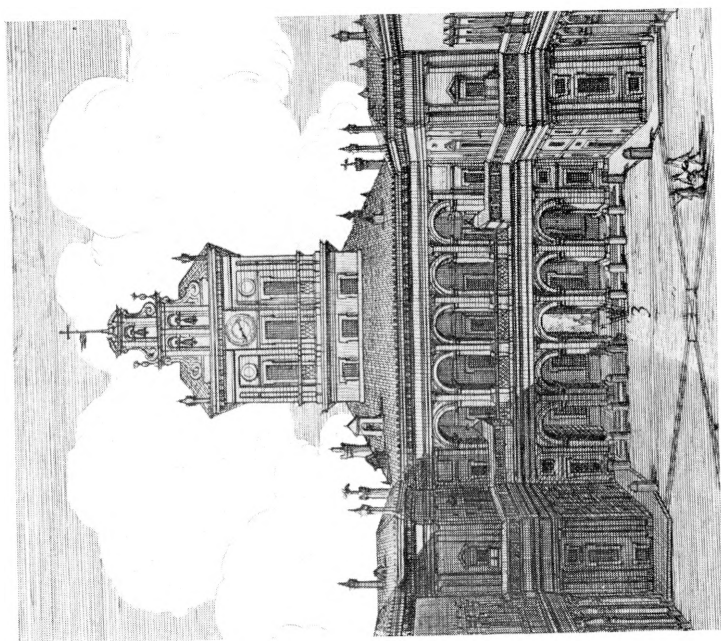


Palazzo Ruspoli. (Specchi.)

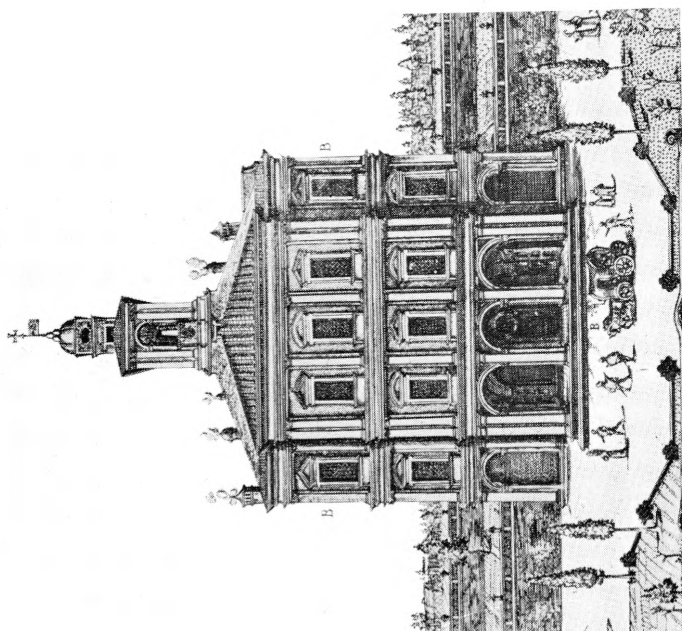


Palazzo Barberini. (Ferruccio.)

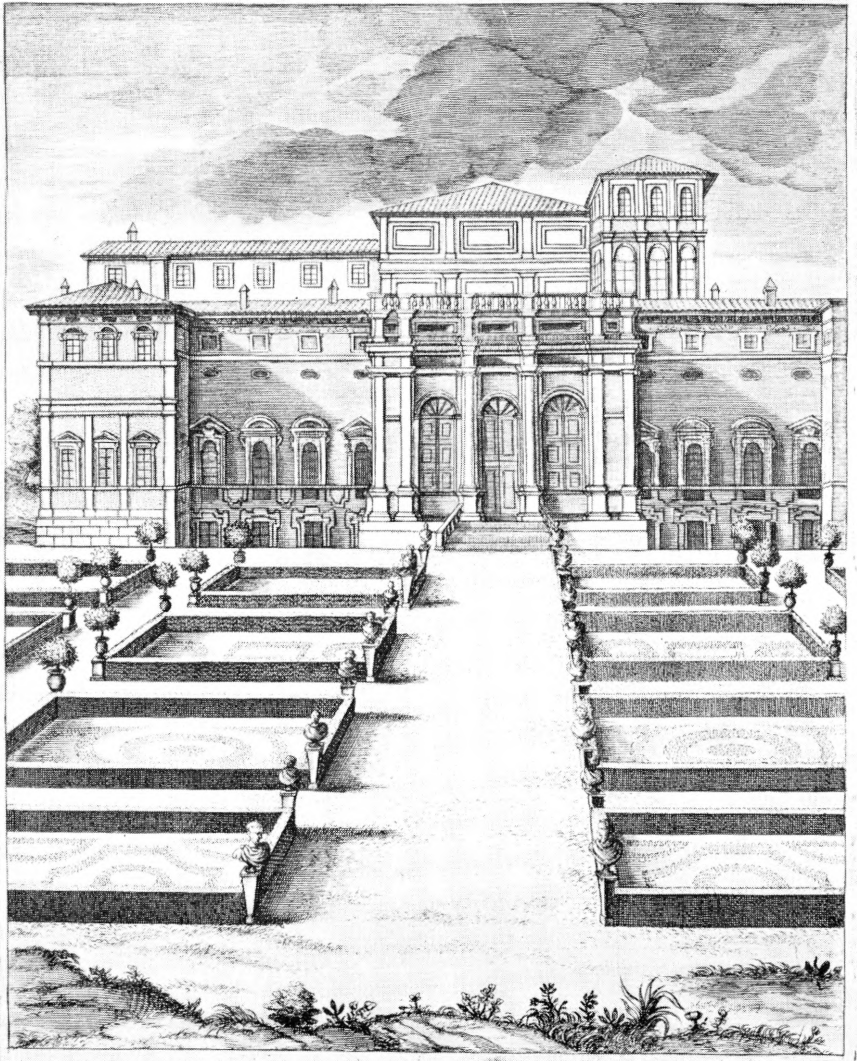




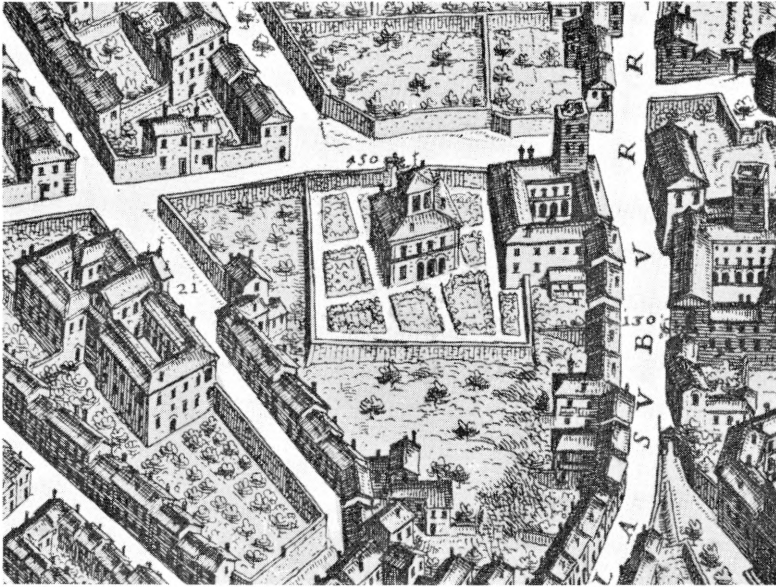
b. Palazzo del Quirinale. (Faldia.)



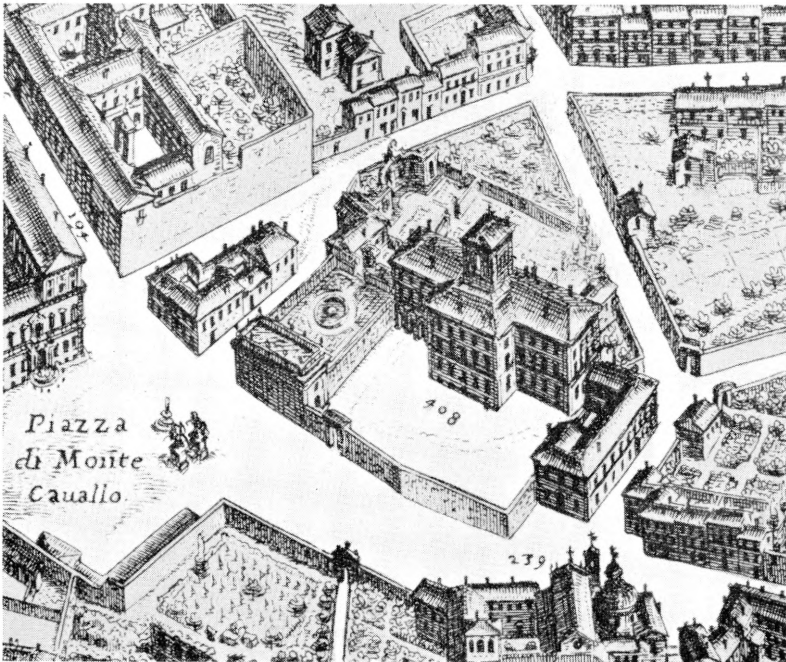
a. Villa Montalto. (Fontana.)



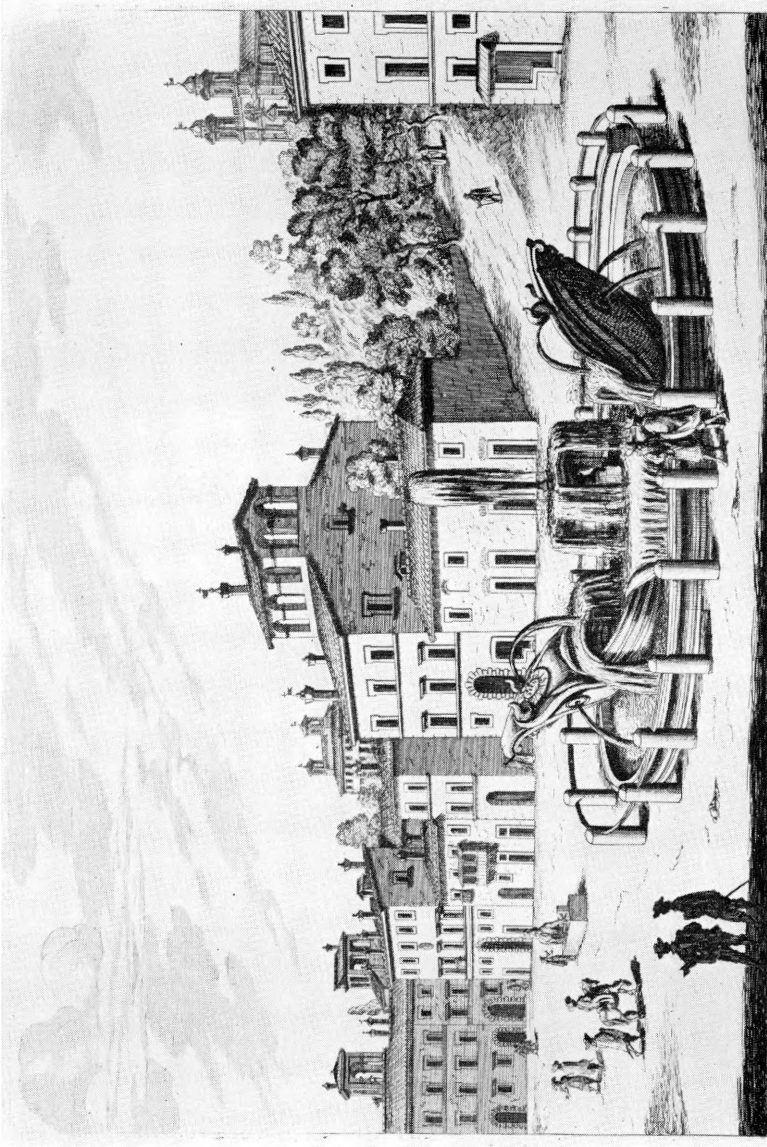
Pal. Barberini, seen from the garden. (Teti.)



a. Casino and Palazzo Sforza in Monte Esquilino. (Falda's Map.)



b. Palazzo Rospigliosi in Monte Cavallo. (Falda's Map.)



FONTANA NELLA PIAZZA DELLA TRINITÀ DE MONTI  
nel Rione di Campo Marzo, Architettura del Cav. Gio. Lorenzo Bernini.

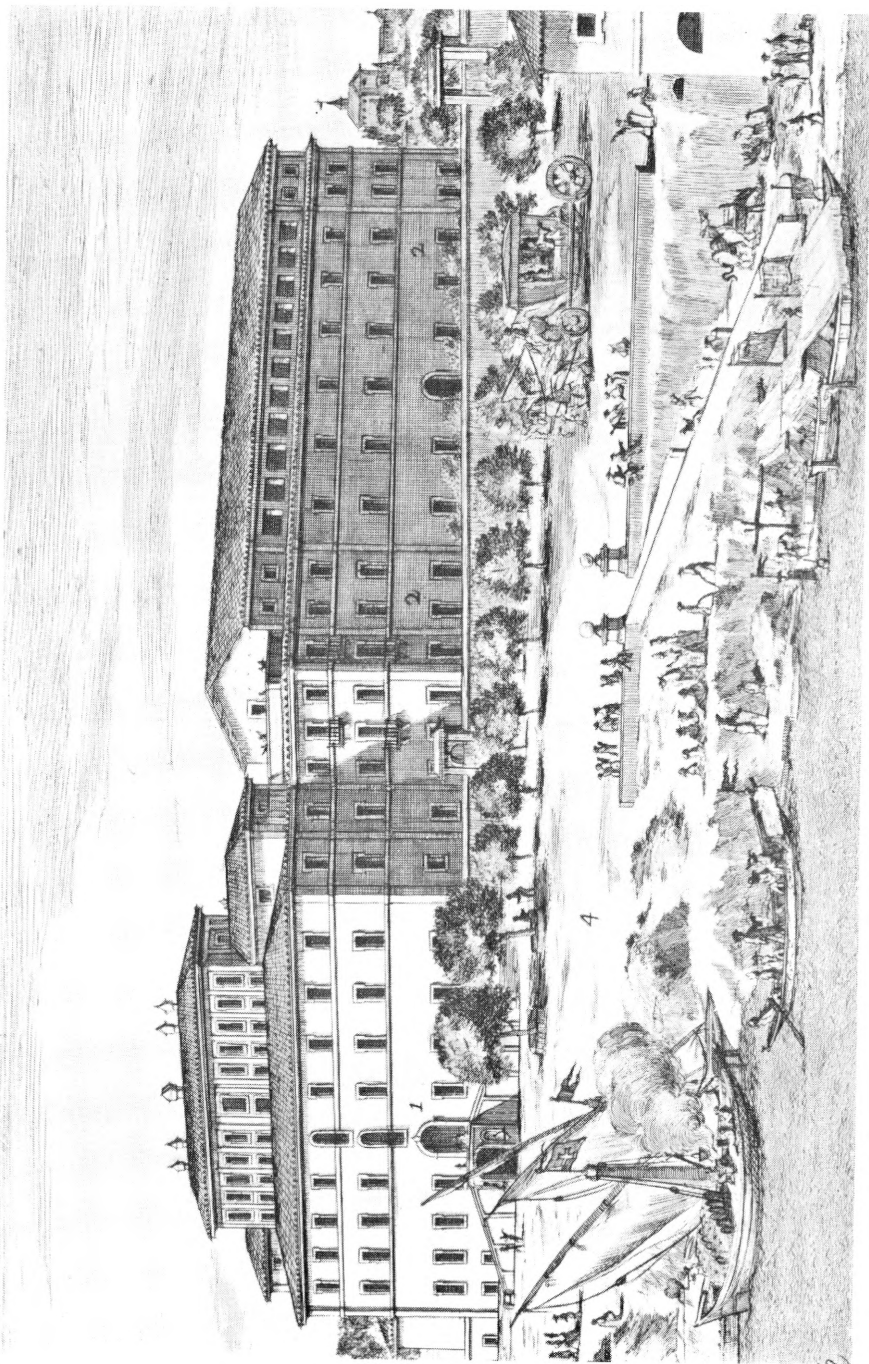
© In. Roff. le stampa in Roma alla Press. ed. Pini del S. P.

G. E. Falda del. et inc.

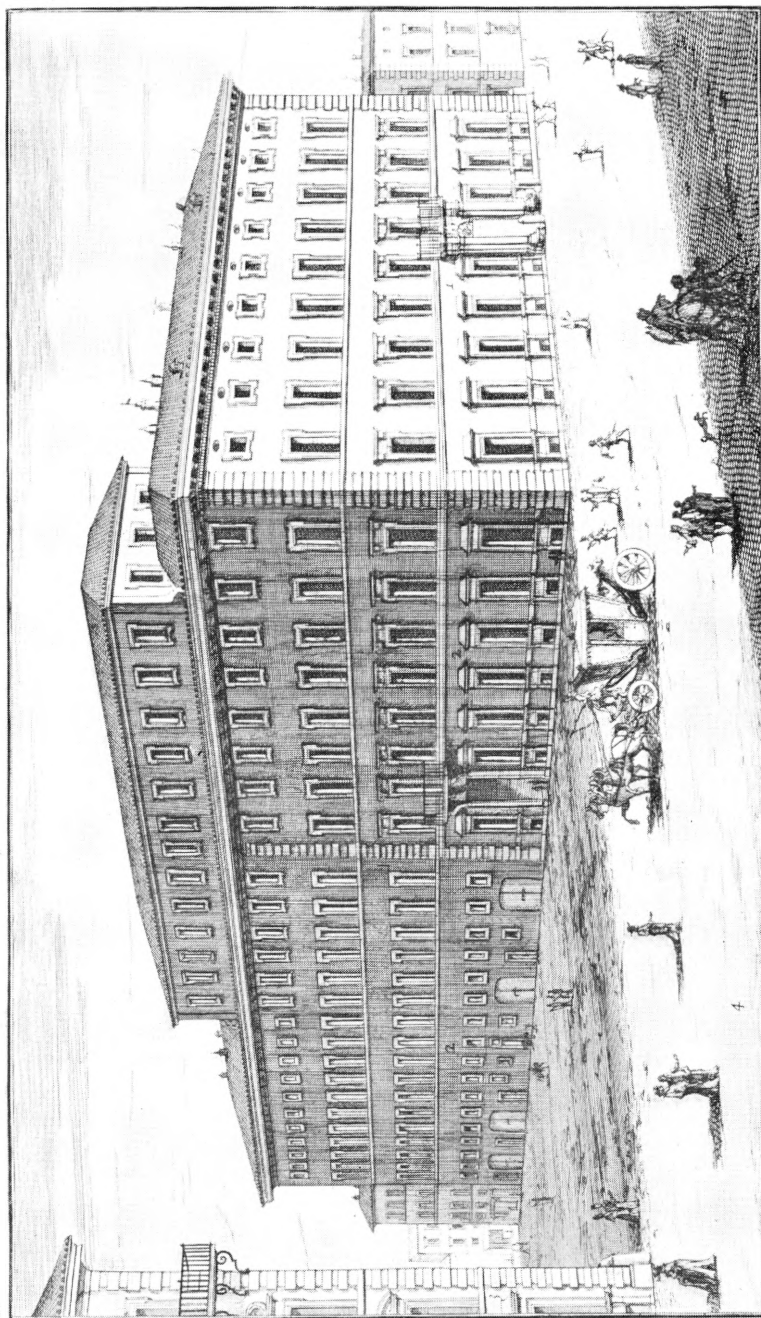
Piazza di Spagna. (Faldia.)







Ospizio di San Michele a Ripa Grande. (Specchi.)



PALAZZO DELL'ECC.<sup>MO</sup> SIG.<sup>RO</sup> PRENCIPE GIUSTINIANI SÙ LA PIAZZA DI S. LUVIGI DE FRANCESI

*Architettura di Gio. Fontana.*

1. Facciata principale 2. Fianco 3. Palazzo del Sig.<sup>RO</sup> Marchese Parititi 4. Piazza del Litigio

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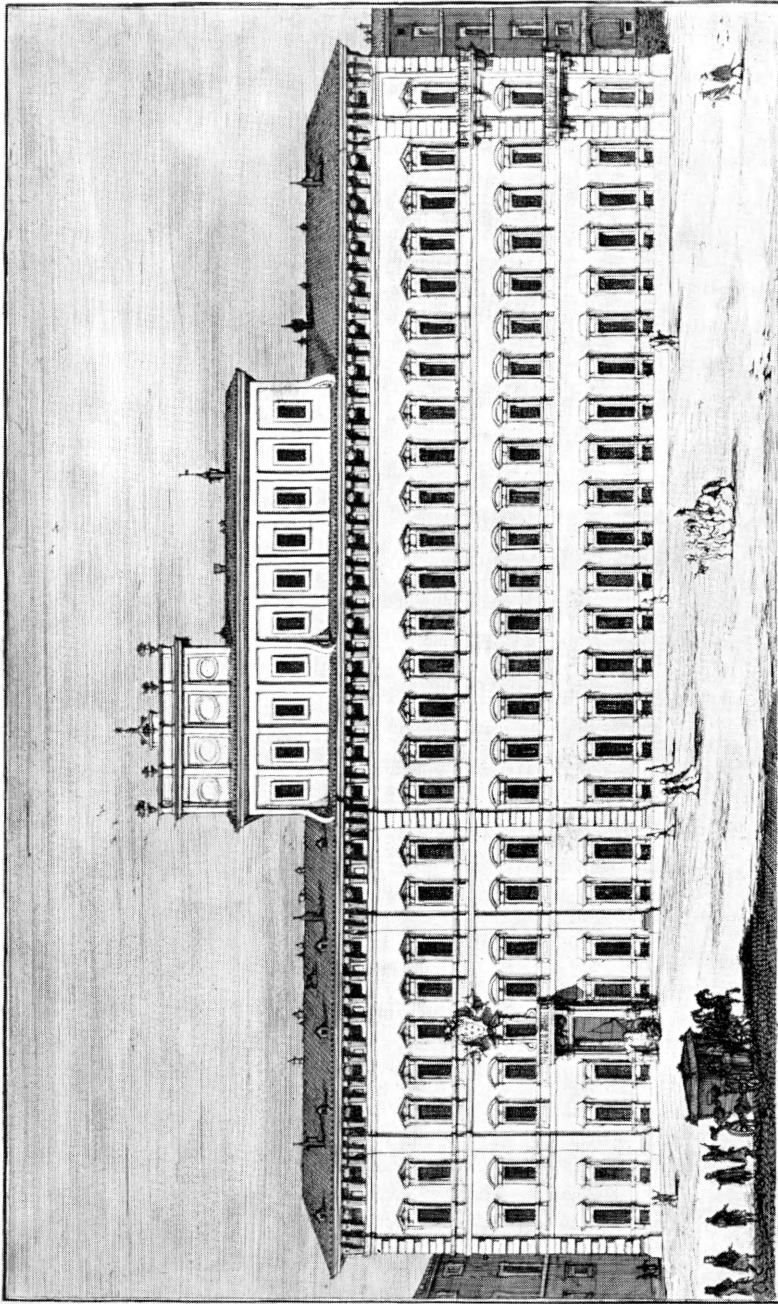
Dato in luce da Domenico de Rea, scultore di Gio. Gioacchino Rossi, dalle stampe in Roma alla Puce con Prandì del S. P. licenza de Reg.

*Magnifico Spacc. di P. P. e C.*

Palazzo Giustiniani. (Specchi.)





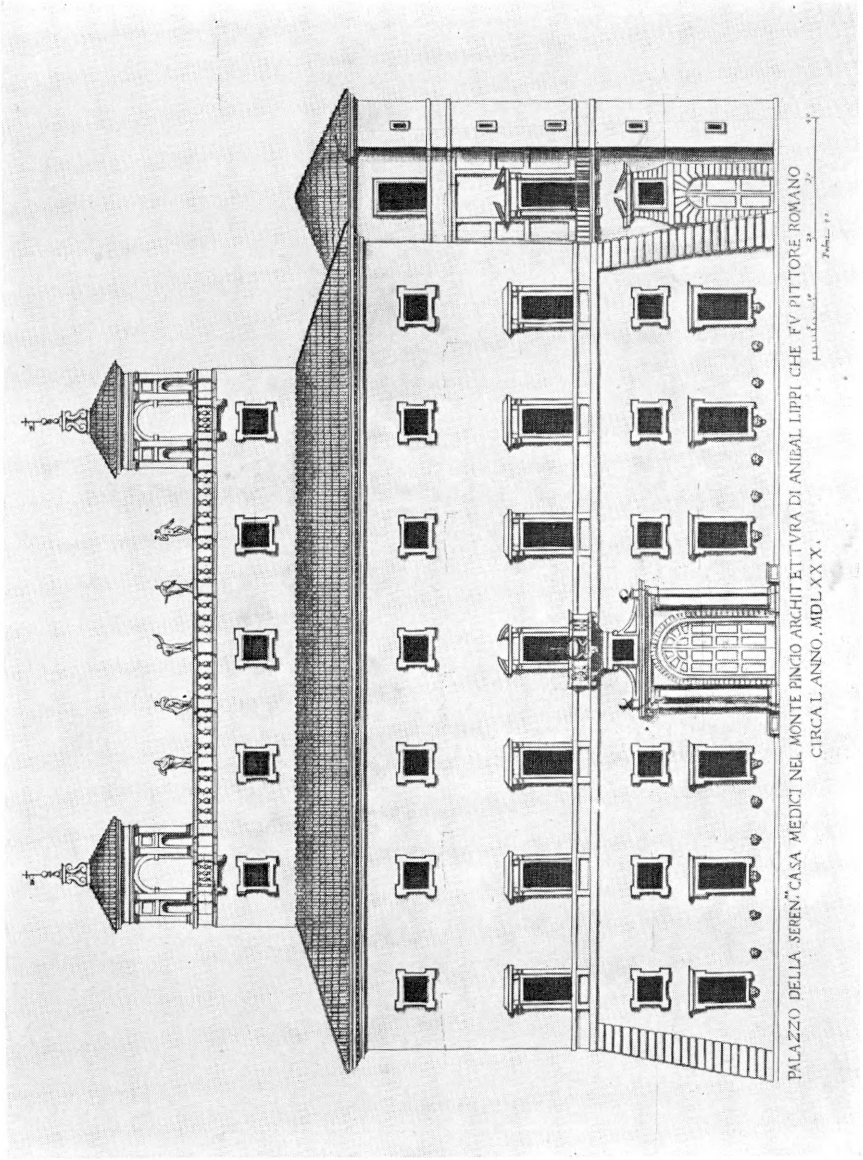


ALTRA VEDUTA DELLA FACCIATA PRINCIPALE DEL PALAZZO DELL' ECCELLENTISSIMO CASA ALTIERI, VERSO IL GIESU  
*Architettura di Gio: Antonio de Rossi.*

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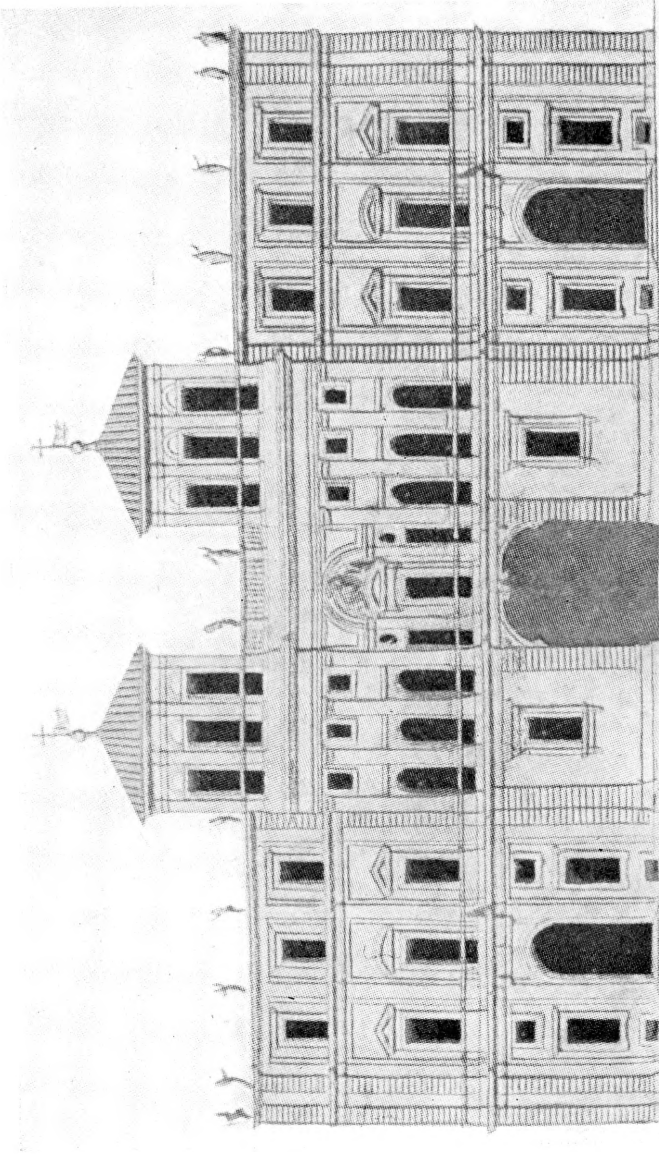
*Dal disegno dell'Architetto de Rossi, dall' opera Scenografia in Roma, off. Fel. Sc. e. Fel. P. S. Gio: de' S. Ag. 1748.*

Palazzo Altieri. (Specchi.)

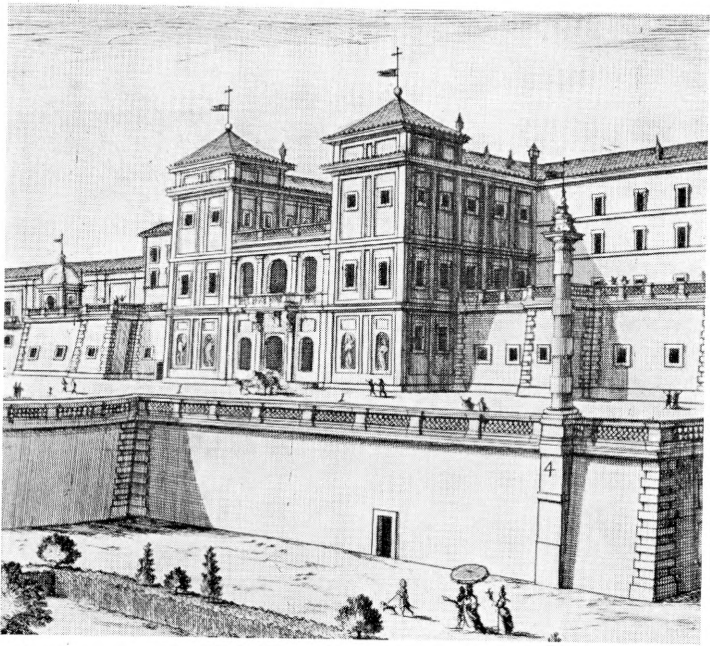


PALAZZO DELLA SERENITA' CASA MEDICI NEL MONTE PINCIO ARCHITETTO ANIBALE LIPPI CHE FU PITTORE ROMANO CIRCA L'ANNO MDLXXX.

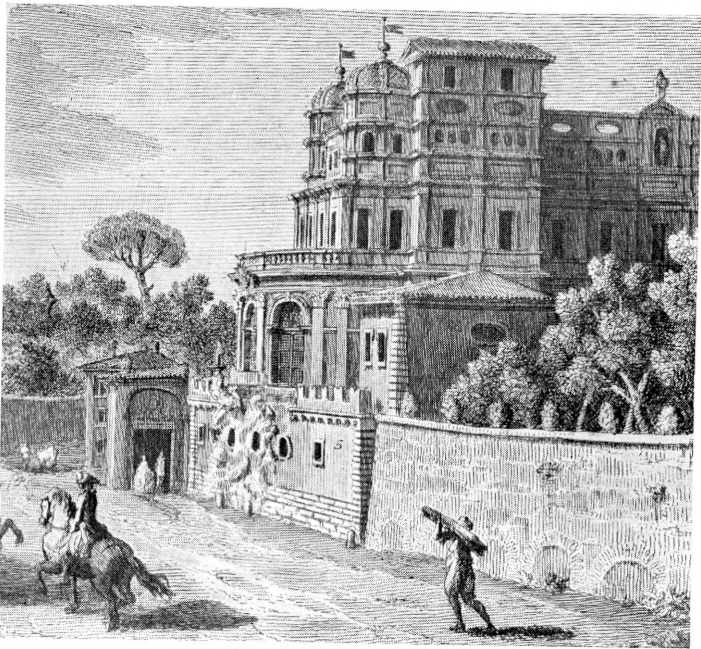
Villa Medici. (Ferrario.)



Palazzo Spada in Piazza Navona. Project by G. Rainaldi. (After Frey.)



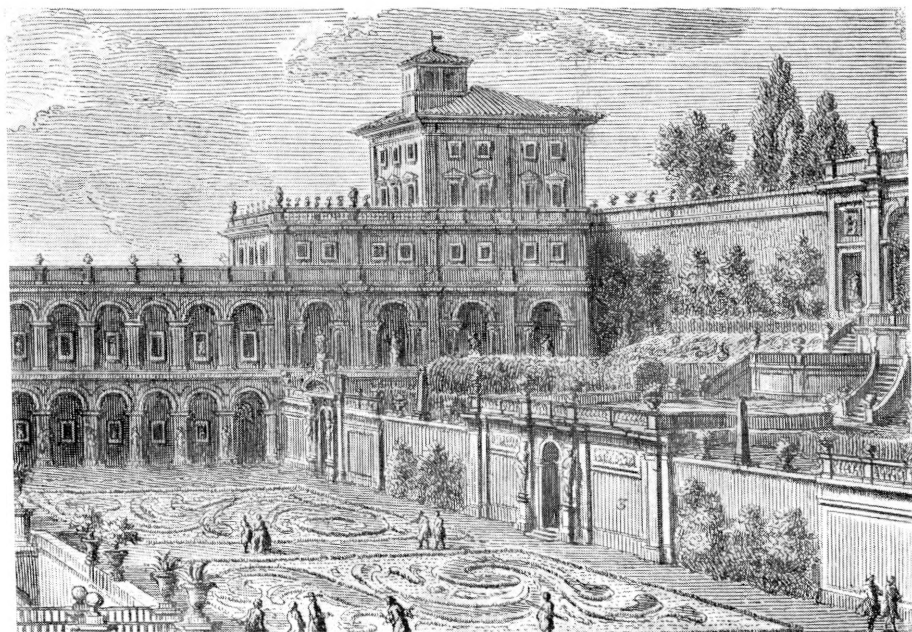
a. Villa Mondragone at Frascati. (Specchi.)



b. Villa Benedetti ("Il Vascello"). (Vasi.)

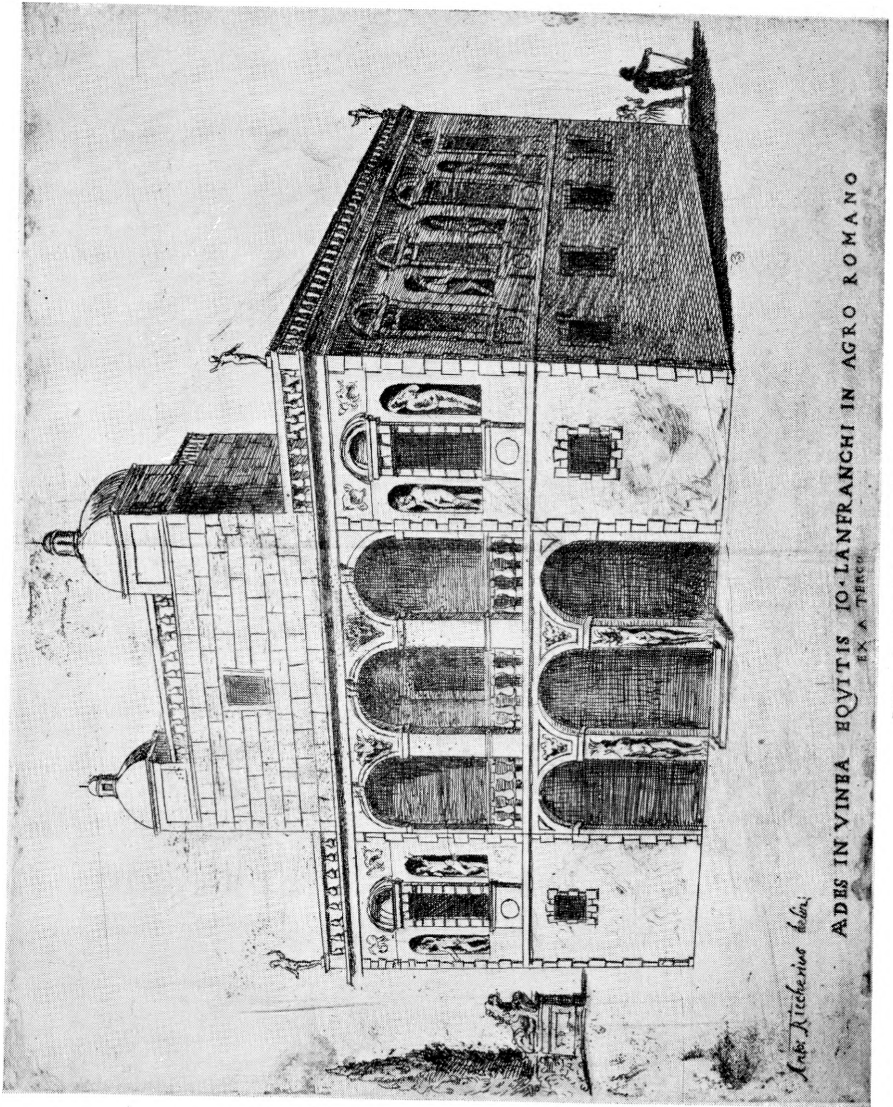


a. Villa Medici from the garden. (Vasi.)



b. Casino Colonna. (Vasi.)





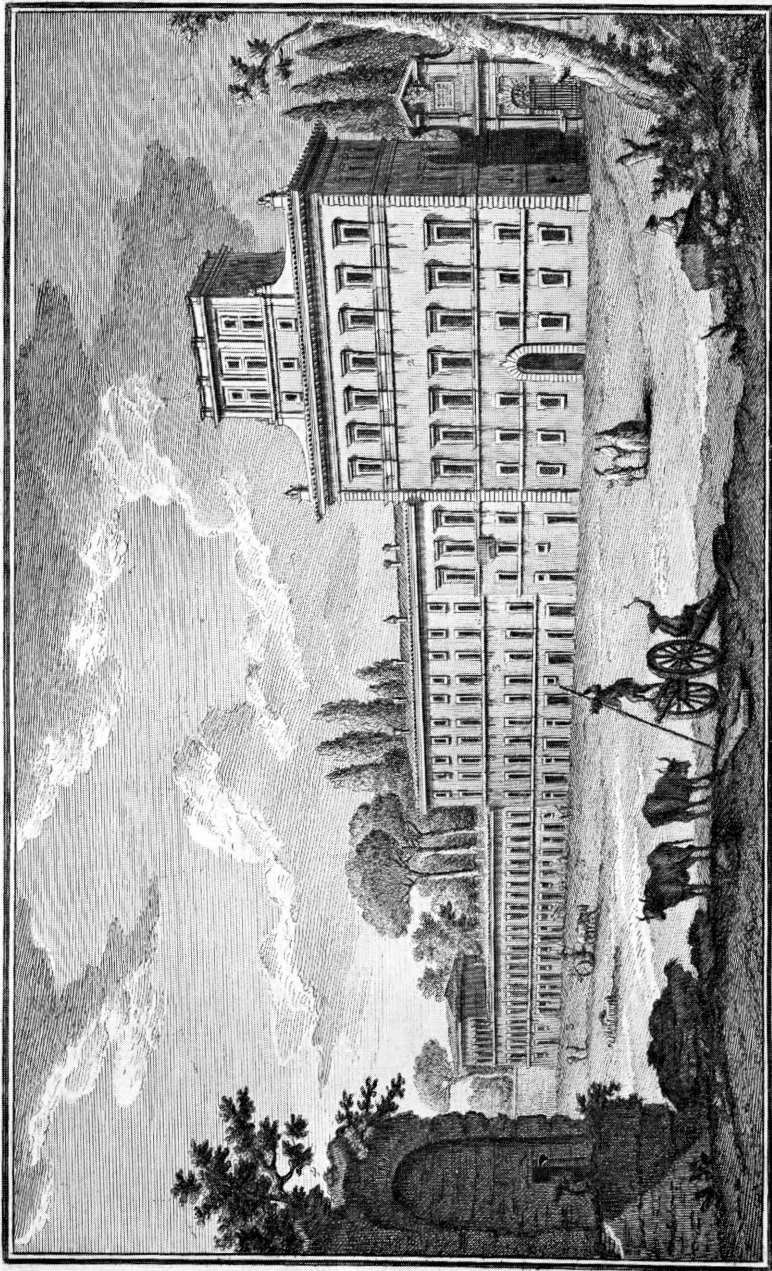
*A. Riccherius delin.*

ADES IN VINEA EQVITIS IO. LANFRANCHI IN AGRO ROMANO  
EX A TERCO

Villa Lanfranco. (A. Riccheri.)

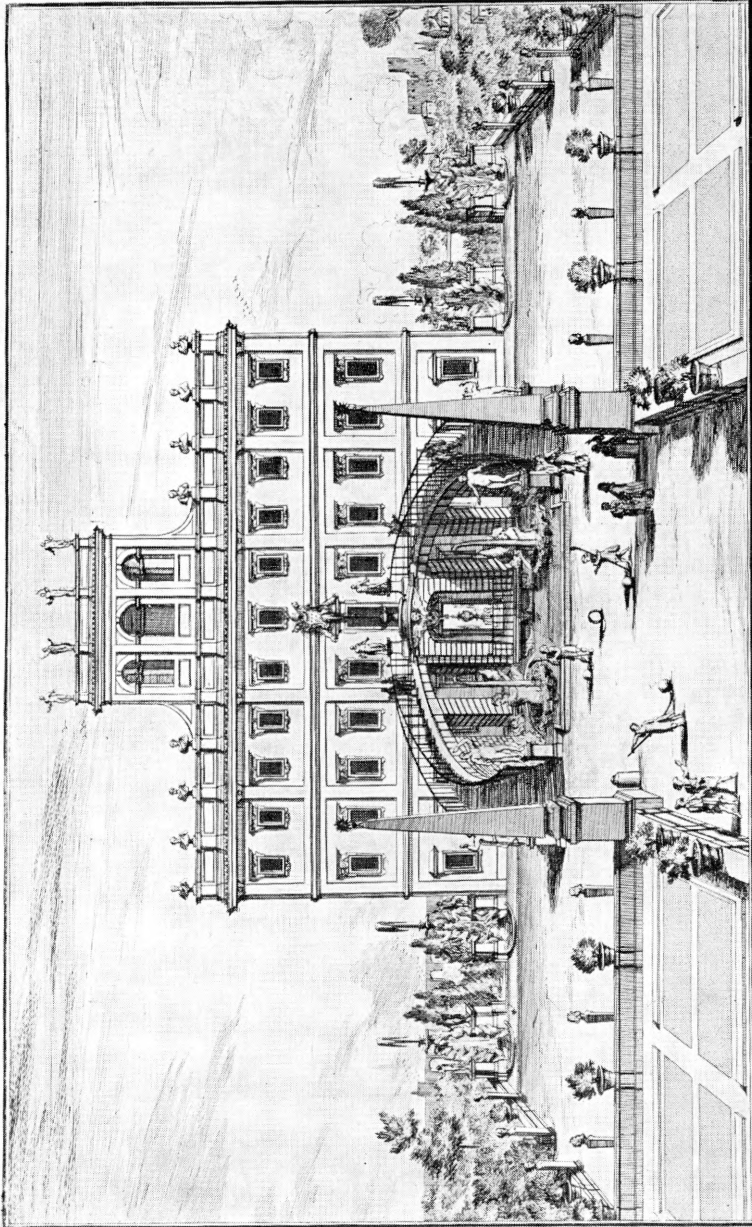






*Casino della Villa Peretti nella Piazza di Ippoliti  
1. Portone principale della Villa. 2. Casino principale. 3. Abbazione per la Famiglia Reale, e Kimesse. 4. Parte delle ruine delle Terme Dioclesiane*

Villa Peretti. (Vasi.)



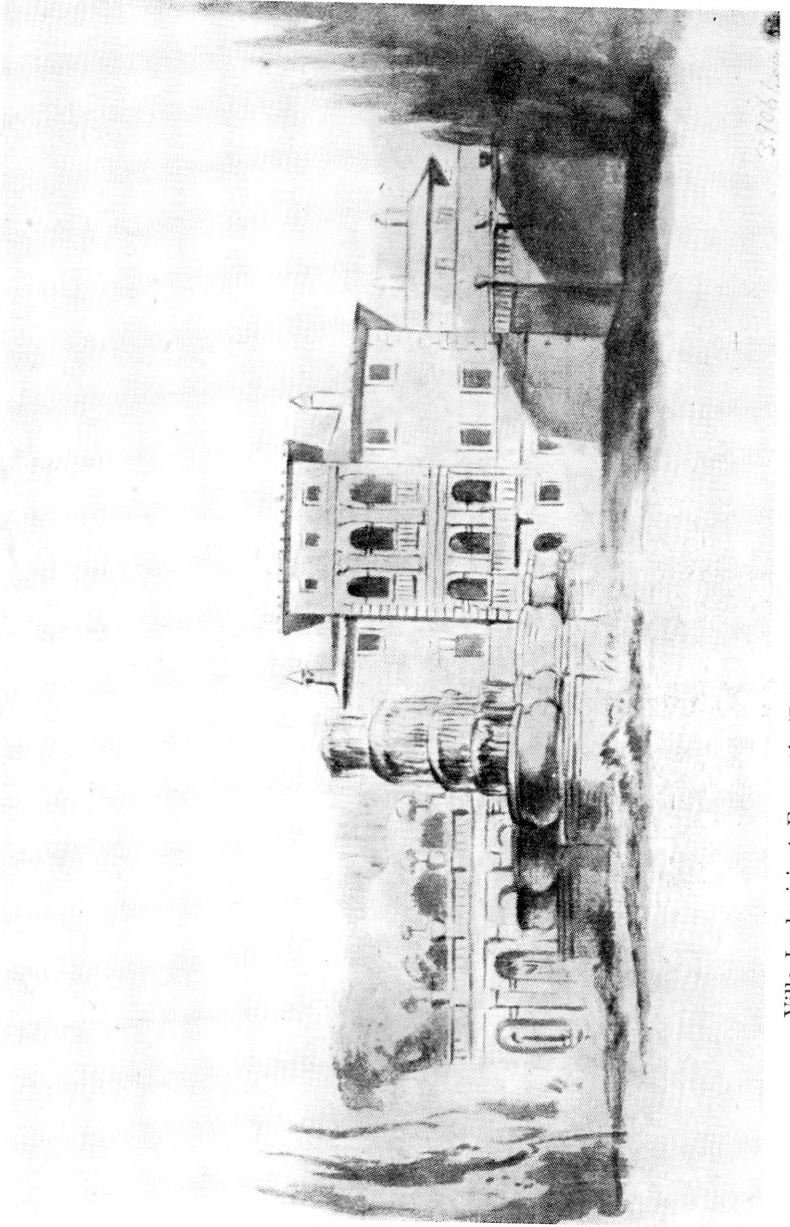
VEDUTA DEL PALAZZO DELLA VILLA DELL'ECC.<sup>MA</sup> CASA ALTIERI POSTA SOPRA IL MONTE ESQUILINO  
*Architettura di Gio. Antonio de Rossi.*

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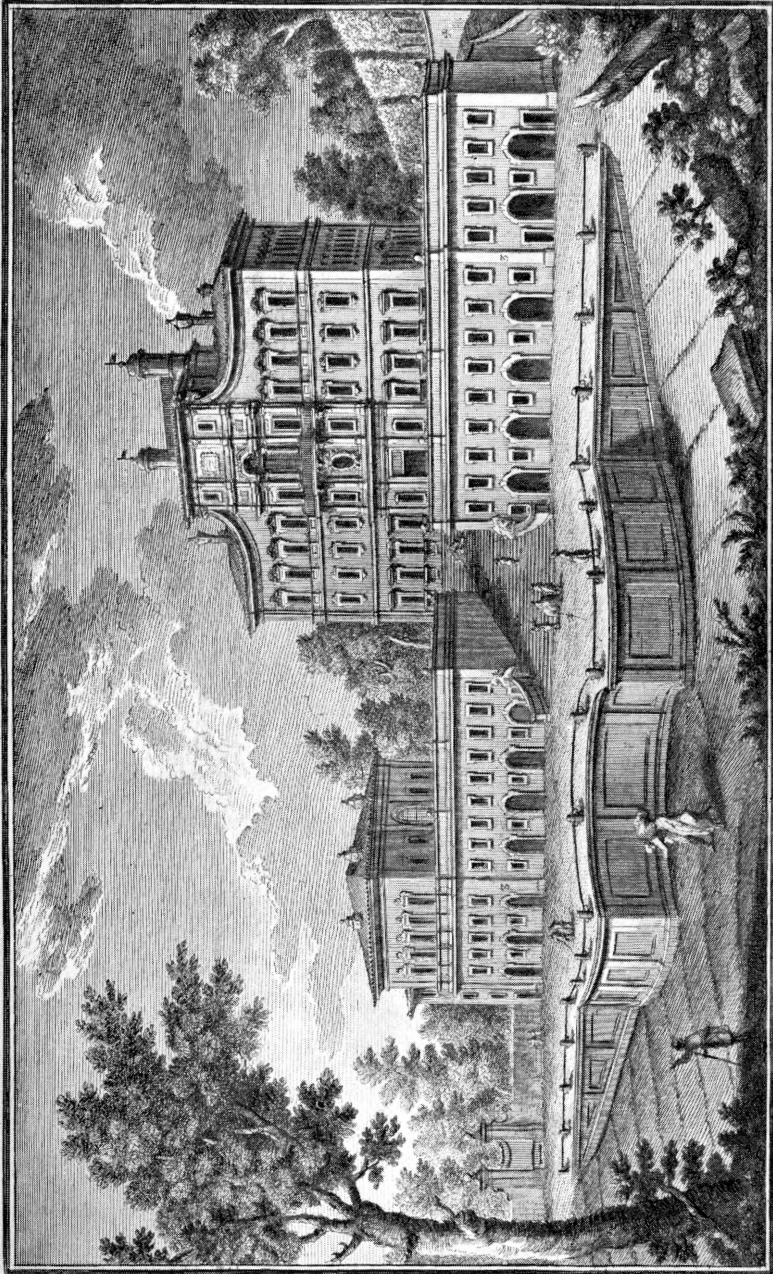
*Nella Stamperia di Domenico de Rossi, erede di Gio. Gio. de Rossi, dalle sue Stampe, in Roma alla Piazza de' Fronti, Adelfino, Fonti, e Istituto de' Vap.*

*De' Spediz. in foglio, e in carta*

Villa Altieri. (Specchi.)



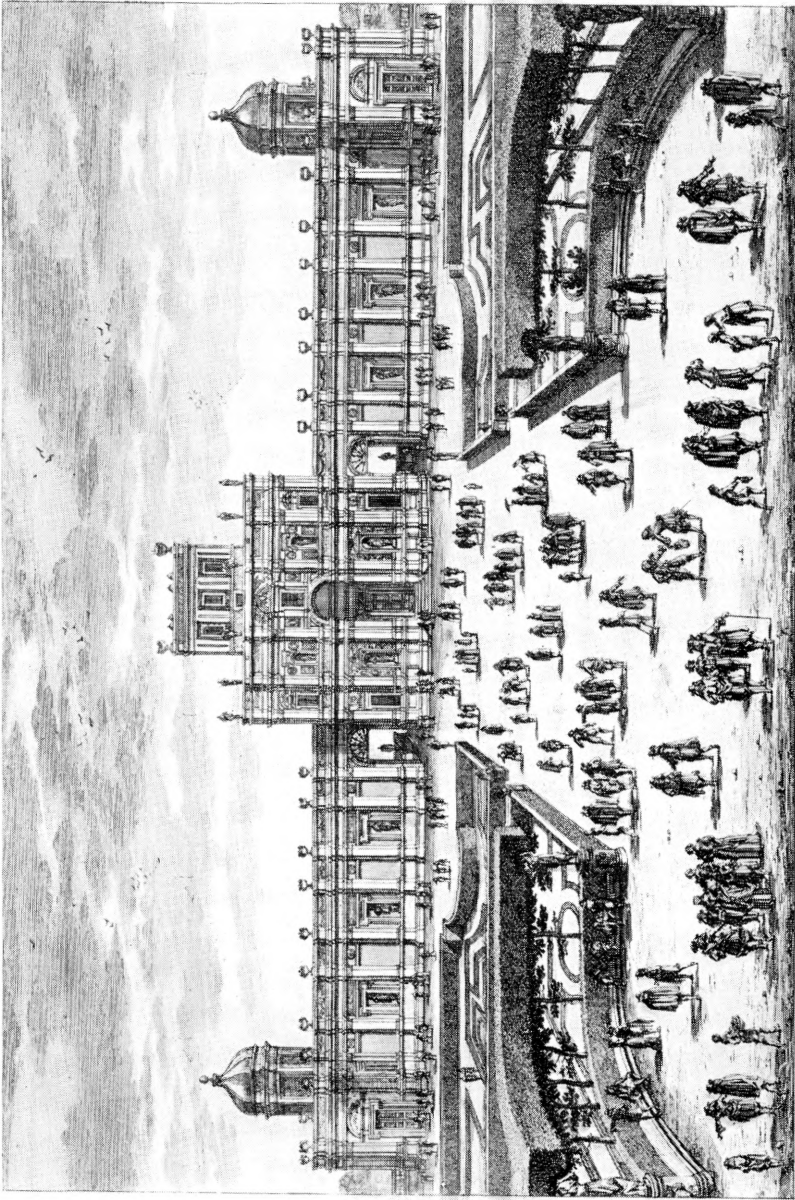
Villa Ludovisi at Frascati. (Drawing by Nicodemus Tessin the Younger.)



G. V. del. ed inc. *Castello della Villa Patrizi, fuori di Porta Fia. Ingresso presso il portone principale, o Primo riposo con scalmata e fontana, 3. Abitazione per la famiglia e rimessa delle carozze, 4. Scala e cordonaia, p. le carozze.* 191.

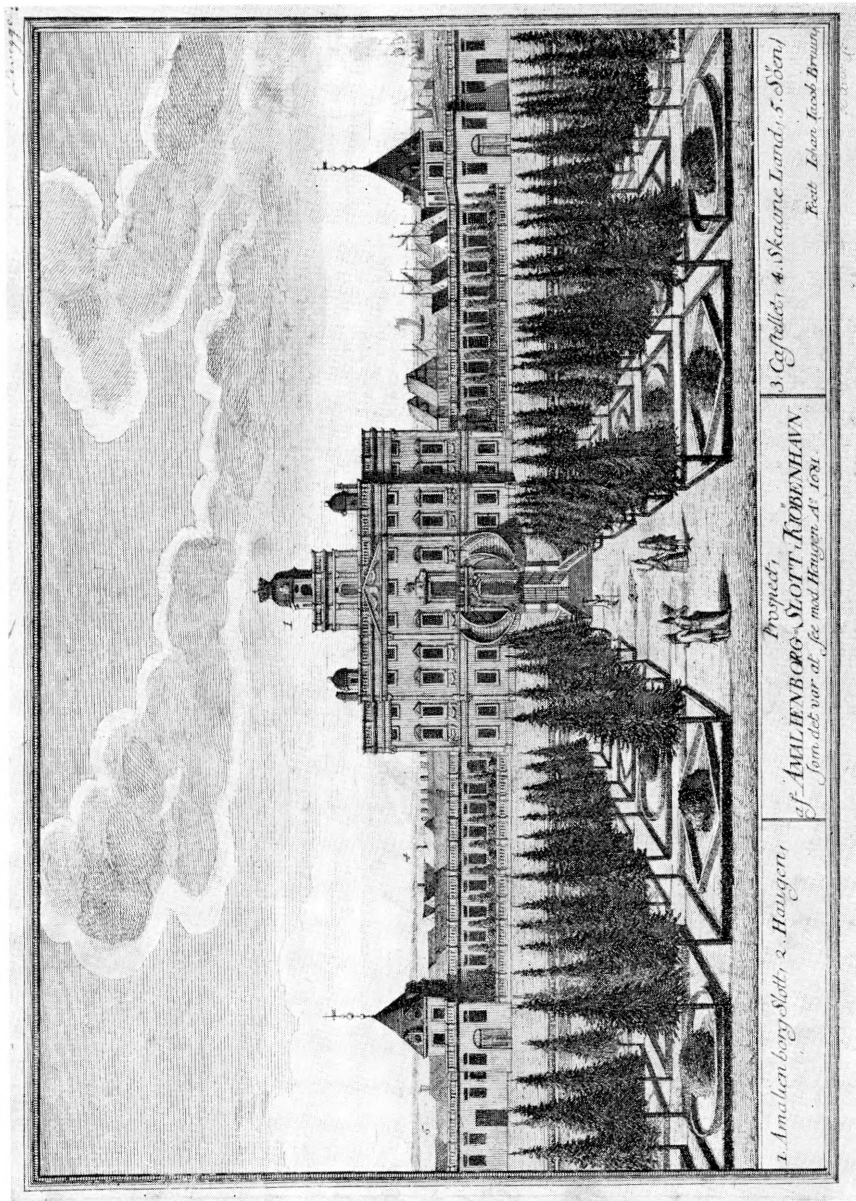
Villa Patrizi. (Vasi.)





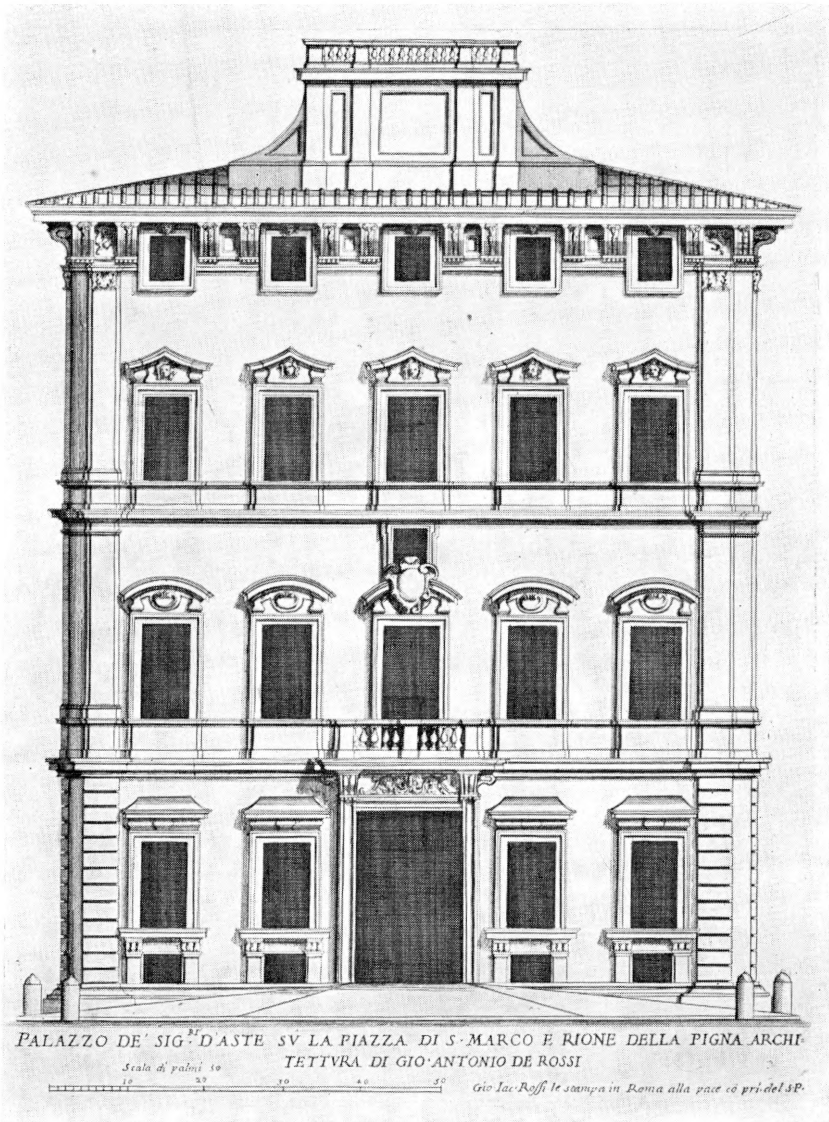
*l'Entrée de la Vigne du Prince Pamphile hors la porte de St Pancrace à Rome*  
*Atterrée sous l'Arcade vers St'Isidoro à la distance d'une Pousage de Roy*

Villa Doria-Pamfili. (Pérelle.)



1. Amalienborgs Slot, 2. Hagenen,  
 Prospect,  
 af AMALIENBORG-SLOTET I KØBENHAVN.  
 Som det var at see med Høgenen A. 1781.  
 3. Castellet, 4. Skæane Landt, 5. Støen!  
 Fæst. Johan Jacob Bruun.

Softe Amalienborg in Copenhagen. (Bruun.)



Palazzo D'Aste-Bonaparte. (De Rossi.)