



Stefan Grundmann (ed.)

**The Architecture of Rome. An Architectural History
in 414 Individual Presentations**

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Architects and artists have always acknowledged over the centuries that Rome is rightly called the »eternal city«. Rome is eternal above all because it was always young, always »in its prime«. Here the buildings that defined the West appeared over more than 2000 years, here the history of European architecture was written.

The foundations were laid even in ancient Roman times, when the first attempts were made to design interiors and thus make space open to experience as something physical. And at that time the Roman architects also started to develop building types that are still valid today, thus creating the cornerstone of later Western architecture. In it Rome's primacy remained unbroken – whether it was with old St. Peter's as the first medieval basilica or new St. Peter's as the building in which Bramante and Michelangelo developed the High Renaissance, or with works by Bernini and Borromini whose rich and lucid spatial forms were to shape Baroque as far as Vienna, Bohemia and Lower Franconia. When Louis Kahn, one of the greats of 20th-century architecture, confessed: »My mind is full of Roman greatness«, this no longer applies only to those times. For three decades, absolutely central buildings have been emerging again in the eternal city. From museums to sacred buildings to large music and event centers: Rome today has true landmarks of the present day – from Renzo Piano to Jean Nouvel and Zaha Hadid.

All this is comprehensible only if it is presented historically, i. e. in chronological sequence, and therefore the guide has not been arranged topographically as usual but chronologically. This means that one is not led in random sequence from a Baroque building to an ancient or a modern one, but the historical development is followed successively. Every epoch is preceded by an introduction that identifies its key features. This produces a continuous, lavishly illustrated history of the architecture of Rome – and thus at the same time of the whole of the West. Practical handling is guaranteed by an alphabetical index and detailed maps, whose information does not just immediately illustrate the historical picture, but also makes it possible to choose a personal route through history. In order to clarify the historical development, the key buildings of each period and other major works are especially emphasized both in the text and on the maps.

The authors are a group of art historians who experienced Rome together years ago and then went their separate ways: as an on-the-spot guide, as research scholars at the University of Munich, and at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich and the Bibliotheca Hertziana in Rome. Stefan Grundmann is today professor at the Humboldt-Universität in Berlin.

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»Now, at last, I have arrived in the First City of the world! ... Across the mountains of the Tirol I fled rather than travelled. ... My desire to reach Rome quickly was growing stronger every minute ... Now I have arrived, I have calmed down and feel as if I had found a peace that will last for my whole life. ... As I rush about Rome looking at the major monuments, the immensity of the place has a quietening effect. In other places one has to search for the important points of interest; here they crowd in on one in profusion. Wherever you turn your eyes, every kind of vista, near and distant, confronts you – palaces, ruins, gardens, wildernesses, small houses, stables, triumphal arches, columns – all of them often so close together that they could be sketched on a single sheet of paper. ... No one who has not been here can have any conception of what an education Rome is. One is, so to speak, reborn and one's former ideas seem like a child's swaddling clothes. Here the most ordinary person becomes somebody, for his mind is enormously enlarged even if his character remains unchanged.«
(Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, *Italian Journey*)



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Stefan Grundmann **The Architecture of Rome**

Expanded and revised new edition 2026

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**An architectural history
in 414 individual presentations**

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Foreword

No other city featured in travel guides as early as Rome. Pilgrims were able to refer to the famous mirabilia and form an impression of the holy city for themselves as early as 1144. No city took up as much space in the most famous German-language guide on Italy as Rome. Jacob Burckhardt's *Cicerone* of 1855 is one long love letter to the eternal city. And no city is better suited than Rome to provide a true guide through the history of art, a guide that does not just give information about each item in isolation, but uses them as a basis for a history of art and arranges them to form a complete picture. Burckhardt did this in his day, and the present guide is going to try to work like this as well, as this approach seems to have been neglected for some time.

To this end, architecture was selected, as undoubtedly the most important genre in Rome (although the most significant paintings and sculptures in the buildings are always mentioned). The city of Rome made such an impact on architecture at almost all periods that the buildings of Rome form the scaffolding of architecture in general. Rome was the only ancient metropolis that did not go down with its empire, but played a leading role in Europe in post-ancient occidental history at most times. It is thus possible to assemble an unbroken chain of buildings in which certain developments took place. At every point it is possible to identify preceding or subsequent buildings, and also the origins or later history of the works (which has been done in detail). And at every point readers can form a clear impression of these other buildings from the copious illustrations in the guide, and if their curiosity is aroused they can go and look at them, as they are seldom very far away. Rough lines of development are traced for every epoch in an introductory text leading to the works, and also a few circular walks, moving readers on a few decades from one building to the next, meaning that they constantly move forward historically, without making unduly large detours in terms of space.

For the eternal quality of Rome can be experienced only by someone who sees how the main buildings in the city came into being, and who understands how architectural history came to be written here: naturally in the ancient Roman period, in which architecture as the art of enclosed space, of walls and interiors with different structures, first emerged; then with the early-Christian basilica, which developed in Rome in the 4th century, looking backwards to ancient Roman types, and which spread throughout Europe from there, becoming the basis of the Romanesque and Gothic movements; later with Bramante and Michelangelo, who created the flower of Western architecture in the high Renaissance, and whose architectural work is to be found almost exclusively in Rome; and lastly again with Bernini and Bor-

romini, whose influence can be clearly seen in a very concrete way in almost every Baroque building, right down to the late 18th century. Rome also led the way in the field of Fascist architecture, and its buildings have been much more interesting than many people imagine in the last fifty years. This sequence will be demonstrated by a new concept in this architectural guide: the 414 buildings are arranged chronologically (by the date of the design and the date when building started, sometimes according to the date of the most important section) and not – as is usually and rather randomly the case – alphabetically or topographically. And so we follow history, stage by stage, almost always illustrated – right down to the most recent times. The eternal city lives on. SG

The development of the city

Today the characteristic features of the terrain are not as striking for the visitor as they were in ancient times, or even 120 years ago. The eternal city's seven hills have been worn down by thousands of years of development, and they are no longer as steep and pointed as they were. In fact the point at which urban settlement started, the Palatine hill, did no longer have a pointed top even in Imperial times, but formed a broad plateau, as considerable substructures were required for the palaces that were built here (see A27). Thus steep ridges like the one between the Capitol and the Quirinal hill were removed, in this case to make room for the Imperial forum of Trajan (see A29), and Domenico Fontana, Sixtus V's architect and engineer, thought it particularly worth mentioning that hills were removed and valleys filled in the course of his extensive urban operations.

In the same way the Tiber is much less present in the urban picture than it was in the 19th century, at the end of which the high embankment walls were built to prevent the annual flooding (see K10). This meant not only the destruction of many buildings by the river, but above all direct access to the river from developments on the Tiber bend was cut off, as the older buildings were about 5 metres below the level of the roads along the banks.

If we also include the draining of the Forum marshes, which was brought about early in the ancient period by the creation of the Cloaca Maxima (see A1), then we have mentioned the three natural components that particularly affected urban development. These are first of all the river, which separates Trastevere and the Vatican from the rest of the city. Then come the seven hills, the Palatine and Capitol hills, which are central both in terms of space and their significance, and then (arranged to the east of the two, in a semi-circle round them, from south to north), Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline, Viminal, Quirinal (and later still in the north the Pincian hill and the Janiculum Ridge in Trastevere). And finally come the lower areas extending between the hills, especially those that run down to the river on the Tiber bend (west or north-west of the Corso, the ancient Via Lata, of the Capitol and the Palatine).

Antiquity

The beginnings

The settlement of Rome started on the Palatine hill. It was here that the walled original cell that the Romans called »Roma Quadrata« was built – according to Varro in 753 BC. In fact Iron Age huts have been found, including the so-called House of Romulus, that can be dated to the 9th century BC by their funerary urns. There were unhealthy marshes in the Forum

hollow at the foot of the Palatine at that time. The city border seems to have run along the later Via Sacra, as their are also buildings from that period on this side, for example the Shrine of Vesta (A40), but only tombs on the other side. In about 600 BC the forum was paved for the first time, which shows that it had previously been drained (by the New Cloaca Maxima). This was the work of the Etruscan kings, who had taken Rome over (according to tradition in 616 BC). And so if the valley was occupied from that time, then it is to be assumed that the other two adjacent hills, the Quirinal and the Capitol, were also settled about then as well. In fact the largest Etruscan temple came into being on the Capitol (for Jupiter Optimus Maximus), although this was not consecrated until 509 BC. The foreign kings were driven out in the same year, and the Republic founded.

The Republican period

The Forum became the first centre of monumental architecture in the Republican period. Numerous temples were built (see A1 for detail), and probably also the most important political centre, with the Comitium and the Curia (see A16), and additionally in the early 2nd century BC the basilicas as a specific form of forum building with stock exchanges and court functions (see A11 for detail). And in the 1st century BC, under Sulla, the Forum also acquired a magnificent show façade on the Capitol side, in the form of the Tabularium (A9). The Capitol had long been the cultic centre, and the state archives were housed behind the show façade. Thus at the beginning of the Imperial period the Forum started to be a coherent area of Roman monumental architecture. At this time the Palatine hill was the preferred residential area of the Roman upper classes, as is shown by the so-called House of Livia. Augustus was also born here. Later he bought up more houses and linked them together. The – probably authentic – »House of Augustus« was built.

The second main development in the Republican period – alongside the further development of the nucleus of Palatine, Forum and Capitol – was that the city expanded and an appropriate infrastructure was created. At first, even before the middle of the 4th century, the Republican city wall was built, which fixed the so-called Pomerium. This created not only a defensive complex, but an area that was sacrosanct in many respects. Military authority was not valid in the Pomerium, no burials could take place (but see A29), and no temple to foreign gods could be built. An important part of the run of the wall is that it excluded the whole of the Tiber bend (called the »Campus Martius« in ancient times), and also the whole of the far bank of the Tiber, and the Pincian hill as well. Only the seven hills were enclosed. In 312 BC Appius Claudius Caecus, with the Aqua Appia and the Via

Appia, laid the basis both for the network of aqueducts that gave Rome a unique position among European metropolises in terms of water supply (for the entire system see A22), and also for the system of main roads radiating out of the city. One of these, the ancient Via Flaminia, then later, when the city spread out in this direction, the ancient Via Lata, is still clearly visible today, the dead straight Via del Corso, which links the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza Venezia.

Only two complexes have survived on any significant scale, both between the Capitol or the Palatine and the Tiber, of the development in the pre-Imperial period (outside the Palatine, Forum and Capitol): the (foundations of the) group of temples on the Largo Argentina (A3) and the group of temples on the Forum Holitorium and above all on the Forum Boarium (see A4, A6, A7), linked by the Velabrum, the hollow between the Capitol and the Palatine, through which the Cloaca Maxima also runs, to the Forum Romanum. Thus the Velabrum and the Forum Boarium permitted access from the Forum to the Tiber. However, the Forum Boarium was also in the middle of another important thoroughfare, thus at the intersection of the central axes of early Rome: near to the Forum Boarium the Pons Sublicius led over the Tiber and with it the trade road that continued to the south through the later area of the Circus Maximus (leading into the Via Appia at the end of it) and to which Rome owed its creation. First of all, Rome stood at a point where the Tiber could be crossed. Here too, according to legend, Romulus and Remus were stranded in their little basket. And the Forum Boarium, the ancient cattle market (now: Piazza Bocca della Verità) was the trading place at this crossing. The crossing of axes with the Forum Boarium, the trading square (and its extension to the south-east), with the Forum Romanum, the monumental zone with the political centre, with the Palatine as the most refined residential area and the Capitol as the cultic centre was thus fixed at the beginning of the Imperial period.

The Imperial period

In the Imperial period the focus of urban and architectural development fell in the period of almost two centuries from Julius Caesar (in Rome: 48–44 BC) to Hadrian (AD 117–38), in other words under the Julian and Claudian dynasty (Caesar to Nero, murdered AD 68), the Flavians and the early adoptive emperors (Trajan, AD 98–117 and Hadrian). This is true first for the centre, the forum and the adjacent hills. Development was particularly intensive under Caesar and Augustus. The Forum, in terms of the remains visible today, goes back almost entirely to these two rulers, above all Caesar, and the measures they took to redesign it, both in terms of the complex as a whole and almost all the individual buildings. The Forum Romanum is the Forum of Caesar and Augustus (see A1 for detail).

Both also opened up the series of Imperial forums (A13, A20), that begins to the east of the Forum Romanum and took up the remaining space in the lowlands on this side of the Esquiline and Viminal hills. A series of Imperial forums were added on, the latest and largest being that of Trajan (A29). The monumental area at the heart of Rome was thus almost doubled in its extent under Caesar and Augustus. It also increased in quality. In his *res gestae*, or report on his life, Augustus not unjustly wrote that he had inherited a city of clay and left behind a city of marble. The adjacent Palatine hill was also subjected to fundamental change. Here, first of all under Tiberius, but on a much larger and more permanent scale under Domitian towards the end of the 1st century AD, the palace area of the Roman emperors (see A27) came into being, which was to be the model for palace building throughout the Western world.

Between Tiberius and Domitian the focus of building shifted to the southern end of the Forum for a time – the monumental centre began to thrust forward in this direction. The reason for this was Nero's efforts to express his claim to power by building an enormous villa – very diverse, but not yet monumental and block-like, as Domitian's palace was to be. This so-called *domus aurea* (A24) extended from the slopes of the Esquiline over the hollow containing the Colosseum, to the south of the Forum, down to the slopes of the Palatine. Nero was deposed, Vespasian, as the father of the Flavians, was less patrician in attitude. He had most of the villa pulled down and had a building for the amusement of the people built on the site of the great lake in the garden, the Colosseum (A25). Later the Flavians also placed the most important triumphal arch in this area (A26). The functional buildings – like the Colosseum, and later the baths – were increasingly to leave the temples behind from then on, and parallel with this, though not directly linked, building with cement and brick was increasingly to force out domestic stone. For after the fire of Rome under Nero the so-called *urbs nova* was built in this new material, largely with a number of storeys, as can be seen above all in the palace on the Palatine hill, and in Ostia, which developed considerably at this time. Rome also became a commercial city in building terms, and a large city, with a big population. Among the three great urban developers from the ranks of the dictators or emperors, who set out to redesign Rome fundamentally, the measures taken by Sulla left their mark in at least one striking place (on the Capitoline show wall), those of Caesar (and Augustus) clearly more (in the whole of the Forum, the Imperial forums and the Campus Martius), those of Nero the least, because most was built over.

Of the areas of Rome outside the original centre the principal ones to be developed were the Campus Martius (Tiber bend) and the area that was later to become the Vatican. The low Campus Martius, which was outside the Republican city wall, was not built on

built-up area of Rome decreased dramatically, new church buildings appeared only rarely near or outside the Aurelian Wall (C24, for example). And when in the 11th century the northern Italian cities started to be renewed, Rome was asleep. No cathedral was built in the Middle Ages that could have borne comparison with those in the cities north of the Alps or in northern Italy. S. Maria in Trastevere (C28), the largest Roman church of the period, seems small in comparison with those. And most of the churches were not built on the hills any more, but on the plains (even since the Byzantine period). Admittedly the sites were often dictated by older centres (see C18, C22, C23, C25, C30, C36), monasteries could have different sites (C34); to the extent that the site could still be chosen, there was almost no new building on the hills (see for example C19, C20, C24, C27, C29; exception: C17). Once this had become the case, then it was frequently considered necessary to emphasize this exception with an addition like »ai monti« (for example C21). All the great churches built in the high Middle Ages were sited on the plains near the Tiber, S. Maria in Trastevere (C28), S. Maria in Cosmedin (C26, based on a Byzantine diaconate), S. Cecilia (C16) and S. Maria sopra Minerva (C37). The church sites are almost a dating criterion, so significant is the break between late-ancient times and the Byzantine or Carolingian period.

Besides the churches it is above all the bridges, two streets and the Papal residence that are important for the basic structure of the medieval city of Rome. Three bridges (one divided into two) survive in the Middle Ages, the Ponte Sant'Angelo in the north, the Pons Fabricius (A10) and the Pons Cestius in the south, both of which lead to the island in the Tiber and thus together form a Tiber crossing, and also, even further south, the Pons Maior, which collapsed for the first time in 1557 and finally in 1598, and was known from then as Ponte Rotto. If the Ponte Sant'Angelo was important for access to the Vatican, then the sites of the other bridges show that the southern section of the Tiber had become the heart of medieval life in Rome. With S. Cecilia, S. Maria in Trastevere and S. Maria in Cosmedin, most of the major new church buildings since the Carolingian period were in this (physically very limited) zone. To this extent it is not surprising that new church buildings on hills are to be found on the southern ones, the Aventine and the Caelian.

On the other hand, the Ponte Sant'Angelo (B96) provided access to the Vatican. And from it the two most important roads started, which entirely served pilgrimages and processions, and linked the Vatican with the important centres. Both ran in a longitudinal direction through the oval settlement area: the Via Papalis, somewhat further to the north, from the Ponte Sant'Angelo to the present Piazza S. Pantaleone with the Palazzo della Farnesina ai Baullari (H21), from there to Il Gesù (B1), running in the same way as the

present Corso Vittorio Emanuele (K11), then branches off to the Capitol from the square outside Il Gesù; and the Via Peregrinorum, which led from the Ponte Sant'Angelo along the present Via dei Banchi Vecchi to the later Palazzo Farnese (H25) and the Theatre of Marcellus (A17), and on from there to the Lateran.

The latter was the actual papal residence, and had been a palace even in the Carolingian period (C15). This was entirely committed to the idea of renewing the greatness of ancient Rome, more particularly the palaces of the Roman emperors, and was to have a lasting influence on the palaces of the West. But it is important for the cityscape of medieval Rome that it was if anything further from the centre than the Vatican, where the only buildings on a monumental scale were Old St Peter's (and the Castel Sant'Angelo), and there was no large residence. The papal residence was thus a long way outside the settled area. Nicholas III, by building the Passetto walls, which linked the core of the Vatican with Castel Sant'Angelo, in 1277, prepared for a shift of residence to the Vatican, but this did not happen until precisely a hundred years later, after the popes had spent the greatest part of the intervening period in exile in Avignon.

For as long as the pope was resident in the Lateran, the people of Rome were less exposed to his political and military power than they were from the moment that the Castel Sant'Angelo was at his disposal (from the Vatican). When another large church, S. Maria in Aracoeli (C36), was built (exceptionally) on the top of a hill, then it (and above all the open steps leading to it) was also a symbol of the city's bourgeoisie. The Commune of Rome has been founded in 1143/44. For this reason numerous family towers were built in the inner city (as in other Italian cities); these included the Torre delle Milizie (C35), and those of the Frangipani (in the Colosseum and on the Arch of Janus Quadrifons, A51), of the Colonna in the Mausoleum of Augustus (A15) and of the Orsini on the Theatre of Marcellus (A17). The formation of a strong Commune (and appropriate urban structures) had been prevented by the popes since their return from Avignon. Rome developed differently from other Italian cities.

Late Middle Ages and early Renaissance

In 1377 the papal residence was moved back to Rome from Avignon, but not to the medieval residence in the Lateran but (predominantly) into the Vatican. In fact it was not the medieval centre of Rome that was the starting-point for the new development, but the Vatican. Because of the Passetto walls connecting it with Castel Sant'Angelo, the Vatican Palace was considerably more secure than the Lateran or the city, which some later popes, particularly Clement VII, 1527, came to be very pleased to know. Addition-

ally the city could be completely dominated from the Castel Sant'Angelo. This new direction for planning in general shifted the Ponte Sant'Angelo to the centre of town-planning considerations, it was the papal city's actual access to the city of Rome. The first to hit on the plan of making the Vatican and Rome of a similar size to ancient Rome was Nicholas V (1447–55). In his day there were again about 40 000 people living in Rome. He had summoned Alberti, the most important architect of the early Renaissance (with Brunelleschi) to Rome. Alberti wrote his architectural treatise here, and planned a Vatican city with all the facilities, with gardens, theatres and a large chapel. He also went about some enlargements of Old St Peter's, though did not yet project rebuilding it (see H7). He also planned to renovate all the usable public buildings, and especially the forty most important churches. Nicholas V died too early. Even so, the nucleus of the later Vatican palace wings had been built in the form of the Cortile dei Papagalli (F1), and one of Nicholas's successors, Sixtus IV, realized the plan for a large chapel in the Vatican (F13; now named after him). Under this pope, who acquired the title Restorator urbis, the great early-Renaissance churches also came into being (F7, F14, F16), the first streets cut through, and also, in the form of the Ponte Sisto, a first bridge between the Ponte Sant'Angelo (B96) and those on the lower reaches of the Tiber (in the south). Also the first monumental palaces since the ancient and Carolingian periods in Rome were built after the time of Nicholas V, in the form of the Palazzo Venezia (F5) and the Palazzo della Cancellaria (F19), probably built to plans by Alberti.

High Renaissance and Mannerism

But Alberti's ideas did not really bear fruit on a larger scale until the papacy of Julius II (1503–13). His architect Bramante now actually created – on the scale of an ancient Imperial garden or stadium – the gardens of the Belvedere courtyard, which created and opened up an entire landscape (H6). He also created a palace façade for the Vatican, visible over a distance, open and »extrovert« (H11). However, he was above all concerned with rebuilding St Peter's, whose effect on the cityscape as a whole was not very great for as long as Old St Peter's survived, with its rectangular forecourt. And at that time the most important access road, the Borgo Alessandrino, named after Alexander VI (1492–1503), approached the palace and not the church. The straight Borgo Alessandrino was not only a model for later street axes of this kind, but also the starting point for the first ambitious further development: Julius II had the idea of making the Tiber the centre of a first system of streets and axes. To this end he laid out the Via Giulia (based on the ancient Via Triumphalis) and the Via della Lungara, on both sides of the river and largely parallel to it. These

streets were cut almost at right angles from the Via Alessandrina in the north and correspondingly in the south from the Via dei Pettinari, which leads from the Ponte Sisto to Trastevere. This produced an extended rectangle of streets running north–south, with the two new streets on the long sides. The Via Giulia was planned as a magnificent prospect, framed by Renaissance palaces, though some important ones remained incomplete, like Bramante's Palazzo dei Tribunali.

Julius's successor Leo X (1513–21) commissioned the Via Leonina (now della Ripetta), a similarly straight axis from the Via Recta (and thus indirectly from the Ponte Sant'Angelo) to the Piazza del Popolo. Seen from the Piazza, this was the furthest to the right of the three great street axes that start here. The central one is the ancient Via Lata, now the Via del Corso. The Via del Babuino on the left followed under Paul III (1534–49). Northern Rome, in the triangle between the Castel Sant'Angelo (A33), the Piazza del Popolo and the Piazza Colonna, indeed even SS. Trinità dei Monti (H44), could now be reached with ease. And in fact the increasing amount of settled area in the 16th century, compared with that of the Middle Ages, was in that area in particular. This can be seen in Brambilla's engraving of 1590 (the year in which Sixtus V, the great urban developer, died). Paul III additionally completed the square at the end of the Ponte Sant'Angelo on the city side, the so-called Platea Pontis, by pushing the Via Trinitatis through to the Via Giulia, thus linking this early-Renaissance street to the Castel Sant'Angelo and at the same time completing the system of streets radiating from it. These were the first two stelliform complexes actually to be realized in the high Renaissance. The immediately surrounding area had acquired considerable significance because the banking area had grown up here opposite the Castel Sant'Angelo, which was the papal treasury, particularly the Zecca, the mint (H23), on the Via dei Banchi Vecchi, which acquired its name in this way. It was under Paul III that the first Renaissance squares elsewhere in Rome were created, outside the Palazzo Farnese (H25) and on the Capitol, where the epitome of a monumental and uniform square design for the early-modern period immediately came into being (H27). Pius IV continued to build long street axes, but now much more clearly to the south-east, the second area into which the city was to extend beyond the medieval settlement area. He built the Via Pia (the present Via XX Settembre), now starting at the Quirinal, i.e. another papal palace, whose square also had a particular aura of ancient Rome (as the Dioscuri had been discovered there). And additionally Michelangelo – and this is new – gave the square a definite focal point by designing the Porta Pia, in which the idea of (intersecting) routes and urban structures was to acquire intense pictorial expression (see H43).

Baroque and Rococo

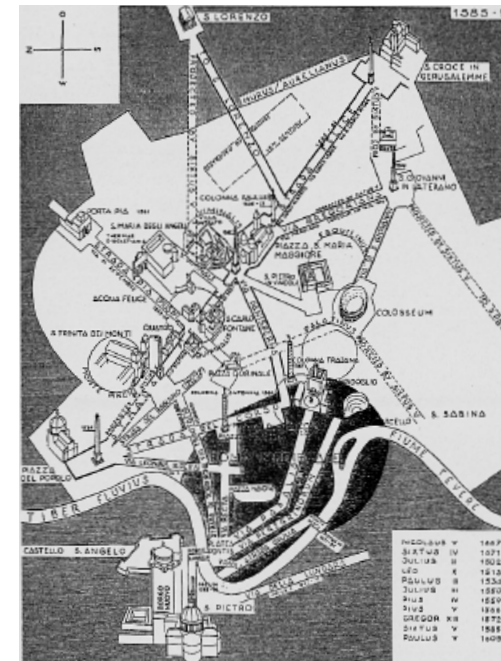
The work of Sixtus V

So when Sixtus V (1585–90) embarked upon his great urban development projects, a great deal had already been devised: the concept of long, straight streets, as well as putting them together into systems radiating from a particular point, streets directed at a monument to catch the eye at the end, but also the formation of uniform, monumental squares. And yet Sixtus V was much more consistent in his efforts than his predecessors, and is thus considered the greatest urban developer of the 16th century. Before him most of the axes that had been created had been short and isolated. It is true that a start had been made on a coherent system, but it was not until Sixtus V that the whole city was analysed in terms of urban development, and this meant above all a network of streets for access to the south and east. Sixtus V wanted these areas to experience a population upsurge similar to that seen by the north in the early 16th century. Almost two thirds of the area inside the Aurelian Wall was in fact still unsettled, and in addition these were the healthier areas on the hills. And so

Rome in an etching by A. Brambilla, 1590



Sixtus V had the axes put further through into the more rural areas beyond the Capitol. Giedion has provided us with a masterly description of Sixtus V's urban development work, and has also presented it graphically. Sixtus V started immediately with the first axis, which ran right through the city from the extreme north to the extreme south-east, from the Piazza del Popolo to S. Croce in Gerusalemme (B134), 4 kilometres long, through very hilly territory, and dead straight. This was the so-called Strada Felice (now the Via Sistina etc.), never completed in its northern section. The Palazzo Barberini (B45), one of the main palaces on this road, shows in its diagonal placing how consistently (and uncompromisingly) this street thrust through urban areas. Sixtus V and his architect Domenico Fontana were also particularly proud of this masterpiece of town planning, and Fontana emphasized that it had been Sixtus V who had removed the hills and filled the valleys, and thus made Rome into a city of more gentle waves. But Sixtus V's magnificent achievement was not just this single street, with which he began, but the simultaneity of his projects, the fact that he started in many places at once. For a long time, during his «exile» in a vineyard near S. Maria Maggiore, in the reign of his rival Gregory XIII (1572–83), he had been able to reflect about his planning of linking the parts together to form a coherent



The planning of Rome by Sixtus V

network. There were probably iconographic considerations behind this overall concept as well. Sixtus wanted to make Rome into a «single shrine» (Pastor), and to make it easy to reach the most important churches. But this is only one aspect. His plans were no longer like those of Nicholas V and Julius II, who had built on to systems that already related to one of the main churches, like St Peter's, for example. And so it was no longer the old idea of similitude, according to which the earthly city was supposed to be built as a copy of the kingdom of God, that formed the basis of his concept. He was also no longer thinking of the humanistically inspired ideal city concepts of the high Renaissance with their stellar complexes. It would be to misunderstand the arrangement of streets (also stellar) around S. Maria Maggiore (C7) to try to explain it with concepts of this kind. Sixtus V in fact came close to smashing the concept of the stellar-form, walled ideal city of the high Renaissance. He was concerned, even though his concept was church-related, primarily to relate his overall concept of urban access to function. And thus he was the first to lay the foundations of the modern city plan.

This general plan was flanked by a series of special measures. Sixtus V took up the newly developed tradition of squares in front of the principal buildings and made «space» in front of the Quirinal Palace and the Lateran Palace, for example, and started to do so in the Piazza Colonna as well (all admittedly less inter-

esting designs artistically). Then he had obelisks built to catch the eye at the ends of axes or in exposed places – and this then also affected the third papal palace, the Vatican. He had four of these obelisks built: in both the Vatican and the Lateran, at S. Maria Maggiore and in the Piazza del Popolo (and also the columns of Marcus Aurelius and Trajan). The Vatican obelisk was the first and biggest. With this Sixtus also inaugurated a new axis for the Vatican, which seemed to have been shifted so far to the side in terms of his thinking as a whole. For this new obelisk related to St Peter's itself, and not to the Palace. And under Sixtus V the building itself was also completed for the time being by the vaulting of the dome (in a mere 22 months). It also fitted in with the new definition of the axis that Sixtus V again formed the plan of pulling down the central row of houses in the Borgo, which led to St Peter's, the so-called Spina del Borgo – like Nicholas V before him, with Alberti, and Julius II, and later Carlo Fontana (1694), Morelli (1776), Napoleon (1811), Pius IX (1850) and the general development plan in 1881, until ultimately under Fascism and later it was realized (1936–50) with the Via della Conciliazione. As another flanking measure Sixtus V also restored the water supply, which had simply laid damaged and completely useless since the time of Alexander Severus (AD 222–35), not only to the valleys, but also to the hills. And the show façade of the Acqua Felice (B18), as contemporaries were already aware, may have been in bad taste, but made an uncommonly proud impression in the figure of Moses, with an almost Biblical sense of mission. And the Fontana di Trevi also got the Acqua Vergine back again (the ancient Aqua Virgo), although at the time this was only for the washing of wool.

The structure of the city of Rome, as fixed by Sixtus V, was already practically identical with that at the time of the Second World War, and in terms of population size with that in the early days of the kingdom (1870/71). It was not until the 1950s that the city started to extend over the whole area outside the Aurelian Wall. If we look at the population increase, then the time when the axes were cut through in the last two thirds of the 16th century represented an enormous upsurge. After the number of inhabitants had gone down again after the Sack of Rome (1527) to about 30 000, in 1599, not even ten years after the death of Sixtus V, it was 110 000, in other words four times as large. After that growth was steady until 1870, and clearly slower with about 147 000 inhabitants in 1799 and about 200 000 in 1870.

The further development in high Baroque and Rococo

The possibilities for urban development that remained for the great era of the Baroque and Roman Rococo therefore seem modest at first sight, but affects the

artistic side more, the side of life, while for Sixtus V function remained in the foreground. It was he who created the great axes, the traffic routes or the infrastructure, but his successors created pleasant spaces for lingering within the structure of the city. The greatest of these creations, the framing of St Peter's square by Bernini's Colonnades, is the most eloquent example of conveying the gigantic size of the church and the palace precinct to the more human scale of the surrounding buildings, and using perspective and an abundance of visual axes to fuse an enormous ensemble (consisting of the church and parts of the palace, but also the adjacent streets and the Borgo development) together visually and make it open to experience. Until the pontificate of Alexander VII (1655–67), in which St Peter's Square was built, it is true that Rome had hardly any centrally sited proud squares, but then they came into being in rapid succession over a period of fifty years. Alexander's predecessor Innocent X (1644–55) had made a start by designing the Piazza Navona (B61), and under Alexander VII there came the square in front of S. Maria della Pace (B79) and the Piazza del Popolo with its twin churches (B87/88) and – in the Rococo period now – the Spanish Steps (B115) and the Fontana di Trevi, together with the area around it (B126). And this omits a number of smaller squares altogether (see only B72, B85, B93, B95, B118). The characteristic feature of these squares built in the 1660s and 70s is the dense building around them, and not so much a sense of opening up into axes leading into the distance. And they were also not (or if so, only peripherally) related to a monument in the middle, like an obelisk, for example, but to all the surrounding monumental buildings. These typically showed, frequently within themselves, but certainly from one square to another, a considerable range of design forms. Hans Rose spoke of a »lack of symmetry tantamount to genius« in this context. What happened here was that Maderno, in S. Susanna (B30) was the first to include the adjacent buildings in the façade design of the main building, and this idea was developed from then onwards. But what this produced was not, as in the cities of Upper Italy or north of the Alps, rectangular squares with largely linear limits, the phenomenon that Lotz called the »piazza salone«, but lively space with an uncommonly individual style to it.

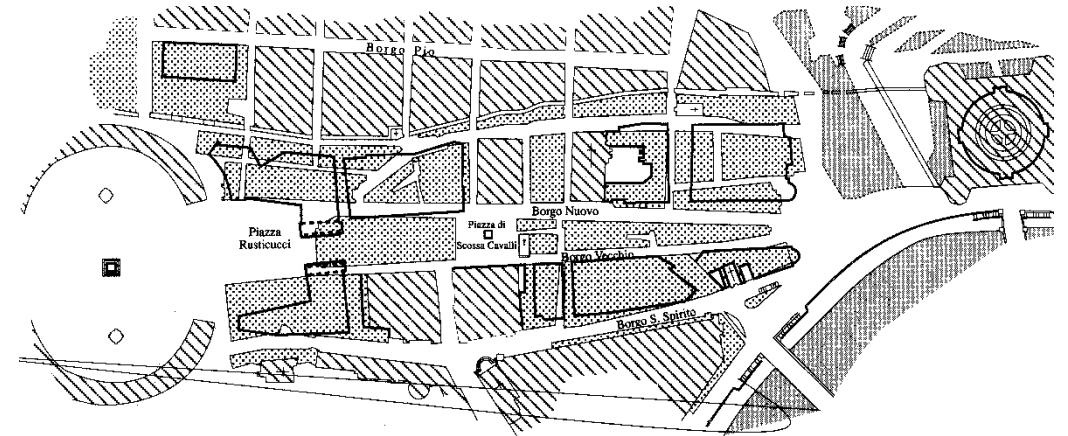
It was not until the late 17th century that Carlo Fontana once more took up the idea of routes and axes (although only in isolation), which Domenico Fontana had launched so impressively a century earlier, under Sixtus V. He wanted to repeat the trapezoidal piazzetta in front of St Peter's on the other side of the oval piazza where the Via della Conciliazione starts today, thus giving St Peter's Square a long-drawn-out effect. Of course the complex would not have been anything like as cramped and squashed as it was in the late 16th century. The project was not carried out. But just under fifty years later, the high

Baroque tradition of creating squares as a space for lingering was brought into the most felicitous harmony with the idea of creating axes in the Spanish Steps (B115). The steps give access to the Pincian hill, but at the same time de Sanctis wanted to create a space that seems majestic but comfortable, and thus attracts people to linger. Another route that already earlier became a place in which to linger was the Ponte Sant'Angelo, in the design by Bernini (who, with his own project, also had a considerable influence on the realization of the Spanish Steps). Bernini designed the bridge, which was an important part of the processional route, to be a place of leisure as well, by providing the angels as objects of contemplation, and all this already using the gracious overall forms of incipient late Baroque and Rococo (B96). This perfect balance between movement and repose finally showed even in the design of the Ripetta Harbour, in which the river was given a flowing façade that was entirely appropriate to it, making a vivid impression (ill. p. 171).

Classicism and Historicism

Classicism's great town-planning project was the Piazza del Popolo. Here Valadier used existing features very skilfully, especially the twin idea, which had already been realized with the pair of Baroque churches and which expressed the vestibule or gateway character of this square so well, but he also developed some uncommonly modern ideas: by interlinking green and built-up areas and also by fitting together various planes (see p. 277 and K1). Thus the first large public park in Rome emerged on the Pincian hill in this context.

But two other 19th-century measures are even more important for the Roman cityscape. First of all there were excavations and exposure of features of the Forum Romanum, the Forum of Trajan and the Colosseum in particular. But a piece of town planning in the more restricted sense was a second bundle of measures. Their principal characteristic is above all that they shifted the gateway to the city of Rome: the early railway age did not lead only to building up a considerable area on the Viminal, but also to the fact that the most important town-planning measure started near the station: the first years of the kingdom produced a large east–west axis to complement the great north–south axis of the Corso (see plan with K11). It started at the Piazza Esedra (now Piazza della Repubblica), which was also designed in a monumental fashion towards the end of the building works (K16). From here the Via Nazionale (K9) leads to the Piazza Venezia, which was subsequently greatly enlarged, and the monument for King Vittorio Emanuele II (K15), visible for a considerable distance, was added. Starting from the Piazza Venezia, what had been started in the Via Nazionale was continued



Fascist remodelling of the Borgo area (1938–50) with the Via della Conciliazione breaking through the urban structure.

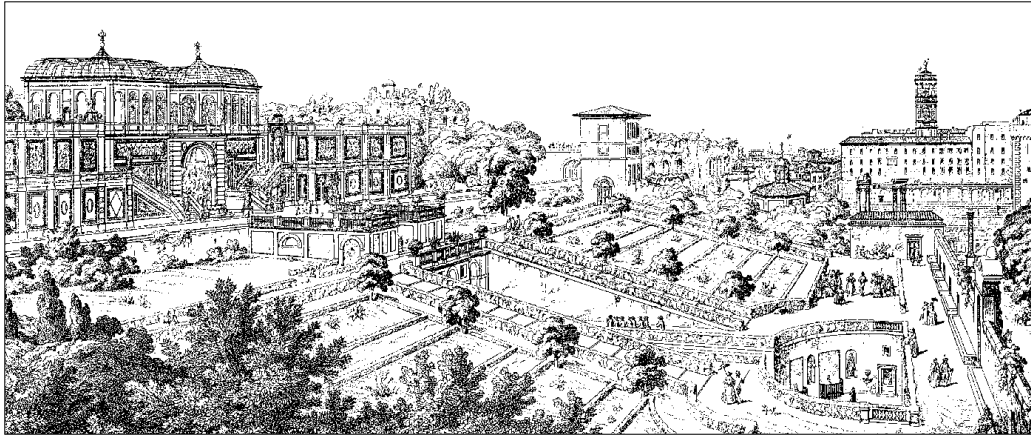
in the Corso Vittorio Emanuele (K11), which since then has cut through the Tiber bend in an east–west direction. Thus the Piazza Venezia became the point of intersection between the ancient Via Lata (the Via del Corso) and the 19th century Via Nazionale and Corso Vittorio Emanuele. Other new streets were created to do justice to the newly emerging traffic requirements, especially from the station via the Via Barberini and Via del Tritone to the Piazza Colonna. A great deal of attention was paid to monument protection in the course of this work. The town-planning measures are effectively the core of architectural development in the second half of the 19th century and are thus described more specifically in the appropriate chapter (see pp. 278, 279).

Modernism

Rome expanded enormously in the period after the First World War. After it became capital in 1870/71 the population doubled within 30 years to a good 400 000 inhabitants. Coherent settlement beyond the Aurelian Wall was established for the first time in the early 20th century, though at a measured pace. Workers' quarters came into being in the south-west, the Quartiere Testaccio (K22) and the Quartiere Garbatella (M2, M3) from the 20s onwards. A more refined residential area formed by the Via Nomentana, near to the Porta Pia (H43), including many of the most interesting villas and small palaces (very early: K19, Ximénes). The expansion of Rome became a positive programme under Fascism: partly because of a conscious policy of reducing the population in the cities (see p. 297), and partly (and particularly visibly) with the aim of linking Rome to the sea. The E' 42/

EUR centre (M24) was planned at the halfway mark, and access to it provided by fast roads with many carriageways. Of the other large and prestigious projects the Foro Mussolini (now Foro Italico, M5) and the university (M9) were built outside the Aurelian Wall, but close to it. Very dense expansion of the city did not start until after the Second World War, largely in stages and rings: in the late 40s and 50s still quite close to the old town (for instance M40, M41), otherwise (largely workers' estates) on main roads out of the city like the Via Tiburtina (for example M37, M38), because that is where industry was sited; this phase of settlement was dominated by the Neo-Realistic design mode (»rustically attractive«). Before the start of the second phase, because of the Olympic Games in 1960, the area around the Via Flaminia and the EUR became a focal point for building (see M45, M46, M48, M49). In the second phase, starting in the mid-sixties, settlement started near to the Grande Raccordo Anulare, the motorway ring that was being built; this was mainly in the form of large, block-like complexes with comprehensive infrastructure, very much in the spirit of the International Style (for example M53, M55, M64, M67, M68). The area beyond the motorway ring was settled almost at the same time, frequently (especially in the north) on the popular hill sites, but usually not in the form of large complexes, but as more fragmented development (for example M62, M65, M66). It is precisely these areas, which seem to have no particular order, that show that the almost revolutionary set of town-planning guidelines and instruments formulated in the law of 1942 in Italy were never followed consistently.

Building activity slowed down considerably from 1973 (because of the oil price shock and the world economic crisis), leading to a phase (as at the time of early-Mannerism, see for instance H31) in which a large number of projects originated that had no chance of being realized (often on the basis of Giambattista Noli's famous town plan of 1748). The inner



H36 Giardini Farnesini: stairway

Palazzo del Tè in Mantua (1525–35). As against this, the employment of the column which, in faithfulness to Antiquity, had only a horizontal architrave was specific to 16C Roman architecture in general (H3, H24).

The visitor reaches the nymphaeum by a staircase and a landing; this intermediate section was self-contained, and was not as today opened up into a Baroque vista. The Mannerist architect wanted to surprise the onlooker, and the villa was intended only to open up as he walked through it. Constantly new impressions were offered: space surrounded by buildings; wall and nature; water and sculpture. The visitor leaves the intermediate section by going a long way down some round stairs, which are located on both sides, and into the nymphaeum. The round shape reappears several times. The waterworks do not yet possess the Baroque exuberance. Instead, the Fontana dell'Acqua Vergine looks hidden, dark and dead. The articulation is of a similar complexity to that of the Casino, but is less subtle. The leitmotiv of the double triumphal arch reappears here too, at the centre, which is a didactic piece of Mannerist architecture: the tectonics of the structure are twice vividly disturbed, firstly by causing the weakest articulating elements, the caryatids, to function as supports below, and secondly by knocking large openings into the block-like shape in the topmost storey. Behind the openings, though not visible through them, lies the garden. SG

Bibliography: M. Bafile, *Villa Giulia. L'architettura, il giardino*, Rome, 1948.

H36 Giardini Farnesini: stairway

Palatino and Via di S. Gregorio (plan V 1/B)
begun 1555

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola

After the great families of Rome had, in the 16C, set out gardens and villas upon the wildly overgrown an-

cient Palatine, Paul III purchased the entire hill as a rich source of antiques and as a site for a pleasure garden which was to surpass all others. His grandson Alessandro completed the garden and ordered Vignola to build a staircase with which to make it accessible from the Forum. Excavations conducted from 1882 onwards ruined parts of the still-intact complex.

The portal, which measures 11 x 15 m and can today be seen at the place of access to the Palatine in the Via di S. Gregorio, consists firstly of a central section that is rusticated throughout and has a triumphal-arch motif and secondly of a window (lost today) located at each side and having a prominently projecting frame. Above this an arcade opens up, framed by an aedicule made of a segmental gable and herms. The owner could, like a Roman emperor (cf. A27), pass through the arcade and go on to a balcony high above the Forum.

A frontage with five axes, and above it an enormous arch, now in the form of a niche with a fountain, are both found again within the stairs. Vignola combined the exterior with the interior in this way in other works too, several times providing arches above one another and designing the central section as rustic work (H35, H38). But what is fundamentally new here is the large number of flights of stairs (cf. H27, a little earlier). Three parallel ramps lead upwards from the vestibule, which is the narrow, shaft-like »theatre of sculptural busts«. The central ramp proceeds to the level of the grotto and balcony, and the two outer ones – which are steeper and pass through tunnels part of the way – to the next higher level. From there, meandering flights of stairs go up to the fountain niche, around both the niche and some aviaries (added later), and up into the gardens. The Baroque staircases followed this model, except in one point: there was a harking back to the noble simplicity of the high Renaissance, and the many flights of stairs were routed in a much more teleological way. SG

H37 Casino Pio IV.

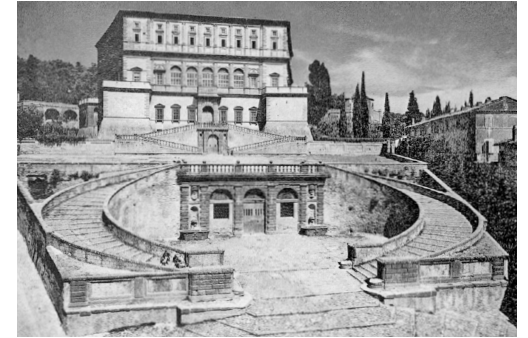
Giardini Vaticani (plan III 1/A)

1558–62

Pirro Ligorio

The popes' summerhouse (»Casino«) is in a remote location in the Vatican Gardens, which extend to the west of the belvedere courtyard. The building is a work by Pirro Ligorio of Naples. Having been commissioned by Paul IV, the strict reforming pope, he completed the Casino under Paul's successor Pius IV in a much more luxurious design than originally intended. This graceful ensemble of buildings is nimbly and skilfully grouped around the oval courtyard which is decorated with fountains. Two small, vestibule-like gates on the short sides of the oval courtyard give access to the complex which is enclosed like an island. The two main buildings – the open loggia built above a nymphaeum, and the tall Casino – occupy the long sides of the oval, but without following the course it pursues. A stone bench which runs around on all sides and is decorated with vases lends the courtyard an intimate and private character. The structures are lavishly adorned with stucco decorations, mosaics and statues, and are like sumptuous, precious miniatures. The greatest abundance unfolds on the Casino façade, where Ligorio displays a plenitude of ancient decorative shapes. They show the positively scientific interest taken by this learned antiquary, who had been in charge of the excavations at the Villa Adriana and was impressed by the stucco decorations of the early Imperial period. But there is also a clear reversion to

H37 Casino Pio IV.



H38 Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola

Peruzzi, who at a very early stage, though only on paper, experimented with an ovally shaped ground plan. Taking up the villa tradition of the cinquecento, Ligorio created a sumptuous, decorative architecture which forms the peak of the tendency which was initiated by Raphael, became more intense in the 1540's (H28, H32), and lay in turning buildings into bearers of images. This architecture therefore contrasts greatly with the weightiness of Michelangelo's contemporaneous structures. EJ

H38 Palazzo Farnese, Caprarola

Caprarola, Piazza Farnese (plan G1 1/A)

1558–73

Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola

Those ideas of city design which made Rome into the mother city of the Baroque were briefly and concisely developed for the Palazzo Farnese in Caprarola. The Farnese acquired the terrain from Julius II in 1504. From 1521 onwards, A. da Sangallo the Younger and Peruzzi, having been commissioned by Pierluigi Farnese, laid the foundations for a pentagonal citadel. It probably already had the corner bastions. In 1534, after Alessandro Farnese had been elected Pope Paul III, the building work began to falter. In 1559–73, Vignola (after a competition with Paciotto) built, on the foundations of the planned citadel, a summer residence for Paul III's grandson, whose name was also Alessandro Farnese.

In any other epoch, such a flagrant alteration of the building's function would have been shied away from, but not so in Mannerism. Contemporaries called the work fascinating. In Mannerism, the forms employed in one building task could be transferred, in any way desired, to another. A citadel became a country house, and by the same stroke what had been planned as corner bastions was turned into terraces. The borderlines became blurred. The shape of the villa was also altered, and it was now block-like in the manner of a city palace (cf. H25). This form of a rural castle which had been heightened in significance was to have abundant successors in the Baroque.

The five sides of the block are articulated almost identically, and all that the main side facing the town possesses in addition is a (formerly open) loggia in the piano nobile and a rusticated entrance gate. Vignola reproduced the latter in his treatise on architecture. Each façade is, in its horizontal and vertical extensions, divided into three. In the exterior, the terraces and above them the risalti project, and the central façade section comprises seven axes and has an order of pilasters in the two upper storeys. The articulation of each façade is a didactic piece of eclecticism in Vignola's style: the blank wall, subdivided only by windows and bossed edges, was preferred by Sangallo (cf. e.g. H25). The central façade sections, on the other hand, are subdivided by an order, thus following the model of Bramante (cf. H22). Here, the pilasters were now almost reduced to pilaster strips, as was the case with Bramante's pupils Raphael and Giulio Romano (H14, H19), and also in Vignola's Villa Giulia (H35). Vignola combined the windows in the topmost section into a tripartite vertical group, a ribbon formation. The arcades look exceptionally long. All this lends the wall a carpet-like Mannerist character, and there is little that is solid about it. Two further Mannerist and anti-classical features are that, in the piano nobile of the lateral façades, Vignola employed rustic work, which had previously been the essential feature of the solid foundation, and that – amidst nature! – he selected unnatural colouring.

The building seems to hover above its surroundings in a tall, unapproachable and unreal way. This impression is reached by introducing several levels, whose system in Mannerism, contrary to what later occurred in the Baroque, was complicated, additive and not discernible from below (cf. also H36). For instance, the onlooker was surprised by the glacis which opens up above the round stairs. The latter, when compared with Baroque designs such as Bernini's colonnades (B80), still look Manneristically narrow and do not reach out in a liberal way. The three-arched frontage amidst this staircase makes the main portal look as though it was small and far removed, and thus contributes to the impressions already described. Contrary to the earlier Villa d'Este (H33), the castle dominates more than just a garden (instead, the garden is behind it and is a masterwork of late-Mannerist garden architecture, being a mixture of sculpture and nature, fragmented by deep cuts). The block now dominates an entire town. The expansive force which was to characterize Baroque castles is here found for the first time. But everything is narrower and more constricted, especially the long axis which leads through the town to the castle and was soon to find its first successor in Rome (cf. H43). Once again, a magnificent building of the Roman cinquecento owes much to the ancient Roman staircase shrine of Palestrina (A8, cf. earlier in H6).

The inner courtyard is round. Sangallo and Peruzzi loved this shape (H23, H29; H24). Vignola here se-



H39 S. Caterina dei Funari

lected a subdividing system which was different again. The combination of a rusticated ground floor and a piano nobile with a subdividing order had been known since the time of Raphael's house (cf. ill. p. 117), and Vignola found a series of triumphal-arch motifs in a row (in the upper storey) in Bramante's belvedere courtyard (H6).

The spiral staircase also resembles that found in the belvedere courtyard, but is again elongated in a Mannerist fashion and is strangely dismembered by subdividing work. It leads up to the rooms which are full of nooks and crannies. The ingenious cycle of frescos (by Zuccaro and Vignola himself) in the rooms made the building into an overall Mannerist work of art. SG

Bibliography: G. Labrot, *Le Palais Farnèse de Caprarola – essay de lecture*, Paris, 1970.

H39 S. Caterina dei Funari

Via dei Funari (plan IV 2/B)

1560–64

Guidetto Guidetti

S. Caterina dei Funari was a small preexisting medieval church built anew, and was erected in the part of the city inhabited by ropemakers (funai). The church was part of an asylum for poor girls which Ignatius de Loyola had founded in 1536 and which he managed together with Cardinal Federico Cesi. As the façade inscription states, the rebuilding work ordered by Cardinal Cesi was finished in 1564. Guidetti based his project on the spatial scheme and façade design of S. Spirito in Sassia (H26).

The two-storeyed façade is graduated like a basilica and divided by pilasters into five and three bays. The storeys are interrelated by scrolls. Slight projections in the entablature accentuate the outermost pilasters and the three central façade bays. Niches and framed panels fill the strips of wall between the pilasters. This subdividing method creates a decorative and surface-filling design for the façade. The niches, pilasters and framed panels are interrelated in a way that lacks tension but is well balanced. A comparison with the façade of Il Gesù (B1), built about ten years later, whose forerunner S. Caterina is thought to be, makes clear that neither the intensification of the articulating elements towards the centre, nor the relationship, rich in tension, between undecorated and decorated wall panels, is the dominating feature in S. Caterina, but that a static and two-dimensional interpretation of the façade still prevails.

The interior (accessible on the feast of St Catherine, 24/25 November) is a hall with three hemispherical chapel niches on each side, and an elevated choir, narrower than the nave. In this, Guidetti was again following the model of S. Spirito in Sassia (H26). AS

H40 S. Maria Maggiore: Cappella Sforza

Piazza S. Maria Maggiore (plan VI 1/B)

c. 1560–73

Michelangelo Buonarroti

The Sforza chapel is among Michelangelo's greatest inventions. It anticipates some essential ideas of Baroque architecture. Michelangelo drew up the plans for the tomb chapel of Cardinal Guido Ascanio Sforza in c. 1560, shortly after the designs for the centrally planned church of S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini (B16). Although the building work was only carried out after Michelangelo's death in 1564, by Tiberio Calcagni and later Giacomo della Porta, the novel shape of the ground plan, the concept of the front elevation, and the choice of travertine, an unusual material for an interior, must be regarded as achievements and decisions by Michelangelo, who was then nearly 90 years old. His successors seem to be responsible for the rather sober and conventional language of shapes found in the architectural elements as built, and also in the altars.

Michelangelo designed a centrally planned space above a cruciform ground plan. The longitudinal and transverse axes of the chapel are of equal length as in a Greek cross, but the transept has been moved towards the chapel entrance. In this way the shallow entrance area is opposed by a deeper altar space. The »crossing« of the chapel is moved away from the centre towards the entrance. The concentration on the geometrical centre of the centrally planned building is thus abandoned, and the longitudinal axis gains in significance. Nevertheless, Michelangelo's chapel does not look like a longitudinal structure. Rather, the lighting and wall articulation accentuate the transverse axis. As old engravings show, the original structure

had three windows in each of the apsidial ends of the cross arms: two at the sides of the tombs and a third in the vault. The altar space, on the other hand, was intended to receive light only from a window above the altar. Thus the greatest brightness prevailed in the lateral apses, whereas the altar remained in semidarkness. This impression has been lost, because in the 18C additional windows were opened up in the altar area and the transept windows were blocked up. Nevertheless, even today, the formal design of the transept apses makes them the most important – and in terms of an understanding of the architectural idea the most informative – parts of the chapel. The apses adjoin the square-shaped core area not as pure semicircles, but as segments of a larger cylinder. They cut in behind the columns and pillars of the square core area, and give the impression of continuing behind them. Similarly, the apex of the vaults of the apses is at a higher level than the apex of the other parts of the chapel, and so the space seems to continue. Seen together with the »crossing«, the transept apses give the impression of being too large and of having been attached from outside. This unusual method adopted also attracts attention to the »crossing« and its structure: it is marked by a pendent dome supported by four columns. This architectural form which looks like a stone baldachin, and is therefore called the baldachin motif, is clearly differentiated from the rest of the area by recesses and graduations. This is underlined by the pedestals of the columns, which are set diagonally to the crossing. The impression created is that the baldachin could exist entirely independently.

H40 S. Maria Maggiore: Cappella Sforza





M77 Chiesa di Dio Padre Misericordioso (Chiesa del Giubileo)

interior is divided into a larger main hall – between the smooth wall and the inner »sail« – and a smaller chapel, which lies between the inner and outer »sail«. In front of one of the openings, the cross is located, above a simple altar, at the west end. This is because this small church faces west (towards Rome) – one of the very rare examples alongside St. Peter's Basilica, where the apostle's tomb dictated this orientation. SG

M78 Museo dell' Ara Pacis

Lungotevere in Augusta (Plan IV 1/A = A18)
2000–06

Richard Meier

Having already worked on the Jubilee Church on the outskirts of Rome, Meier was commissioned to design a museum at one of Rome's focal points, more precisely: he was to design a frame for the Ara Pacis, this altar evidencing the grandeur of late Republican / early Imperial (ancient) Rome (A18).

Mussolini had already created such a framework, albeit by creating a (Fascist) square space. Meier integrated the glass box, which protects the Ara Pacis from the elements, into a closed structure, a cube, a real museum – even if this museum still houses little more than the altar. The altar is still partially visible through the glass side walls of the structure. The new architecture reflects some important features of the altar itself, such as the plinth, the long, low walls and

lines, the rectangle, the horizontal cubic form and the large rectangular openings in the walls. Meier thus makes several references to the Ara Pacis and its architectural features. Meier's preference for the white colour helps in this regard, but nevertheless the altar is now hidden in the museum. This outstanding example of the heroic period of Roman history, of simple beauty, can no longer really be felt in the public space. Meier's building is light and very simple, but in comparison to the altar it appears complicated and of exaggerated size. It is therefore not surprising that the Romans continued to criticize it and delayed work on it. This building is seen as not to be in keeping with Roman beauty and the Baroque churches on the other side of the square »disappear«. On the other hand, I have never seen so many visitors around the altar before. SG

M79 Chiesa del Santo Volto di Gesù alla Magliana

Via della Magliana 162 (Plan G2 2/B)
2003–06

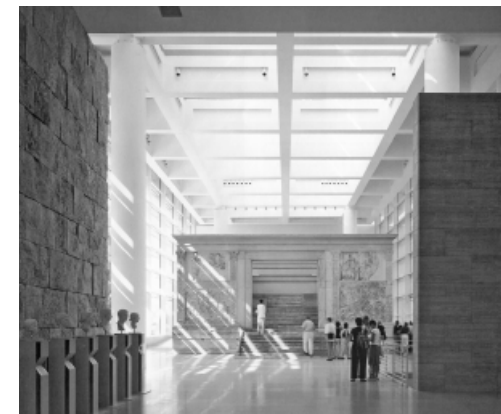
Piero Sartogo, Nathalie Grenon

This church serves as a bearer of meaning and history – like the Chiesa del Giubileo a few years earlier as a »barque« (M77). Here it is about an ascent to light, love and paradise, the face of God. The Italian-Canadian architect duo has designed a building complex in the large form of a sphere. This sphere is then sharply cut at an angle (a cube, a wedge and a hemisphere from the outside – basic geometric shapes).

The right half of the sphere is made up of the community centre, the left, more important half is the church itself. A narrow corridor opens up between them – the aforementioned cut – which frames a slender, elongated cross, in the distance, raised into the air, »promising« it, so to speak. And yet the exterior building appears somewhat naked and sterile, like a barren modern mosque or even a nuclear reactor. This is despite the clear language of meaning, which is even more pronounced and compelling in the interior.

The theme of the church – also in the interior – is elevation, promise – but now very close, in fortissimo, embracing the congregation. Again, some elements are in exposed concrete, complemented by light, smooth, cream-coloured cut stone, so that everything solid is also »tone on tone«. Overarching and dominating everything is the giant pane of glass opposite, which directs the view into the light, into the sky, into paradise (a concave counter-wall is intended to block out disruptive future buildings above it). The front rows of the congregation see the full circle of light, those at the back only a part and the promise of more. In other words, dematerialization, detachment

M78 Museo dell' Ara Pacis



M79 Chiesa del Santo Volto di Gesù alla Magliana

from the built matter behind and below, spirituality. This is the architectural embodiment of Hieronymus Bosch's vision: of the cone of light in his »Ascent to the Blessed« (from the panel of the four representations of the afterlife), through which the faithful are absorbed into paradise, literally lifted up. Light and the glory of light as the ultimate visualization of human happiness, paradise and salvation. Even Jesus on the cross floats like a dove, the Holy Spirit, which in this way can also be viewed as a »triumph«. SG

M80 MAXXI – Museo Nazionale delle Arti del XXI Secolo

Via Guido Reni 4 A (Plan I 2/B)

1998/99, 2003–10

Zaha Hadid

The Iraqi-Anglo-American star architect – one of the greatest at the turn of the millennium – created the work on Roman soil that is probably the first of her realized buildings – in terms of task, execution and pathos – to breathe the aura of world architecture. The call for entries (1998/99) was already unprecedented in scale: 247 submissions, among the last fifteen after a first intense selection international stars such as Rem Koolhaas, Jean Nouvel and Stefano Boeri. In fact, Zaha Hadid was long regarded as a star of the designs, internationally celebrated as an architectural icon, but practically never realized in the first decade. Having moved to London at an early age from a very wealthy background, she graduated in mathematics, then architecture and had her own practice from 1990. In the first and especially the second half of the 1990s, she created several buildings that have to do with cars, flying, trains, movement and technology – all of which are obvious given her style, which is characterized by dynamism, speed and fluidity. These include Weil/Rhine (Vitra Fire Station), Strasbourg (Hoenheim-Nord Airport), Innsbruck (Bergisel Ski Jump), Wolfsburg (VW Phaeno Science), Leipzig (BMW), as well as a medium-sized private museum (Rosenthal)



M80 MAXXI – Museo Nazionale delle Arti del XXI Secolo

and two smaller laboratory and bridge buildings in Kirkcaldy and Zaragoza. It was not until the turn of the millennium that her designs for art and »eternity«, such as museums, became reality. Among them, MAXXI is the »queen« (at the same time as Glasgow Riverside Museum, Guangzhou Opera, then Ann Arbor Michigan Museum, as well as stadiums and skyscrapers). MAXXI is probably »the masterpiece« of the architect, who died young in 2016, or at least the building that makes the eternal theme of flow and dynamism fruitful for this »sublime« building task like very few others. The building was completed quickly, with the only exceptions being the library and documentation centre.

Zaha Hadid's building was erected on a barracks site. The main wing of the former barracks, located on the street side, formally forms the building's centre and accommodates the cafeteria, toilets and cloakroom, but is almost irrelevant in terms of impression.

This is because everything is channeled past the barracks to the right towards the main view of the Hadid building. The exterior of the building still looks quite classically Modern with the powerfully curved, solid shell of exposed concrete at the top and the roof of slender pilotis that lifts it slightly into the air. The latter are guided along a straight line, at an angle to the curved concrete wall above. A continuous flight of glass closes everything off towards the inside, towards the cross-storey vestibule. This looks familiar. Modern buildings come to mind, such as Ronchamp or Villa Savoye – with similar curved exposed concrete, elevation on pilotis, glass, and connection between inside and outside. All of this alone is impressive and clear. At the top, the exterior building is completed by a cantilevered head section with a transverse rectangular front. This glass front appears like a cross-section through this meandering tract or corridor, which is visibly much longer towards the rear and is also transversely rectangular and completely covered and closed at the front, at the »cut«, by a huge window, like aquarium glass. This echoes what can only be understood and physically perceived in the interior, in the large vestibule. This tubular tract is one of many similarly tubular corridors that all start in the vestibule. The only exception is this one, which starts on the opposite (left) side on the roof of the old central barracks building on the street side (on its roof), runs along the top floor, »flows towards« the others and ends in this aquarium-like large window. In this way, the building as a whole is already intertwined here, perhaps not even fully comprehensible at first, in that it »sends out« its undulating exhibition corridors from the left and right of the old, street-side barracks centre wing, on different floor levels, whereby at the end they are all brought together again and intertwined.

When you step from Zaha Hadid's already mighty exterior building into the vestibule, the main idea opens up in a single view, spanning all floors and guiding your gaze far into the rear depths of the undulating exhibition corridors. This is a vestibule of superlatives, a sound miracle of forms. A hitherto unknown fluidity of forms, materials and the entire museum! Everything starts from this large vestibule, the flow, the dynamism, the flowing movement. A multitude of parallel, undulating exhibition corridors flow out from here, four galleries in particular, running towards the aforementioned fifth tract on the top floor. All four undulate, intertwine, diverge, leave gaps and allow views down to the pavement outside, creating bridge-like passages. They spiral vividly into the heights of the room, into the distance, taking off. And they intertwine not only horizontally but also vertically, connected by long flights of stairs that shape the visual impression, running from one floor to the next. Everything looks like a forest of »Medusa hairs and snakes«, which appear to be tied to the vestibule as their head, the Medusa's head. Such a sea of movement, flowing out to the left and to the right, multiplied

and connected across different floors, merging, goes beyond anything previously known. The museum functions as a stream that drives and sweeps the viewer along. At the same time, everything seems soft and pleasant. A museum to linger in, emphasized by the elegant, elongated couch furniture. Liquid spaces, dynamism taken to the extreme. From a distance, this seems comparable to the grand staircases in late Baroque palaces that fill entire halls, such as the Würzburg Residence, or even the carceri of a Piranesi. The focus is no longer on the individual exhibit, but on the overall experience (which is also typical of the exhibitions). Through the flow and the interweaving, everything is subordinated to a large, flowing overall idea. And the museum also quickly established itself as the »primus inter pares« insofar as it offers itself as a home for the newly created Italian Architecture Prize (and has remained so ever since).

The gigantic impression is also significantly supported by the uniform, clear aesthetics. It is already omnipresent in the vestibule – and then on all floors, over the entire length of the building, in the corridors that run across the corner far to the rear, to the other side of the street (where the home of the architecture prize is located). An entire, almost urban space is opened up. The aforementioned exposed concrete functions as a framework in the shape of undulating walls (and the glass front outside). This undulating exposed concrete wall also appears again on the inside, facing the old barracks wing. The aforementioned swinging (four) exhibition corridors are inscribed in this frame – between the two elongated exposed concrete walls, which themselves undulate. Those are now entirely designed in just two – completely different, »more exciting«, stylish – (expressive) colours. The flights of stairs and their balustrades (all predominantly metal) are all black, while their floors, steps, horizontal surfaces and covers are all white, mostly neon light behind frosted glass. This creates a richly structured, uniform overall picture, running in long lines across the floors and to the left and right. In the large space of the vestibule, which spans the entire height, a third colour, a deep red, is used for slender, floating round rods to further structure the width and height – like large exclamation marks and hyphens between the worlds. SG

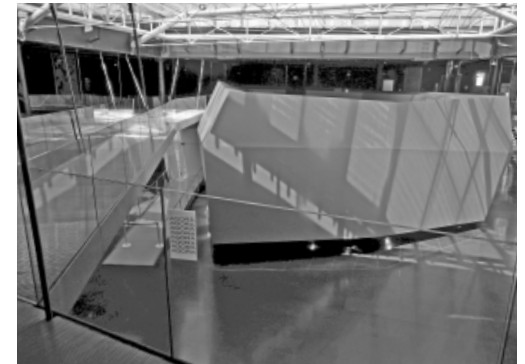
M81 MACRO – Museo d'Arte Contemporanea di Roma

Via Nizza (Plan II 2/D)

2000/01, 2003–10

Odil Decq

Just like MAXXI, the new building and redesign for the Museo d'Arte Contemporanea di Roma, MACRO, was erected at the turn of the millennium in the context of an older building stock (in this case the large Peroni brewery) following an international, but significantly smaller tender than for the MAXXI (2000/01). It was built for exhibits from the 1960s to the present day – as an ad-



M81 MACRO – Museo d'Arte Contemporanea di Roma

dition to the main building (K23). Odil Decq, probably the leading French context and concept architect, was able to assert herself in the competition.

The task and context creation in this case are very specific and manifold. Two dimensions are central. The first dimension is the determined combination of Modern architecture with old buildings – an interplay. This dimension has already been implemented several times in Rome (M63, M69, also M78, M80), but never as intensively as in the MACRO. Internationally, for example in Germany, it has also been a major theme in recent decades. Examples can be found in Gernot Schulz's design of the Neo-Classical ensemble of buildings on Halle's Universitätsplatz or in the reconstruction of the Neues Museum in Berlin in conjunction with the new James-Simon-Galerie by David Chipperfield. Odil Decq had already completed a Modern resign of the two long, parallel wing buildings of the (old) Peroni Brewery in 1999. The two wings had been connected by a high glass gable roof on steel girders: continuous, broken like a mansard roof, extended by transverse wings to form a cross. This created a large gallery underneath, which provides access to both wings and whose floor is wide open in the middle (of the cross). Through this opening, this gallery – logistically and visually – also impressively provides access to the large, complex, newly designed rooms in the basement.

In the (largely) square front building (designed by her as a trapezoid with adjoining rooms), Decq also undertakes the development and transformation of the old building stock, but now in the form of a much more decidedly Modern architectural creation. This head-end structure already connected the two wing buildings before and still does today. The connection itself is very original. Odil Decq led stairs from the (older) gallery downwards and upwards – into the actual museum vestibule, but also to the roof garden, both of which characterize the new building. Ultimately, she even reversed the entrance layout. The main entrance has been relocated to the front building, so that access is now from the opposite side, or more precisely,

to the opposite corner of the front building on Via Nizza. This also fundamentally changes the course. At this corner, an old lightcoloured plaster façade with classic window profiles meets a rather dark, Modern glass cube – or rather its corner. The cube in turn opens up into a funnel shaped, tapering front garden with a small forest for the actual museum entrance – like an ancient grove in front of the sanctuary. The classic Postmodern theme of breaking through and destabilizing the corner (of the classic Modern cube) is combined with the (also Postmodern) themes of mixing styles (old and new) and the intrusion of nature into the building and cube. The vestibule, into which one now steps, is the defining part of the redesign and it is here that the second, even more far-reaching dimension of Decq's transformation unfolds. The theme is »building within a building«, in this case: core structure within a new building within an old building (shell). Perhaps most effectively formulated in the British Museum (with the rotunda built by Norman Foster, the »Great Court«, 2011) or in the Louvre (with the glass pyramid by Ieoh Ming Pei, 1985–1989), this theme has increasingly become a main topic in recent decades. The starting point was Oswald Mathias Ungers' idea of a »house within a house« in the Frankfurt Architecture Museum (1984). However, Decq has now succeeded in creating a real gem, a genuine »machine«. It completely fills the black vestibule. The deep black already formed a real colour contrast to the classic white museum building. She now fills this shell to bursting point with an auditorium in bright red, almost a »Ferrari« of architecture, a prismatically sharp polygonal body. Depending on where one stands in the room, the auditorium approaches the viewer as a huge ship, reflected in the black marble floor, or opens upwards into a forum on the polyhedron roof. In either case, however, a fortissimo of colour (black and red) is created in the darkened space as well as a fortissimo of forms (the spacious, orthogonal vestibule as a shell and the prismatically broken auditorium). All in all, a jewel, a pearl, a sharp diamond in its jewelry box. One almost forgets the adjoining museum rooms (of the head building), which are arranged around the vestibule like (sea) shells, taking up almost equal space, and are (also) criss-crossed by various steel walkways.

The execution and wealth of ideas – as well as their consistency – are indeed fascinating in other respects too. Communication – logistically and intellectually – is the main theme, as is fluidity, though not so much in the sense of flowing, undulating, overwhelming dynamics as in Zaha Hadid's work (M80). Two ideas stand out. The core building not only houses the auditorium. Decq has also placed an open – also prismatically shaped – forum for smaller discussion groups on top of it, with an elongated table in the middle. And once again, now in the outdoor space above, accessible via the ascending staircase from the gallery (see above), Decq has created a piazza on

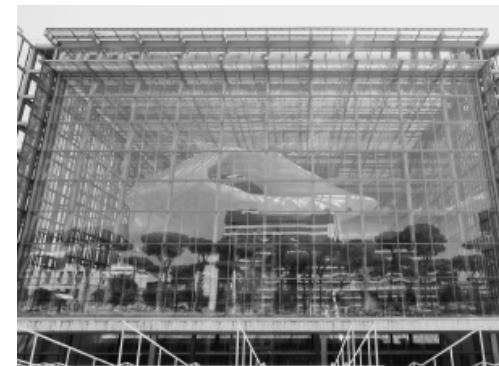
the roof. The archetype is the rooftop agora of Le Corbusier, for example on his apartment block in Marseille. Here, in its crown, the new building also communicates with the older buildings in the surrounding area. And this is where the large light wells are located, partly flooded and animated by water, which indirectly illuminate the vestibule and the dominating red auditorium below. The second major idea concerns the pathways, which are mostly steel walkways running through the airy height of the large rooms. They provide access, break through walls and penetrate to other floors. They thus ensure logistics in equal measure as they illustrate the idea of »walking as a path of education«. A total work of art in the best sense of the word – for the senses and the intellect. If you want to see even more MACRO – but much less radically as a transformation of an old building – visit the MACRO in the Quartiere Testaccio (see K22), the old slaughterhouse (Mattatoio), almost at the other end of the city. SG

M82 Centro Congressi – la Nuvola

Viale Asia 40/44 – Via Cristoforo Colombo
(Plan G2 in the EUR complex)
1998–2000, 2001–07, 2008–16
Massimiliano and Doriana Fuksas

Three large elements – Teca, Forum and above all Nuvola – characterize the building, Rome's largest new construction for centuries, at least since the Olympic Stadium (M74). At the same time, they again form the theme of »a building within a building« (as with Foster, Pei, Ungers, and in Rome shortly before with Decq, see M81). Centro Congressi is also the magnum opus of the most successful living Roman architect: Massimiliano Fuksas with partner Doriana Fuksas – »his St. Peter's«, so to speak. In fact, not only did it similarly take a long time to complete, it was also hanging by a thread (for Michelangelo and St. Peter's, see H31). Among the reasons for this were the size of the building (floor plan of 70 x 175 m, 39 m high, 16,000 sqm in area, about forty times the volume), the fact that the financing had not even been planned when the competition was issued and the change of a total of five mayors and many prime ministers. Of the latter, Matteo Renzi brought about the breakthrough – after years of dispute over the financing between ENTE EUR, the Italian state and the city, all of which are co-owners. The building – flanked by the associated luxury hotel in the shape of a disk, »la Lama« – fills the street area between Viale Cristoforo Colombo (west), Asia and Europa (north/south) and Viale Shakespeare (east).

The Teca forms the housing, the outer large form as a horizontal cuboid, in steel and glass (laminated safety glass as flow glass). The glass is kept very bright, even white-transparent by reducing the iron oxide content, without any colour cast (e.g. green). The spectacular shape of the interior is intended to extend outwards. The building's outer layer is double-



M82 Centro Congressi – la Nuvola

skinned, thus ecologically balancing out the temperature differences in winter and summer, with sophisticated air circulation (also with openings). The double steel framework is technologically reinforced and, at 37,000 tons, weighs more than four Eiffel Towers. The Teca looks like a large shrine – as Fuksas named it – with the gate to the west and east and the longitudinal walls to the north and south. These can also be accessed (behind the outer glass shell) over their entire height by a system of steel staircases, which also provide reinforcement. The gate to the east is more grandiose, with a significant overhang (profile) and a travertine staircase leading up to it. However, the main entrance is to the west and the stairs – also running across the entire width – lead downwards. In this way, they hardly dominate the (front) view, much less than the open staircase on the opposite side. The entire building is therefore accessed from the basement. This side also lacks the overhang that characterizes the opposite side. This is the entrance for the masses, formally sparser, on the incomparably busier Viale Cristoforo Colombo (with public transport), characterized through its function. Only a few people take the nobilitized (east) entrance, staying in the fine hotels to the east and south.

The largest auditorium is also located in the basement, with around 6,000 seats, sometimes up to 9,000. Partition walls can be used to change the space, which is also suitable as an exhibition area. It is located underground but also functions as the main area (»forum«), the second defining element. For the masses and the exhibition or congress business, the less prominent form or position is again chosen, in the basement.

The jewel of the building, the »Nuvola«, rises above the forum, and is intended for much smaller numbers (approx. 1,800). Once again, an auditorium is the main feature, but this time it is absolutely spectacular. The interior is finished in reddish cherry wood and the seats are covered in red. Even from outside the building – through the steel and glass construction – you can see this giant element (auditorium), in cloud form and floating, amorphous, like an amoeba, as the »pearl in the (giant) jewelry box«. Fuksas explained that the idea came to him on a vacation in Greece, when he saw a giant white cloud – just one – floating in the sky. And he decided to stop building according to Euclid – i.e. orthogonal, exact geometry – and to accept the commission for this building, which he had previously turned down. Euclid was the language of his many previous buildings, futuristic, but cubic and sharp, not dreamy, such as the Twin Towers in Vienna in 2006 (Fuksas expanded his office in Rome over the years with others in Paris, Vienna, Frankfurt and Shenzhen). Then came the architecture »beyond Euclid«. It is already laid out in the trade fair construction in Milan (2010), in Rome in a related polymorphic glass »dome«, the so-called Lanterna (2013). Fuksas created it during the conversion of the old Unione Militare building (1901) for Benetton (Via del Corso 422; unfortunately largely built over by the successor owner H&M). However, it is »La Nuvola« in the Centro Congressi that really makes a splash! If you see it from the inside, the »cloud« really is lifting up. This is the case from the basement, functionally the main floor, and even more so from the first floor – aesthetically the one that really opens up this »dream«. It is no coincidence that the »cloud« gave the building its name. Of course, it is a technical masterpiece, dependent on and impregnated with technology (Al Engineering is responsible for the engineering). This applies to its support / anchoring in only three structures / locations. This also applies to its membrane made of glass fiber fabric, which is translucent from the outside in, but also from the inside out. It is mounted on a multiple fractioned, angled, »modeled« steel frame (held in place by a multitude of invisibly recessed bolts), with a surface area of approx. 15,000 sqm. The vivid impression, however, is quite different, not »technological«, but dreamlike and fairy-like. At the same time, Fuksas also gives his very own version of the theme of »a building within a building«, which has repeatedly characterized recent decades (see M81). While Foster and Pei, for example, were still con-