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# REWORKINGS: FROM THE BASILICA TO THE BIENNALE

by ANDREW HOPKINS

Buildings are living organisms that constantly change over time and are re-worked as spatial containers responding to different requirements. Planning and designing architecture often involves both conscious and unconscious reworking of local and leading architectural traditions to convey particular meaning. Whether in ground plan, elevation, typological choices, materials and colour as well as their application, including large scale urbanism and infrastructure, places and spaces are reworked, often in search of increased order and regularity, but also increased visibility and theatricality. Significant reworking can follow a change of architect, and in the specific context of the *Serenissima*, the role of *proto* as director of works responsible for maintaining the buildings of the Procurators of San Marco, signified undertaking constant repair and reworking and replacement over time of a significant percentage of the city's fabric, including many of the most prestigious buildings in Venice, that belonged to the Procurators of the Ducal Chapel of San Marco.

The transformation of San Marco from a 9<sup>th</sup>-century Ducal Chapel to a 19<sup>th</sup>-century Basilica and Cathedral of Venice presents an emblematic example of architectural reworking over more than a millennium.<sup>1</sup> From the date of its first construction around 828, to successive rebuilding campaigns in 978 and 1063, its modified Greek-cross plan was unlike the Ravennate basilical type, which predominated in the Venetian lagoon and the mainland regions nearby: it pointed instead to Byzantium, having been rebuilt following the plan of the Church of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople as it was remodelled sometime between 940 and 1004. Thus a Byzantine ecclesiastical form was, in the third church of San Marco, maintained and reworked and amplified, retaining the quincunx of domes of the Holy Apostles, thus establishing the Eastern rather than Western architectural sources of relevance for the Republic.<sup>2</sup> Consecrated most likely in 1093, the present San Marco was never a static structure and, most notably, following the Fourth Crusade of 1204, when the Venetians sacked and looted Constantinople, the Ducal Chapel was almost entirely encrusted internally and externally with slabs of marble, columns,

<sup>1</sup> Otto Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice. History, Architecture and Sculpture*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1960 (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 6). Andrew Hopkins, „Architecture and Infirmity: Doge Andrea Gritti and the Chancel of S. Marco“, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 57 (1998), 182–197. Henry Maguire and Robert Nelson (eds), *San Marco, Byzantium and the Myths of Venice*, Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 2010 (Dumbarton Oaks Byzantine symposia and colloquia).

<sup>2</sup> Fabio Barry, „Disiecta membra: Ranieri Zeno, the Imitation of Constantinople, the ‚Spolia‘ style, and Justice at San Marco“, in: Maguire and Nelson, *San Marco* (see n. 1), 7–62. See also Patricia Fortini Brown, *Venice @ Antiquity. The Venetian Sense of the Past*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996. Deborah Howard, *Venice @ the East. The Impact of the Islamic World on Venetian Architecture 1100–1500*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000, 65–109.



and adorned with a variety of spolia, including the celebrated Quadriga.<sup>3</sup> The programme of mosaic decoration of the interior persisted over centuries and the continuous presence of a mosaic workshop, as well as the ongoing role of the Proto ai Procuratori demonstrate how such an important building was always 'in the making' and being reworked.<sup>4</sup> The institution of the Fabbrica of St Peter's in Rome in 1505, a body still working today to maintain the Vatican Basilica, reiterates how significant buildings such as these were always ongoing concerns rather than architectural projects that had a definite end.<sup>5</sup>

One instance of significant reworking of the Ducal Chapel to update it to changed liturgical and processional requirements will suffice, Andrea Gritti (1455–1538), who was elected doge on October 2, 1523, undertook a significant *renovatio urbis* of the piazza and ducal chapel. During Gritti's reign the arrangement of the architectural furnishings in the chancel (everything east of the crossing) of San Marco underwent significant transformation, with the provision of new stalls for the Signoria and a throne for the doge in the choir and seating for the Primicerius (the head ecclesiastic of San Marco) and clergy in the presbytery and apse. This was a new seating arrangement, quite different from the previous one, which had existed from at least the late 13<sup>th</sup> century until the third decade of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The changes instigated by Gritti, and executed under the supervision of Jacopo Sansovino (1486–1570) involved a new ceremonial location for the doge in San Marco, substituting a position modeled on the seat of an Eastern emperor for one modeled on that of a Western prince, indicating how the Venetian geo-political situation had changed.<sup>6</sup>

Further major reworking was undertaken as a consequence of the Napoleonic conquest of the Republic in 1808, when the ducal chapel was re-designated a basilica and the Cathedral of Venice.<sup>7</sup> Further reworking and modifications were made after the Second Vatican Council of 1962–1965 to 'modernise' the basilica for contemporary use. It was in this period that the then proto, Ferdinando Forlati (1882–1975), supervised the most damaging interventions that the building has ever suffered.<sup>8</sup> These included cutting into the lower

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Dale, „Cultural hybridity in medieval Venice: Reinventing the East at San Marco after the Fourth Crusade“, in: Maguire and Nelson, *San Marco* (see n. 1), 151–191. Holger Klein, „Refashioning Byzantium in Venice, ca. 1200–1400“, in: Maguire and Nelson, *San Marco* (see n. 1), 193–225.

<sup>4</sup> Liz James, „Mosaic Matters: Questions of Manufacturing and Mosaicists in the Mosaics of San Marco, Venice“, in: Maguire and Nelson, *San Marco* (see n. 1), 227–243.

<sup>5</sup> Georg Satzinger and Sebastian Schütze (eds), *Sankt Peter in Rom 1506–2006*, München: Hirmer, 2008. Renata Sabene, *La Fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano. Dinamiche internazionali e dimensione locale*, Rome: Gangemi, 2012.

<sup>6</sup> Manfredo Tafuri (ed.), „*Renovatio Urbis*“. *Venezia nell'eta di Andrea Gritti (1523–1538)*, Rome: Officina, 1984 (Collana di architettura 25). Bruce Boucher, „Jacopo Sansovino and the Choir of St Mark's“, *The Burlington Magazine* 118 (1976), 552–536.

<sup>7</sup> Alvise Zorzi, *Venezia scomparsa*, Milan: Electa, 1977, <sup>2</sup>1987. Margaret Plant, *Venice Fragile City 1797–1997*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2002, 50.

<sup>8</sup> Ferdinando Forlati, *La Basilica di San Marco attraverso i suoi restauri*, Trieste: Lint, 1975. Stefano Sorteni (ed.), *Le stagioni dell'ingegnere Ferdinando Forlati*, Padova: Il Poligrafico, 2017.



marble panels of the iconostasis so that they could be mechanically lowered, and dismantling Sansovino's intarsia panels in the presbytery, facilitating their illicit removal and subsequent illegal sale.<sup>9</sup>

Beyond the Basilica, the form of piazza San Marco was also the result of reworking over more than a millennium.<sup>10</sup> From its creation in the years 1160–1170, to being doubled in length by doge Vitale II Michiel (d. 1172) around 1172, when the church of San Geminiano was demolished and relocated at the new perimeter, twice as far from San Marco, to the paving of the piazza in 1266, the first phase of creation lasted a century and involved many ducal patrons.<sup>11</sup> Continuity, despite significant spatial reworking, came through the annual procession from San Marco to San Geminiano by the Doge and Signoria – locations might change but the procession and the procedure remained the same.<sup>12</sup> In this case, a penitential procession was instigated because the consecrated church was demolished without papal permission, and during the ceremony the parish priest stood on the site of the old church and reminded the Doge of his annual obligation, thus inscribing memory into history through architecture and the performative act of processing.

Significant reworking of the piazza in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries included the construction of the Zecca, Libreria and Loggetta as well as the Procuratie Vecchie and Nuove, the latter only completed by Baldassare Longhena (1597–1682) in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, while Sansovino's Libreria was completed by Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548–1616) in the 1590s.<sup>13</sup> Sansovino also notably altered the alignment of the Libreria and hence also the Procuratie Nuove to open up and enlarge the piazza, in a dramatic urbanistic reworking of the square's visual properties.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>9</sup> The intarsia panels were recently recovered and restored. See the various contributions in „Le tarsie del presbiterio“, *Quaderni della Procuratoria. Arte, Storia, Restauri della Basilica di San Marco a Venezia*, 2014.

<sup>10</sup> Michela Agazzi, *Platea Sancti Marci. I luoghi marciani dall'XI al XIII secolo e la formazione della piazza*, Venezia: Stamperia di Venezia, 1991. Jürgen Schulz, „La piazza medieval di San Marco“, *Annali di architettura* 4/5 (1992/93), 134–156. Manuela Morresi, *Piazza San Marco. Istruzioni, poteri e architettura a Venezia nel primo Cinquecento*, Milano: Electa, 1998.

<sup>11</sup> Andrea Dandolo, *Chronica per extensum descripta*, four vols ed. by Ester Pastorello, Bologna: Zanichelli, 1938–1942 (*Rerum Italicarum scriptores* 12), 73, 314.

<sup>12</sup> Edward Muir, *Civic ritual in Renaissance Venice*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981, 109. Andrew Hopkins, „Symbol of Venice: The Doge in Ritual“, in: Samuel Cohn et al. (eds), *Survivals and Renewals. Ritual in Late Medieval and Early Modern Italian Cities*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2013, 227–239.

<sup>13</sup> Andrew Hopkins, *Baldassare Longhena and Venetian Baroque Architecture*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2012. Deborah Howard, *Venice Disputed. Marc'Antonio Barbaro and Venetian Architecture 1550–1600*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013, 170–201.

<sup>14</sup> Deborah Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino. Architecture and Patronage in Renaissance Venice*, New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1987. Idem, „Alla ricerca di Jacopo Sansovino architetto“, in: Guido Beltramini et al. (eds), *Studi in onore di Renato Cevese*, Vicenza: CISA (Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio), 313–329.



Other spatial markers in the square, such as the Clocktower of 1499 by Mauro Codussi (1440–1504) at the entrance to the Merceria, established the visual and urban cross-axis from the two columns fronting the bacino towards the Procuratie Vecchie and hence on to Rialto, an important piece of Renaissance urban theatre before Sansovino's arrival in the lagoon. The three standard bearers in bronze of 1504 by Antonio Lombardo (1458–1516) replaced earlier stone ones by the Lombard workshop, thus reworking in monumental form and majestic material elements which had previously been pragmatic and functional.<sup>15</sup>

Indeed, Codussi's series of buildings in Venice reveal constant reworking of the dominant architectural styles of the *Serenissima*, the Byzantine and the Gothic, with the consistent integration of a new Renaissance classical vocabulary.<sup>16</sup> The trilobite façade of San Michele in Isola, begun in 1469, encapsulates his capacity to rework various traditions. While obviously indebted to the local style represented by San Giovanni in Bragora, he clearly had knowledge of the cathedral of St James at Sibenik of 1441 as well as Renaissance architecture such as the Tempio Malatestiano at Rimini of 1450 by Leone Battista Alberti (1404–1472).<sup>17</sup> Yet Codussi also incorporated into his façade the typical low relief carving of the Lombards, as well as their love of coloured marbles. He introduced for the first time to the lagoon a church façade entirely revetted in white Istrian stone – taking advantage of the church being approached at a distance from the water – which, when seen up close has refined rustication and the Renaissance presence of the classical orders, here rusticated Ionic pilasters.<sup>18</sup>

When Codussi inherited the building site of San Zaccaria in 1483, he immediately altered the design of the church. The lower part of the façade executed by Luca Taiamonte (fl. 1458), with its inlaid red Verona marble set with an Istrian stone framework inspired by San Marco, was radically transformed by Codussi who constructed in white Istrian stone everything above this, including

<sup>15</sup> Wolfgang Wolters, „Leopardi oder Lombardi? Zur Autorschaft der Modelle für die Sockel der Fahnenmasten auf der Piazza S. Marco in Venedig“, in: Hildegard Bauereisen and Martin Sonnabend (eds), *Correspondances*, Mainz: Schmidt, 1996, 51–67 argues for Lombardi's authorship rather than the traditional one of Alessandro Leopardi, for which see Bertrand Jestaz, „Requiem pour Alessandro Leopardi“, *Revue de l'art*, 55 (1982), 23–34.

<sup>16</sup> Margaret Plant, „Mauro Codussi: The Presence of the Past in Venetian Renaissance Architecture“, *Arte Veneta* 38 (1984), 9–22. For painting of the same period see Lorenzo Pericolo, „Incorporating the Middle Ages: Lazzaro Bastiani, the Bellini, and the 'Greek' and 'German' Architecture of Medieval Venice“, in: Lorenzo Pericolo and Jessica Richardson (eds), *Remembering the Middle Ages in Early Modern Italy*, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015, 139–167.

<sup>17</sup> Plant, „Mauro Codussi“ (see n. 16), 10–11. Radovan Ivan evi, *Šibenik cathedral*, Šibenik: Gradska Knjižnica „Juraj Šižgori“, 1998. Massimo Bulgarelli, *Leon Battista Alberti 1404–1472: Architettura e storia*, Milano: Electa, 2008.

<sup>18</sup> Plant, „Mauro Codussi“ (see n. 16), 10. Elisabetta Molteni and Gianmario Guidarelli, „Il monastero di San Michele e l'architettura: da Mauro Codussi alla costruzione delle librerie“, in: Marcello Brusegan et al. (eds), *San Michele in Isola – Isola della conoscenza*, exh. cat. Museo Correr, Torino: Utet, 2012, 79–96.



the pilasters and freestanding columns as well as his classical curved gable.<sup>19</sup> Codussi placed the classical orders on the façade and internally introduced explicitly contrasting Renaissance domes above the Gothic ambulatory system designed by Antonio Gambello (d. 1481).<sup>20</sup>

Throughout Codussi's churches, the Byzantine domes of San Marco are cited again and again, although in modern Renaissance form, and he also deploys the central plan rather than classical or Renaissance Latin-cross plans. At Santa Maria Formosa he chose a Greek cross plan with equal arms, and auxiliary domes surrounding a central raised dome, a version of San Marco's quincunx reworked in Renaissance form. So too at San Giovanni Grisostomo of 1477, the Greek-cross plan is used and there are multiple low domes surrounding the central raised one.

Codussi's reworking of the Venetian palace typology is no less astounding for its innovation. The Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi palace (1494–1509) introduces the systematic use of the classical orders and emphasises the horizontal, rather than the traditional Venetian tendency to the vertical, demonstrating, as Margaret Plant (b. 1940) has argued, both a „will-to-the-new and a passionate and necessary accommodation of the old“.<sup>21</sup>

Jacopo Sansovino not only undertook in his official capacity the extensive reworking of piazza San Marco, but for private patrons – the families of Andrea Gritti and Giovanni Grimani (1506–1593) – the rebuilding of the monastic church of San Francesco della Vigna.<sup>22</sup> From 1534, Sansovino supervised construction of the church, with the exception of its façade, but in the 1560s when the patrons wished to proceed with the latter, they no longer wanted Sansovino's proposed design, nor did they apparently ask him to rework and update his idea, this despite his status as *proto ai Procuratori* and architect of the church. Instead they sought out and commissioned the more innovative proposal by Andrea Palladio (1508–1580).<sup>23</sup> With this commission, Pal-

<sup>19</sup> Plant, „Mauro Codussi“ (see n. 16), 12–14. Gianmario Guidarelli, „L'architettura del monastero di San Zaccaria (IX–XVIII secolo)“, in: Bernard Aikema et al. (eds.), *In centro et oculus urbis nostra: la chiesa e monastero di San Zaccaria*, Marcianum Press, Venezia, 2016, 243–266.

<sup>20</sup> Plant, „Mauro Codussi“ (see n. 16), 12.

<sup>21</sup> Plant, „Mauro Codussi“ (see n. 16), 18–20. Massimo Gemin and Filippo Pedrocco, *Cà Vendramin Calergi*, Milan, Berenice, 1990 (Palazzi e Monumenti). Roberta Martinis, „Ca' Loredan-Vendramin-Calergi a Venezia: Mauro Codussi e il palazzo di Andrea Loredan“, *Annali di architettura*, 10/11 (1998/1999), 43–61. Idem, „Palazzo Lando-Corner-Spinelli a Sant'Angelo: nuovi documenti sulla datazione e la committenza“, *Arte Veneta*, 55 (1999), 153–159, in which the author raises serious and well-founded questions about the traditional attribution.

<sup>22</sup> Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino* (see n. 14). Antonio Foscari and Manfredo Tafuri, *L'armonia e i conflitti. La chiesa di San Francesco della Vigna nella Venezia del '500*, Torino: Einaudi, 1983.

<sup>23</sup> Facades were often constructed at the end of the building project or subsequently and therefore being considered a related but separate task little could be done by an architect to prevent changes being made or other designs being chosen. Architects did have strategies to prevent or minimize change to their designs of large churches, for which see, Howard Burns, „Building against Time: Renaissance Strategies to Secure Large Churches against Changes to their Design“, in: Jean Guillaume (ed.), *L'église dans l'architecture de la Renaissance. Actes du colloque tenu à Tours du 28 au 31 mai 1990*, Paris: Picard, 1995 (De architectura. Colloques 7), 107–131.



ladio was able to introduce his ground-breaking temple front church design to Venice, the first in a series of variations of his approach to applying the classical orders to a church front.<sup>24</sup> Reworked versions of this concept would be proposed by Palladio for the facades of San Giorgio Maggiore of 1565 (actually built between 1608 and 1612 by Simone Sorella [fl. 1580–1610] in altered form) and the sublime façade of his church of the Redentore, begun 1577.<sup>25</sup> While Palladio's Redentore façade was completed as planned, his San Giorgio Maggiore façade design was altered in posthumous construction by less able practitioners such as Francesco Smeraldi de Bernardin called 'il Fracao' (fl. 1590–1630). Palladio's first proposal for a temple front, that of 1558 for the cathedral of Venice, San Pietro di Castello, was built in the 1590s most probably with stones originally quarried and cut for the project between 1558 and 1561 when the project was halted.<sup>26</sup>

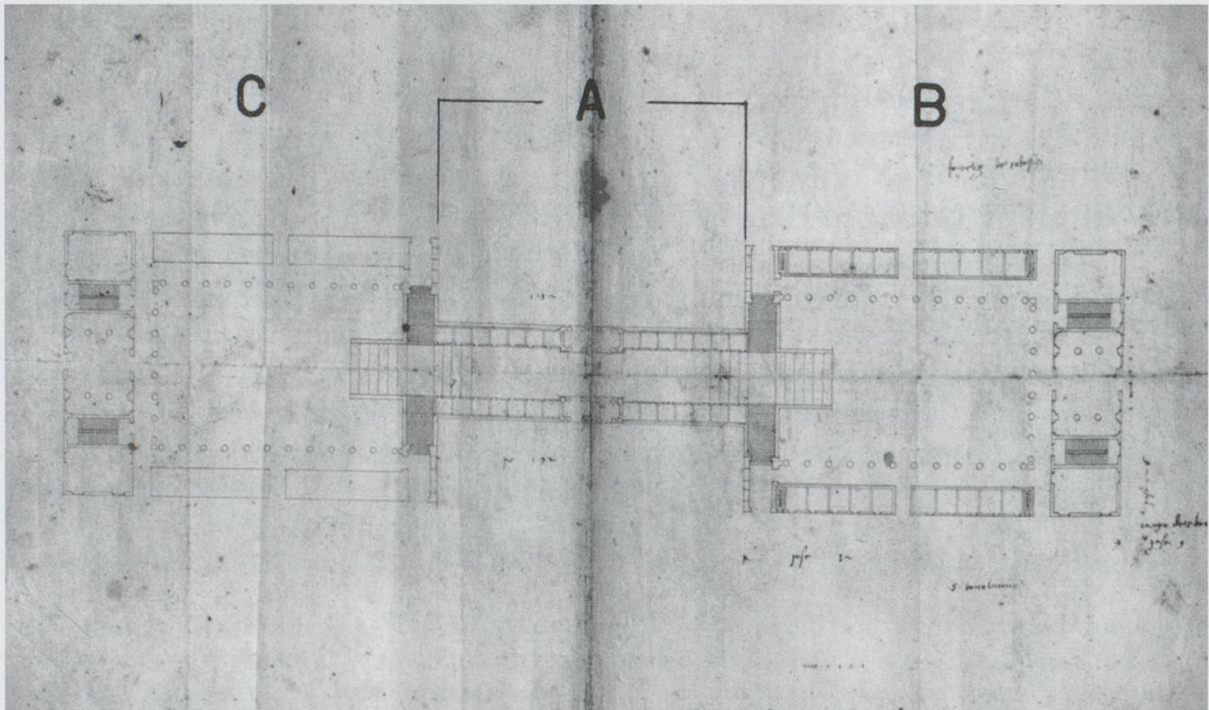


Fig. 1: Andrea Palladio, project for the Rialto Bridge, plan, later 1560s, pen and brown ink on paper, 47.7 x 76 cm. Vicenza, Musei Civici, D25v (photo: from Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti* [see n. 27], fig. 237).

<sup>24</sup> Rudolf Wittkower, "Principles of Palladio's architecture", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 7 (1944), 102–122; 8 (1945), 68–106. Idem, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism*, London: Warburg Institute, 1949 (Studies of the Warburg Institute 19).

<sup>25</sup> See the recent article by James Ackerman, "Palladio, Michelangelo and publica magnificentia", *Annali di architettura* 22 (2010), 63–78 with earlier bibliography. Scott Schiamborg, "Palladio's Lost, Rejected and Found Porticos: Façade Projects for San Giorgio, the Redentore, and San Petronio", *Annali di architettura* 22 (2010), 79–88.

<sup>26</sup> Malvina Borgherini (ed.), *L'architettura delle facciate. Le chiese di Palladio a Venezia*, Venice: Marsilio, 2010. See Gianmario Guidarelli, *I patriarchi di Venezia e l'architettura. La cattedrale di San Pietro di Castello nel Rinascimento*, Padova: IUAV / Il Poligrafico, 2015, especially "La facciata, il campo e la città 1534–1596", 105–152.



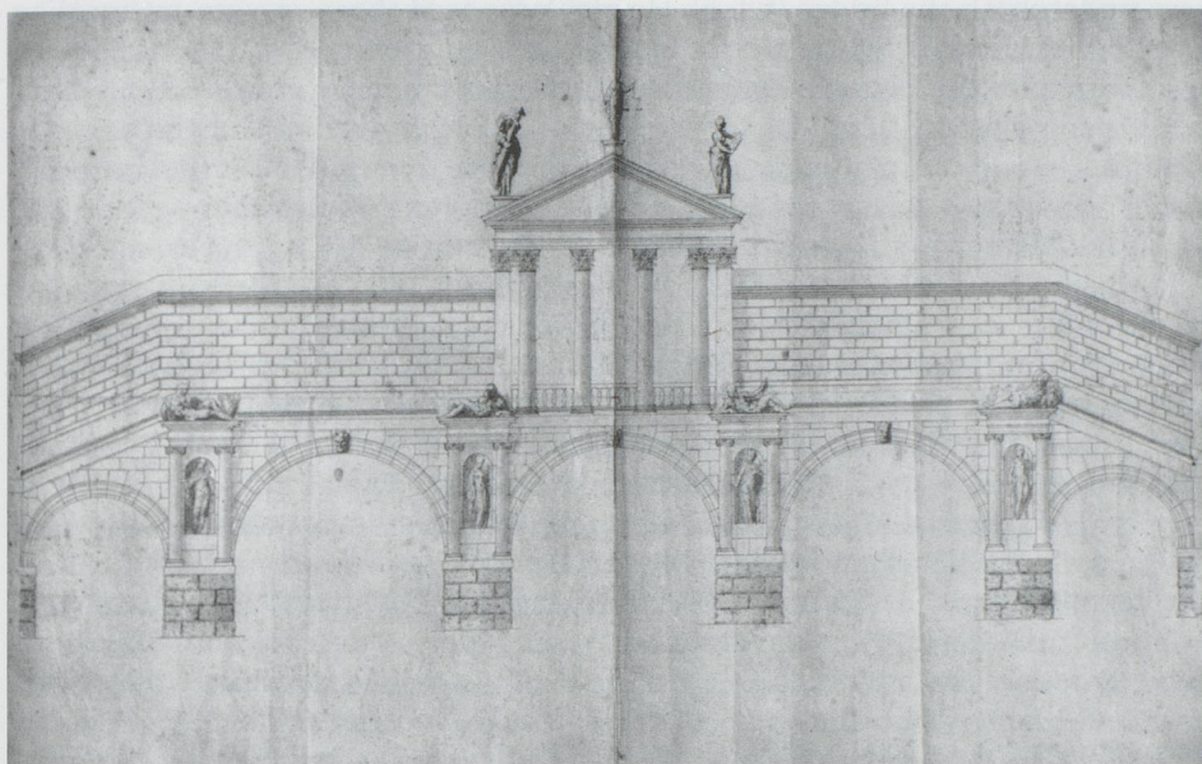


Fig. 2: Andrea Palladio, project for the Rialto Bridge, elevation, later 1560s, pen and brown ink on paper, 47.7x76 cm. Vicenza, Musei Civici, D25r (photo: from Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti* [see n. 27], fig. 238).

Palladio submitted proposals for rebuilding the Rialto Bridge in the late 1560s (figs 1–2). Given that earlier bridges here had been built of wood, it was highly significant that the Procurators al Sal decided that the new bridge would be built of stone.<sup>27</sup> Palladio's first proposal was for a classical but enclosed bridge, with internal shops concluding in domus-like courtyards at either side. His reworking was principally material and aesthetic in his formal choices. It could never have worked though as his five classical stone round-headed arches would have blocked the course of the Canal Grande to larger boats. He reworked before 1570 the proposal into a grander classical form, reducing the number of arches to three, which would have been of greater height above the water, but still too restrictive for water traffic along the canal (figs 3–4). The extremely steep steps at either end would have made passage across such a bridge also extremely difficult.<sup>28</sup> The architect Vincenzo Scamozzi in 1587 proposed a design for the Rialto bridge that in many ways offered a clever and thoughtful transformation of Palladio's proposal: he retained three arches but significantly enlarged the central arch so that larger boats would be able to

<sup>27</sup> Giangiorgio Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti di Andrea Palladio*, Vicenza: Neri Pozza, 1967 (Andrea Palladio / Giangiorgio Zorzi 3), 223–264. Donatella Calabi and Paolo Morachiello, *Rialto. Le fabbriche e il Ponte 1514–1591*, Torino: Einaudi, 1987 (Saggi / Einaudi 704). Howard, *Venice Disputed* (see n. 13), 151–169.

<sup>28</sup> Howard, *Venice Disputed* (see n. 13).



pass underneath the bridge (fig. 5). He also proposed three 'streets' rather than just one, so that his bridge would have been much more visual, even theatrical. People in the central 'shopping street' could concentrate on the shops, while people whose aim was principally to get from one side of the canal to the other could more quickly use one of the two external 'streets', the gradient of ascent and descent of the ramps of stairs here is also more gentle and practical. These two open external streets result in people on the bridge being able to see the Canal Grande and the boats and people on it, while everyone on the water can also see people passing over the bridge. Realising that his three arch proposal was not going to be accepted, Scamozzi also published a print which depicted his original proposal, together with another proposal for a reworked option with just one wider flattened arch, even going so far in the face of failure as to suggest that his one arch proposal was that which he originally suggested and the three arch proposal was a second idea (figs 6–7).<sup>29</sup> In the end, the Venetian authorities decided to award the commission to the aptly named engineer Antonio da Ponte (1515c.–1597) who reworked Scamozzi's design for the superstructure and constructed this over his soundly designed and rigorously executed base structure of an enormous flattened arch which has stood the test of time (figs 8–9).<sup>30</sup> The result can be described as an idea by Palladio, reworked by Scamozzi and executed in a reworked form by da Ponte.

To return yet again to the piazza, heart and soul of the Serenissima, here Scamozzi was also tasked with continuing the construction of the Procurators' residences on the square. His proposal for the Procuratie Nuove to be three storeys high was a deliberate and provocative reworking, and correcting, of Sansovino's two storey high Libreria. Indeed, Scamozzi was disapproving of this, because according to him its proportions were too low for its length, and its second storey frieze too high in relation to the rest of this storey (principally because it cleverly incorporated oval apertures into the frieze that provided light for the rooms on the third floor) that he also originally suggested removing this frieze and reworking the Library edifice through the addition of a third storey. Unsurprisingly, the Procurators rejected this, although they did accept his proposal for three storeys for the Procuratie Nuove, thereby gaining duplex residential apartments set above ground floor shops, a significant innovation in their housing.<sup>31</sup>

<sup>29</sup> Andrew Hopkins, „Ponte di Rialto“, in: Franco Barbieri and Guido Beltramini (eds), *Vincenzo Scamozzi 1548–1616*, Venice: Marsilio, 2003, 285–288. Now see Howard, *Venice Disputed* (see n. 13), 151–169.

<sup>30</sup> Deborah Howard, „Architecture and Invention in Venice and the Veneto in the Later Sixteenth Century“, in: Louis Waldman and Machtelt Israëls (eds), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors*, two vols, Milan: Officina Libraria, 2013, I, 363–372.

<sup>31</sup> Now see Howard, *Venice Disputed* (see n. 13), 171–191. Andrew Hopkins, „Procuratie“, in: Barbieri and Beltramini, *Vincenzo Scamozzi* (see n. 29), 202–220.



Scamozzi only completed several bays according to his original design proposal as it was extremely elaborate, involving freestanding monumental columns in the courtyard and figure sculpture set over the window frames of the upper storey and he was required to rework his design into a simplified form at the request of the procurators, which he did and then continued with the construction for another few bays. The completion of the Procuratie Nuove had to wait until the 1640s when the newly appointed *proto ai Procuratori*, Baldassare Longhena, was appointed and he faithfully continued Scamozzi's revised and reworked designs all the way to the end of the piazza and along its far end to the church of San Geminiano with its façade by Jacopo Sansovino.<sup>32</sup>

Longhena had been awarded the post of *proto ai Procuratori* at the relatively young age of 43 because of his significant success winning the competition for the new church of Santa Maria della Salute in 1631 with his extraordinarily innovative design for an enormous domed rotunda and ambulatory and second domed sanctuary space (fig. 10). Although it took a long time to complete, Longhena's spectacular church changed forever the skyline of Venice and the theatricality of the bacino. Certainly his design reworks ideas from ephemeral architecture and perhaps even that of Theatres of Memory, together with more strictly architectural sources to create a Venetian Pantheon.<sup>33</sup> These sources were recognised by Aldo Rossi (1931–1997) and responded to in 1979 when he created his celebrated 'Teatro del Mondo' in anticipation of the first Architectural Biennale to be held in Venice in 1980 (fig. 11).<sup>34</sup>

Under the direction of Paolo Portoghesi, this Biennale was dedicated to the presence of the past and included the 'Strada Novissima' created in the Corderie dell'Arsenale. Rossi's approach, when designing his floating theatre, reworks very specific ideas about theatres of the world, but also the long Venetian tradition of floating ephemera, including Palladio's Triumphal Arch on the Lido of 1573, to Scamozzi's Teatro del Mondo and fishy papière-mache covered boats for the Coronation of the Dogressa Grimani in 1597, to Longhena's Salute that, with its volutes and figure sculpture, seems to be an enormous piece of petrified ephemera, particularly appropriate given the annual procession to the church, when a temporary votive bridge would be constructed. The deliberate contrast between the ephemeral-seeming permanence of the Salute and its ephemeral

<sup>32</sup> Hopkins, *Baldassare Longhena* (see n. 13), 21–24. For Sansovino's façade see Howard, *Jacopo Sansovino* (see n. 14). Alison Sherman, 'Soli deo onore et Gloria? "Cittadino" Lay Procurator Patronage and the Art of Identity Formation in Renaissance Venice', in: Nebahat Avcioglu and Emma Jones (eds), *Architecture, Art and Identity in Venice and its Territories*, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, 15–32.

<sup>33</sup> Frances Yates, *The Art of Memory*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul 1966. Pierre Nora, *Realms of Memory*, three vols, New York: Columbia University Press, 1996–1998 (European perspectives). Idem, *Histories and Memories*, Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2010.

<sup>34</sup> *La presenza del passato. Prima mostra internazionale di architettura. Corderia dell'Arsenale. La Biennale di Venezia 1980, Settore Architettura*, Venice: Edizioni La Biennale di Venezia, 1980. Francesco dal Co, 'Ora questo è perduto. Il Teatro del Mondo di Aldo Rossi alla Biennale di Venezia', *Lotus international* 25 (1979), 66–70. Manlio Brusatin and Alberto Prandi (eds), *Aldo Rossi. Teatro del Mondo*, Venezia: Cluva, 1982, photo p. 105; drawing p. 83.



annual votive bridge highlights the need to examine the differences between the temporary and the permanent, reflect on the difference between materiality and transcendence, an issue of great importance for music, and 'petrify the ephemeral' also reminds observers of the transience of the apparently long-lasting, or even permanent, just as momentary 'performance', whether decoration, ephemeral scenes or musical performance, indirectly acquires its own legitimacy. The more ephemeral wooden Rialto bridge became a 'petrified' and permanent stone one, whereas Rossi's inspired design and specific siting for his theatre of the world, floating before the Dogana and the Salute, inverted, but also reiterated, this long tradition by juxtaposing the ephemeral with its petrified counterpart, reminding everyone who saw them together quite how powerful design strategies can be in evoking the past by reworking it, making the past present in exciting and innovative ways.

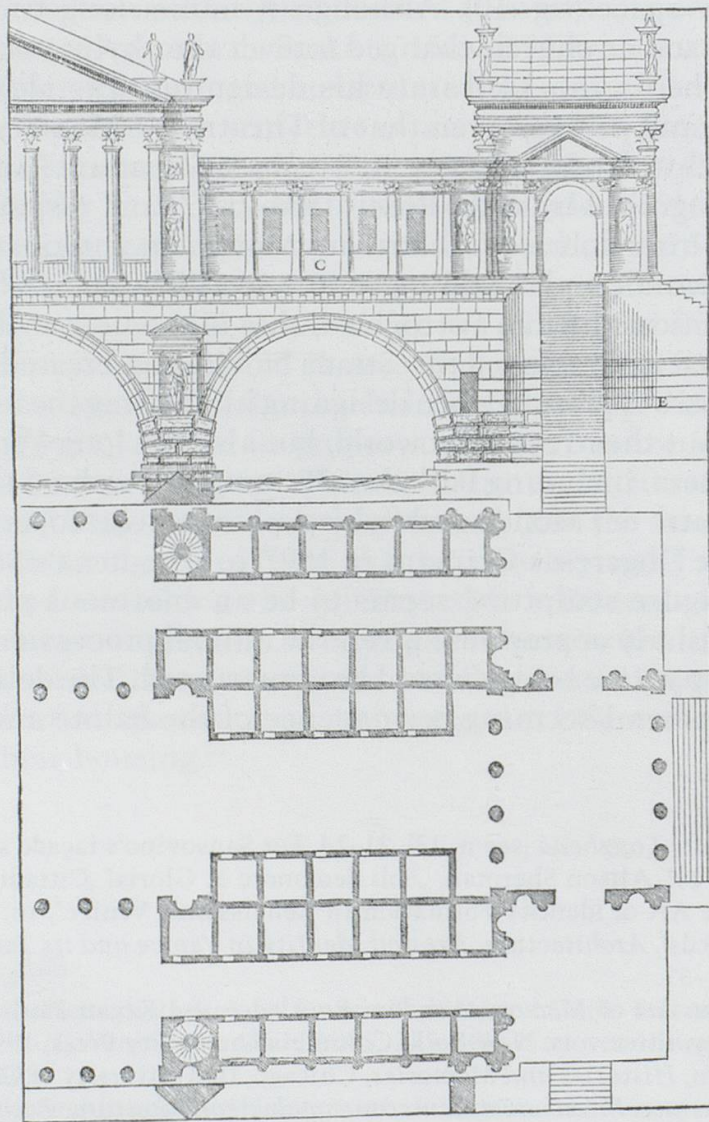


Fig. 3: Andrea Palladio, project for the Rialto Bridge in *I Quattro libri dell'architettura*, Venice 1570, Book III, Chapter XIII, 25 (photo: from Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti* [see n. 27], fig. 240).



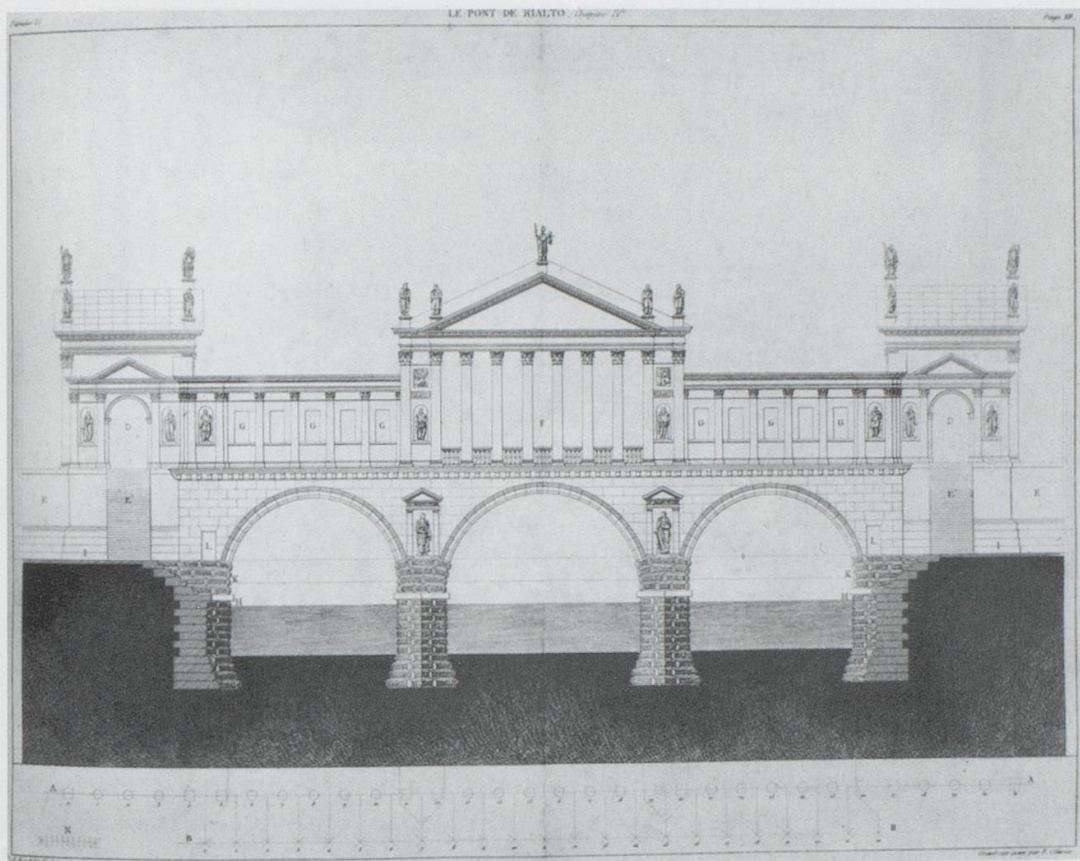


Fig. 4: Antoine Rondelet, Reconstruction of Palladio's second project for the Rialto bridge, *Essai historique sur le pont de Rialto*, Paris: rue Saint-Jacques, 1837.

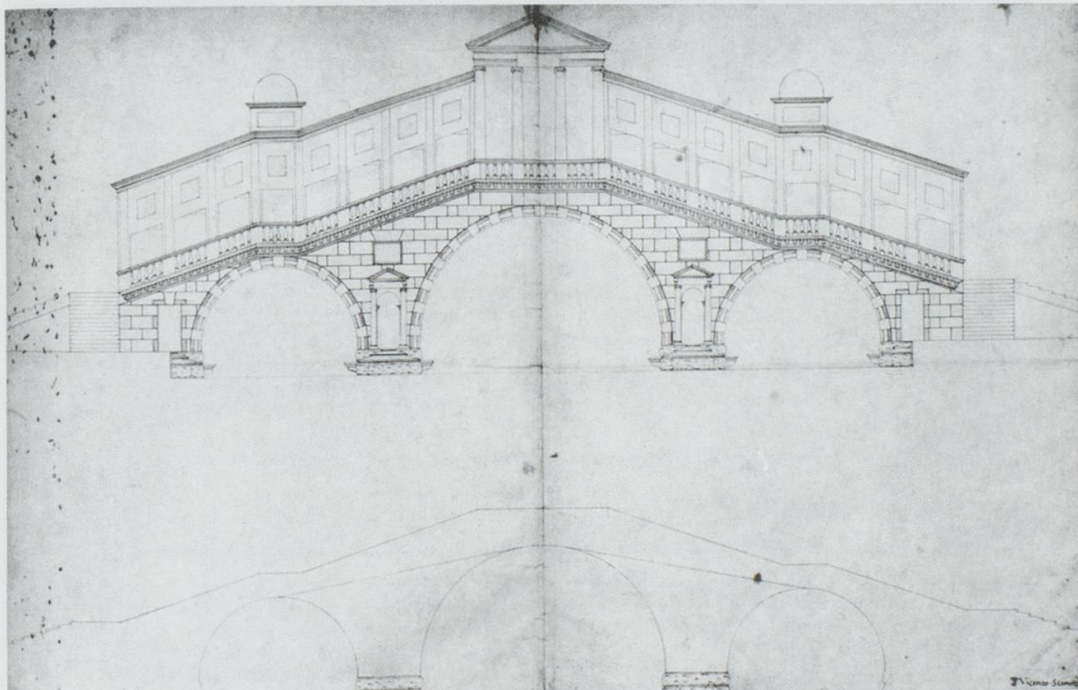


Fig. 5: Vincenzo Scamozzi, project for the Rialto Bridge, 1587, pen and ink on paper, 46.3 x 73.8 cm. London, Royal Institute of British Architects (photo: from Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti* [see n. 27], fig. 246).





Fig. 6: After Vincenzo Scamozzi, design for a triple-arched version of the Rialto Bridge, ca. 1588, woodcut 26.6 x 17 cm, Vicenza, Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, detail of lower half (photo: from Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti* [see n. 27], fig. 248).



Fig. 7: After Vincenzo Scamozzi, design for a single-arched version of the Rialto Bridge, ca. 1588, woodcut 26.6 x 7 cm, Vicenza, Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana, detail of upper half (photo: from Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti* [see n. 27], fig. 249).



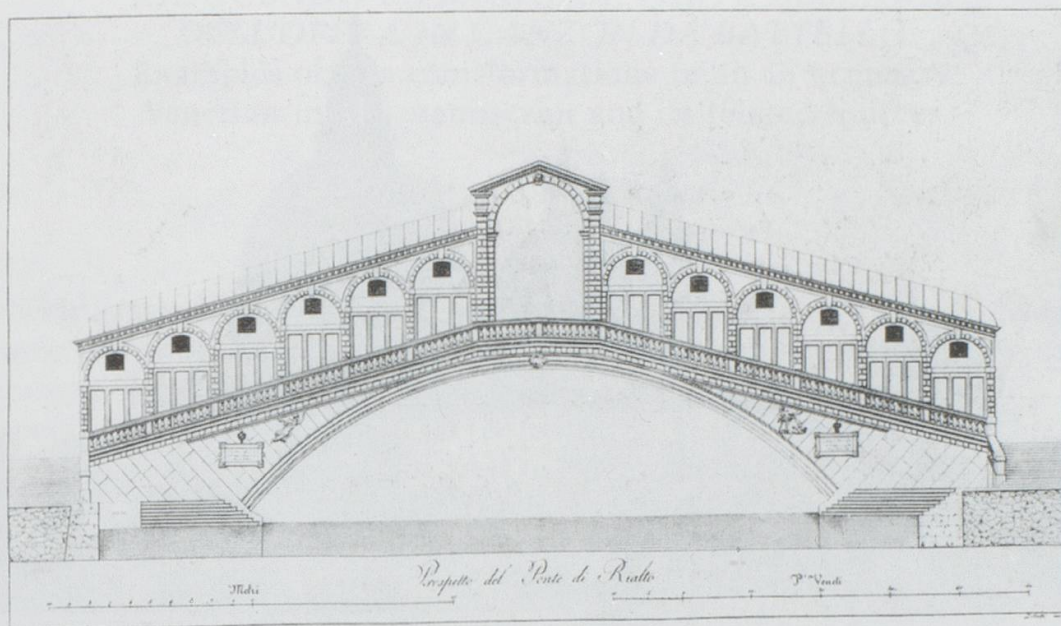


Fig. 8: Cicognara, Diedo and Selva, Elevation engraving of the Rialto bridge as built, *Le fabbriche cospicue di Venezia*, Venice, 1838–1840 (photo: from Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti* [see n. 27], fig. 258).

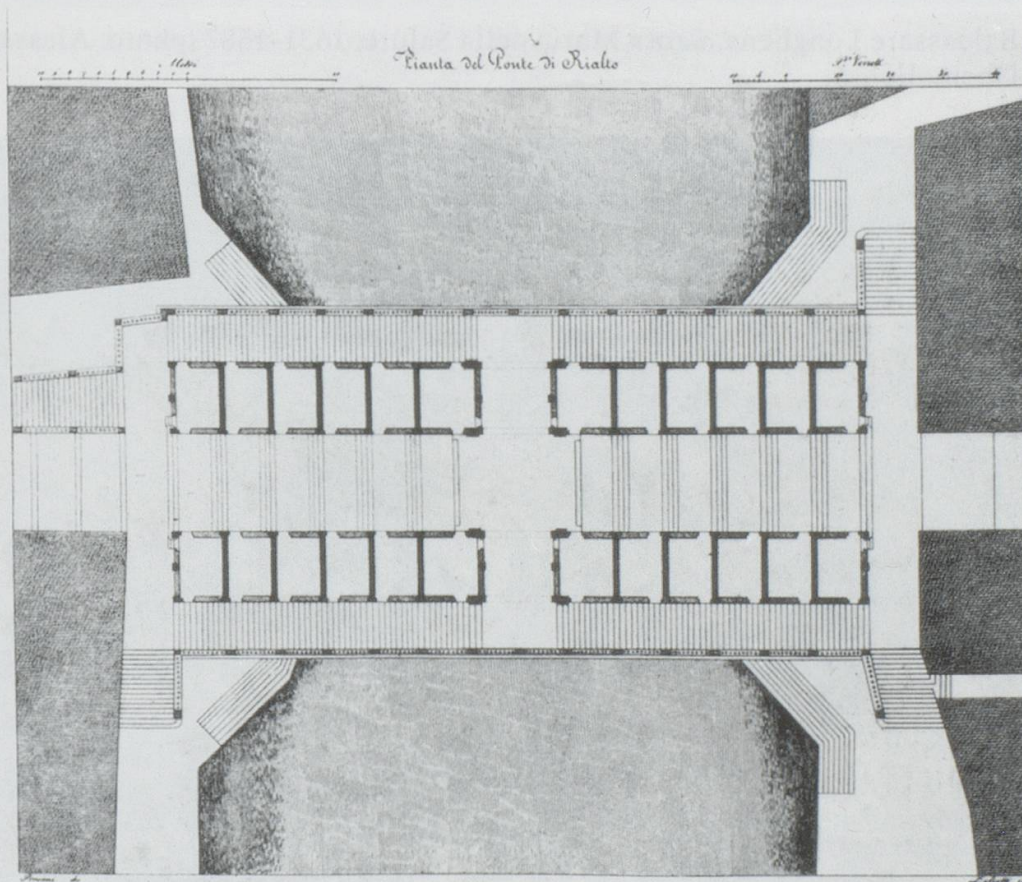


Fig. 9: Cicognara, Diedo and Selva, Engraving of the plan of the Rialto bridge as built, *Le fabbriche cospicue di Venezia*, Venice, 1838–1840 (photo: from Zorzi, *Le chiese e i ponti* [see n. 27], fig. 258).





Fig. 10: Baldassare Longhena, Santa Maria della Salute, 1631–1687 (photo: Alessandra Chemollo).



Fig. 11: Aldo Rossi, Il teatro del mondo floating in front of the Salute and the Dogana da Mar in 1979 (photo: *Controspazio* 1979).