

Chapter 13

I. PROTESTANT EUROPE: AN ARCHITECTURE OF ESSENTIALS

When Martin Luther launched his campaign against the Church of the Popes in Rome in 1517, architecture figured among his complaints. The Calvinists and Lutherans abjured the showiness and theatricality of Catholic churches in favor of austere, undecorated buildings. In late-17th-century England, the Anglican Church assumed a different attitude, nearly identical to the Roman Catholics.

A. The Dutch Republic: An Alternative to the Grand Manner

1. In 1700, Europe stood roughly divided into Catholic countries in the south and Protestant countries in the north.
2. The predominantly Protestant country of the Netherlands emerged with a political system derived from the merchant communes: a republic composed of a federation of seven provinces.
 - i. Similar to Venice, Holland's destiny as a republic derived from its large class of shipping merchants.
3. Despite their great wealth, the Dutch magnates never flaunted their status in public, preferring the code of republican moderation. Thus they usually commissioned unpretentious houses.
4. During much of the latter half of the 17th century, the Dutch Republic was locked in conflict with France due to the expansionist policies of Louis XIV.
 - a. Menno van Coehoorn designed a series of defenses for the Netherlands.
 - b. His masterpiece, Bergen-op-Zoom, built in the south in 1700, survived only as a plan, but his small fortress town of Naarden remains intact, boasting a belt of angled bastions surrounded by two rings of canals.
5. The great port of Amsterdam developed into the most powerful and tolerant city of the Dutch Union. It directed some of its formidable mercantile wealth toward social investments in education, orphanages, hospitals, and work houses.
 - a. As Amsterdam's economy grew, it sponsored an exceptional expansion plan, initiated in 1613 and concluded around 1700 after three phases of development.
 - i. Instead of following straight lines, the planners wrapped the three new tree-lined canals around the old city core, like the rings of an onion or the section of a tree.
 - ii. Contrary to radiocentric schemes, such as Versailles, Amsterdam's plan intentionally rejected grand axes and monumental backdrops.
 - b. The churches in Amsterdam pursued the reverse of the decorative excesses of Baroque Catholicism.
 - i. The earliest new churches in Amsterdam, the Zuiderkerk (1606) and Westerkerk (1620), both designed by the city architect Hendrik de Keyser, conformed to longitudinal plans.
 - ii. De Keyser took his style from Mannerist pattern books that featured balustrades and decorated gables.
 - iii. To each of his churches, de Keyser added a distinctive steeple.
6. A second generation of classically grounded Dutch architects was led by Jacob van Campen.
 - a. His Nieuwe Kerk in Haarlem perfected de Keyser's central plan church, fitting the Greek cross into a perfectly square volume.
 - b. The Oosterkerk in Amsterdam, probably designed by van Campen's assistant Daniel Stalpaert, followed the same plan.

- c. The Lutheran congregation of Amsterdam commissioned the most literal "auditorium" plan from Adriaan Dortsman, begun in 1682.
 - 7. During the same period, Amsterdam hosted the construction of several large synagogues.
 - a. The Esnogo, or Portuguese Synagogue, designed in 1671 by Stalpaert with Elias Bouman, resembled the city's central-plan churches, perfectly square in plan.
 - 8. Amsterdam's building plots remained relatively narrow.
 - a. Pragmatic considerations often prevailed over aesthetic ones, and most of the facades in Amsterdam tilt forward slightly over the street to support a crane at the apex of the gable used for hauling furniture or goods through the windows without damaging the facades.
 - b. Despite Amsterdam's conformity of scale, every façade looked different, with windows that created their own symmetry and steep gables.
 - 9. Van Campen perfected a classical, pilaster style, best seen at his Mauritshuis, in the Hague, a free-standing townhouse built in 1633.
 - a. The rear façade of the cubical volume overlooked a canal and carried a Mannerist composition of six bays of colossal two-story Ionic pilasters capped by a pediment over the four central bays.
 - b. Like a Palladian villa, the plan of Mauritshuis adhered to perfect symmetry, with a large entry hall leading to a great hall at the rear.
 - c. Justus Vingboons designed a grander version of this pilaster style for the sandstone-clad façade of the Trippenhuis in Amsterdam.
 - d. For the most important public building of Amsterdam, the new Stadhuis (the City Hall, now called the Royal Palace), van Campen insisted on the severe pilaster style.
- B. Wren's London: After the Great Fire
1. Architecture in England around 1700, while conditioned by some of the same factors in Holland, such as Protestantism and mercantilism, proved less stylistically coherent.
 - a. The landed aristocracy and monarchy, which aspired to the absolutism of France, stood at odds with the fundamentalist Puritan movement among English Protestants.
 2. Despite the Puritan undercurrent in England, Christopher Wren (1632–1723) succeeded in creating a remarkable local variation of Roman classicism during the Restoration of the 1660s.
 - The domed profile of his greatest project, St. Paul's cathedral, although strictly Protestant in confession, could easily pass for a sibling of St. Peter's in Rome.
 3. Previous to Wren, the most successful classical projects came from the hand of Inigo Jones.
 - a. Queen's House in Greenwich became the hinge of Wren's grandest Baroque endeavor at the end of the century with the addition of the Royal Naval Hospital.
 - b. During the 1630s, Jones designed Covent Garden Square, London's first coordinated urban plan.

4. Wren acquired greater prominence as a designer after the Great Fire of London of 1666.
 - a. He created a permanent reminder of the Great Fire, known simply as the Monument.
 - b. As surveyor general, Wren took charge of the reconstruction of fifty churches destroyed by the fire.
 - i. Distinctive steeples.
 - ii. Interiors attest to his compositional skill.
 - iii. In 1672, designed his most important parish church, St. Stephen.
 - c. He worked on his lifetime project for St. Paul's, which underwent several major redesigns.
 - d. At either end of London, Wren created majestic esplanades open to the Thames River for veteran's hospitals, institutions intended to rival Louis XIV's Invalides in Paris.
 - e. The Chelsea Hospital for soldiers in the west and the Greenwich Hospital for sailors in the east resulted in the grandest formal landscapes in all of 17th-century England.
5. Wren's monuments gave London a new urban scale, commensurate with the city's advancing political status.

C. The English Country House: Architecture and Ideology

1. Classical style acquired ideological implications with the ascendance of the Whig faction in England during the first two decades of the 18th century.
 - a. The Whigs represented the liberal opposition to Tory conservatives, orchestrating the bloodless Revolution of 1688–1689, which converted the government into a constitutional monarchy based on a bill of rights.
2. The most influential Whig, Anthony Ashley Cooper, objected to the complex style of Wren and his followers, advocating a simpler style to represent the Protestant and anti-French tendency.
 - a. His two-volume tract, *Characteristics of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1708), became the backbone of liberal protocol.
 - b. He steered his contemporaries to the architecture of Palladio and Inigo Jones as superior models of good taste and economy.
3. Wren's younger assistant Nicholas Hawksmoor designed six churches in a second campaign for new churches in London between 1711 and 1733.
 - a. St. Mary Woolnoth, begun in 1716, offered a new degree of sophistication for church exteriors.
4. Hawksmoor's major competitor for the churches, James Gibbs, designed St. Martin-in-the-Fields on Trafalgar Square.
 - a. Gibbs trained to be a Catholic priest, spent five years in Rome working under Bernini's successor, Carlo Fontana.
 - b. St. Martin-in-the-Fields, with its broad, barrel vaulted nave and imposing pedimented façade capped by a steeple, was widely imitated in England and its colonies over the next two centuries.
5. Hawksmoor had an informal partnership with the well-connected playwright, John Vanbrugh.
 - a. Castle Howard and Blenheim Palace, the two grand country houses that touched off the neopalladian reaction

- b. An even grander assembly of classical motifs for Blenheim Palace, near Oxford, begun in 1704
- 6. The countertrend to the Baroque extravagance of Vanbrugh and Hawksmoor took shape after the publication of the first neopalladian treatise, *Vitruvius Britannicus* by Colen Campbell, in 1717.
 - a. Campbell quickly gained the commissions for country manors, including Houghton Hall (1722).
- 7. In the 1720s, the neopalladian movement coalesced around the person of Richard Boyle, Lord Burlington.
 - a. Although Gibbs initially began the rebuilding of Burlington House in London, the young lord convinced his mother to hire Campbell to finish the project.
 - b. Burlington retained Campbell for his villa at Chiswick, but in 1725 grew dissatisfied with the scheme and decided to design the project himself with the help of the painter William Kent.
 - i. While Campbell had proposed a near replica of Palladio's Villa Rotonda, Burlington's design came closer to Vincenzo Scamozzi's Rocca Pisani at Lonigo.
- 8. Kent had spent ten years training as a painter in Italy.
 - a. He designed his first major project, Holkham Hall, with Burlington's advice in 1734.
 - b. Despite the Whig rhetoric of neopalladian simplicity, Kent's theatrical gestures and luxurious fittings did not correspond to a truly "Protestant" style.

II. THE DIFFUSION OF THE BAROQUE: LIFE AS THEATER

The style associated with Bernini and Borromini in mid-17th-century Rome struck many critics as being bizarre or "Baroque." The theatricality of the Baroque corresponded to the Catholic Church's promotion of religious faith as an emotional experience. The Roman Baroque spread to the farthest reaches of the Italian provinces and to the rest of Catholic Europe.

- A. Carlo Fontana and the Diffusion of Roman Baroque in Italy
 - 1. Rome remained the primary art school for the rest of Europe.
 - a. Artistic leadership passed from the generation of Bernini, da Cortona, Rainaldi, and Borromini to Carlo Fontana.
 - b. He trained dozens of successful architects working in Italy and abroad, including Filippo Juvarra, James Gibbs, Matthaus Daniel Pöppelmann, and Johann Lucas von Hildebrandt.
 - c. The Rome of Carlo Fontana unleashed the Baroque sensibility across most of Europe.
 - 2. Two of Fontana's most important works in Rome stood at opposite ends of the social scale.
 - a. A 1675 façade for the high-profile church of San Marcello al Corso
 - b. One of Europe's first large-scale penal institutions, the Ospizio di San Michele, in 1691
 - 3. Filippo Raguzzini was one of the few architects in Rome not closely associated with Fontana's circle.

- a. He designed a highly original series of apartment buildings at Piazza San Ignazio.
 4. The Rome of Carlo Fontana exerted a strong impact on planning and design in southeastern Sicily after the catastrophic earthquake of 1693.
 - a. The major city in the region, Catania, was restructured into a model city with broad straight streets and regularly placed piazzas.
 - i. The openness of rebuilt Catania displayed a new approach to disaster planning.
 - b. The young architect in charge of the plan of Catania, Giovanni Battista Vaccarini, although born in Sicily, had trained in the studio of Fontana's son in Rome.
 - c. Rosario Gagliardi, a local architect of southeast Sicily, was the town architect of Noto, that like Catania, was rebuilt after the earthquake of 1695.
 - d. In Ragusa and Modica, Gagliardi built his two most memorable works, both devoted to San Giorgio.
 5. The most accomplished of Carlo Fontana's students was Filippo Juvarra.
 - a. He distinguished himself as a set designer, famous for spectacular perspective scenes.
 - b. Juvarra added sixteen palaces to Turin's fabric while correcting the alignments of many of the streets.
 - c. His greatest project was the villa of Stupinigi in 1729.
 6. Luigi Vanvitelli was the architect of the royal palace for the King of Naples built at Caserta a generation later.
 - a. The sober facades of Caserta avoided curves and bizarre theatrics, signaling the end of Baroque plasticity.
- B. Central Europe after The Thirty-Years War: Grandeur beyond One's Means
1. During the 17th century, the Thirty Years War between the Catholic Holy Roman Emperors and the Protestant lords of the many minor states in Germany inhibited the architectural production of Central Europe. The region was also threatened by the Ottomans on the eastern borders of the Habsburg Empire until 1683.
 - After the resolution of these two conflicts, a wave of building activity swept the region; in some cases the ambitious projects lead to financial ruin.
 2. Italian designers exercised enormous influence.
 - a. Francesco Caratti in Prague, Filiberto Lucchesi in Vienna, and Gaetano Chiaveri in Dresden established a new scale of practice in these capitals while transmitting Roman architectural language.
 3. Versailles inspired many imitations in Central Europe.
 - a. The castle-town of Karlsruhe founded in 1715 by Margrave Karl Wilhelm of Baden-Durlach. Jacob Friedrich von Batzendorf prepared a plan that converged thirty-two radiating avenues on the "Y" shaped palace.

- b. The initial plan for the Schönbrunn Palace for the Habsburg emperor in Vienna. The architect, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, originally planned an arrival sequence of three ramping terraces passing through a pair of historiated columns.
 - 4. Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach and historical architecture.
 - a. Spent fifteen years in Rome working under Carlo Fontana.
 - b. Scholarly interest in multiple cultural sources surfaced in his treatise *Entwurf einer historischen Architectur/Plan of an Historical Architecture* (1721)
 - c. His historical interests materialized in built form with his final work in Vienna, the Karlskirche.
- 5. The Rococo style appeared in several important commissions; it offered a new appreciation of natural patterns that tended to dissipate the clear order of classical architecture.
 - a. The Spiegelsaal (the mirror room) in the Amalienburg Pavilion (1734) of the Nymphenburg castle of Munich.
 - b. It reached its apex in the work of Balthasar Neumann (1687–1753).
 - i. The grand *Residenz* of Würzburg in 1715
 - ii. The pilgrimage church Vierzehenheiligen
- C. The Iberian Metamorphosis of Colonial Gold
 - 1. During the 16th century, the profits from India, Africa, and the Americas financed the creation of a series of substantial convents and palaces on the Iberian Peninsula.
 - a. By the 18th century, two distinct styles emerged:
 - i. a severe version of the classicism of the Italian Renaissance;
 - ii. an ornate mix of late-Gothic, Baroque, and *mudéjar* motifs.
 - b. Italians' influence showed in the two most important royal commissions of 16th-century Spain:
 - i. Monastery of the Escorial
 - ii. Palace of Charles V at the Alhambra
 - c. Italians showed up in Portugal a bit later in the late 17th and early 18th centuries.
 - i. An Iberian Baroque style evolved into its own expression, indulging in piles of ornament and gilded details.
 - 2. A more expressive style came from local designers, outside of royal patronage.
 - a. Francisco Hurtado Izquierda, working mostly in Granada, designed the Sagrario of both the Cartuja convent and the Granada Cathedral.
 - b. Leonardo de Figueroa designed the church of San Luis, begun in 1699.
 - 3. Spanish Baroque was often called churrigueresque, after three brothers, José Benito, Joaquin, and Alberto Churriguera.
 - 4. Portugal's Lisbon prevailed as the largest city on the Iberian Peninsula. The expression of its colonial wealth occurred in two phases.
 - a. The first, during the time of King Manuel I, corresponded to the initial growth of trade with Asia and Africa.
 - b. The second phase occurred during the early 18th century, after Brazil returned to Portuguese control.
 - i. The king commissioned Vanvitelli to design and build the church of Sao Rocco in Rome and ship it to Lisbon to be reassembled piece by piece in 1747.

- ii. For the largest project in Portugal, the monastery-palace of Mafra, the king hired a well-trained German, Johann Friedrich Ludwig, known as "Ludovice."
- 5. Aside from a few investments in infrastructure and education, Portugal's colonial gold went toward the production of magnificent churches, such as the pilgrimage church of Bom Jesus near Braga in north Portugal in 1727.

III. THE AMERICAN COLONIES: DOMINATION AND LIBERTY ON THE GRID

The resettlement of the Western hemisphere by European colonialists resulted at once in the crass exploitation of people and resources, and unparalleled experiments in political and religious freedom. Europeans brought their architecture with them.

- A. Spanish Cities in the Western Hemisphere: Fulfilling the Law of the Indies
 - 1. European colonialism had its quickest and boldest success in Mexico.
 - a. By 1700, the colonial power had restructured the Mexican landscape into a network of thriving cities.
 - b. The Spanish settlers claimed land and slave labor of New Spain through *encomienda* grants. Each owner commanded several hundred slaves.
 - c. Toward the end of the 16th century, the viceroys reformed the *encomienda* system into a feudal organization of *hacienda* estates with poorly paid *peóns* inducted to work the land.
 - Friars launched a campaign to eliminate all traces of native religions. They erected new monasteries and cathedrals on top of ancient platforms.
 - d. Orthogonal planning had deeper roots in pre-Contact Mexico than in Spain.
 - i. Puebla, founded in 1531, took the coordinates and dimensions of its orthogonal plan from the grid of the nearby indigenous city of Cholula.
 - ii. In 1572, after the settlement of hundreds of gridded towns in the Spanish-American territories, the administrators codified the practice of urbanism in a set of 148 articles, known as "The Law of the Indies."
 - e. Mexico City remained the privileged capital of New Spain.
 - i. It appeared larger and better served, with broad paved roads, sewers, and aqueducts, than any city in Spain.
 - ii. The Cathedral of Mexico was the largest church in the western hemisphere.
 - f. An independent Mexican style appeared in many settlements, such as the wealthy frontier town of Querétaro, featured delightfully eccentric details.
 - g. Pedro de Arrieta, born and educated in Mexico, emerged as the colony's most original designer during the 18th century.
 - At the Palace of the Inquisition he introduced an exquisite break from the typical patio-type palace.
- B. The African Diaspora to the Antilles, Brazil, and Beyond

1. Slave labor became one of the most ingrained economic factors in the European colonization of the Americas, generating tragic consequences.
 - a. As native populations dwindled, the Europeans drew on the African slave market.
 - b. The new colonies benefited from the vernacular design solutions and carpentry skills of peoples such as the Yoruba and the people from Benin, who introduced the bungalow type surrounded by shady verandas and louvered shutters.
2. The Atlantic slave trade commenced in the 15th century with the Portuguese voyages to the East Indies that circumnavigated Africa.
 - a. The English, French, Dutch, and Danish joined the Portuguese slave traders in the following century.
 - b. As demand increased, the Portuguese moved further south, creating a major dispatching colony on the island of San Tomé.
3. Over half the slaves arrived to work the sugar plantations of the Antilles owned by the Spanish, French, Dutch, and English.
 - Hispaniola (now Santo Domingo), site of Columbus's first landing, was divided into a Spanish colony on the eastern side of the island and a French settlement, Sainte Domingue (now Haiti), on the west.
 - a. The plan of Le Cap-Français obeyed a near perfect grid with a central Place d'Armes overlooked by a cathedral and a polygonal fortress on the hill.
 - b. Left to their own for housing, the Africans produced clusters of huts similar to their villages, giving the most design attention to the storehouse, the cooking house, and the small temple, later associated with the voodoo cult.
 - c. The boxy houses with front porches and thatch made of tropical leaves, recalled structures built by the Yoruba peoples in Nigeria.
 - d. In Port-au-Prince, the designers of the Old Cathedral, begun in 1720, copied Renaissance models.
4. Wary of pirates and local rebellions, Europeans built fortresses in the region.
 - a. On Haiti alone, the French built forty, using the criteria of Vauban.
 - b. The Spanish planted as many Italian-inspired forts on Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, and Cuba.
 - i. The Castillo de San Felipe de El Morro in San Juan, Puerto Rico.
 - ii. Los Tres Reyes del El Morro in the 1590s at the mouth of the harbor of Havana, Cuba.
5. Brazil developed with considerable autonomy compared with its Spanish rivals.
 - a. The Portuguese did not build cities on the grid but left the street system casual and additive.
 - b. During the 18th century, Ouro Preto received twelve new churches along with several significant palaces and civic institutions, many of them designed by Portuguese architect Manoel Francisco Lisboa.
 - His son, Antônio Francisco Lisboa, created a naive variation of European Baroque types, representing a synthesis of races and cultures.
6. The British sugar islands of Barbados and Jamaica.
 - The first bona fide architect in Barbados, Sir Thomas Robinson, arrived there as governor (1742–1747) and brought neopalladianism to the scene, evident in the design of the Government House in Bridgetown.

- C. Palladian Plantations in the American South
1. The southern colonies developed as a series of agricultural estates.
 - a. Colonists spread across the land, and in some cases sponsored great mansions of architectural distinction, modeled on the English gentry's manor houses.
 - b. Like the wealthy aristocrats of ancient Rome, each of the large landowners kept hundreds of slaves.
 2. The first English colony in mainland North America, Jamestown, took root in Virginia's marshy tidewater area of Chesapeake Bay.
 - "Plantation" initially referred to colonial urban settlements, but came to signify the landscape of an agricultural estate with a big house and a collection of secondary buildings, including one-room shacks to house the slaves.
 3. In 1698, the colony attempted to renew its urban efforts by moving the capital to Williamsburg.
 - a. Although intended as a small city for 2,000 people, Williamsburg received a grand plan.
 - b. The generous spaces and abundant greenery of Williamsburg seemed closer to the layout of Baroque gardens than to existing urban models.
 4. William Byrd II (1674–1744)
 - a. He designed the grid plan of Richmond.
 - b. In the mid-1720s, began to rebuild his family's estate at Westover, transforming it into one of the great plantation houses of Virginia.
 - c. His contemporary Thomas Lee, the acting governor, followed suit in 1730, with the mansion of Stratford Hall.
 5. The big houses at Shirley and Mount Airy on the James River exhibited clear neopalladian manners.
 - a. Shirley had a two-story temple front porch looking to the river, similar to the depiction of Villa Pisani in Palladio's treatise.
 - b. John Taloe borrowed the design for Mount Airy from Gibb's treatise.
 6. Charleston, SC, became the only sizable city in the American South—half of the city's 12,800 inhabitants descended from African origins.
 - Saint Michael's Church, designed in 1752, featured a pediment front and steeple that evoked the Gibbs' church of St. Martin in-the-Fields.
 7. The French intended their colonial efforts in Canada and Louisiana to be urban but had difficulty filling up their cities.
 - a. The most common French plan, seen in Montréal, St. Louis, and New Orleans, set a narrow linear grid along a river, with a central *place d'armes* close to the water's edge.
 - b. The typical house featured an elevated first floor, and a colonnaded verandah that wrapped all the way around (tumbledown galleries) to trap shade and cool breezes.
- D. The Protestant Ideal in New England: A City on a Hill
1. The Puritans, religious radicals who considered the Anglican church of England too close to Catholicism, founded the earliest towns.
 - a. New England towns sprawled in a different manner, leaving inordinately large spaces between the houses and generous setbacks from the streets.
 2. At the heart of the Puritan migration lay their religious covenant: "a city on a hill."

- a. Their towns, founded between 1620 and 1650, remained intentionally small and self-sufficient, each village possessing all the skills necessary to sustain a closed community.
 - b. Sudbury, MA.
3. Some of the Puritan towns used a grid.
 - a. Cambridge, MA, founded in 1631.
 - b. New Haven, Connecticut
4. The Puritans built expediently using the timber from the abundant forests.
 - a. The "saltbox" a wooden-frame house with clapboard cladding, exemplified their reliance on timber.
5. The pressure of the colonial economy encouraged the growth of the more secular port of Boston.
 - a. Sophisticated architectural styles of London.
 - b. Traces of Puritan taste remained at Paul Revere's house, a modest saltbox, and the sober Old South Meetinghouse of 1729.
 - c. Two works in particular, Faneuil Hall and King's Chapel, exhibited the arrival of classicism.
6. Peter Harrison, who designed King's Chapel, as the first non-Puritan religious structure in Boston, exerted a strong aesthetic impact.
 - a. He settled in the more tolerant colony of Rhode Island.
 - b. He built his most charming works in Newport.
 - i. The Redwood Library, 1748-1750.
 - ii. One of the earliest Jewish synagogues in America, the Touro Synagogue of 1763.
7. Prominent Quaker statesman William Penn planted his model city of Philadelphia in 1681.
 - a. Quakers made up 20 percent of Philadelphia's population and declared themselves strict pacifists.
 - b. Benjamin Franklin exerted influence on patronage, as a founding member of many urban institutions.
 - c. Most important building of the city was the State House (now known as Independence Hall).