

# A Villa Fit for a King: The Role of Palladian Architecture in the Ascendancy of the House of Hanover under George I\*

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## Résumé

La découverte récente du plan d'une villa conçue pour Georges-Louis, électeur de Hanovre et futur Georges Ier d'Angleterre, montre bien l'importance de l'architecture palladienne pour la cour de Hanovre au début du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle. En utilisant le vocabulaire palladien, les Hanovriens ont consciemment profité des associations liées à ce style d'architecture: il mettait en évidence leurs liens avec l'aristocratie vénitienne et avec les premiers Stuarts de qui ils avaient hérité du trône en 1714. L'adoption de l'architecture palladienne était un moyen pour les Hanovriens de renforcer leurs prétentions à la légitimité de la dynastie. Par

conséquent, on peut penser que le retour de ce style, en Angleterre, après l'accession au trône de Georges I n'émane pas seulement des doctrines politiques et esthétiques du gouvernement whig, mais doit beaucoup au goût personnel du roi pour ce style et à son mécénat. Cette affirmation est renforcée la présence d'arguments ignorés jusqu'ici: les liens des Hanovriens avec la Vénétie, les dédicaces des auteurs des plus importants traités du néo-palladianisme anglais à Georges I et la commande royale d'une villa palladienne à Richmond.

The reign of George I (1660-1727), the Elector of Hanover who ascended the British throne in 1714, coincided with the beginnings of the neo-Palladian movement in British architecture. To date, the two events have been seen as unrelated, primarily because George I, born George Louis of Brunswick-Lüneburg, has traditionally been considered to have had no interest in the arts.<sup>1</sup> The sudden rise of Palladianism in Britain following his succession has been seen instead as an answer to the plea for a national style expressed by the 3rd Earl of Shaftesbury in his *Letter Concerning the Art or Science of Design*, written in 1712. The recent reassessment of the possible impact of this document, however, proves that it had very limited circulation before the 1730s and could not have initiated as significant a change as previously suggested.<sup>2</sup> In spite of this, the view of Palladianism as the epitome of "national English taste" in architecture persists, as does the opinion that the Hanoverian monarch was, at best, indifferent to this revival.<sup>3</sup> My endeavour in this paper is to challenge this paradigm and to demonstrate that, although not an extravagant art patron, George Louis was far from being oblivious of the propagandistic value of art. I will submit that, following the example of his parents, Ernest August (1622-98) and Sophia of the Palatinate (1630-1714), he adopted Palladian architecture as a court style befitting the ascendant Protestant dynasty, and that this taste probably affected the course of British architecture.

During a span of two generations the House of Hanover, one of the junior branches of the Guelph family, experienced a meteoric ascent from relative insignificance within the German Empire to Electoral status.<sup>4</sup> The guiding force behind this success was Duke Ernest August. By a shrewd policy of intermarriages, tortuous legal negotiations and the establishment of primogeniture within his domain, he con-

solidated numerous North German territories previously scattered between several members of his House.<sup>5</sup> In 1692, in recognition of the enduring Hanoverian support for the Emperor and the active military participation in defending imperial interests, Ernest August obtained the Electoral title, inherited by George Louis at his father's death in 1698.<sup>6</sup> The most momentous decision of Ernest August's life, however, was to wed Sophia of the Palatinate, a granddaughter of King James I Stuart.<sup>7</sup> This marriage ultimately brought the dynasty its greatest honour, the royal crown of Britain. By 1701, following the death of the Duke of Gloucester, Queen Anne's only immediate heir, and after subsequent approval by the British Parliament of the Act of Settlement which confirmed the Protestant succession, it became clear that the House of Hanover was poised to inherit the British throne.<sup>8</sup> Such a spectacular political rise demanded an appropriately dramatic change in the public image of the Hanoverian rulers.

From the 1680s the family began to transform their new residence, Hanover, together with their nearby summer retreat, Herrenhausen, into one of the culturally most sophisticated courts of the Empire, befitting the political aspirations of the Hanoverian dynasty.<sup>9</sup> Art patronage was integral to this process of aggrandizement, and architecture had a particularly important role to play in this effort as the most effective visual demonstration of power available. The formal language of residential architecture was traditionally instrumental in conveying the political ambitions and allegiances of the owners and in providing a reflection of their social status, thus the selection of models for the construction of family seats was never guided primarily by aesthetic concerns.<sup>10</sup> It is therefore instructive to inquire: where could the Electors of Hanover turn for inspiration in their quest for imagery suited to the glorification of the

family's social ascent? Several of the available choices were apparently rejected by the Hanoverians because of their objectionable political associations. The architecture of the Roman Baroque, for instance, emulated by the majority of Catholic German princes, carried undesired connotations.<sup>11</sup> In spite of the Italophile attitudes of the Hanoverian court, dating back to the reign of Ernest August's predecessor and a convert to Catholicism, Duke Johann Friedrich (1625–1679), it was an unsuitable choice in view of the potential succession to a Protestant throne.<sup>12</sup> This became even more apparent after the 1688 Glorious Revolution in England, which made the prospects for the Hanoverian ascent to the throne of England increasingly realistic. From then on the House of Hanover needed to present itself publicly as a champion of the Protestant cause. Embracing the architecture of Rome at this time could have undermined these attempts.

Another conceivable source of formal vocabulary was the contemporary, eclectic *Reichsstil* developed in the artistic milieu of the imperial court in Vienna, and perhaps best illustrated by Johann Fischer von Erlach's Karlskirche of 1714.<sup>13</sup> Close ties between Hanover and Vienna, calculated to elicit imperial support for the dynasty's advancement, were strengthened by the marriage in 1699 of Amalie Wilhelmine (1673-1742), Ernest August's niece, to the Emperor Joseph I. The development of a more constructive political dialogue between the Austrian court and Hanover after that date, evident not only in the formal entry of Hanover into the Electoral College in 1708 with the assistance of Joseph I, but also in the bestowing on George Louis of a number of important imperial dignities and offices, failed to produce, however, equally strong artistic connections between the two centres.<sup>14</sup> Not only is evidence lacking of an impact of imperial architecture in Hanover during the last decades of the seventeenth century, but the residence built around 1710 for the Hanoverian envoy in Vienna appears to have been a conscious departure from the style dominating in the Austrian capital at the time.<sup>15</sup> Clearly, after the issue of English succession was decided in favour of Hanover, the *Reichsstil* must have been deemed inappropriate as a stylistic model because it would have implied the subordination of the Hanoverian rulers to the Emperor, unbecoming to the future Kings of Britain.

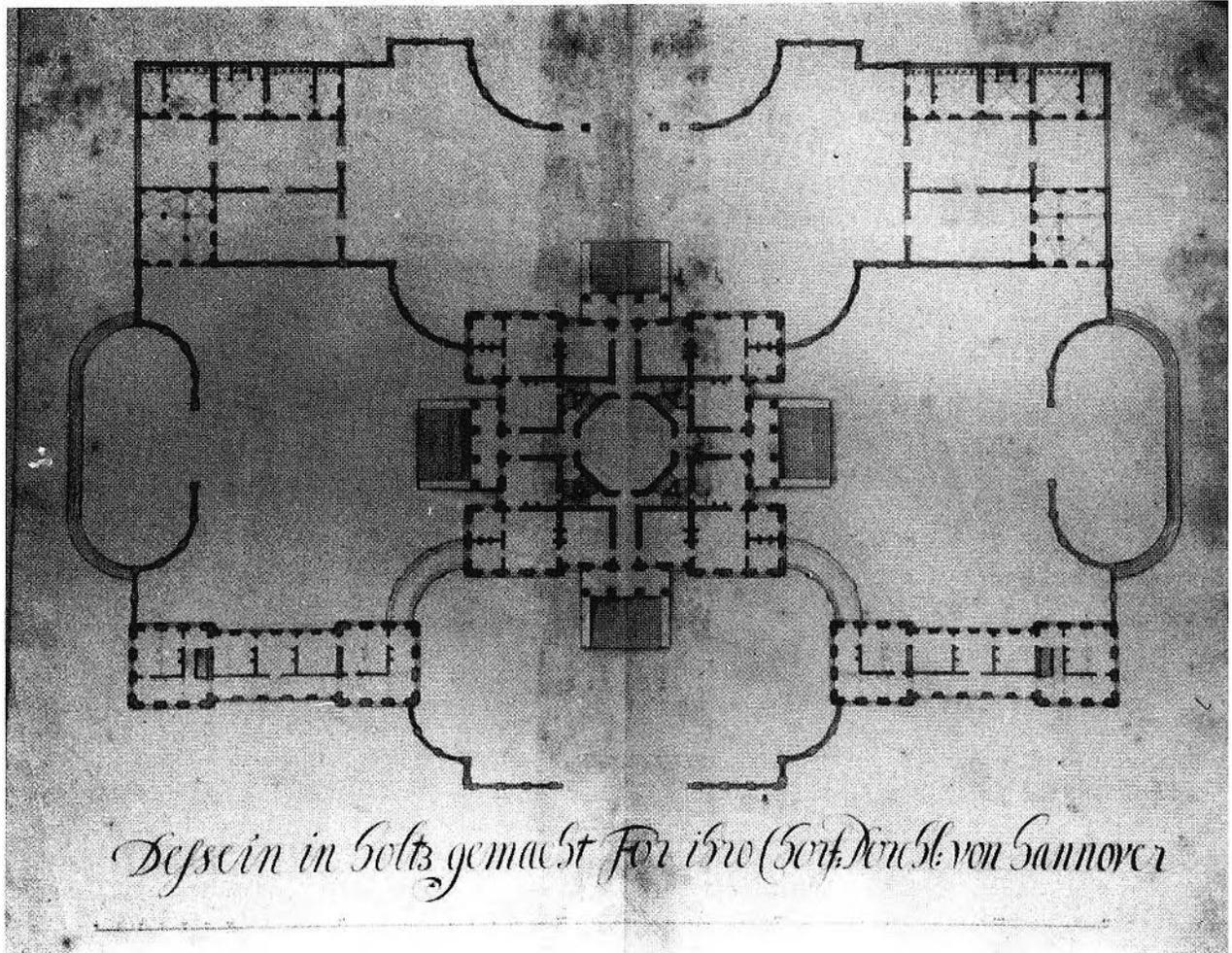
There are indications that the classicizing Baroque idiom, generated by the enormous art propaganda machine of Louis XIV of France, appealed to Hanoverian taste.<sup>16</sup> Well acquainted with the French architectural tradition through their visits in France in the 1670s and early 1680s, the members of the Hanoverian ruling family remained in constant communication with the court of the Sun King

throughout the remainder of his reign. Through the correspondence with Sophia's niece, Elisabeth Charlotte von der Pfalz (1652-1722), married to Philippe I, duc d'Orléans, the King's brother, the Hanoverian court received updated reports on the current artistic fashions of Paris and Versailles.<sup>17</sup> In spite of the lively personal exchanges with the French court, however, the Electorate remained consistently an ally of the Emperor against France, pursuing an anti-French policy which benefited Hanoverian interests within the Empire and was likely to please Britain as well. French Baroque was not, therefore, a felicitous choice as a source of direct architectural quotations, although its evident attraction accounts for the appropriation by the Hanoverians of some motifs displaying particularly well the concept of contemporary kingship epitomized by Louis XIV.<sup>18</sup>

Under those circumstances it is not surprising that Ernest August, Sophia and George Louis after them, turned to the architecture of Palladio. It lacked adverse political connotations, and it was also an idiom familiar to the entire family from their very frequent travels to the Veneto.<sup>19</sup> Much impressed by the local culture, the Electors extended patronage to numerous Venetian artists in an effort to imitate in Hanover the refined civilization of the *Serenissima*. Among Venetians arriving in Hanover were not only architects, painters and decorators, such as Count Giacomo Querini and Tommaso Giusti, but also musicians, of whom the most renowned was Agostino Steffani, and poets, such as Hortensio Mauro.<sup>20</sup> From establishing a Venetian carnival, which attracted to Hanover hundreds, if not thousands of guests every year, to introducing gondolas to the canals of the Herrenhausen garden, the Hanoverian rulers spared no effort to re-shape their residence in the image of much admired Venice.<sup>21</sup> In terms of architecture, the measure of success of this electoral policy, predicated upon the consistent patronage of artists from the Veneto, may be found in the construction of the Church of St. Clemens in Hanover (ca. 1711), formally dependent on Venetian models,<sup>22</sup> as well as in the rebuilding of Herrenhausen which, together with neighbouring aristocratic residences, grew to be compared to the Venetian villas of the *terraferma*.<sup>23</sup>

By availing themselves of the Palladian idiom, the Hanoverians appear to have been consciously attempting to exploit its associations with the sophisticated Venetian aristocracy, to whom they were known to have been related, and with the early Stuarts, whose throne they came to inherit. According to the family annals, the Hanoverian Dukes were descendants of a branch of the Este family which rose to political significance in the Veneto during the early Middle Ages.<sup>24</sup> The Electors cultivated this obviously advantageous notion of their distinguished lineage, which was also

Figure 1. Lambert F. Corley, Design for a Palladian Villa dedicated to the Elector of Hanover, ca. 1708 (Photo: Stadtarchiv, Hanover).



said to include Antenor, the Trojan hero and legendary founder of Padua, Palladio's native town.<sup>25</sup> In the city itself a public reminder of this illustrious connection was provided by the descendants of George Louis in the form of a monument to their Paduan progenitor, Duke Azzo II, erected on Prato della Valle.<sup>26</sup>

To make a stronger case for the legitimacy of their succession, the Hanoverians might also have sought to utilize the circumstance that Palladianism was introduced to England by Inigo Jones as a court style and remained closely associated with the early Stuart regime.<sup>27</sup> In fact, the short-lived Palladian revival of the early seventeenth century appears to have been so highly charged with sensitive political connotations that no major attempts were made to reinstate the Palladian idiom as a court style during the Restoration.<sup>28</sup> By espousing Palladianism anew, almost a century after its first flourishing, the Electors could bridge the break in political tradition and gain means of suggesting continuity between their government and that of their Stuart

ancestors, conveniently bypassing in the process the remaining pretenders to the throne. Whereas the Restoration monarchy and Jacobite circles became associated with the excesses of Baroque, the connection of Palladianism to the Stuart court under James I and Charles I and the popularity of the Palladian idiom among the Dutch aristocracy throughout the seventeenth century,<sup>29</sup> seem to have secured for it the status of a formal language associated with the Protestant milieu. The rational character of Palladian architecture, its almost abstract purism and structural clarity, which appear to have especially appealed to Protestant taste, established it as the legitimate antithesis of the Baroque architecture of Rome and all it stood for.<sup>30</sup>

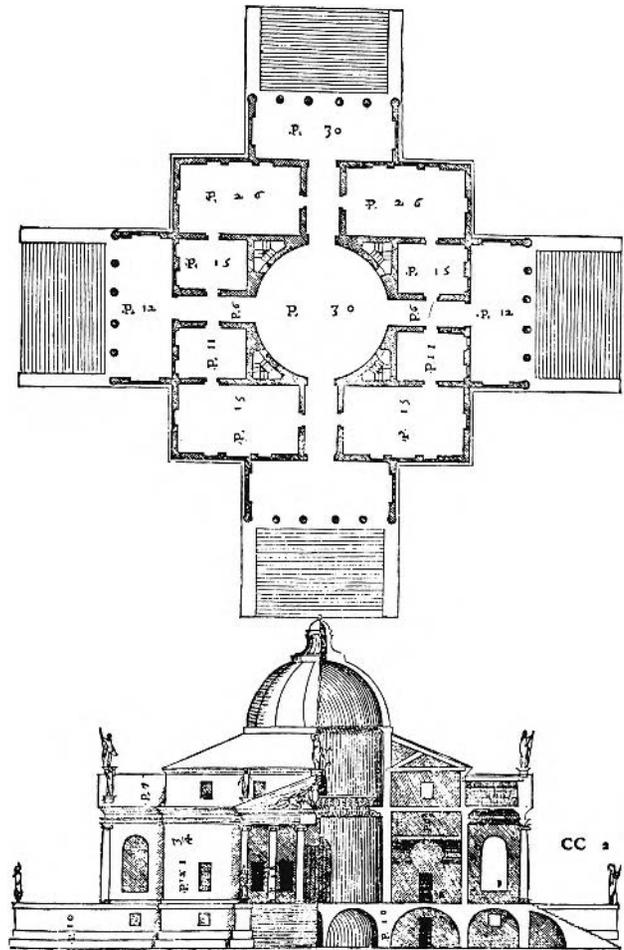
Equally attractive from the Hanoverian point of view must have been the associations of Palladio's visual language with classical authority. Such connotations made it particularly suitable to meet the demands of the members of the Hanoverian dynasty who were eager to seek historical justification for their newly gained political status. The

Hanoverian pursuit of political legitimacy through the authority of historical precedent, evident in the undertaking of a major work of research on the family's history, the *Historia Domus*, seems to have paralleled the plans for adoption of the strongly classicizing architectural idiom in the works sponsored by the dynasty.<sup>31</sup> Based on the buildings of the ancients, Palladio's formal vocabulary would have been most effective in rendering visible the essential conceptual underpinnings of rulership, such as claims to dynastic legitimacy, might and virtue, which were equally embedded in the *auctoritas historiae*.<sup>32</sup>

Some previously unknown designs for Palladian villas which can be associated with the patronage of George Louis<sup>33</sup> demonstrate that he was well aware of the political connotations of Palladio's architecture and conscious of the advantages that its adoption could earn for his public image. The most elaborate of these designs (Fig. 1), which will be the focus of our attention, is attributed to Lambert F. Corfey (1668–1733), a Münster architect,<sup>34</sup> and it can be dated to the years between 1700, the date of Corfey's return from the Grand Tour, and 1714, the date suggested by the text of inscription, "Design in Wood made for his Highness the Elector of Hanover," in which the recipient of the design (accompanied by a wooden model alluded to in the caption) is referred to solely as the "Elector."<sup>35</sup> After 1714 the patron would certainly have been addressed as King. The period around 1708, when Corfey, a military engineer as well as an architect throughout his career, received a disciplinary transfer from Münster to the small village of Meppen, seems a particularly likely date for the design, since a career downturn might have prompted Corfey to seek new patronage in Hanover.<sup>36</sup> Significantly, 1708 also marks the final victory in the prolonged battle for official recognition of the Hanoverian Electorate by the Electoral College. This triumph allowed George Louis to concentrate on the English succession issue and to pursue these dynastic ambitions with a new vigour. Projects for rebuilding some of the electoral residences, including Herrenhausen, seem to have been entertained at the time, apparently as part of a new propaganda campaign initiated by George Louis' efforts to complete and publish the long overdue *Historia Domus*.<sup>37</sup> The plans contemplated at this stage were most likely known to Corfey through his contacts in Hanover, and they seem to have invited the proposal for a Palladian villa which has come down to us.<sup>38</sup>

The plan, which calls for a square main block with four porticoes, linked to ancillary buildings by quadrant passages, suggests that the inspiration for Corfey's design has come from a number of Palladio's villa projects. The central block

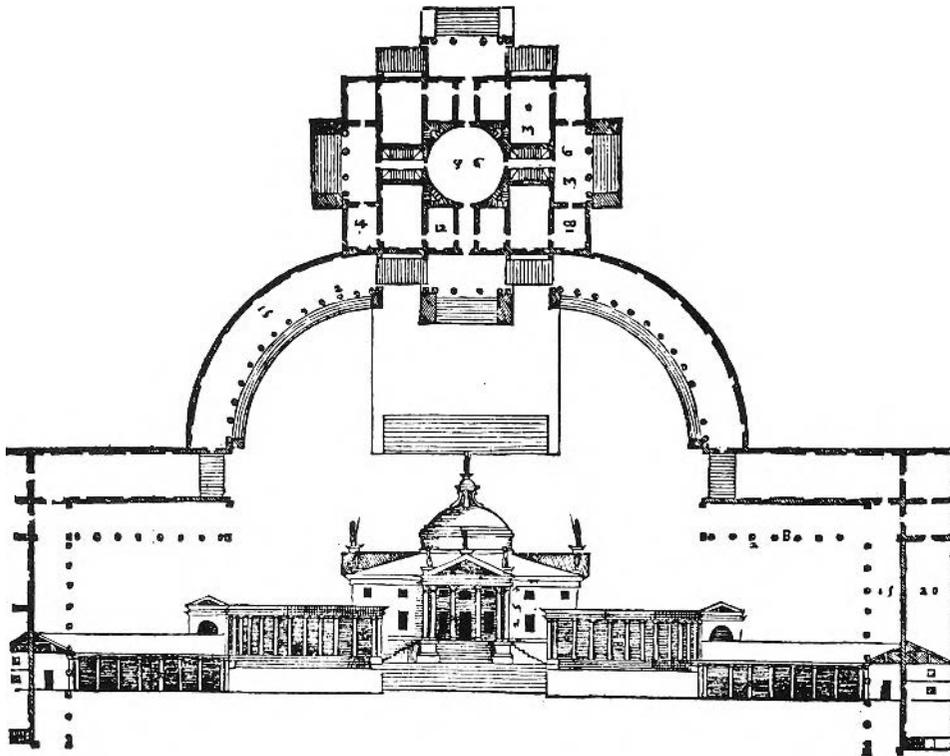
Figure 2. Andrea Palladio, Villa Almerico "La Rotonda", Vicenza. Plan, ca. 1567 (Photo: author, after A. Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura* [1570]).



is clearly modelled after Palladio's Villa Rotonda of 1567 (Fig. 2), whereas the nature of the relationship between the *corps de logis* and the outlying buildings was adumbrated in Palladio's designs for the Villa Trissino in Meledo of ca. 1567 (Fig. 3), and in his unexecuted plans for the Villa Mocenigo on the Brenta of 1564/5 (Fig. 4). The idea of using quadrant passages to connect the centrally planned core to a pair of ancillary buildings is derived from the Villa Trissino. The centripetal composition of the main block in the Trissino villa, featuring a central hall and a portico in each elevation, is also repeated by Corfey.<sup>39</sup> The Villa Mocenigo, on the other hand, by taking one step further the ideas developed in the Trissino design, provided a prototype for placing the *corps de logis* between two pairs of symmetrically disposed outlying buildings. Following this design, the centripetal composition of the main block is juxtaposed in Corfey's project with the centrifugal layout of the entire complex.

In accordance with the principles applied by Palladio in the Mocenigo design, Corfey adopts the quadrant pas-

Figure 3. Andrea Palladio. Villa Trissino, Meledo. Plan, ca. 1567, (Photo: author, after A. Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell' Architettura* [1570]).



sages and symmetrically appointed walls in order to mark out the hierarchy of the residential nucleus and service quarters. The spectator is invited to progress from an almost oval-shaped front courtyard, flanked by buildings probably providing additional accommodation and office space, into the house and then either to the gardens, or to the back courtyard, flanked by kitchens and smoke-houses, as suggested by the fireproof vaults and cooking ranges marked on the plan. The character of the service quarters proposed by Corfey thus betrays that the complex was not a working farm, as were some of its Palladian prototypes,<sup>40</sup> but rather an occasional residence, like the Rotonda, capable of servicing a sizeable court.

At this point, however, I would like to focus on the residential core of the villa, and on its three semantically most important elements, the portico, the great hall and the use of orders, as they best externalize the political ambitions of the patron, George Louis of Brunswick-Lüneburg.

A freestanding columnar portico, associated with antique temple fronts, was first applied consistently in a domestic context in Palladio's villas. Based on Palladio's fallacious interpretation of a passage in Vitruvius, which seemed to suggest that pedimented temple fronts derived from the domestic architecture of the ancients, the portico, and its variations, became the fundamental syntactic ele-

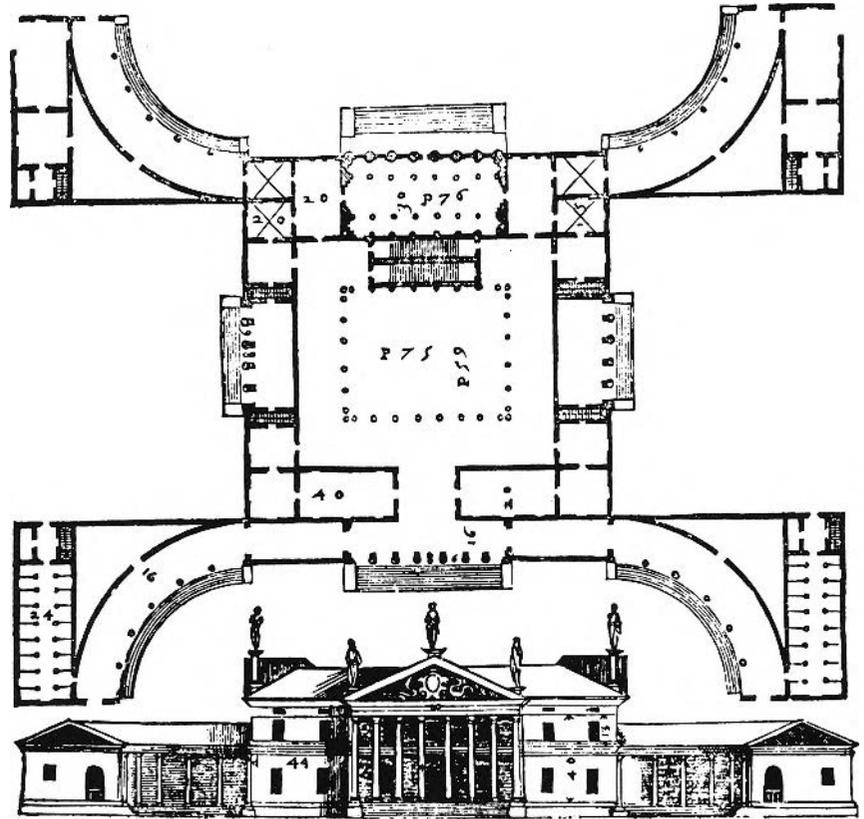
ment of Palladio's villa compositions.<sup>41</sup> Among the possible variants, a freestanding columnar portico remained the most expressive and the most direct form of visualizing the relationship between the owner of the house and the venerated, antique tradition. It contributed an air of dignity and authority to the residential quarters, transforming a dwelling into a quasi-religious structure.<sup>42</sup> Such sacralization of domestic architecture, intended to instill a feeling of awe and respect in the viewer, was clearly best suited to a princely residence. Even though some of the sacral overtones of a pedimented frontispiece might have been weakened in the perception of Palladio's contemporaries and subsequent generations of patrons,

porticoed facades continued to allude to the elevated social status of the owner of the house and identified him as a man of virtue and learning defined in terms of antique exemplars.<sup>43</sup>

Imitating the most effective of Palladio's porticoed designs, the centralized, temple-like Villa Rotonda, Corfey introduced four projecting porches. Their presence in the residential core of the villa underscores the dialectic between the ceremonial character of the main building, devoted to spiritual pursuits, and the utilitarian nature of outlying structures, dedicated to the mundane aspects of life. Even though Corfey's porticoes are tetrastyles, unlike the hexastyles of the Rotonda, the intercolumniations closely follow Palladio's arrangement, with the space between the two central columns wider than the flanking openings.<sup>44</sup> Palladio's usual practice, however, was to introduce an arcade to close off the side of a portico, such as in the Rotonda (Fig. 5), while Corfey relies on the use of columns only. It is clear that Corfey's arrangement sets the supports apart and, by enhancing their load-bearing quality, emphasizes their traditional connotations as symbols of strength and authority.<sup>45</sup> Such a portico design was used by Palladio infrequently, most conspicuously, perhaps, in his Villa Foscari, the Malcontenta, of 1559-60 (Fig. 6). In this refined suburban residence, intended as a locus for ceremony and display and a stage for official receptions organized by the

Figure 4. Andrea Palladio. Design for Villa Mocenigo on the Brenta. Plan, ca.1564/5, (Photo: author, after A. Palladio, / *Quattro Libri dell' Architettura* [1570]).

patrons, Nicolò and Alvise Foscari, Palladio opted for a prominent Ionic hexastyle and eliminated the side walls, replacing each of them with a single column. The reliance on columns only, combined with the use of a high platform on which the portico rests, enhances the Villa Foscari's associations with an antique temple thus lending the structure an aura of grandeur befitting the residence of the leading members of the Venetian elite.<sup>46</sup> It is interesting to note that in the 1680s the Hanoverian court was received and entertained at this aristocratic *palazzo-in-villa* near Venice.<sup>47</sup> Corfe, probably aware of that fact, might have decided himself to copy the most imposing and meaningful element of the Malcontenta design in the villa intended for George Louis, although a specific request for such an architectural quotation made by the patron is equally possible.<sup>48</sup>



The central hall was the main ceremonial space in Palladio's villas. It was a sanctuary dedicated to the owners' authority, as well as the centre of social activities during which this authority was displayed.<sup>49</sup> The quasi-sacred character of the great hall, in Palladio's villas usually forming a two-storey-high pivot of the house, was manifested most clearly through the use of a centralized plan. Such a solution not only drew upon the mysticism of the perfect geometrical figures, embodying the principles of harmony guiding the Universe, in which the privileged position of the patron was eternally secured, but also allowed for the introduction over the central space of another form charged with sacral connotations, a dome.<sup>50</sup>

The most ideal geometric figure, the circle, is the basis of the hall plan in the Villa Rotonda and the Villa Trissino, two designs closely followed by Corfey.<sup>51</sup> He, however, opted in his project for an octagon. The employment of the domed octagonal hall, two storeys high and encircled by a gallery on the upper level, indicates a departure from Palladio, perhaps in an attempt to reconcile the authority of the ancient models not acknowledged by the Vicentine architect with the most recent architectural fashion.

It is likely that, during their visits in the Veneto, the Hanoverians would have visited the celebrated Odeo Cornaro in Padua.<sup>52</sup> This small villa, located in the city of special historical significance to the Hanoverian dynasty,

was executed ca. 1530 by Giovanni Maria Falconetto for Alvise Cornaro, the author of the *Discorsi sulla Vita Sobria*, a theoretical cornerstone of *villeggiatura* ideology.<sup>53</sup> The central octagon of the Odeo (Fig. 7), its sides hollowed by niches, was based on the hypothetical reconstructions of a studio in a villa of Marcus Terrentius Varro in Cassino, and its multivalent connotations as a hall devoted not only to study and meditation but also to recreation, especially music making,<sup>54</sup> might have attracted George Louis. Unlike his father, George Louis was known to have preferred chamber music to grandiose opera performances, and under his rule the Hanoverian court became a leading centre in the development of orchestral music.<sup>55</sup> The octagonal ceremonial hall, designed after the venerated antique model and its Renaissance copy renowned for having been intended specifically to accommodate the form of entertainment closest to George Louis' taste, was likely to have received the Elector's ardent approval.

Prompted by the ancient provenance of the octagonal hall both Serlio and Scamozzi proposed it as a suitable component of a suburban princely residence.<sup>56</sup> Scamozzi's design for his villa, the Rocca Pisani in Lonigo of 1576 (Fig. 8), widely available in the north through a number of seventeenth-century translations of his *l'Idea dell'*

*Architettura Universale*, might easily have affected the form of Corfe's plan, especially because both designs were indebted to similar exemplars by Palladio.<sup>57</sup> The second major factor in adopting the octagonal hall, however, must have been the influence exerted by J. Hardouin-Mansart's Royal Pavilion at Marly (Fig. 9) executed in the 1680s for Louis XIV.<sup>58</sup> It has been noted that Palladio's Villa Rotonda was a point of departure for the plan of the King's residence, and the influence of Scamozzi's villa in Lonigo is obvious in the treatment of the hub of the house.<sup>59</sup> Marly's octagonal core within a square block, however, provided a functionally modernized version of the Venetian prototypes, meeting the demands of contemporary decorum and convenience. Unlike its models, the central space at Marly was encircled on the ground floor by four identical *appartements* located between the vestibules leading to the hall, a solution best answering the needs of the contemporary aristocratic patron and, as such, repeated by Corfe. The *Grand Salon* at Marly, the setting for the renowned court rituals and pageantry surrounding the Sun King, was certainly recognized as the ultimate symbol of royal power and set the standard of architectural excellence which other rulers attempted to match. The octagonal hall design of North Italian provenance was charged, therefore, with additional importance earned through its association with the stature of Louis XIV, the most powerful monarch in Europe and a recognized arbiter of taste. Indeed, it seems that by the second quarter of the eighteenth century the octagon became in Germany an almost paradigmatic formal solution for the main hall of a villa-type residence, as witnessed by some contemporary written sources and the numerous buildings designed around such a space.<sup>60</sup> Interestingly enough, this was also the form chosen by Lord Burlington for his influential villa in Chiswick (Fig. 10), built almost twenty years after the probable date of Corfe's design.<sup>61</sup>

Information on the use of orders in Corfe's project may be inferred from the implied wall articulation on the plan. Regrettably, we can only speculate about the type of order employed in the porticoes. Those used in the Malcontenta and in the Rotonda are Ionic, but in Palladio's other suburban villas intended for ceremonial use a richer, usually Corinthian, order is often employed, such as in his Villa Cornaro in Piombino Dese of 1553. The demands of seventeenth-century decorum and the character of Corfe's other designs also suggest that in a building intended for a future King the order highest in the architectural hierarchy would have been adopted.<sup>62</sup>

The continuous system of pilasters unifying the facades and ancillary buildings, as indicated on the plan, is rarely

Figure 5. Andrea Palladio. Villa Rotonda, Vicenza, ca.1567. The portico (Photo: author).



seen in Palladio's villas, though flat Doric pilasters are used, for instance, in Villa Thiene of 1545. It is more probable, however, that the primary source for Corfe's wall articulation is to be found in the works of classicizing Baroque architects who favoured the colossal Corinthian pilaster order, such as in Hardouin-Mansart's Marly.<sup>63</sup> The introduction of colossal pilasters encompassing the entire structure was again not entirely an aesthetic choice, but also an attempt to comply with the demands of a political decorum which saw a giant order as a sign of authority, appropriate for a princely villa built close to nature, yet intended for public display.<sup>64</sup> Such a pervasive use of architectural order in Corfe's design may also have been inspired by the apparent identification of the architectural order with the rigid structure of contemporary society evident in many publications of the time: the architectural orders became a visible metaphor of the political order permeating the perfect absolutist state.<sup>65</sup> By granting greater prominence to the order and to its articulating role, Corfe seems to have acknowledged the convention, which was likely to please his Hanoverian patron, the autocratic ruler in his domain.

The choice of the villa as a building type suitable for the residence of the German Elector and the future King of

Figure 6. Andrea Palladio. Villa Foscari, Gambarare di Mira, Malcontenta (Venice), ca.1559-60. (Photo: author).



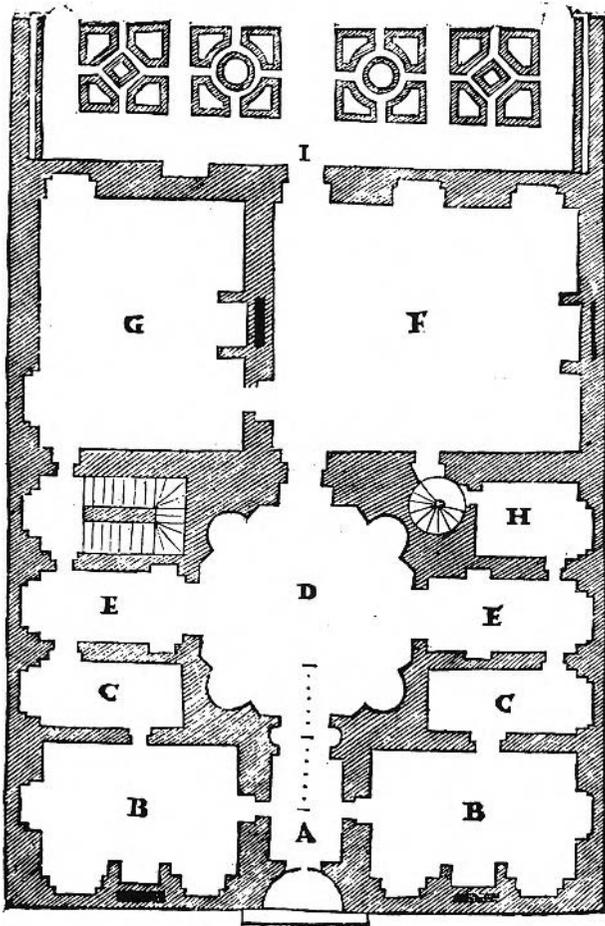
England needs to be accounted for in more detail. The authors of contemporary German treatises on architecture and court protocol suggested the traditional four-wing arrangement with a courtyard as the most appropriate to a princely residence, citing the reputed antique precedents of such a solution.<sup>66</sup> The more recent three-wing palatial complexes, however, based primarily on French models, were also gaining theoretical proponents.<sup>67</sup> These two basic proposals, although rather dated by the end of the seventeenth century, had the advantage of being relatively well suited to meet the expectations of contemporary patrons by providing a grand architectural framework for the ever expanding ceremonial of the absolutist courts. In Northern Europe the precepts governing the design of these princely palaces largely applied, as demonstrated by Versailles and Schönbrunn, to the suburban residences of the aristocracy.<sup>68</sup> The choice of a fairly modest villa as a suburban or country residence by the aspiring prince is, therefore, quite thought provoking.

The reasons for the selection of the villa by Corfey's patron — since this decision was primarily his to make, although we may assume that the final project was a result of a process of consultations between the artist and his sponsor — appear to have been two-fold. Personal predilections of George Louis seem to have been responsible in part for

this decision,<sup>69</sup> but by far the more important must have been political motivations. The villa was the Palladian building type *par excellence*; thus, all the multivalent political connotations of Palladio's formal vocabulary discussed above were amplified when employed in the villa context. It appears, as well, that some important aspects in contemporary perception of villa residences made association with this building type even more attractive from the point of view of the Hanoverian ruler.

The concept of the villa as it developed in Renaissance Italy, understood as an escape from the inconveniences of city life, a place of rest and meditation often combined with supervision of agricultural pursuits, first appeared north of the Alps in the late sixteenth century, deprived of much of its sophisticated meaning and its ultimately bourgeois connotations.<sup>70</sup> The economic and political circumstances were drastically different in the North; thus, the approach to a new building type, as intrinsically close to the social structure and local economy as was a villa, had to reflect these inherent distinctions. Whereas in Italy a villa usually belonged to a city-based patrician, in Germany an aristocratic patron usually lived on the land, and the very possession of land was the socially defining attribute of his class. The main residences of the nobility were built in the country, according to the already mentioned, time-honoured formu-

Figure 7. G. M. Falconetto. Odeo Cornaro, Padua. Plan, ca.1530, (Photo: author, after S. Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'Architettura et Prospetiva*, VII, [1575]).



lae, and the villa, ill-suited to accommodate the elaborate court ceremonial, was not likely to replace the grand country house as the primary dwelling and centre of estate administration. Instead, in the North the villa was understood primarily as a building devoted to the occasional pleasurable pursuits of the patron and was adopted as such. Inevitably, in the course of the seventeenth century the traditional design patterns of the great country houses influenced buildings with explicitly villa-like functions; the princely villas resulting from this fusion were typological hybrids, rooted in essentially bourgeois attitudes, but displaying grandeur antithetical to the original concept.<sup>71</sup> The different social context accounts, therefore, for the fact that the majority of German *Lustgebäude* belong to the type of grand country seats, and their function is defined by their dialectical relationship to the court, and not to the city, as in Italy.<sup>72</sup>

Corfey's design for the Elector of Hanover should certainly be seen in the context of the dichotomy between court and villa living, but its form does not succumb to the northern country house pattern. Its close relationship to the north

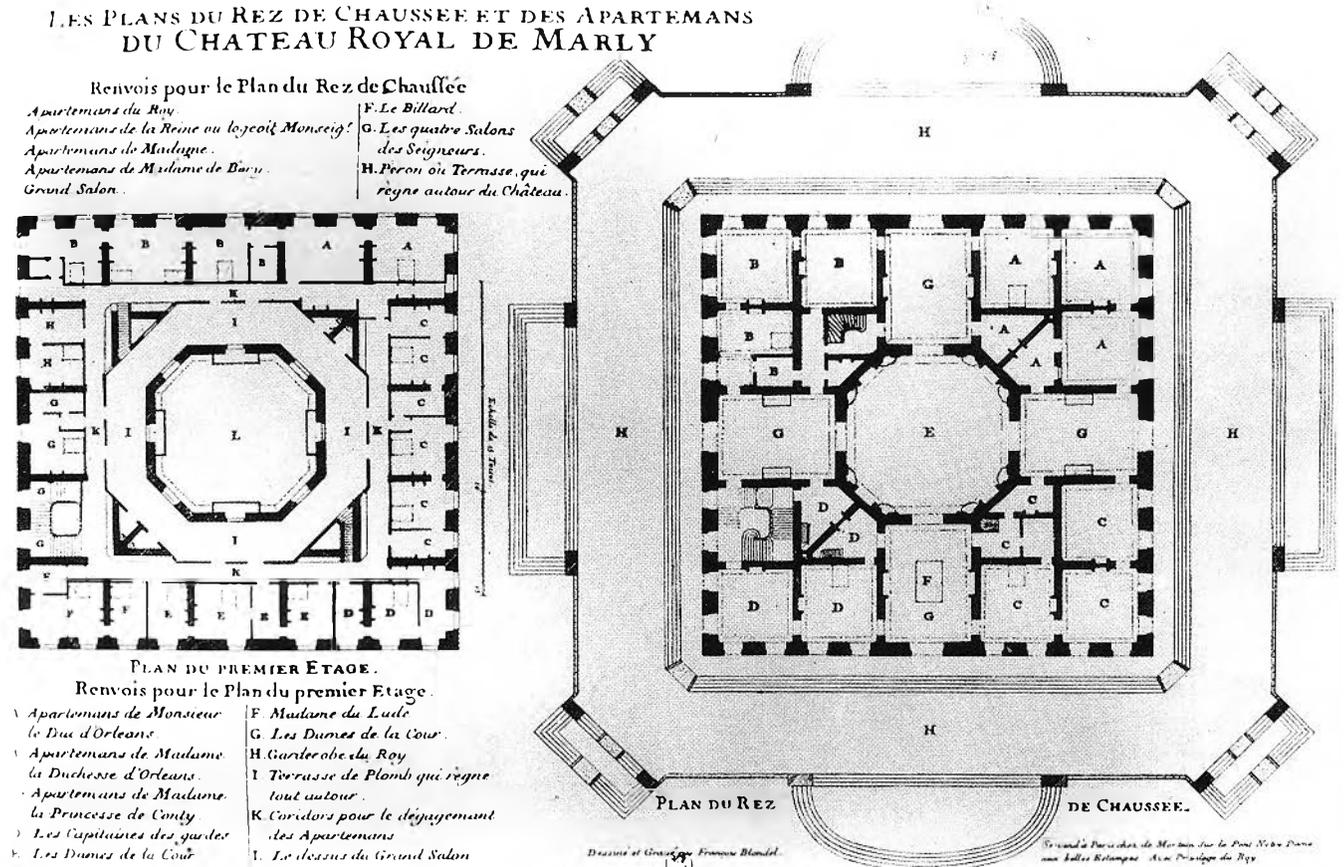
Italian models may be explained as a reference to an aspect of the villa ideal which must have appealed to contemporary aristocratic patrons in the North; the emphatic associations of the Venetian villa with feudal authority.<sup>73</sup> In the Veneto in particular, the villa was less a sign of reaction to the growth of the city than a reflection of a conflict between the older feudal aristocracy and the power of Venetian patricians seeking the land-based legitimacy of the feudal lords. In the early villas, the traditional, feudal signs of power, such as reinforced gates, towers and battlements, were used to reflect this correlation, as in the Barco della Regina Cornaro in Altivole, or the Villa da Porto-Colleoni in Thiene, both of the fifteenth century.<sup>74</sup> In the sixteenth century the formal language of the villa changed, but not the underlying values. Although authority now rested with the ancients, not with the medieval past, the quintessential Palladian villa continued to provide visual expression of the feudal ideology. In fact, most of Palladio's early villas exhibited an explicit relationship to their medieval fore-runners.<sup>75</sup>

In the writings of Alvise Cornaro the villa philosophy acquired a new, quasi-religious dimension, as he saw the time-sanctioned life on the land as a reflection of the eternal, God-established order, with the villa owner, the head of the family, in the centre of this well-structured universe.<sup>76</sup> By implication, the *padrone* was perceived to command unquestionable, patriarchal authority in his villa. The concept of such an autocratic rule over the land and the people working on it, evocative of the powers of feudal lords, was appealing to the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century aristocracy who saw their authority increasingly contested by the third estate.<sup>77</sup> The growth of absolute monarchies, partly a reaction to the challenges posed by a changing society, found some measure of support in this type of philosophy, whereas the fact that the autocratic rule of the *padrone* appeared to have been tempered by paternal care, made it attractive to more enlightened minds. Such an ideology, epitomized in the villa, found its proponents in Germany from the late sixteenth century onwards,<sup>78</sup> and would certainly have appealed to the absolutist tendencies of the Hanoverian princes, who were renowned for their patriarchal approach to government.<sup>79</sup>

The concept of *villeggiatura* cultivated in the North focused, however, on another important aspect of aristocratic prerogative, the right to a life of leisure. The villa offered the promise of a pleasurable retreat, fulfilling the need of the city-based court to escape the problems of town dwelling, and affording any court a chance to flee the rigours of etiquette and ceremony. Not surprisingly, the Hanoverians, whose documented visits in the Veneto took



Figure 9. J. Hardouin-Mansart. Royal Pavilion, Marly. Plan, ca. 1680. (Photo: University of Toronto, Department of Fine Art Collection).



establish in tangible terms the thread of continuity between the early Stuart and the Hanoverian courts, but the authority of the classical formal vocabulary, such as used by Palladio, could be relied upon to strengthen the power of an incoming regime in times of political change. The formal language of antiquity legitimized the present and evoked the concept of the Golden Age during which the power of the ruling elite was uncontested.<sup>86</sup> To project this idyllic view of the past onto the present was of importance to those who had a stake in sustaining political stability. The Palladian revival in Britain under the first Hanoverian monarch may be considered, therefore, as a means of reinforcing the legitimacy of the new dynasty during the transition period after 1714.

Although George I was hailed by his contemporaries as a patron under whose aegis Palladio's style would flourish on British soil, his role in the revival of Palladian architecture has never been seriously examined. Much overlooked is the fact that the authority of the German monarch as the patron of the Palladian revival was asserted in the earliest publications of the movement. Two treatises of fundamental importance for the development of English Palladianism, Leoni's translation of Palladio's *I Quattro Libri* (1715-17)

and Campbell's first two volumes of *Vitruvius Britannicus* (1715, 1717) were dedicated to George I.<sup>87</sup>

Leoni's dedication not only links the Palladian revival very clearly to the patronage of the King, but the additional dedications to two German rulers related to George Louis underscore the importance of the German milieu in the conception of Leoni's edition of Palladio.<sup>88</sup> The Elector Palatine Charles Philip is commemorated as the early patron of Leoni, fostering the artist's interest in Palladio, and Charles I, the Landgrave of Hesse-Kassel, receives praise for his love of the Vicentine architect.<sup>89</sup> It is George of Hanover, however, who is seen as the true maecenas expected to revive the spirit of Palladio in his new kingdom. The tribute to George I is amplified in the book's frontispiece (Fig. 11), where next to the bust of Palladio unveiled by Father Time appear personifications of Fame and Britannia accompanied by two putti holding the royal arms.<sup>90</sup> The thrust of the pictorial argument is congruent with the dedication. Both proclaim the King as the patron under whose auspices Palladian architecture will triumph in Britain.

There is little doubt, in light of new evidence, that Leoni had sound reasons for bestowing on George Louis such a recognition. It is also significant that both authors,

Figure 10. Lord Burlington. Chiswick Villa, London. Plan, after 1725. (Photo: University of Toronto, Department of Fine Art Collection).

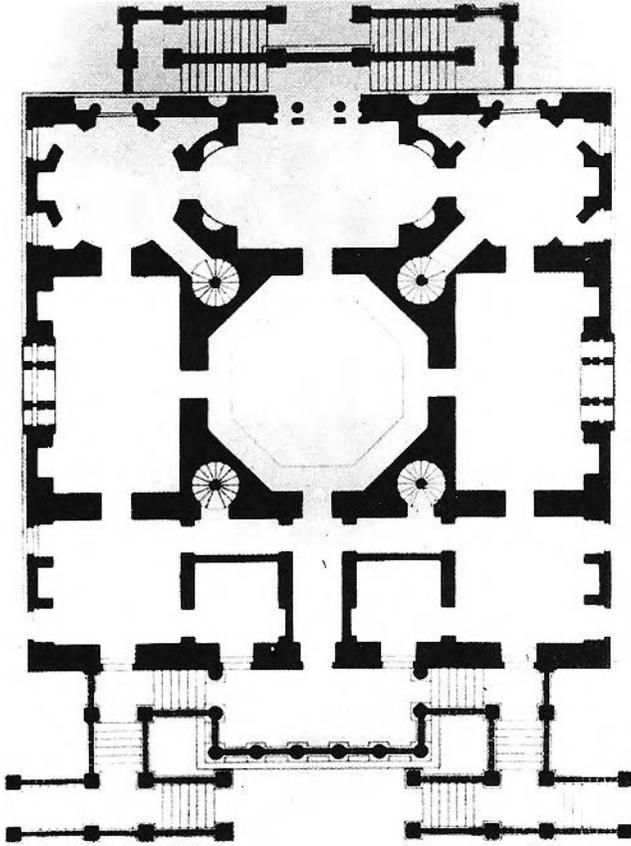


Figure 11. S. Ricci des. and B. Picart engr. Frontispiece of G. Leoni's edition of Palladio's / *Quattro Libri*, 1716 (Photo: author).

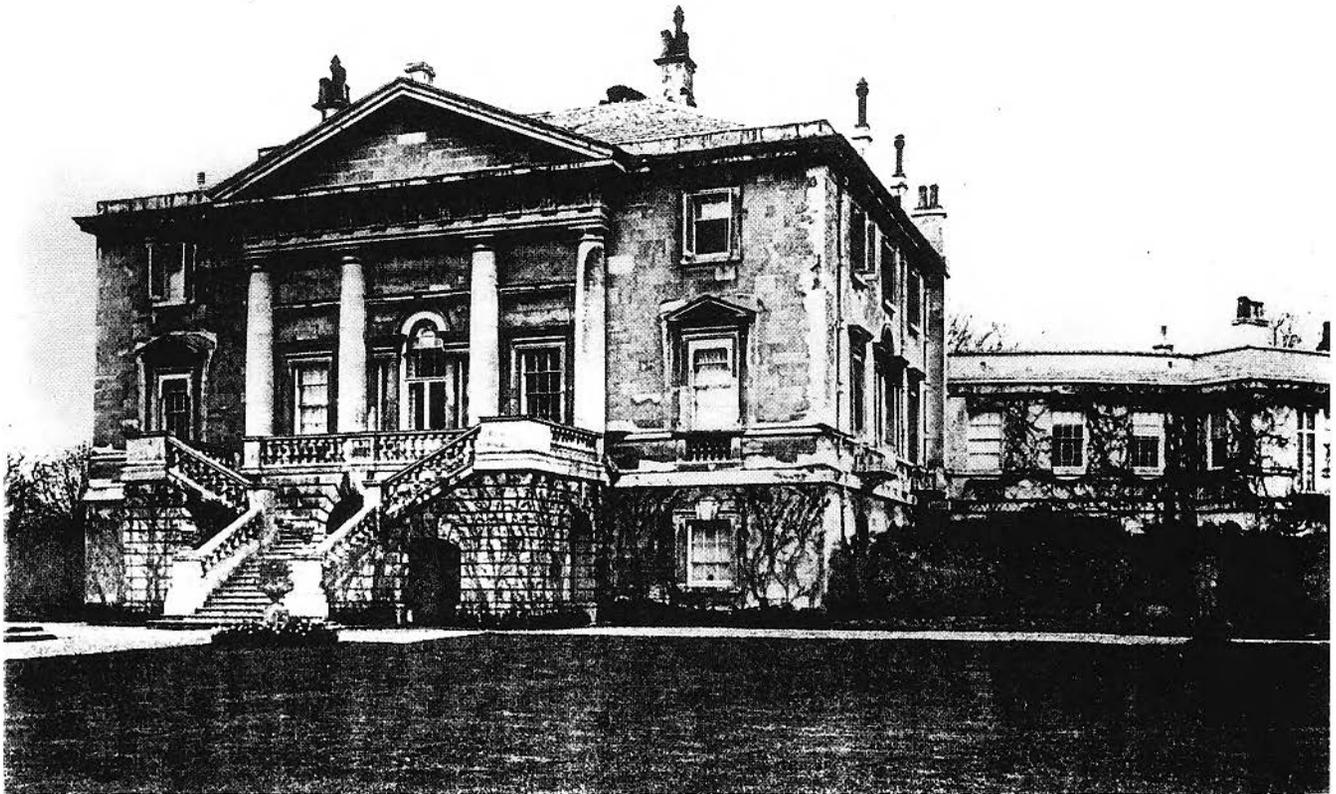


Leoni and Campbell, were financially rewarded by George I and that the dedications gave a substantial boost to sales of both books.<sup>91</sup> The royal example clearly inspired George I's English subjects, but it is often forgotten that his German retinue as well took a considerable interest in the burgeoning court style. The lists of subscribers to the early English Palladian publications contain names of members of the Hanoverian royal family and the royal household. Among the latter we can even find the names of Mohamed and Mustapha, the renowned Turkish servants of George I.<sup>92</sup>

An analysis of royal patronage in Britain after 1714 exceeds the limits of this paper, but one monument erected in England appears to have immediate bearing on the discussion of Corfey's design. In 1726 Roger Morris (1695-1749), whose close ties with the architect amateur Henry Herbert, 9th Earl of Pembroke, secured for him the patronage of the leading court circles, received an important building commission from George I.<sup>93</sup> In view of the evidence provided by the Hanover drawing, it is not surprising to find that the order was for the construction of a small villa in New Park, Richmond (Fig. 12).<sup>94</sup> The character of this most

personal of the King's English residences, plans for which he approved himself, corroborates our observations on the architectural taste of George I. The rectangular plan of this villa mirrors the basic layout of the Hanoverian design, although in the compact interior of the former there was space for only four rooms on the *piano nobile*, with offices in the basement below and a few bedrooms above. The tetrastyle of engaged columns supporting the pediment on the garden facade recalls the arrangement used by Corfey in his proposal, although the more masculine Doric was deemed more appropriate in the Richmond design, reflecting the building's different function: not a suburban *palazzo*, but a hunting lodge. Ironically, due to bureaucratic obstacles and vicissitudes in financing, which may partly explain the King's reluctance to embark on new building projects in England with greater frequency, the building was completed only after the death of George Louis in 1727.<sup>95</sup> This late royal commission, however, provides a testimony to the consistency of the King's taste in architecture from his days in Hanover, when Corfey's drawing was executed, to his reign in Britain. Even in his old age George Louis obviously re-

Figure 12. R. Morris. White Lodge, New Park, Richmond. After 1726. (Photo: Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England, Crown Copyright).



mained faithful to the style and type of building whose rich connotations attracted him years earlier when he visited the Palladian villas of the Veneto.

It is remarkable that English Palladianism could originate and flourish in physical isolation from the source of its formal vocabulary. The life support of this imported idiom was obviously provided by the designs published by Palladio in *I Quattro Libri*. But behind a decision to use a certain formal language there is always more than just a random pillaging of pattern-books. Architectural forms are selected to express the status, taste and social or political associations of the patron. A potent stimulus is needed to make an imported style meaningful enough to be emulated. The royal court was always an authority in matters of artistic taste, and new evidence, some of which was presented above, proves that there is no reason to deny that the court of the first English Hanoverian monarch exerted such an influence.

By associating the neo-Palladian movement in Britain with the "national style," research into the history of neo-Palladianism has shrouded the artistic phenomenon with a veil of propagandistic rhetoric obscuring its real character and distorting the history of its beginnings. New evidence clearly suggests that designs inspired by the architecture of Palladio had been popular at the Veneto-oriented court of

Hanover before they arrived in England and that this taste affected the course of British architecture.

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- 1 J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (Harmondsworth, 1962), 17, sums up the consensus in writing that "it was not of profound consequence to architecture that George I ascended to the throne in 1714."
- 2 See K. Downes, "The Publication of Shaftesbury's 'Letter Concerning Design,'" *Architectural History*, XXVII (1984), 519-23.
- 3 J. Summerson, *Architecture in Britain 1530-1830* (Harmondsworth, 1983), 319-21 suggests that Palladianism was the architecture of Whiggery resulting from their propensity to dislike "most things foreign" (p. 319). For a similar view, see for instance D. Cruickshank, *A Guide to Georgian Buildings of Britain and Ireland* (London, 1985), 6-8; or J. Bold, *Wilton House and English Palladianism. Some Wiltshire Houses* (London, 1988), 3.
- 4 The spectacular political ascendancy of the House of Hanover under Ernest August and George Louis has been the subject of numerous publications. Among the most important are:

- G. Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers im Zeitalter der neunten Kur und der englischen Sukzession: 1664-1714*, 4 vols (Hildesheim, 1938-82); and E. Vehse, *Geschichte der Hofe des Hauses Braunschweig in Deutschland und England*, 5 vols (Hamburg, 1853).
- 5 See R. Hatton, *George I. Elector and King* (London, 1978), 79-80; and Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, III, 392f.
  - 6 See Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, I, 642f. for details. The official entry of Hanover into the Electoral College was delayed until 1708, when the opposition of the Catholic Electors was finally defeated, see C.W. Ingrao, *In Quest and Crisis: Emperor Joseph I and the Habsburg Monarchy* (West Lafayette, 1979), 70-72.
  - 7 For details, see Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, I, 491-500; Hatton, *George I*, 21-25.
  - 8 The development of the English succession issue has been extensively discussed by O. Klopp, *Der Fall des Hauses Stuart und die Succession des Hauses Hannover in Großbritannien und Irland im Zusammenhange der europäischen Angelegenheiten von 1660-1714*, 14 vols (Vienna, 1875-88); and Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, IV, *passim*. See also W. Fricke, "Leibniz und die englische Sukzession des Hauses Hannover," *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens*, vol. LVI (Hildesheim, 1957), *passim*.
  - 9 Until 1680 the family resided in Osnabrück, where Ernest August had been Prince-Bishop since 1661. Contemporary court life in Hanover has been discussed by C.F. von Malortie, *Der Hannoversche Hof unter dem Kurfürsten Ernst August und der Kurfürstin Sophie* (Hanover, 1847), *passim*; see also J. Lampe, "Aristokratie, Hofadel und Staatspatriziat in Kurhannover. Die Lebenskreise der höheren Beamten an den kurhannoverschen Zentral- und Hofbehörden, 1714-1760," *Untersuchungen zur Ständegeschichte Niedersachsens*, II (Göttingen, 1963), *passim*. For details on the Hanover and Herrenhausen residences, see above all G. Schnath, et al., *Das Leineschloss. Kloster, Fürstensitz, Landtagsgebäude* (Hanover, 1962), *passim*; and U. von Alvensleben and H. Reuther, *Herrenhausen, die Sommerresidenz der Welfen* (Hanover, 1966), *passim*.
  - 10 For a more extensive discussion of the political and social meaning of residential architecture in the North German context, see U. Schütte, ed., *Architekt und Ingenieur; Baumeister in Krieg und Frieden* (Wolfenbüttel 1984), 156-61, 192-93. According to the contemporary German theoretician Paul Decker, the high quality of the princely residence was directly related to the question of the legitimacy of the temporal power, see P. Decker, *Fürstlicher Baumeister* (Augsburg, 1711-16), I, introduction.
  - 11 See R. Krautheimer, *The Rome of Alexander VII, 1655-1667* (Princeton, 1985), 141-45. For the influence of the early Roman Baroque in Germany, see G. Skalecki, *Deutsche Architektur zur Zeit des dreissigjährigen Krieges. Der Einfluß Italiens auf das deutsche Bauschaffen* (Regensburg, 1989), 27f.; E. Berckenhagen, *Barock in Deutschland. Residenzen* (Berlin, 1966), 12-13. See also D. Watkin and T. Mellinshoff, *German Architecture and the Classical Ideal* (Cambridge, Mass., 1987), 9.
  - 12 The Electorate of Hanover was among the most tolerant German states, partly as a result of the enduring fascination of its rulers with Italian culture, partly because of their ecumenical and latitudinarian views; see Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, II, 368-76. Interestingly enough, during his early years as a Prince-Bishop of Osnabrück, Ernest August did not shy away from utilizing Roman models in the rebuilding of his Osnabrück residence; see G. Gerken, *Das fürstliche Lustschloss Salzdahlum und sein Erbauer Herzog Anton Ulrich von Braunschweig-Wolfenbüttel* (Braunschweig, 1974), 76; Lampe, "Aristokratie, Hofadel," 109, n. 64. It was probably not coincidental that at the time (in the late 1670s) Ernest August and Sophia entertained the idea of conversion to the Roman Catholic Church; see A. Barine, *Madame. Mother of the Regent 1652-1722* (London, 1909), 251-58.
  - 13 For a discussion of the *Reichsstil*, see H. Sedlmayr, "Die politische Bedeutung des deutschen Barock" in his *Epochen und Werke, gesammelte Schriften zur Kunstgeschichte*, II (Vienna, 1960); W. Hager, *Die Bauten des deutschen Barocks, 1690-1770* (Jena, 1942), 75-80. See also A. Laing, "Austria" in A. Blunt, ed., *Baroque and Rococo Architecture and Decoration* (London, 1978), 177-83; and *idem*, "Palace Architecture in the Empire" in Blunt, ed., *Baroque and Rococo*, 276-77.
  - 14 For the relationship between Hanover and the Emperor during the reign of George Louis, see Ingrao, *In Quest and Crisis*, 70-77. The absence of artistic ties is intriguing considering the fact that the imperial court otherwise exerted a significant influence on many aspects of court life in Hanover; see for instance, Lampe, "Aristokratie, Hofadel," 102, n. 33; and Gerken, *Das fürstliche Lustschloss*, 76-77.
  - 15 The residence in Weidlingau n. Vienna (c. 1710) was designed by Fischer von Erlach in accordance with instructions given to him by the patron, Baron Daniel von Huldeberg, the Hanoverian resident in Vienna from 1693 and the Hanoverian envoy at the imperial court from 1710, see H. Sedlmayr, *Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach* (Vienna, 1976), 280.
  - 16 For details on French influences in Hanover, see P. du Colombier, *L'architecture française en Allemagne au XVIIIe siècle, Travaux et mémoires des Instituts Français en Allemagne* (Paris, 1956), 45-48, 122-26.
  - 17 See, for instance, E. Forster, ed., *A Woman's Life in the Court of the Sun King. Letters of Liselotte von der Pfalz 1652-1722* (Baltimore, 1984), 26-27, 34, 111-12, 120; and Berckenhagen, *Barock in Deutschland*, 34-38.
  - 18 There are some indications, for instance, that the Gallery in Herrenhausen might have been influenced by the Galerie des Glaces in Versailles, see W. Hübner, "Das Galeriegebäude im Großen Garten in Hannover-Herrenhausen," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, XXX (1991), 124 n.38. It is significant, however, that no French architects were active in Hanover the late seventeenth century, and that Louis Remy de la Fosse, an architect of French extraction who joined the Hanoverian service in early 1706, was working in Hanover under the super-

- vision of a Venetian, Giacomo Querini (Quirini), see J. R. Wolf, "Louis Remy de la Fosse—Leben und Werk" in J. R. Wolf, ed., *Darmstadt in der Zeit des Barock und Rokoko. Louis Remy de la Fosse* (Darmstadt, 1980), 11.
- 19 The archival material containing details of the Venetian travels is preserved in Niedersächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Mss. Cal. Br. (Calenberg Brief Archiv) 22 1072; Cal. Br. 45.49; Cal. Br. 22 1074; and Cal. Br. 22 1077. See also Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, I, 376-81. The family's residence in Venice, the Palazzo Foscari (Ca' Foscari), was used regularly up to ca. 1710, cf. Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, II, 386-87.
  - 20 See R. Tardito-Amerio, "Italienische Architekten, Stukkatoren und Bauhandwerker in den welfischen Ländern und im Bistum Hildesheim" in *Nachrichten von der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen*, Phil.Hist. Klasse (Göttingen, 1968), VI, 127-98; and Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, II, 384-85.
  - 21 For details see Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, II, 6-11, and III, 506-07; Malortie, *Der Hannoversche Hof*, 162-74.
  - 22 The history of the church and its Venetian prototypes are discussed by H. Reuther, "Das Modell der St-Clemens-Probsteikirche zu Hannover," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, X (1971), 203-30; and L. Vossnack, "Die Probsteikirche St-Clemens in Hannover, ein Beispiel schöpferischen Wiederaufbaus eines Zentralbaus," *Das Münster*, XI (1958), 161-65. The design, commissioned from Tommaso Giusti, a Venetian architect and decorator in the service of the Electors, was personally approved by George Louis, cf. Reuther, "Das Modell", 204.
  - 23 See W. Totok and C. Haase, eds, *Leibniz. Sein Leben, sein Wirken, seine Welt* (Hanover, 1966), 107. Of the Herrenhausen complex, only the garden remains. The smaller residences either have not survived or were subsequently altered, see von Alvensleben and Reuther, *Herrenhausen*, 25-32, 102-15.
  - 24 At the time of their political ascendancy the Hanoverians commissioned several different genealogical research projects focusing mainly on the family ties to the Este; for details see A. Reese, "Die Rolle der Historie beim Aufstieg des Welfenhauses, 1680-1714," *Quellen und Darstellungen zur Geschichte Niedersachsens*, LXXI (Hildesheim, 1967), 39, 42-43.
  - 25 See Hübner, "Das Galeriegebäude," 122. It is questionable if the Hanoverians were aware of the connection between Andrea Palladio, born in Padua as Andrea di Pietro della Gondola, and the city. The architect himself was rather careful in disassociating himself from his humble beginnings, and the documentary evidence proving his Paduan extraction appears to have come to light only recently; see G. Zorzi, "La vera origine e la giovinezza di Andrea Palladio," *Archivio Veneto-Tridentino* (1922), 120-50. It is likely, however, that the Hanoverians associated the region around Padua with Palladian architecture.
  - 26 The statue was sculpted in 1776 by Francesco Rizzi (1729-1793); for details see P. Camerini, *Piazzola nella sua storia nell' arte musicale del secolo XVII* (Milan, 1929), 267; and C. Semenzato, *La scultura veneta del seicento e del settecento* (Venice, 1966), 128-129.
  - 27 The courtly character of the neo-Palladian revival introduced by Inigo Jones is discussed in J. Harris, S. Orgel and R. Strong, eds, *The King's Arcadia: Inigo Jones and the Stuart Court*. (London, 1973), 112-13, 201f. See also J.A. Gotch, *Inigo Jones* (London, 1928), 222-27; and R. Wittkower, "Diffusione dei modi palladiani in Inghilterra," *Bollettino CISA*, I (1959), 65.
  - 28 See Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 195-97. Jones's Palladianism was primarily associated with the royal family, and hence with the unpopular ideology of divine kingship cultivated by James I and his son, Charles I; see J. Summerson, *Inigo Jones* (Harmondsworth, 1966), 73, 110-11; and Harris, Orgel and Strong, eds, *The King's Arcadia*, 62, 201. See also J. Harris, *The Architect and the British Country House 1620-1920* (Washington, 1985), 15.
  - 29 Electress Sophia was brought up at the Dutch court in the Hague, and was certainly exposed to the contemporary Dutch classicizing architecture inspired by Palladio and Scamozzi, see Hatton, *George I*, 17-19. For details on Dutch Palladian architecture, see above all F. Vermeulen, *Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Bouwkunst* ('s-Gravenhage, 1941), III, 24-25, 57; and J. Terwen, "Il Palladianesimo in Olanda," in *Palladio: La sua eredità nel mondo* exhibition catalogue, Vicenza, Basilica Palladiana May-November 1980 (Venice, 1980), 73-95.
  - 30 For the associations of Palladio's formal vocabulary with the elements of Protestant ideology, moral and civic virtue and the ideals of antiquity, see A. Bruschi, "Roma antica e l'ambiente romano nella formazione del Palladio," *Bollettino CISA*, XX (1978), 20-21; and M. Tafuri, "Committenza e tipologia nelle ville Palladiane," *Bollettino CISA*, XI (1969), 131-33. See also J. Ackerman, *Palladio* (Harmondsworth, 1966), 77-78.
  - 31 See Reese, "Die Rolle der Historie," *passim*.
  - 32 See Bruschi, "Roma antica," 9-25; L. Puppi, *Andrea Palladio. The Complete Works* (New York, 1989), 34-35; and R. Tavernor, *Palladio and Palladianism* (London, 1991), 48f.; see also J. Onians, *Bearers of Meaning. The Classical Orders in Antiquity, the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*. (Princeton, 1988), 321.
  - 33 The new evidence is fully discussed in the author's doctoral dissertation, University of Toronto, 1994.
  - 34 For further information on Corfey and his work, see T. Rensing, "Lambert Friedrich Corfey," *Westfalen*, XXI (1936), 234-45; H. Lahrkamp, ed., *L.F. Corfey, Reisetagebuch. 1698-1700*, Quellen und Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Münster, N.F., IX (Münster, 1977); H. Lahrkamp, "Corfey und Pictorius. Notizien zur Barockarchitektur Münsters 1700-1722," *Westfalen*, LVIII (1980), 139-52; and K.E. Mummenhoff, "Beiträge zum architektonischen Oeuvre des Lambert Friedrich Corfey," *Westfalen*, LXII (1984), 93-128.
  - 35 The design, now in the collection of the Stadtarchiv, Hanover, has been recently published by H. Böker, "Unbekannte Planzeichnungen Lambert Friedrich Corfey's," *Westfalen*, LXVII (1989), 179-82.
  - 36 See G. Dethlefs, "Bewegte Zeit- und Lebensläufe. Die Familie Corfey und Warendorf," *Warendorfer Schriften*, XIII-XV (1983-85), 216.

- 37 See Reese, "Die Rolle der Historie," 178-81. The renovation of several hunting lodges, especially those inherited in 1705 after the death of Duke Georg Wilhelm of Celle, was considered at this time, see V. Kohler, "Jagdschloss Göhrde," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, VIII (1969), 169-200; and Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, II, 388-89, and III, 513f. The scale of Corfey's design, however, fits surprisingly well into the garden complex of Herrenhausen; thus, the drawing might have been intended as a proposal for the rebuilding of this residence. The plans for rebuilding Herrenhausen are discussed by Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, II, 397-98; and *idem*, "Zwei Herrenhauser Gartenfrüchte," *Niederdeutsche Beiträge zur Kunstgeschichte*, XIX (1980), 155. The role of George Louis in this undertaking has been traditionally underestimated, but from 1699 he was practically responsible for the upkeep of the residence and for all the work done there, see Hatton, *George I*, 98, and Forster, ed., *A Woman's Life*, 154.
- 38 These contacts, which might have included the Hanoverian court composer Agostino Steffani or the court painter and art teacher, Francisco Paletta (d. 1708), were likely facilitated by the fact that Gerhard Corfey, the architect's relative, was employed in the Hanoverian service as Private Secretary to the Elector in the 1680s; see Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, I, 308; and Reese, "Die Rolle der Historie," 39 n.24, 51. As the Secretary responsible for Venetian affairs, Gerhard Corfey was certainly well aware of the Electors' fondness for the architecture of the Veneto, knowledge he might have imparted to his cousin.
- 39 For an analysis of the Villa Trissino and its relationship to the Villa Rotonda, see V. Sgarbi, "Una lettura della Villa Trissino a Meledo di Andrea Palladio," *Storia dell'arte*, XXXVIII-XL (1980), 263-66. Corfey's plan for the main block has been complicated by the introduction of corner pavilions, derived most likely from contemporary French sources, see Böker, "Unbekannte Planzeichnungen," 180.
- 40 See Sgarbi, "Una lettura della Villa Trissino," 264-66.
- 41 For further details, see R. Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London, 1973), 74-75; and Bruschi, "Roma antica," 22-25. See also M. Fagiolo, "Principii prospettico-compositivi dell'architettura di Palladio," *Bollettino CISA*, XX (1978), 315f.
- 42 See J. Ackerman, *The Villa. Form and Ideology of Country Houses*, The A.W.Mellon Lectures in the Fine Arts, 1985, Bollingen Series XXXV, 34 (Princeton, 1990), 99, 106. See also R. Cevese, "Palladio and the Concept of the Villa" in *Le ville del Palladio*, A. Canova, ed. (Treviso, 1985), 60-61. An important role in demarcating the sacralized space surrounding the residential quarters was played by the quadrant colonnades connecting the core to the outlying buildings, see Sgarbi, "Una lettura della Villa Trissino," 265-66.
- 43 See R. Bentmann and M. Müller, *Die Villa als Herrschaftsarchitektur* (Frankfurt, 1970), 93; and Ackerman, *The Villa*, 99.
- 44 It is interesting to note that in the frontispiece of the 1698 German edition of Palladio, *Die Baumeisterin Pallas oder in Teutschland erstandene Palladius*, edited by G.A. Böckler, the personification of Architecture is represented holding in her hand a model of the Villa Rotonda with tetrastyle porticoes; see G. Schweikhart, "L'edizione tedesca del trattato Palladiano," *Bollettino CISA*, XII (1970), 273-91.
- 45 Onians, *Bearers of Meaning*, 75f., 154-57, 204. Since Alberti, the trabeated colonnade was seen as appropriate for the residence of "l'uomo degno," whereas the arcade was suitable for the house of "l'uomo mediocre;" see L.B. Alberti, *Dieci libri de l'architettura* (Venice, 1546), L. IX, c.4, 201. The interpretation of the columnar order as the most appropriate ornament of a princely residence was also popularized in contemporary German architectural treatises, see N. Goldmann, *Vollständige Anweisung zu der Civilbaukunst*, Studien zur deutschen Kunstgeschichte, Band 333 (Baden-Baden, 1962), 146-47.
- 46 For a discussion of the Villa Foscari portico, based on the Pantheon and the temple at the Fonti del Clitumno, see M. Wundram and T. Pape, *Andrea Palladio. 1508-1580. Architekt zwischen Renaissance und Barock* (Cologne, 1988), 134-40; and Puppi, *Andrea Palladio*, 169-71.
- 47 See C.B. Tiozzo, *Le ville del Brenta da Lizza Fusina alla città di Padova* (Venice, 1980), 57; and cf. E. Bassi, *Ville della Provincia di Venezia* (Milan, 1987), 63.
- 48 Gerhard Corfey, in charge of organizing Hanoverian trips to the Veneto in the 1680s, could have been the most likely source of the architect's knowledge of the court's itinerary. Corfey himself might have visited Malcontenta during his stay in Venice, although no reference to it appears in his diary; see Lahrkamp, ed., *Reisetagebuch*, 279-82. For the personal involvement of George Louis in matters of design, see Hatton, *George I*, 262.
- 49 See Bentmann and Müller, *Die Villa*, 35.
- 50 For a more extensive discussion of the symbolism of the centralized plan and dome, see W. Lotz, "La rotonda: edificio civile con cupola," *Bollettino CISA*, IV (1962), 69-73; and Wittkower, *Architectural Principles*, 71-72.
- 51 See Sgarbi, "Una lettura della Villa Trissino," 264-65; and Lotz, "La rotonda," 70-73.
- 52 See P. Carpeggiani, "G.M. Falconetto. Temi ed eventi di una nuova architettura civile" in *Padova. Case e Pallazzi*, L. Puppi and F. Zuliani, eds., (Vicenza, 1977), 88-94. The Hanoverian court would have travelled frequently via Padua to and from Venice and its members would have also visited the city during their travels through the Veneto; see Camerini, *Piazzola nella sua storia*, 265f. The members of the Hanoverian family, who considered Padua the seat of their medieval ancestors, must have known the city quite well. Corfey also visited Padua in 1700, see Lahrkamp, ed., *Reisetagebuch*, 282-83.
- 53 For details on Alvise Cornaro and the importance of his treatise for the development of the *villeggiatura* concept, see Bentmann and Müller, *Die Villa*, 22-23. Cornaro's treatise was probably known at the Veneto-oriented Hanoverian court.
- 54 See Carpeggiani, "G.M. Falconetto," 88-90. Sebastiano Serlio, who described and illustrated the Odeo in his treatise, placed it

- among "i palazzi con le lor piante facciate in diversi modi, fatti per fabricar in villa per gran Principi" and refers specifically to music making in the octagonal hall, see S. Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'Architettura et Prospetiva*, VII (Frankfurt, 1575), fol. 218-23.
- 55 H. Sievers, *Kammermusik in Hannover* (Hanover, 1980), 5-6.
- 56 Carpeggiani, "G.M. Falconetto," 89-91. Palladio mentions the Odeo Cornaro in his treatise as well; see *I Quattro Libri* (Venice, 1570), Bk. I, ch. XXVIII, 61. It seems that Serlio's proposals for royal residences laid out on a centralized plan with a hall crowned by a dome influenced Palladio's villa designs, see M.N. Rosenfeld, ed., *Sebastiano Serlio on Domestic Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978), 68-69.
- 57 See J. Terwen, "Vincenzo Scamozzi's invloed op de Hollandse architectuur van de zeventiende eeuw," *Bulletin Koninklijke Oudheidkundige Bond*, LXV (1966), 129-30; and W. Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture: A Survey of Dutch Architecture, Gardens and Anglo-Dutch Architectural Relations from 1625 to 1700* (Delft, 1980), 224-27.
- 58 P. Bourget and G. Cattai, *Jules Hardouin Mansart* (Paris, 1956), 59-60, 78-79; P. Lavedan, *French Architecture* (Harmondsworth, 1956), 190-91. Corfey visited Marly during his Grand Tour and was much impressed by it, as witnessed by the entry in his travel diary; see Lahrkamp, ed., *Reisetagebuch*, 69-70.
- 59 W. Kalnein and M. Levey, *Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France* (Harmondsworth, 1972), 211; and Bourget and Cattai, *Jules Hardouin Mansart*, 60.
- 60 See, for example, J.B. von Rohr, *Einleitung zur Ceremoniel-Wissenschaft der großen Herren...* (Berlin, 1733), 85, for a description of the ideal suburban residence of a prince including an octagonal hall. The Marly design appears to have been particularly popular among the German princes drawn into the sphere of French political influence; see Kalnein and Levey, *Art and Architecture*, 214.
- 61 See T. Rosoman, "The Decoration and Use of the Principal Apartments of Chiswick House, 1727-1770," *Burlington Magazine*, CXXVII (October 1985), 663-77; K. Downes, "Chiswick Villa," *Architectural Review*, CLXIV (1978), 225-36; R. Hewlings, *Chiswick House and Gardens* (London, 1989), 12; and Ackerman, *The Villa*, 136-38.
- 62 The notion of decorum in contemporary architecture, and the use of the Corinthian and Composite Orders, are discussed by Schütte, ed., *Architekt und Ingenieur*, 161-62. See also Böker, "Unbekannte Planzeichnungen," 182-83; and *idem*, "Eine Planung Lambert Friedrich Corfeys für Schloß Nordkirchen," *Westfalen*, LXVIII (1990), 89-91, 96-97, on Corfey's employment of orders in his other designs.
- 63 The colossal pilaster order was also a form of wall articulation favoured by Dutch classicizing architects, although the restrained Ionic was usually the order of choice, see Kuyper, *Dutch Classicist Architecture*, 100-01, 158-59. For the influences of Hardouin-Mansart's architecture on Corfey, see Böker, "Schloß Nordkirchen," 113-14.
- 64 For a discussion of the giant order, see L. Puppi, "Prospetto di palazzo e ordine gigante nell' esperienza architettonica del '500. Appunti e riflessioni," *Storia dell' arte*, XXXVIII-XL (1980), 268-69, 274-75.
- 65 See Schütte, ed., *Architekt und Ingenieur*, 160, 192-93, and *idem*, "'Als wenn eine ganze Ordnung da stünde...,' Anmerkungen zum System der Säulenordnungen und seiner Auflösung im späten 18. Jahrhundert," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, XLIV (1981), 26, for details.
- 66 For more extensive discussion, see Schütte ed., *Architekt und Ingenieur*, 188-90.
- 67 Schütte, ed., *Architekt und Ingenieur*, 189-91.
- 68 See R. Wagner-Rieger, "Gedanke zum fürstlichen Schloßbau des Absolutismus," *Wiener Beiträge zur Geschichte der Neuzeit*, II (1975), 42-70; *idem*, "Zur Typologie der Barockschlosses," *Hofkultur*, I (1979), 57-67.
- 69 George Louis was renowned for disliking and avoiding elaborate court ceremonies, and he felt best living a more relaxed life in the country. A villa-type residence was therefore ideally suited to his personal preferences; see Hatton, *George I*, 132-33; and J. Beattie, *The English Court in the Reign of George I* (Cambridge, 1967), 10-12.
- 70 See B. Rupprecht, "Villa. Zur Geschichte eines Ideals" in *Probleme der Kunstwissenschaft*, ed. H. Bauer, II (Berlin, 1966), 210-50; and Schütte, ed., *Architekt und Ingenieur*, 244-46.
- 71 Ackerman, *The Villa*, 10.
- 72 See Schütte, ed., *Architekt und Ingenieur*, 251-52.
- 73 For the connections of the villa with feudal ideals see Bentmann and Müller, *Die Villa, passim*. Ackerman, *The Villa*, 10, appears to have underplayed the associations of the villa with feudal authority, emphasizing the bourgeois roots of the concept instead.
- 74 For details, see Ackerman, *Palladio*, 45-46; *idem*, *The Villa*, 89-92; and Bentmann and Müller, *Die Villa*, 105-09. S. von Moos, *Turm und Bollwerk. Beiträge zu einer politischen Ikonographie der italienischen Renaissancearchitektur* (Zürich, 1975), *passim*, discusses thoroughly the symbolism of the tower and battlements in the context of Renaissance villas.
- 75 Ackerman, *Palladio*, 46-47.
- 76 Bentmann and Müller, *Die Villa*, 22-23.
- 77 Bentmann and Müller, *Die Villa*, 26-27.
- 78 This ideology, elevating a temporal ruler to the position of God's vicar in his domain and a father figure to his subjects, influenced the writings of several German theoreticians, such as V.L. von Seckendorff, *Teutscher Fürsten=Stat* (Hanau, 1656), 165-67; or D. Reinkingk, *Biblische Policey* (Frankfurt, 1653), 140. In 1650 appeared Johann Rist's translation of Tasso's *Padre della familia*: T. Tasso, *Der Adelige Hausvater...*, published in Lüneburg.
- 79 See V.H. Green, *The Hanoverians. 1714-1815* (London, 1962), 62-63; J. Gagliardo, *Germany under the Old Regime. 1600-1790* (London, 1991), 289-90; and Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, II, 316-17, 334-37, and III, 15-17.

- 80 A. Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* (Venice, 1570), Bk. II, 18: "...la quale [Rotonda] non mi è parso mettere tra le fabbriche di Villa..."
- 81 See Ackerman, *Palladio*, 75.
- 82 For the traditional role of hunting in villa life, see D.R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton, 1979), 111, 131f. George Louis, as well as his father, treated hunting as one of many diversions becoming to a prince, but they were not as obsessed by it as many of their contemporaries, see Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, II, 387-89.
- 83 Bentmann and Müller, *Die Villa*, 97f.
- 84 If the design was intended for the rebuilding of Herrenhausen, the new model would likely have been compared to the one prepared by Johann H. Wachter in the 1690s, see Schnath, *Geschichte Hannovers*, II, 398.
- 85 See Hatton, *George I*, 98 (note).
- 86 Bentmann and Müller, *Die Villa*, 94-96; see also E. Hubala, "Renaissance und Barock. Ein Umschau-Bildsachbuch" in H. Busch, ed., *Epochen der Architektur* (Frankfurt, 1968), 49.
- 87 So far the literature on the subject has implied that the dedications were superficial in nature and has tended to diminish their importance. T. Connor, "The Making of the Vitruvius Britannicus," *Architectural History*, XX (1977), 25, calls Campbell's dedication "an astute commercial move and little else." See also R. Wittkower, "English Neoclassicism" in idem, *Palladio and English Palladianism* (London, 1974), 80-81; H. Stutchbury, *The Architecture of Colen Campbell* (Manchester, 1967), 5, 19; and Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 320. Only E. Harris, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556-1786* (Cambridge, 1990), 56, has assessed the importance of the dedications in a more objective light.
- 88 The idea of translating Palladio's treatise originated in Germany, at the court of the Elector Palatine in Düsseldorf, as witnessed by the preliminary manuscript extant in the library of the McGill University, Montréal, see P. Collins, "The McGill Leoni," *Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada*, XXXIV (1957), 3-4. See also R. Wittkower, "Giacomo Leoni's Edition of Palladio's 'Quattro Libri dell' Architettura,'" *Arte Veneta*, VIII (1954), 312; and idem, "English Neoclassicism and the Vicissitudes of Palladio's *Quattro Libri*" in *Palladio and English Palladianism*, 82. For a new assessment of Leoni's edition of Palladio, see R. Hewlings, "James Leoni c.1686-1746. An Anglicized Venetian" in R. Brown, ed., *The Architectural Outsiders* (London, 1985), 21-22.
- 89 Recent German research supports the claims made by Leoni with respect to the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Hesse. The role of the former in the introduction of the Palladian mode in Germany has been discussed by J. Gamer, *Matteo Alberti: Oberbaudirektor des Kurfürsten Johann Wilhelm von der Pfalz, Herzogs zu Jülich und Berg, etc.* (Düsseldorf, 1978), 42, 281-85. Charles I of Hesse appears to have been not only an avid patron, but also an architect-amateur. Very little of his architectural legacy survives, but it seems clear that he was indeed a serious student of Palladio; see H. Philipp, *Landgraf Karl von Hessen-Kassel. Ein deutscher Fürst der Barockzeit*, Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission für Hessen, XXXIV (Marburg, 1976), 282, 587f.
- 90 The frontispiece was designed by Sebastiano Ricci, the best Venetian painter active in England at the time, and was engraved by B. Picart.
- 91 Harris, *British Architectural Books*, 56.
- 92 Leoni's edition of Palladio attracted subscriptions from Hans Kaspar von Bothmar (Bothmer) (1656-1732), one of the key ministers in George Louis' cabinet in England, the Count of Nostitz, a Saxon envoy in Hanover from 1711, and "Signor Alessandro Querini," who might have been related to the ex-Hanoverian court architect, Giacomo; see Hatton, *George I*, 97. Among the subscribers to the first volume of *Vitruvius Britannicus* one finds, for instance, the names of "Baron von Goerts," probably Friedrich W. von Görtz (1647-1728) one of the Hanoverian ministers, and "Mr. Cranenburgh, the late resident for his Majesty." In the second volume, in addition to the courtiers mentioned above, appear the names of "Prince August Wilhelm, Duke of Brunswick-Lüneburg," "Baron Bothmar," "Mr. Hattorf," probably Johann Philipp von Hattorf (1682-1737), a cabinet secretary to George Louis, as well as "Mr. Mustapha" and "Mr. Mahomet of St. James's."
- 93 On Roger Morris and the Earl of Pembroke, see J. Harris, *The Palladians* (New York, 1981), 37; and Summerson, *Architecture in Britain*, 361-62.
- 94 For details of the commission, see H. Colvin, et al., *The History of the King's Works*, V (London, 1976), 230-33.
- 95 Colvin et al., *The History of the King's Works*, V, 230-32.