sten Präsentation in Vallauris wurde die mangelnde Begeisterung der meisten Betrachter aber durch überschwengliche Panegyrik kompensiert: das Bild sei so großartig wie Michelangelos *Jüngstes Gericht* (296).

Pearsons Arbeit, die mit einem Ausblick auf die spätere Geschichte der UNESCO-Gebäude schließt und an der einzig eine etwas spärliche Bebilderung zu bemängeln ist, vermittelt einen exemplarischen und gut lesbaren Einblick in die Architektur und Kunst der 1950er Jahre. Insgesamt dokumentieren seine Ausführungen die Schwierigkeiten, aussagekräftige Formen für Architektur und Ausstattung des Baus zu finden. Das Ergebnis erklärt sich nicht aus sich selbst, vielmehr ist als Movens zu berücksichtigen, dass im architektonisch konservativen Paris ein Brückenkopf der Moderne etabliert werden sollte. Das ist mit den neuen Bauformen und Konstruktionsweisen zweifellos gelungen, wurde aber von Bauten wie dem Centre National des Industries et des Techniques (CNIT) in La Défense von Zehrfuss, Camelot und de Mailly (1951–58) und der Tour Montparnasse von Saubot und Beaudouin (1958–72) bald überholt.

PROF. DR. JÖRG MARTIN MERZ
Universität Münster, Institut für Kunstgeschichte,
Domplatz 23, 48143 Münster,
j.merz@uni-muenster.de

L'arte della guerra

Guido Beltramini (ed.)
Andrea Palladio e l'architettura
della battaglia: con le illustrazioni
inedite alle storie di Polibio.
Venezia, Marsilio 2009. 330 pp.
169 colour and b&w ill.
ISBN 978-88-317-9878-5. € 60,00

Unlike Renaissance architectural treatises, whose illustrations (whether woodcuts or engravings) were printed in a separate moment from the text, after the invention of moveable type one of the great advantages for books dedicated to the art of war was that the figures representing troops, previously drawn by hand in manuscripts, could be composed typographically thus becoming part and parcel of the text and printed together. This was a boon for publishers as it cut costs dramatically yet at the same time produced highly effective 'illustrated' books. As a consequence, in the sixteenth century there was a boom in printing and reprinting ancient classics such as Sun Tzu's *Art of War* and Polybios' *Histories*, as well as a plethora of new treatises by contemporaries such as Niccolò Macchiavelli (*Arte della Guerra* 1521), Battista Della Valle (*Vallo* 1539) and Palladio's humanist mentor, Giangiorgio Trissino (*La Italia liberata da Gothi* 1547).

This last contains a woodcut of Belisarius's encampment probably designed by the young Palladio whose preface to his *Commentaries of Caesar* of 1575 made clear who had sparked his interest in the subject: "io n'hebbi i principij dal signor Gio. Giorgio Trissino, gentil'huomo dottissimo". In the last decade of his life, hard on the heels of the success of the *Quattro Libri di Architettura* in 1570, Palladio transformed the genre of books on war with his 1575 illustrated edition of the *Commentaries* (published by Pietro Franceschini, brother of Domenico, who had
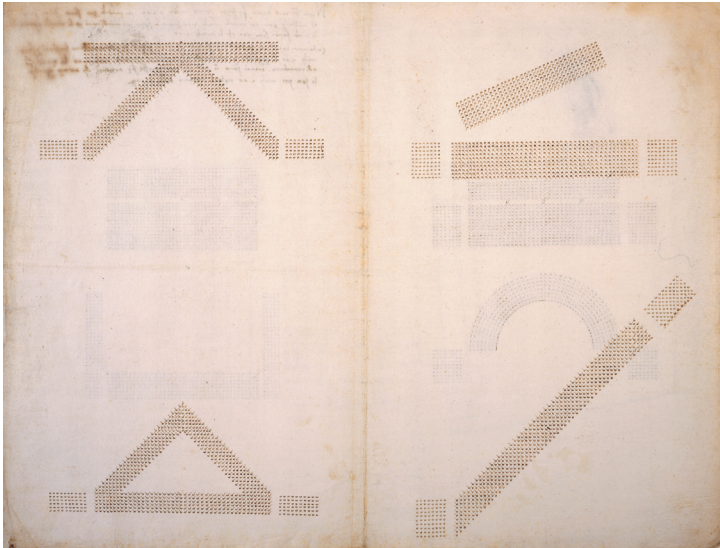
Fig. 1 Andrea Palladio, Studies of infantry formations confronting each other (Oxford, Worcester College Library, n.c. 6, verso)

establishing parallels between making architecture and organising troops.

What Palladio's 42 etchings for the *Commentaries* of 1575 and the 43 etchings for Polybios' *Histories* reveal is his innovative approach in the years immediately after 1570 to the relation between figure and ground (the etchings are inserted into a 1564 edition of Polybios held at the British Library 293.g.20). Beltramini, the editor of this volume, rightly compares the plan and elevation of Villa Mocenigo with Della Valle's 'Formation of 300 pikes and two lunettes' from his *Vallo* of 1539 *(fig. 2)* because Palladio (like most early sixteenth-century authors who chose to present typographically troop formations) deliberately embraced a certain visual abstraction in his *Quattro Libri*, avoiding too much urban and topographical specificity for his buildings so that his treatise also might function as a model book. Yet when it came to the art of war, such an approach went against the grain of the text of Polybios' *Histories*, which was precisely successful because of its focus on the strategic and specific disposition of troops according to actual geographical and topographical factors, something that could not be represented in strictly typographical configuration of troop formations.

In contradistinction, Palladio in his etchings of the 1570s instead embraced the innovations of Albrecht Dürer's celebrated 'Siege' of 1527, Domenico de' Franceschi's 'Armada at Vienna' of 1561, and the anonymous 'Nuovo ed ultimo disegno di Malta' published in Rome in 1565, all of which adopt a bird's-eye view to represent troop formations and encampments set within the

produced the *Quattro Libri*). His successive project for an illustrated edition of Polybios' *Histories*, had it ever been published, would have been equally important, as the forty-three etchings reproduced for the first time in this handsome volume, attest.

REPRESENTATIONS OF THE ART OF WAR

Armed conflict was a constant of the sixteenth century and the impact of the League of Cambrai of 1509 in particular reverberated throughout the Veneto in the decades of Palladio's youth and early maturity in Padua and Vicenza. Architects were surely attracted to books on the art of war not only because fortifications were a staple of their employment (Michele Sanmicheli being the most obvious example) but also because printed geometrical figures of troop formations bear a striking resemblance to modes of representing the ground plans of buildings. This is attested to by Palladio's sheet depicting cavalry in a rhombus formation adjacent to a partial plan of the Colosseum (RIBA London, VIII/14 verso) and by his drawings of infantry formations confronting one another (Book VI of Polybios, Worcester College Oxford, n.c. 6, verso; *fig. 1*). In addition building sites, like armies, had to be co-ordinated, large machines constructed, and supplies procured, thus

landscape. His 'Caesar preventing the Swiss from Crossing the Rhone' being a typical example *(fig. 3)*. Palladio chose the bird's-eye view for his landscape plates to enable the convincing description of topography and the creation of compelling images. The cities represented can be understood in terms of their layout and geographical context, and the positioning of troops in and around the city is precisely indicated.

REDISCOVERIES

As recounted by Beltramini, the rediscovery of the 43 Polybios etchings, reproduced here for the first time, reads somewhat like a thriller because Palladio died without completing the project and for

four centuries only tangential references in the literature, such as the *Vita di Andrea Palladio* written by Paolo Gualdo (1553–1621), recorded this endeavour. Then in 1977 John Hale recognized as Palladio's the etchings and manuscript preface inserted into a 1564 edition of *Polibio historico greco. Dell'Imprese de' Greci, de gli Asiatici, de' Romani, et d'altri* at the British Library (Andrea Palladio, Polybios and Julius Caesar, in: *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 40, 1977, 240–255). Beltramini has added to Hale's discovery by identifying as autograph interventions by Palladio 29 of the 35 inscriptions on the back of the etchings: these refer to letters of the alphabet found in the images and offer brief comments on that part of the
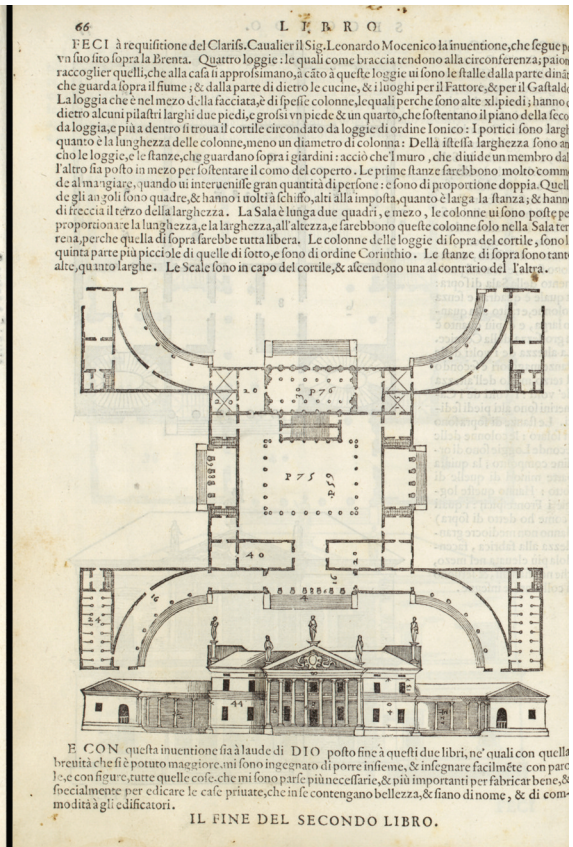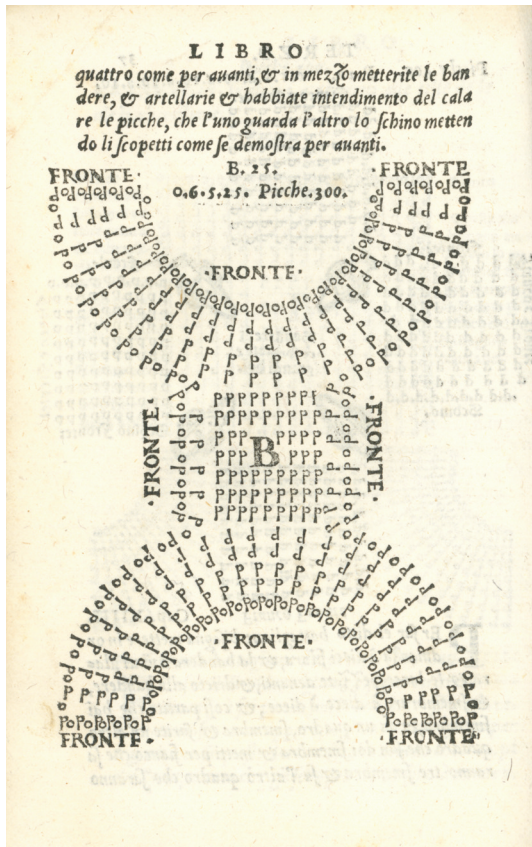

Fig. 2 'Formation of 300 pikes and two lunettes', in: Battista Della Valle, Vallo, Venice 1539 (Vicenza, Biblioteca Civica Bertoliana); Leonardo Mocenigo's villa on the Brenta, in: I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura di Andrea Palladio, Venice 1570. Vicenza, Biblioteca CISA Andrea Palladio (Beltramini 2009, fig 11–12)

Fig. 3 Palladio, 'Caesar preventing the Swiss from Crossing the Rhone', etching 5, Commentaries of Caesar, Venice 1575 (Beltramini 2009, p. 188)

image depicted. The exemplar in the British Library is thus most likely the working copy Palladio used personally to develop the publication and has ended up where it did because the book was preserved in the Venetian library of the art collector and dealer Consul Joseph Smith, arriving in London in 1762/63 when his collection was sold to George III.

For a decade the London copy was the only known exemplar, but in 1986 the Florentine bookseller Gonnelli put up for sale another 1564 Polybios with the same etchings and a variant of the manuscript introduction inserted into it. There is also a dedicatory letter written by Palladio to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Francesco de' Medici,

dated 15 September 1579 in which he thanked the Grand Duke for having agreed to give his patronage to the projected publication. The manuscript and captions on the back of the etchings in this case are in the hand of Palladio's son Silla, who in 1588 still had in his possession the copper printing plates because Palladio had personally met their cost of production (something he had not done for the *Quattro Libri* woodcuts and surely rued). Amedeo Belluzzi has convincingly argued that this is a 'fair copy' prepared for Palladio to take with him when he went to Florence as part of the Venetian delegation to the wedding of the Grand Duke and Bianca Cappello in autumn 1579 (Palladio e la cultura artistica fiorentina, in: Franco Barbieri et al.
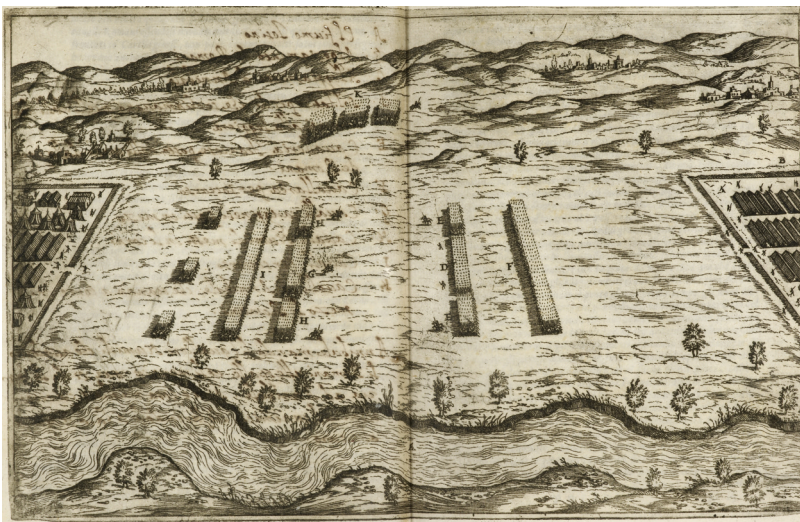

Fig. 4 Palladio, 'The Battle of the Ticino', etching ca. 1575, inserted into Polybios, Dell'Imprese de' Greci, de gli Asiatici, de' Romani, et d'altri, Venice 1564. British Library 293.g.20 (Beltramini 2009, p. 132/33)

[eds.], *Palladio* [Conference Proceedings], Venice 2008, 100–104). The recent rediscovery among the Rare Books of the New York Public Library of a third set of the etchings inserted also into a Polybios text demonstrates that Palladio and his heirs had printed a number of proofs of these etchings while preparing to bring this work to press.

VISUAL NARRATIVE

What Palladio produced with his etchings were military 'atlases' in which the images were no longer inserted between columns of text, but as double-page spreads created their own continuous visual narrative *(fig. 4)*. It is a pity then that this volume, whose philological scholarship is evident, is dramatically let down by the incomprehensible decision not to do justice to the format of the original plates and reproduce each etching either on a single page, or over two facing pages positioning the original central margin in the same place in this volume. Instead, the reproduction of each image is set across two pages but in such a way that the central margin of the original is not coincident with its reproduction and is thus visually quite distracting.

Beltramini's long and thorough essay is followed by a brief and lucid discussion by Stephen Parker of the exemplar at the British Library in London. The apparata set out the differences between the three extant exemplars, in London, Florence and New York, and include a concordance between the London and Florentine examples. The other essays seem rather less than necessary (and had they been ommitted then this volume might have been lightened by almost fifty pages), with the exception of an excellent study by Francesco Paolo Fiore of Sebastiano Serlio and the Roman encampment, discussing thoroughly and reproducing the important autograph manuscript codex held at the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in München (Cod. Icon. 190).

Serlio's München codex represents the most important sixteenth-century attempt before Palladio to illustrate the ancient Roman 'art of war'. What prompted his initiative was increasing philological interest in Vitruvius and in Polybios' *castrametatio* in France, which went hand in hand with the widespread and effective use of firearms and a considerable rise in the size of the infantry and the construction of ever-larger modern bastioned fortresses and cities. Serlio composed two large plans and the book on the castrametation according to Polybios. The codex contains two sections, devoted to the temporary and permanent encampments, respectively. Notably, as in his published books on architecture, here Serlio perfectly married text and image to illustrate effectively the arguments discussed. This material was acquired from Serlio in Lyon in 1550 by Jacopo Strada, who worked for the Fugger family, and taken to Germany in 1553. But it remained in manuscript as Ottavio Strada and his father felt compelled instead to compete immediately with Palladio's publication of Caesar's *Commentaries* of 1575 as in late 1574, Ottavio wrote to his father about their own edition of the *Commentaries*: "so che 'l nostro sarà più bello che quello del Palladio, si potrà ancor dar per miglior mercato che 'l suo". This is surely why Strada put off publishing Serlio's Book VIII on the Roman encampment, whereas it was inaction by Palladio's son and heirs that caused their father's impressive series of 43 etchings to remain hidden as proofs in earlier printed editions of Polybios for four centuries until now.

DR. ANDREW HOPKINS
Università degli studi de L'Aquila,
Dipartimento di Scienze Umane,
Viale dell'Industrie, Bazzano, I-67100 L'Aquila,
hopkins@cc.univaq.it