The Importance of Palladio's Villas for Seventeenth-Century France

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This paper elucidates the effects of Andrea Palladio's villas on prominent French architects of the seventeenth century. The subject is challenging because, though one might expect that Palladio's designs were widely imitated in the century after his death, the notion of French Palladianism is absent from the literature dealing with this period. While historians have written about early seventeenth-century English Palladianism, which was initiated by Inigo Jones, they have not recognized a similar movement in France until the advent of Neo-Palladianism, which occurred in several Western nations after 1720. Furthermore, references to Palladian-like structures in France are scattered, invariably brief, and, at times, skeptical. However, the results of my study indicate that Palladio's influence was quite significant in France during the second half of the seventeenth century, especially where it concerns his residential architecture.[1]

One can measure Palladio's impact in two areas—theory and practice. To justify a Palladian movement, evidence must exist to show that French architects not only followed his written precepts but used his physical plans for their own buildings. Palladio is generally considered to have been a theoretical genius whose well-known treatise, *I quattro libri dell'architettura* (first published in 1570), informed architects in many countries about ancient monuments and rules concerning the orders. The French were no exception. Architectural publications and academic discourse evince a reliance on the axioms found in the *Quattro libri,* therefore proving a theoretical dependence on Palladio. To argue that Palladio's own practical designs had a comparable authority requires closer scrutiny. As Anthony Blunt pointed out, French architects of this period did not visit Venice or the Veneto, so they lacked firsthand knowledge of the actual buildings.[2] However, by focusing on the French designs identified as Palladian in various art historical texts, and examining them for Palladian hallmarks, I have compiled a wealth of visual evidence. Moreover, one must realize that the *Quattro libri* is not solely theoretical; a major portion, Book II, is devoted to Palladio's own designs for private residences. The French had access to the buildings of Palladio through his book. James Ackerman aptly describes this as follows:

> There is little abstract theory: Palladio was a practical and straightforward writer who used words economically and liked to discuss actual situations. Most of the text relates to issues raised by existing buildings, partly ancient and partly modern— the latter being primarily of Palladio's own designs.[3]

In view of both theoretical and practical influence, I can identify an initial phase of Palladianism in France from about 1650 to 1712.

Theoretical Influence. Seventeenth-century French architects were exposed to Palladio primarily through a proliferation of French literature that developed from the *Quattro libri.* These publications disseminated Palladio's views on the orders, public edifices, ancient monuments and designs for public residences. In 1645, Pierre Le Muet translated Palladio's book on the orders, the first book of the *Quattro libri.*[4] Five years later, Roland Fréart de Chambray offered the first complete French translation of all four books comprising Palladio's treatise: *Les quatres livres d'architecture.*[5] This important publication included the original woodcuts from the first Italian edition. In the same year Fréart's *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne* praised Palladio for his expertise in measuring ancient monuments.[6] In 1665, Abraham Bosse included a Palladian table in his *Traité des pratiques géométrales.* Between 1675 and 1698, François Blondel's *Cours d'architecture* was published in volume form and included more references to the work of Palladio than to that of any other architect.[7] These publications vested Palladio as a resource for French architectural theory.[8]

The *Quattro libri* also played a prominent role at the Royal Academy of Architecture.[9] The *procès-verbaux* (minutes of academy meetings) reveal that as the academicians strove to establish a common theoretical foundation, they employed the rules of Palladio, the great Vitruvian, to legitimize their endeavor.[10] The records state that soon after its formation in December 1671, the Academy declared Palladio supreme among modern architectural authorities.[11] By 28 February 1673, Palladio's treatise was on the agenda. For fifteen months, until 4 June 1674, the Academy scrutinized the *Quattro libri* using both an Italian edition and Fréart's 1650 translation. The procedure involved chapter by chapter readings and subsequent discussions. Sixteen meetings were devoted to Book I on the orders, nine covered the second book on private dwellings, twelve dealt with the public buildings of Book III and, finally, fifteen concentrated on Palladio's conceptions of ancient structures in Book IV. It was only after their examination of Palladio that the academy approached other architectural authorities.

In 1682, during a consideration of past registers, the conferees devoted fourteen meetings to a rereading of the

proces-verbaux that involved Palladio. Fifteen years later, on 11 May 1699, they began a second chapter by chapter reading of the treatise, taking over a year and a half, until 19 December 1700 when they completed their study with chapter 24 of Book IV.

Frequently, they used the *Quattro libri* to confront theoretical problems that dealt with proper employment of the orders and other ancient motifs. This is particularly reflected in their discussions of Book I on the orders and Book IV on Roman monuments. They found Palladio to be the architectural standard of excellence whose authority equalled or surpassed that of Vitruvius.[12] This confirms Palladio's theoretical value for the French.

Practical Influence. The overwhelmingly favorable criticism ceased when the Academy turned to the portions of the *Quattro libri* which presented Palladio's own designs of villas and town houses for Venetian gentlemen. In many cases these were problematical for the French architects. Perceptive comments from the *procès-verbaux* mix denunciation with praise. The entry for 15 February 1700 explicates the divergent evaluations. First, they found that Palladio's ground floor elevation of a certain residence was too excessive and that his designs in general were not appropriate for use in France. Then, they deemed him praiseworthy for being the first of the modern architects to display spatial harmony in his residential interiors.[13] Various entries show the problems they had with other conceptions. For instance, the minutes for 24 and 31 July 1673 are lengthy censures of the Palazzi Chiericati and Valmarano.[14] Palladio's corner treatments of these buildings were thought to be too corrupt, and too mannerist by his critics. On 28 August 1673, they found the stairway at the Villa Ragona to be poorly designed because Palladio had not incorporated landings in his arrangement.[15]

Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos construes the harsh criticisms to mean that Palladio's concepts were incompatible with the French architectural idiom.[16] Pérouse joins fellow theorist Blunt in contending that Palladio's command of matters of theory is his only notable influence. They reject Palladio as a leading source for French architects because, for them, his practical influence was negligible.[17] The following statement by Pérouse encapsulates their position:

> The work of Palladio appears to be less a model to imitate than one that succeeds as an example which ought to be analyzed and reduced to its principles. Due to this the influence of Palladio on treatises [*i.e.,* theoretical issues] constitutes the principal chapter of the history of French Palladianism.[18]

However, I believe that a reassessment of the opinions expressed in the *procès-verbaux* is in order. The faults that the Academy found with the *Quattro libri* should not cause us to minimize Palladio's influence on building design. Although the architects at the Academy subscribed to a strict theory, they were less dogmatic in their practical work.[19] Their high regard for Palladio seems to have led them to emulate his villas in their own designs. Fréart's praise of the villas, in the following passage from the *Parallèle*, certainly conveys that they would:

> The first of all is without any contest the famous Andrea Palladio, to whom we are obliged for a very rare collection of antique plans and profiles of all sorts of buildings, designed after a most excellent manner, and measured with a diligence so exact, that there is nothing more in that particular left us to desire. Besides the very advantageous opportunities which he has had at Venice, and in all the Vincentine his native country do leave us such marks as clearly showed him not only to have been a spectator of these great masters of antiquity; but even a competitor with them, and emulous of their glory.[20]

Furthermore, the unique character of the *Quattro libri* must again be stressed. Much of it was a picture book of Palladian houses; thirty-seven palazzo and villa designs were fully illustrated with plans, elevations, sections, and details, accompanied by a cursory text. The remarks in the *procès-verbaux* signal the extreme care with which the French architects scrutinized the illustrations. For example, their understanding of the stairway at the Villa Ragona was due solely to their reaction to the woodcut; Palladio wrote only a brief description of the villa that barely mentions the stairs.[21] Careful study thoroughly familiarized them with Palladio's practical work. It follows that, when they set down their own schemes, they discarded what seemed incompatible and incorporated those Palladian concepts that appealed to them.

Visual Evidence. The visual evidence supports the view that Palladianism was founded in France before the eighteenth century. An examination of French designs shows that ten important structures are derivative of villas found in the *Quattro libri.* These structures variously adopt the following Palladian hallmarks: (1) the conception of the structure as a compact freestanding block; (2) the organization of the ground plan into integrated systems that include corresponding rooms, cross vistas, and the axial system of the vestibule/main hall combination; (3) the employment of central emphasis, both in ground plan (especially with domed central salon), and in facade decoration (with the distinctive unadorned planar walls usually embellished by the order surrounding the entrance); and (4) the addition of curving side wings to the central block.[22]

Two French examples, Germain Boffrand's Hôtel Le Brun (1699) and Pierre Bullet's Château d'Issy (1681-87) epitomize the concept of the unencumbered cubic block (Figure 1). Both depart from the traditional French residence that comprised a loose aggregate of forms (*corps-des-logis,* pavilions, galleries) integrated with a courtyard. They express the monolithic character considered to be a fundamental Palladian trademark.

Their facades similarly adopt the Palladian characteristic of a simple wall treatment that relegates

classical ornament to the central motif. Boffrand denied the French penchant for surface enrichment; as Kalnein observed, the Hôtel Le Brun's unadorned expanse is unthinkable in France without Palladian influence.[23] A slight projection in the middle accompanied by a pediment over the cornice is reminiscent of a similar treatment used by Palladio in the Villa Zeno.[24] At Issy, aside from some quoining and minimal window embellishment, Bullet reserved the classical ornament for the central pedimented temple front, a trait widely used by Palladio in such *Quattro libri* designs as the invention for Garzadore (Figure 1).

The ground plan of the Château d'Issy further reveals Bullet's debt to Palladio. First, its vestibule and salon occupy the central axis, mimicking the loggia/main hall system of the Villa Sarego (Figure 2). Second, the positioning of the lesser rooms exhibits a correspondence between the *chambre* on the right and the *chambre à coucher* on the left, and one between the *salle à manger* on the right and the combination of small rooms and staircase on the left. This correspondence exhibits Palladio's desire, as stated in the *Quattro libri,* that "the rooms ought to be distributed on each side of the entry and hall . . . those on the right correspond with those on the left."[25] In addition, the stairs and portico of the front are echoed on the garden side as in numerous Palladian cases such as the Villa Valmarana and the Villa Oleardo-Thieni.[26]

Antoine Le Pautre's Second Design from *Desseins de plusieurs palais* (1652) enables a similar comparison with the Villa Pisani (Figure 3). Both plans display a square block into which a visitor would enter a vestibule area, proceed through a central rectangular hall, and enter a long gallery situated on the cross axis. Lesser rooms on either side of the main axis correspond to one another.

The exterior view of Le Pautre's Second Design pictures a fantastic conception flaunting gigantic Persian caryatids, strong channeled rustication and bold moldings—motifs more assertive than Palladio's (Figure 4a). Yet, the rising central dome and projecting porches echo the most famous of Palladio's works, the house Palladio devised for Monsignor Paolo Almerico, known as La Rotonda (Figure 4b).[27]

La Rotonda inspired a number of French conceptions. Its design incorporates the freestanding cubic mass, flat facades with central embellishment, and corresponding rooms, but adds a significant dimension to the Palladian repertoire. Here, the master incorporated a bi-axial vestibule/hall system that radiates outward from a circular, domed central hall to four lookouts framed by pedimented temple fronts.[28]

J.H. Mansart extracted motives from La Rotonda for two structures, the Château de Marly (1679) and Château de Navarre (1686). Though destroyed, Marly is well-documented with remaining plans, elevations, and aerial views. Its ground plan closely follows Palladio's precedents (Figure 5b). A large octagonal salon, like La Rotonda's circular hall, comprises the central core. Vestibules radiate outward ending in entrance platforms that correspond to the porticoes of the Italian plan. Triple room *appartements* occupying the areas between the vestibules compare favorably with the L-shaped double configurations of La Rotonda. The disposition of the rooms in both designs allows for cross vistas from one end of the interior to the other. The aerial view shows another example of the detached cubic mass (Figure 5a). However, the continuous decoration that articulates the facades signifies the typically French preference for decorated surfaces. The Château de Navarre, also destroyed, but known by an existing print, is another instance of an isolated cubic mass, here distinguished by a dome rising in the center (Figure 5c). Steps lead from four entries that are defined with columns. The walls, however, are articulated by quoining strips, variously shaped windows and an assortment of moldings that, as at Marly, break from the Palladian aesthetic.

La Rotonda influenced two French schemes for garden structures. The Pavilion of Aurora (1673-77), variously attributed to either Claude Perrault, Charles Le Brun, or Andre Le Notre, decorates the garden at Colbert's Château at Sceaux (Figure 6a). With an obvious affinity to La Rotonda, it exhibits a detached compact block with a dome that implies the existence of the central salon. The four side projections serve as reminders of the Palladian pedimented porticoes. The Pavilion of Apollo (1712), designed by Nicodemus Tessin for Versailles, was also patterned after Palladio's masterpiece (Figures 6b and 6c). The plan is disposed similarly to La Rotonda. A central circular salon is surrounded by identical suites of rooms on four sides. Cross views unite the outer rooms; projecting porticoes define each facade. The elevation displays the four projecting pedimented temple entrances, but it also shows that, as in several of the aforementioned buildings, the architect handled the wall surfaces differently than Palladio by adorning them with ornamentation.

Just after the close of the seventeenth century, Germain Boffrand completed a design for a hunting pavilion at Bouchefort (1705, Figure 7). A comparison with La Rotonda shows its unique use of Palladian motifs. Bouchefort's elevation contains more surface ornament and fenestration than that of La Rotonda, but it shares the elements of detached block, central dome, and projecting pedimented porticoes on four sides. Ground plans of the two indicate the common use of a central salon and a central focus that radiates outward in four directions through vestibules to the entries. The arrangements of the peripheral rooms of both structures may seem incomparable since Bouchefort is an octagonal structure with spatial variety and complexity that typify a Baroque conception, whereas La Rotonda is square with a round central core surrounded by four identical pairs of rooms that evoke Renaissance clarity. However, closer scrutiny of Bouchefort divulges a symmetrical system that complies with Palladio's notion of room correspondence. On the plan, the rectangular *chambre de Madame El* corresponds to the *antichambre de Son Altesse El;* the hexagonal *antichambre de Son Altesse El* corresponds to the

hexagonal area reserved for the staircase. The *garde robes* and *petit cabinets* of Madame complement those of the Monsieur that are opposite.

A final structure illustrated in the *Quattro libri,* the Villa Trissino at Meledo, provided impetus for two public buildings in Paris (Figure 8a). The Villa Trissino plan approximates the design for La Rotonda with one important difference: the addition of curving side arms that project from the central domed block. This is repeated in J.H. Mansart's project for a square in front of the Dôme des Invalides (1698, not built, Figure 8b) and Louis Le Vau's Collège des Quatres Nations (1662-72, finished by d'Orbay, Figure 8c) where colonnades define the areas before the main structures. In his remarks about such designs, Palladio wrote that loggias, "which like arms tend to the circumference, seem to receive those that come near the house."[29] Here Palladio initiated the concept of embracing arms reaching out to the visitor also attributed to Bernini's Piazza de San Pietro;[30] the French adopted it after their perusal of the *Quattro libri.*

Similarities and associations provided by these visual comparisons justify the assumption that French architects used Palladio as a source. They had unique ways of doing this that did not involve duplication, but rather, imitation on a motif by motif basis. In almost every example, their buildings retain a certain "Frenchness," whether it be in the inclusion of surface enrichment or in more complicated ground plans. Just as Palladio added classical elements to the Venetian villa vernacular to form his composite style, the French added Palladian traits to transform their native architecture. Hautecoeur expressed the process as follows:

> Artistic forms follow on the span of time as a fugue continues; a motif appears, is developed, and reprised by another instrument on a different register; by then the melody is already transformed.[31]

Rudolf Wittkower noticed that the same behavior occurred half a century later in England. Writing about English architects he stated, "In reality, their Palladianism is a good deal more English than is generally realized. These men could neither ignore the development of the previous hundred years in English architecture nor their own national tradition. . ."[32] Thus, with France anticipating developments in England, seventeenth-century French Palladianism deserves full recognition as an historical movement.

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This paper summarizes research I conducted for a graduate seminar in French Baroque Architecture. I wish to thank Professor Robert Neuman for suggesting this provocative topic.

1 The scope of this paper includes Palladio's villas and certain of his town houses (such as La Rotonda and Palazzo Antonini) that are characteristically indistinguishable from villas; it does not include the influence of Palladio's religious or public architecture.

2 Anthony Blunt, "Palladio in Francia," *Bolletino CISA* 10 (1968) 10. Blunt states that relatively few French architects visited Italy during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and when they did, they sought out the ancient architecture of Rome as in the case of Philibert de l'Orme. The only other instance he sites is Clément Métezeau's visit to Florence to see the Palazzo Pitti, which served as a model for the Luxembourg Palace in Paris (begun 1615).

3 James Ackerman quoted in Dora Wiebenson, *Architectural Theory and Practice from Alberti to Ledoux* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) I.-25.

4 Le Muet's translation was entitled *Traicte des cinq ordres d'architecture desquels se sont seruy les anciens,* (Paris: Langlois).

5 There is evidence that French architects followed Palladio's *Quattro libri* even before the French translations of 1645 and 1650. For instance, François Mansart's library included a copy of the 1616 Italian edition along with Fréart's 1650 translation. See Allan Braham and Peter Smith, *François Mansart* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1973).

6 The title page of Fréart's work includes reference to Palladio. The full citation reads: *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne, avec un recueil des dix principaux autheurs qui ont écrit des cinq ordres, scavoir: Palladio et Scamozzi, Serlio et Vignola, D. Barbaro et Cataneo, L. B. Alberti et Viola, Bullant et de Lorme, comparez entre eux* (Paris: E. Martin, 1650). In Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio et la théorie classique dans l'architecture français du XVIIème siècle," *Bolletino CISA* 12 (1970) 99, the author points out that Fréart recognized Palladio as the greatest of modern architects and the founder of classical art.

7 Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio et la théorie classique" 101, 103 and 105 n. 18.

8 Slightly later, the following publications, which included discussions on Palladio's use of the orders, also served to establish his importance: François Nicolas Blondel's *Cours d'architecture* (Paris: Lambert Roulland, 1675), Antoine Babuty Desgodet's *Les édifices antiques de Rome* (Paris, 1682), and Jean Le Blond's *Deux exemples des cinq ordres de l'architecture antique, et des quatres plus excelens autheurs qui en ont traitte scavoir Palladio, Scamozzi, Serlio, et Vignole* (Paris: Chez'autheur, 1683). Palladio's supremacy in the theoretical realm was also recognized by Perrault, who considered him as one of the three most famous architectural authors, and devoted chapters to Palladio's designs of ancient and modern buildings in *Ordonnance.* For this, see Wolfgang Herrmann, *The Theory of Claude Perrault* (London: A. Zwemmer Ltd., 1973).

9 For a thorough discussion as to the function and purposes of the Royal Academy of Architecture, see M. Henry Lemonnier, trans., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'architecture.* (Paris: Edouard Champion, 1915) I, Intro., vii., and Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France* (Paris: Picard, 1948) II, chap. 4, 462. We know that the Academy members (Bruand, Gittard, Le Pautre, F. Le Vau, J. H. Mansart, Boffrand, Bullet) perused the *Quattro libri* and can be relatively sure that most important architects working in France at the time were familiar with the treatise and its woodcuts, which were so often referred to by French writers (especially Fréart and F. Blondel). The architects discussed in this essay who were not on the roster at the Academy, *i.e.* Le Vau and Tessin, were nevertheless mentioned repeatedly in the *procès-verbaux,* Tessin in 1705 for his work on the Louvre (see *Procès-verbaux* III, 226-31; 234-36) and Le Vau on many occasions (see *Procès-verbaux* X 153).

10 The *procès-verbaux* comprise a record of the subjects that were read, discussed, and criticized by the royal academicians. Their compilation was undertaken early this century and fills ten volumes, see M. Henry Lemonnier, trans., *Procès-verbaux de l'Académie Royale d'architecture.*

11 *Procès-verbaux,* 11 Feb. 1672, I:6. At its inception, the Academy deliberated as to which architect best expressed the doctrine of Vitruvius. Palladio headed their hierarchy of Vitruvian disciples, followed by de l'Orme, Scamozzi, Alberti, and Serlio.

12 *Procès-verbaux,* I, 315, contains a passage from 9 June 1681 that exemplifies Palladio's foremost position of authority: "La facilité de la division des parties de trois en trois dans le dessein de Vitruve luy paroist ingénieuse, mais comme le filet sur le talon semble un peu petit, elle ne désaprouve point le changement que Palladio y a fait."

13 *Procès-verbaux,* III, 90.

14 *Procès-verbaux,* I, 42. This criticism was repeated in 1682, see *Procès-verbaux* II, 7.

15 *Procès-verbaux* I, 47. This comment was repeated in 1682, see *Procès-verbaux* II, 8.

16 Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio in Francia" 102.

17 See a series of three articles: Anthony Blunt, "Palladio e l'architettura francese," *Bolletino CISA* 2 (1960): 14-18; Anthony Blunt, "Palladio in Francia," *Bolletino CISA* 10 (1968): 9-14; and Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio et la théorie classique," *Bolletino CISA* 12 (1970): 97-105.

18 "... L'oeuvre de Palladio apparaît moins comme un modèle à imiter que comme une réussite exemplaire qui doit être analysée et réduite à ses principes. De ce fait, l'influence de Palladio sur les traités constitue le chapitre principal de l'histoire du palladianisme français." (Pérouse de Montclos, "Palladio" 97)

19 A case in point would be Germain Boffrand, who produced extremely imaginative designs, free from theoretical constraints, but behaved in a solemnly dogmatic fashion at Academy meetings. See W. Herrmann, "Antoine Desgodets and the Académie Royal d'architecture," *Art Bulletin* 40 (1958): 23.

20 Roland Fréart de Chambray, *Parallèle de l'architecture antique et de la moderne,* trans. John Evelyn (1664; London: Gregg International Publishers Ltd., 1970).

21 Andrea Palladio, *The Four Books of Architecture,* trans. Isaac Ware (1738; New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965) 51.

22 For a thorough discussion of Palladian hallmarks see Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (London: Alex Tiranti Ltd., 1952) 63-68, and James S. Ackerman, *Palladio* (1966; New York: Penguin Books, 1983) 160-85.

23 Wend Graf Kalnein, *Art and Architecture of the Eighteenth Century in France* (Harmondsworth, England and Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1972) 210.

24 The Villa Zeno elevation appears in *The Four Books,* Book II, pl. XXXII. My source for *Quattro libri* illustrations is the 1738 English edition by Isaac Ware (see n. 19), which offers a "faithful and accurate reproduction of the original plate, and an exact translation of the text." (Adolf K. Placzek, preface, *The Four Books* vi.)

25 Palladio, *The Four Books,* trans. Ware 27.

26 Palladio, *The Four Books,* Book II, pls. XLII and XLV.

27 Palladio, *The Four Books,* Book II, pl. XIII.

28 The central domed hall was termed a *salon à l'italienne* by seventeenth-century French architects. Robert Berger describes it as Palladio's adaptation of a design of Francesco di Giorgio, used in Mantegna's house in Mantua (1476) which Berger sees as a prototype for La Rotonda. See Robert W. Berger, *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV* (New York: New York University Press, 1969) 26.

29 Palladio, *The Four Books* 55.

30 For a discussion of Palladio's potent influence on Bernini see Rudolf Wittkower, *Palladio and Palladianism* (New York: George Braziller, 1974) chapter 2.

31 "Les formes artistiques se suivant sur la portée du temps comme une fugue continue; un motif apparaît, se développe, est repris par un autre instrument sur une registre différent, alors que la ligne mélodique est déjà transformée." (Hautecoeur, *Histoire* II, 617.)

32 Wittkower, *Palladio and Palladianism* 155.

Figure 1. a. Germain Boffrand, Hôtel Le Brun, court facade, 1699. Courtesy of Michel Gallet and J. Garms, *Germain Boffrand 1667-1754; L'aventure d'un Architecte Indépendant* (Paris: Herscher, 1986).

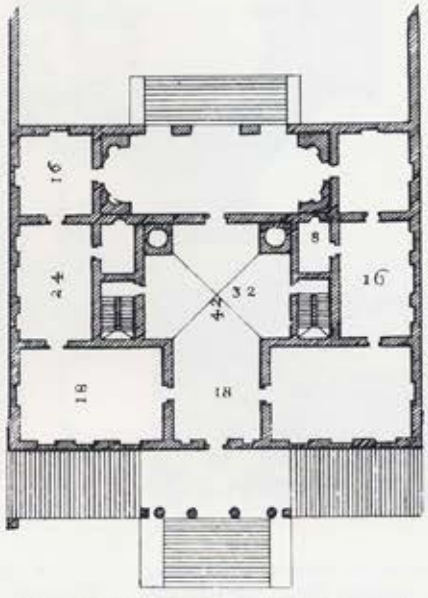
b. Pierre Bullet, Château d'Issy, elevation, 1681-87. Courtesy of Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France* (Paris: Picard, 1948).

c. Andrea Palladio, Invention for Garzadore, elevation, *Quattro libri,* Book II, pl. LVII. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1965).

Figure 2. a. Pierre Bullet, Château d'Issy, plan, 1681-87. Courtesy of Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France* (Paris: Picard, 1948).

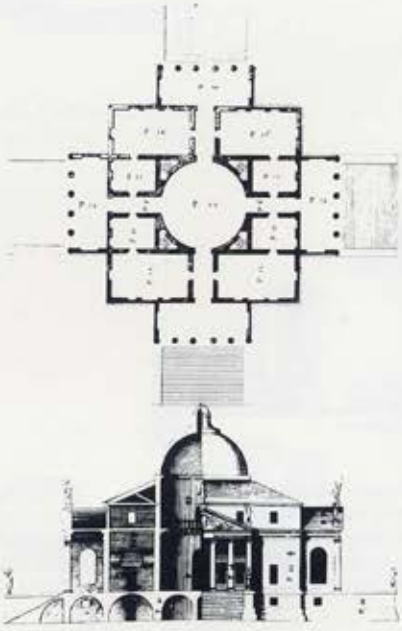
b. Andrea Palladio, Villa Sarego, plan, *Quattro libri,* Book II, pl. L. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, Inc. 1965).

Figure 3. a. Antoine Le Pautre, Second Design, plan, 1652. Courtesy of Robert W. Berger, *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV* (New York: New York University Press, 1969).



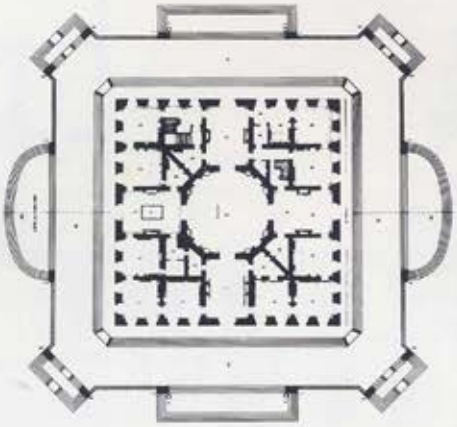
b. Andrea Palladio, Villa Pisani, plan, *Quattro libri,* Book II, pl.xxx. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).

Figure 4. a. Antoine Le Pautre, Second Design, view, 1652. Courtesy of Robert W. Berger, *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV* (New York: New York University Press, 1969).



b. Andrea Palladio, La Rotonda, *Quattro libri,* Book II, pl. XIII. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).

Figure 5. a. J. H. Mansart, Château de Marly, view, 1679. Courtesy of Anthony Blunt, *Art and Architecture in France 1500-1700* (New York: Viking, 1988).



b. J. H. Mansart, Château de Marly, plan, 1679. Courtesy of Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Histoire de l'architecture française: De la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris: Mengès, 1989).

c. J.H. Mansart, Château de Navarre, view, 1686. Courtesy of Louis Hautecoeur, *Histoire de l'architecture classique en France* (Paris: Picard, 1948).

Figure 6. a. Claude Perrault, Charles Le Brun, or Andre Le Notre, Pavilion of Aurora, view, 1673/4. Courtesy of Robert W. Berger, *Antoine Le Pautre: A French Architect of the Era of Louis XIV* (New York: New York University Press, 1969).

b. Nicodemus Tessin, Pavilion of Apollo, plan, 1712. Courtesy of *Versailles à Stockholm: Dessins du Nationalmuseum Peintures, Meubles et Arts Décoratifs des Collections Suédoises et Danoises* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1985).

c. Nicodemus Tessin, Pavilion of Apollo, elevation, 1712. Courtesy of *Versailles à Stockholm: Dessins du Nationalmuseum Peintures, Meubles et Arts Décoratifs des Collections Suédoises et Danoises* (Stockholm: Nationalmuseum, 1985).

Figure 7. a. Germain Boffrand, Hunting pavilion at Bouchefort, elevation, 1705. Courtesy of Michel Gallet and J. Garms, *Germain Boffrand 1667-1754: L'aventure d'un Architecte Indépendant* (Paris: Herscher, 1986).

b. Germain Boffrand, Hunting pavilion at Bouchefort, plan, 1705. Courtesy of Michel Gallet and J. Garms, *Germain Boffrand 1667-1754: L'aventure d'un Architecte Indépendant* (Paris: Herscher, 1986).

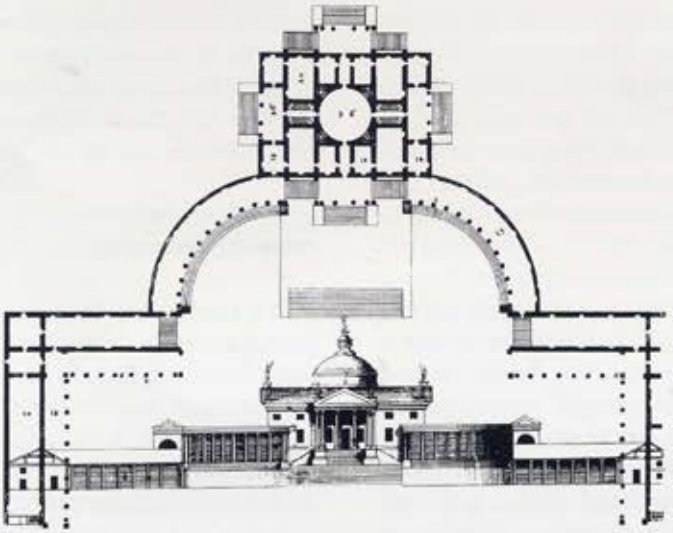
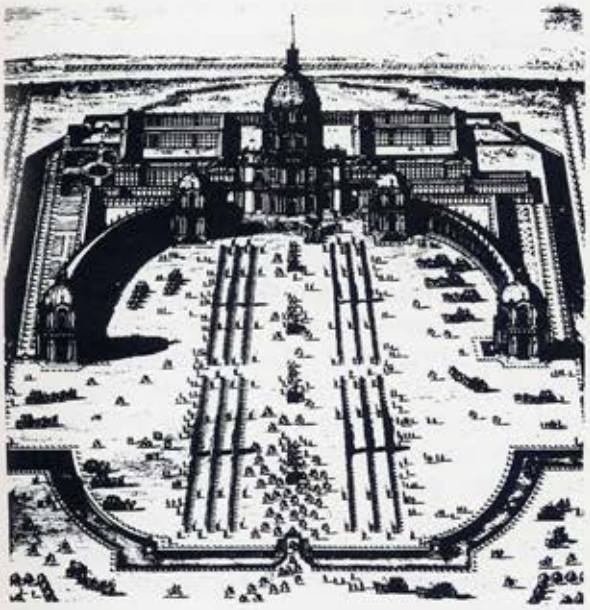
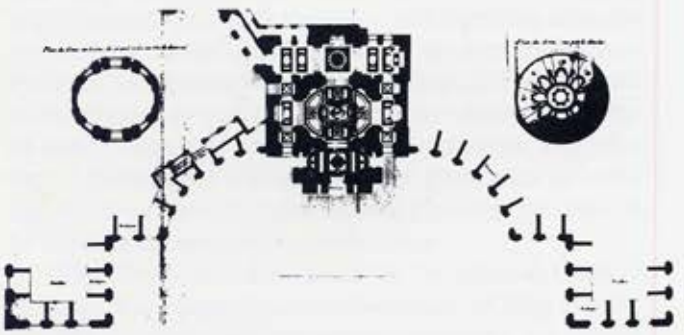


Figure 8. a. Andrea Palladio, Villa Trissino at Meledo, *Quattro libri*, Book II, pl. XLIII. Courtesy of *Andrea Palladio: The Four Books of Architecture* (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).



b. J. H. Mansart, project for the Dôme des Invalides, 1698. Courtesy of Jean-Marie Pérouse de Montclos, *Histoire de l'architecture française: De la Renaissance à la Révolution* (Paris: Mengès, 1989).



c. Louis Le Vau, Collège des Quatres Nations, 1662-72. Courtesy of Albert Laprade, *François d'Orbay Architecte de Louis XIV* (Paris: Fréal, 1960).