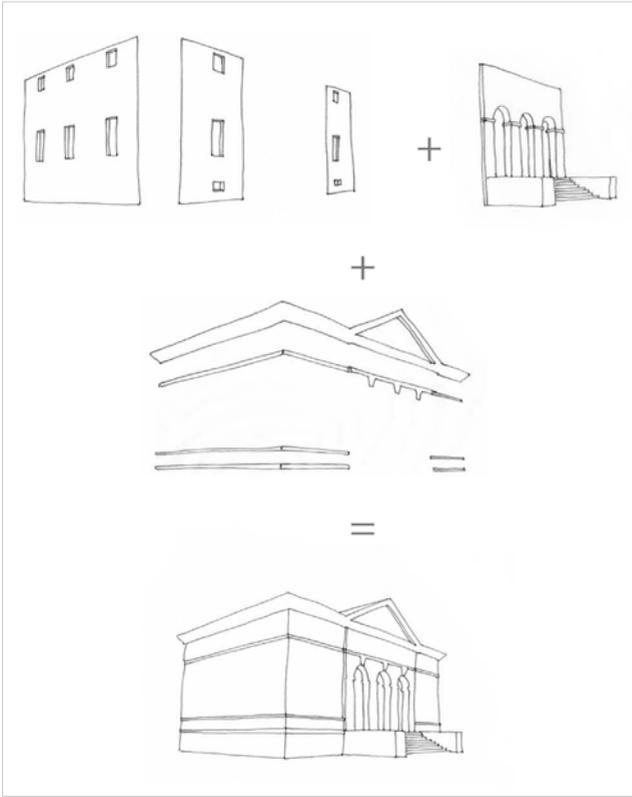


Radical Pragmatism

Usanza nuova. A New Method

Palladio was a pragmatist. This is evident in the implementation of the so-called *usanza nuova* (new custom, new method), which he mentions in the *Quattro Libri*.¹ He used the ancient Roman ruins as treasure troves for his projects. From a contemporary perspective, one could speak of a copy-and-paste process, as architectural elements were taken from their original context and integrated into new ones. With regard to the methodical adoption of selected pieces, Howard Burns thus spoke of a “composition kit”.² This technique made it possible to use and further develop a comprehensible language that was valid beyond place and time through a “controlled vocabulary” and a “prestabilised grammar”.³ In the case of the villa buildings in particular, one can observe how far rhetorical standardization could be pushed, while at the same time individuality of expression was realized.⁴



Above all, this approach supported the desire for economy. With few exceptions, Palladio designed plain building boxes [fig. 1].⁵ In this sense the mansions of the Villa Cornaro and the Villa Emo [fig. 2, 12] show windows that appear as openings merely “punched out” of the masonry mass. Porticoes were added like layers, or sometimes as protruding volumes, to smooth surfaces. Thus, very straightforward means produced monumental and representative effects.⁶ Moreover, in order to build economically, columns were usually constructed of brick and then covered by a plaster coating.⁷ Until then the mansions of villa complexes were little more than townhouses set into the landscape.⁸ Palladio’s pragmatism was by no means banal. With great efficiency, he developed an image of the villa that was to shape the design of the centuries to come. It was he who gave this typology its own face.

1
Elements of composition: the façade images developed from the frontal view and the portico, as well as the eaves cornices and bands that run around and tie all the façades together into one body. Drawing by the author.



2
Villa Cornaro,
Piombino Dese (Treviso),
1553–1588 ca.



3
San Giorgio Maggiore,
Venezia, 1565–1611.

Yet not only villa buildings were provided with memorable façade images. From the other side of the Canale della Giudecca, the churches San Giorgio Maggiore and Il Redentore shine across the water with their white façade panes [fig. 3, 4].⁹ On the periphery of the core city of Venice, they develop a scenic effect that cannot be overlooked. Elsewhere, in Vicenza, the aim was to give the city a completely new look. In the beginning, only a few buildings shone in a lighter (white or beige) classicist dress amidst the medieval building structure. Nowadays, the streets of the little town appear like a neoclassical jewel box. Palladio's buildings and those of his successors have shaped an entire region [fig. 5]. To this day, it is a powerful factor in the production of a regional identity, and highly important for the tourism industry. Perhaps, therefore, when looking at Palladio's method, we should also speak of an "identity kit".¹⁰ History, presented as an event, sells.¹¹



4
Il Redentore, Venezia,
since 1575.

5
Piazza dei Signori,
Vicenza, with the Loggia
del Capitaniato, 1571/72,
in the foreground to the
left side and the façade
of the Basilica
(Palazzo della Ragione),
1546–1614, on the right
side, both designed by
Andrea Palladio.



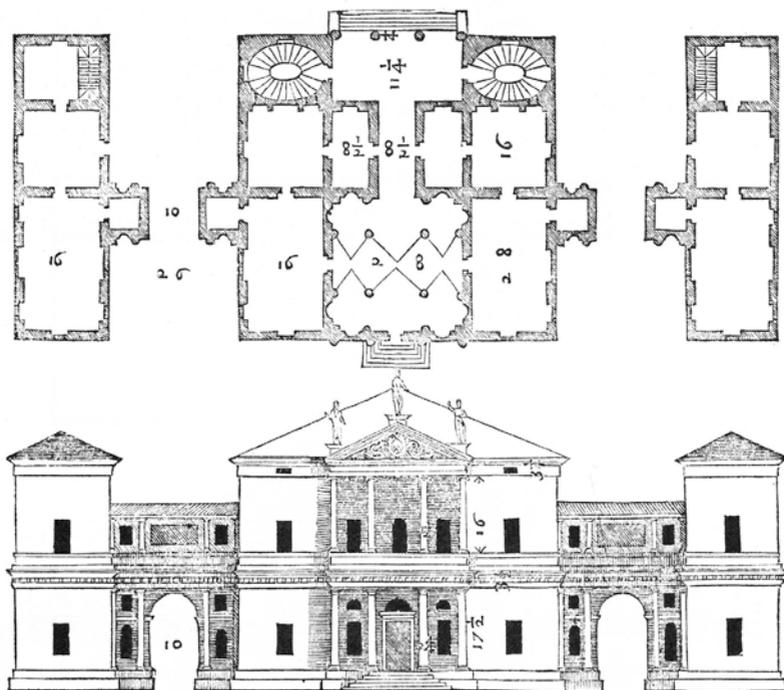
Anyhow, to become successful as an architect, one needs to do more than design and build well. Above all, one must tell the world about the quality of one's own works. We know this phenomenon. Think of Le Corbusier (*Vers une architecture*), Rem Koolhaas (*S, M, L, XL*), or Bjarke Ingels (*Yes is more. An Archicomic on Architectural Evolution*).¹² In these writings, again and again, one encounters catchy and succinct sequences of content. The language and illustrations support the particular concern. Thus, architectural theory develops into a weapon that serves to assert one's own ambitions.¹³ Palladio is, in a certain sense, at the beginning of this development. His *usanza nuova* did not only refer to building. At the same time thinking about architecture and communicating the guiding concepts of design had to undergo a radical change.

It is very likely that Palladio did not know Latin.¹⁴ He made a virtue out of necessity. The *Quattro Libri* appeared in the vulgar language, i.e. in Italian. Thus, the broadest possible audience could be involved. Moreover, Palladio's publication is rich in woodcuts. One could almost speak of a picture book, in which the information was presented in a concise (reader-friendly) mix of illustrations and text. Furthermore, with his *Quattro Libri*, Palladio provided the basis for a placeless and (in a certain sense) timeless reflection on architecture. The woodcuts show idealized façades, sections, and floor plans in orthogonal projection without reference to context [fig. 6]. In this way, his examples have become in turn models to be copied and modified anywhere, at any time, and under changed intellectual and material conditions.

Palladio's method of representation is thoroughly pragmatic. It is precisely where he presents his own projects that the advantages of orthogonal projection come to show. Ideally, the main view and the floor plan are superimposed on one sheet so that an immediate understanding of the interior-exterior relationships can emerge. Straight away, the woodcuts show Palladio's technique: the porticoes and pediments, all the figurative pieces, that he had taken and transferred from classic examples, were applied to

6
Villa Pisani, Montagnana.
In: Palladio 1570, II 52
(Cap. XIII).

LA SEGVENTE fabrica è appresso la porta di Montagnana Castello del Padoano, e fu edificata dal Magnifico Signor Francesco Pisani: il quale passato à miglior uita non la ha potuta finire. Le stanze maggiori sono lunghe un quadro e tre quarti: i uolti sono à schiffo, alti secondo il secondo modo delle altezze de' uolti: le mediocri sono quadre, & inuoltate a cadino: I camerini, e l'andito sono di uguale larghezza: i uolti loro sono alti due quadri: La entrata ha quattro colonne, il quinto più fottili di quelle di fuori: lequali sostentano il pavimento della Sala, e fanno l'altezza del uolto bella, e sicura. Ne i quattro nicchi, che ui si ueggono sono stati scolpiti i quattro tempi dell'anno da Messer Alessandro Vittoria Scultore eccellente: il primo ordine delle colonne è Dorico, il secondo Ionico. Le stanze di sopra sono in folaro: L'altezza della Sala giugne fin sotto il tetto. Ha questa fabrica due strade da i fianchi, doue sono due porte, sopra le quali ui sono anditi, che conducono in cucina, e luoghi per feruitori.



LA FABRICA

a plain building box. No words are needed to explain this method. The radical strength of these images lies in the fact that they speak for themselves. Short texts clarify the tasks and requests of the clients. In addition, only a few numbers inscribed in the woodcuts emphasize the claim that proportions were of fundamental importance in his compositions.¹⁵ This way he was able to accommodate the spirit of his times and the intellectual demands of the patrons.¹⁶

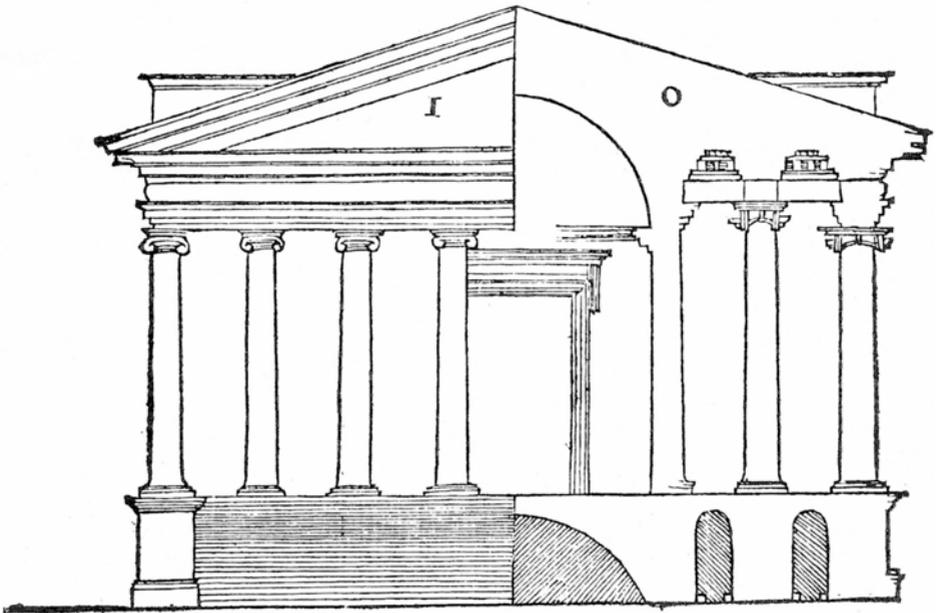
Consequences of the New Method: Architecture of Images

Sketches from Palladio's hand show that he generally produced drawings in orthogonal projection.¹⁷ This technique allows an "infinite" distance and therefore ideal viewpoint from which all dimensional relations can be read in their true proportions. In the commentary of Vitruvius' writings on architecture, Palladio's mentor Daniele Barbaro had explained the importance of elevation, section and plan (orthographia, sciographia, and ichnographia) in orthogonal projection.¹⁸ Palladio produced the woodcuts for it [fig. 7].¹⁹ Subsequently, this instrument of rational mastery and control was to become a standard of design.²⁰ In the *Quattro Libri*, Palladio used this tool to suggest comprehensibility and planning reliability.

Finally, this technique reveals itself like a genetic code in the realized buildings that appear in three dimensions. Like the drawings in orthogonal projection, the erected buildings demand a distanced frontal view. This means that the ideal standpoint of an observer is on the mirror axis in front of the symmetrically laid out façade. As a consequence, the primacy of the frontal view assigns less importance to oblique or lateral positions.²¹ The Villa Saraceno, built from 1548 onwards in Finale di Agugliaro (Vicenza), shows this fact.²²

7
Daniele Barbaro and
Andrea Palladio,
representation of the
Orthographia and
Sciographia in Barbaro's
commentary of Vitruvius
from 1567, in: Barbaro
1567, I 32.

La parte doue è la lettera J. è lo in piè della pianta precedente.
La parte doue è la lettera O. è il profilo.





8
 Villa Saraceno, Finale di
 Agugliaro (Vicenza), since
 1548 ca., main façade.



9
 Villa Saraceno, Finale di
 Agugliaro (Vicenza),
 since 1548 ca., view
 from southwest.

The building presents itself as a simple volume. Its front is dominated by a portico that is harmoniously inserted according to proportion as well as the used materials [fig. 8]. The visitors who advance via the axis of symmetry perceive this representative feature which is still further emphasized by the staircase that comes down from the open arcades. From an overhead position, however, it is all the more striking that the portico is merely a rather flat layer applied to the mansion—a 2D image attached to



10
Villa Pisani, Montagnana,
1552–55, main façade
and side façade to
northwest.

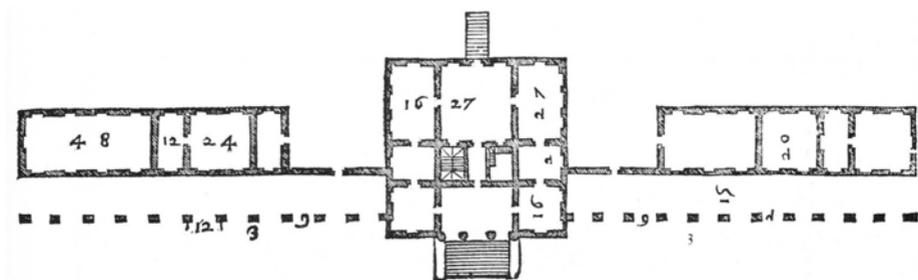
11
Villa Pisani, Montagnana,
1552–55, side façade to
northwest with the porti-
co of the main façade as
a thin layer.

the front [fig. 9, 1]. It is the simple stereometric box that, from this observer's standpoint, dominates the appearance.²³ Obviously, this façade image was not conceived and designed in a spatial sense by including oblique viewpoints. Palladio composed en-face images.²⁴ The same fact is revealed even more by the stately volume of Villa Pisani, built in Montagnana in the first half of the 1550s.²⁵ Its two-story portico is no more than a figurative relief that can, at best, develop a representative effect for the distanced frontal view [fig. 10, 11].



12
Villa Emo, Fanzolo
[Treviso], since 1558,
frontal view.

At the Villa Emo, a Doric *tetrastylus* set into the plane of the façade of the manor house and the *barchesse* extending far to the west and east stress the monumental expression. For those who approach on the central axis formed by a Roman road from antiquity, the claim to power is staged by modest but extremely effective means—which are underlined by a ramp reaching far into the axis in front of the portico. Yet, if the observer moves to the side, the ramp develops into a heavy and massive wedge that causes a spatially undesirable separation in front of the villa building. It is notable that in the *Quattro Libri*, Palladio has reduced this ramp to a less expansive staircase [fig. 12–14].²⁶



14
 Villa Emo, Fanzolo
 (Treviso). In: Palladio
 1570, II 55 (Cap. XIII).

13
 Villa Emo, Fanzolo
 (Treviso), since 1558,
 the ramp.

The series of examples could be continued. Palladio's "toolbox", which he plundered as needed, was a pragmatic instrument for radical reduction that enabled economic and scenic efficiency. Again and again, his (2D-) images produced extremely expressive and representative architectures. Palladio was an image-maker. It is evident that he thought and designed in en-face images. The experience in space is influenced by this.²⁷ Thus, with the *usanza nuova* Palladio not only strove to establish his interpretation of the Roman architecture in the Veneto. By this term and method, he not only wanted to push the general discussion on architecture by the means of the *Quattro Libri*, at the same time he created a figurative design language for his buildings.

Why Palladio was a Pragmatist

When Palladio entered the stage with the slogan of an *usanza nuova*, the High Renaissance had already been shaken to its political, intellectual, and artistic foundations. The hopeful dawn of a new epoch had been celebrated in the century before. In the meantime—after Luther's publication of the 95 Theses and after the *Sacco di Roma*—a deepening skepticism and uncertainty had spread concerning personal and public affairs. Also, Calvinist ideas had reached the Veneto, which suggested an ascetic attitude to faith and life.²⁸ Yet, precisely at this very moment in history, the aristocracy of an insignificant little town in Northern Italy—second or even third rank in economic and political terms—took up the project of a renewed classicism. At first, this project was completely anachronistic and unrealistic.²⁹ The rebirth of antiquity was, in a certain sense, a historically completed fact. Mannerist art and architecture had already worked on past achievements with context-dissolving irony.

Palladio moved in circles that continued to study Aristotelian-oriented philosophers such as Pietro Pomponazzi, who had taught at the university in Padua. Pomponazzi turned to a certain extent against both Christian eschatologies and neo-Platonic ontologies. By emphasizing the importance of the practical

intellect he placed questions of good or bad action as well as of social success or failure before the general consciousness of competing elites.³⁰ On the one hand, this emphasized the self-determination of the “human chameleon” and his freedom of choice, as Pico della Mirandola already had stressed towards the end of the Quattrocento in his *Oratio de hominis dignitate*.³¹ On the other hand, the “freely deciding, creative sculptor” who was able to assume the ever-preferred shape³², had to take on a Herculean task, since the scholastic ontologies of the Middle Ages had long since lost their binding power. The inevitable consequence of what has been said is drawn by Pico della Mirandola in the *Commentary on a Song of Love*, a text he wrote during the same period. There he states that “in God there is no beauty because beauty includes a certain imperfection, and that means to be composed in some way. [...]. After Him beauty begins, since differences begin, without which there can be no created thing, [...]”³³ Thus, ontologically legitimized parameters of beauty (and of action) were called into question. From now on, beauty was to be negotiated as part of this world and with exclusive reference to the appearing world.

In this historical context, Palladio reawakened an ideal without an ideal. At first glance, the *usanza nuova* brought nothing new at all. In the *Quattro Libri*, he often refers to Vitruvius as his example and guide. The grammar on which Palladio’s architecture was built had long been known in relevant circles. (At the same time, no statements can be found in his writings that sought to ground the theoretical and practical reference in a philosophical-ontological way.) However, the sheer enthusiasm he had adopted from Giangiorgio Trissino’s “militant classicism”³⁴ was guided by a pragmatism that benefited from appropriating the historic ideals in a completely original way.³⁵



Consequently, the façade images of the villas were as immediately memorable as the arrangement of the woodcuts in the *Quattro Libri*. In a similar way, the two-story repetition of the *serliana* of the Basilica in Vicenza achieves an outstanding elegance and monumentality [fig. 15, 16]. Images (of the *serliana*) are superimposed and juxtaposed in an “infinite” series. This invention was self-explanatory, and so was the name he applied to this building, as its success up to this day shows. The classic Roman term *Basilica* underlined Palladio’s project, i.e. the transformation of the center of this little town into a Classicist site. It was not of much importance that the ancient ideal could not be achieved. Palladio’s task was to give physical reality to the construct of an anachronistic world. In doing so, he imbues his actions with a conciseness and inner coherence that once again brings to (hyper-classical) life, what had already passed away.

15
Basilica (Palazzo della Ragione),
Vicenza, 1546–1614,
view from Piazza dei Signori.

A remark from the end of the 1970s on philosophical pragmatism made by Richard Rorty in an admittedly different context may help to understand this approach and success: “He [the pragmatist; Th. B.] proceeds to argue that there is no pragmatic difference, no difference that makes a difference, between ‘it works because it’s



16
Basilica (Palazzo
della Ragione),
Vicenza, 1546–1614.

true’ and ‘it’s true because it works’—any more than between ‘it’s pious because the gods love it’ and ‘the gods love it because it’s pious.’”³⁶ In this sense, Palladio’s pragmatism was radical, not because he carried on the formal language of antique Roman architecture. In his later buildings—such as the Palazzo Valmarana, the Loggia del Capitaniato, and (as a spatial conception) the Redentore church—he would eventually go beyond the classicist laws. He was radical because he himself lived the Renaissance comprehension that human beings are able to have a world only if they creatively shape this world.³⁷ The individual manifests itself through the *poietic*, i.e. productive, work in the context of an existential openness—and also uncertainty.

Embracing the Possible

Palladio's situation is not alien to our present. Since the "end of history" was proclaimed half a century ago³⁸ and since the decline of binding narratives was established³⁹, we have been faced with the urgent dilemma of adopting intersubjective horizons for common thought and action. In this sense, the political and intellectual situation of the late Renaissance shows some interesting parallels to the nowadays lamented loss of meaning.⁴⁰ This is additionally fueled by 21st-century digital media, which make it possible to copy and paste quickly and almost effortlessly—not to speak of artificial intelligence, which not only potentially multiplies content but also calls into question the role of human beings as authors and creators of the world they inhabit.⁴¹ Besides, the resulting uncertainties had already been noticed by Walter Benjamin a hundred years ago in a world that more and more came to be dominated by mechanical reproduction. The technical reproducibility of the works of art had to cause a loss of authenticity—or the disappearance of the aura, as he put it.⁴²

Remarkably, on the threshold of the telematic revolution, Rorty emphasized that (intercultural) understanding could be gained—if at all—through making rather than finding.⁴³ In any case, where an inexhaustible fund is available, it would be extremely unwise not to use it (like Palladio did when he adopted historical models to the requirements of his time). The central question would then be which ideological, economic, or operational filters may help to control the current abundance of what is available simultaneously and ubiquitously. The "pollution of distances" and the global "interactivity in real-time", as Paul Virilio notes⁴⁴, require sincerity.⁴⁵ This is not said in a moral sense. (There are already enough witch hunts.) Instead, it is about measuring the horizon of one's own actions in order to be able to assess the foundation but also the consequences of the same. The climate crisis, but also questions of (international) cultural and social justice demand this discipline.

The same was true with Palladio's *usanza nuova*. It was to be established in a period of general instability. In this situation, a rhetorical pathos (developed for the intellectual and political elite) highlighted above all the model of classical antiquity. However, just beautiful images could hardly have been sufficient to convince his patrons. The solid craftsmanship, the profound knowledge of the techniques of building as well as of the materials were essential qualities that helped the architect generate confidence in his work. Beyond that, Palladio's designs are convincing because of the immense simplicity of the compositions, which never lacked monumentality or charisma. And finally, he built efficiently and economically.⁴⁶

Palladio's opus is immense. He shows to be the creator of a new (classicist) world, an architect who acted with intellectual acuity, but at the same time without philosophical ground. This seems like a paradox: the hyper-classicist Palladio theoretically stood on unsteady legs. But there is another reading: precisely because he laid the foundation of his activity in the uncertainty of his time, he was able to rise on it in the long run. In this context, Palladio was a pragmatist through and through, facing up to tasks, probably with the sincerity gained from many years of craft practice, embracing the possible.

Endnotes

If not indicated otherwise, all translations are by the author of this paper.

- 1 Palladio 1570, II 4 (Cap. III).
- 2 Burns 2008b, 269: "kit compositivo".
- 3 See these terms in: Burns 2008b, 271.
- 4 See Benelli 2008, 51.—See also Bürklin 2019, 87.
- 5 See Bürklin 2019, Abb. 4.9.
- 6 See Bürklin 2019, 312–314.
- 7 Palladio was not the first to do so. According to Christoph Luitpold Frommel 1994, 195, he could learn from Bramante's Palazzo Caprini (casa di Raffaello). The rustication of the basement and the Doric columns of the *piano nobile* were made of bricks. The plaster coating simulated travertine.
- 8 As it was the case with the Villa Medicea designed by Giuliano da Sangallo between 1480 and 1485 in Poggia a Caiano near Florence or with Jacopo Sansovino's Villa Garzoni built in 1540 and after in Pontecasale in the south of Padua.—See Ackerman 1991, 303–324 (Sources of the Renaissance Villa).
- 9 The façade of the church of San Giorgio Maggiore was only realized between 1607 and 1611. In large parts, it does not correspond to Palladio's designs. See Beltramini/Padoan [eds.] 2002, 234. Due to the great distance caused by the Canale della Giudecca, this fact is of no relevant importance with regard to the scenic effect in the urban context.
- 10 This term is borrowed from Stuart Ewen; Ewen 1999/1988, 70.
- 11 Ewen 1988/1999, 258: "As this happens, history disintegrates as a way of comprehending the world; it becomes an incomprehensible catalog display. It shifts from the realm of human subjects engaged in social relations, motivated by interest, circumstance, and experience, to the realm of objects, discrete commodities to be bought and sold."
- 12 Le Corbusier 2005/1923; Koolhaas/Mau 1998; Bjarke Ingels Group 2010.
- 13 See Bürklin 2013, 50–51.
- 14 See Giuseppe Barbieri, 2008, 43.
- 15 See Bruschi 1978, 15–16: "Ma il pragmatismo, l'attenzione all'*utilitas* e alla *firmitas*, sono pure fortemente nutriti e resi operanti, nell'esordiente Palladio, dalla sua formazione artigianale; dal circa ventennale rapporto diretto, fisico e manuale, con la realtà concreta dei materiali, delle tecniche, dell'organizzazione esecutiva, della costruzione. Più sottilmente e profondamente, l'attività di lapicida, subordinata nella prassi rinascimentale a quella dell'architetto e strumento della sua 'invenzione', lascia in Palladio l'idea [probabilmente consolidata dalla lettura di Vitruvio e dalla precoce visione delle antichità di Verona] che l'architettura sia in larga misura riducibile—più che all'organizzazione di spazi interni complessi ed articolati tra loro coordinati, come, ad esempio, in Bramante o nel Peruzzi—ad impianti elementari, specialmente qualificati da un 'codice' di segni di per sé caratterizzanti, da un sistema di elementi linguistici (quelli che l'Alberti chiamava 'ornamenti') che l'architetto inserisce ad organizzare le superfici e i volumi della semplice, ma musicalmente 'proporzionata', costruzione, e la cui esecuzione è affidata proprio ai lapicidi." / Engl.: "But pragmatism, attention to *utilitas* and *firmitas*, are also strongly nourished and made operative, in Palladio's early works, by his artisan training; by his almost twenty-year long direct physical and manual relationship with the concrete reality of materials, techniques, the organization of works, and construction. More subtly and profoundly, the activity as a stonemason which in Renaissance practice was subordinated to that of the architect and seen as an instrument of his 'invention', leaves Palladio with the idea [that was probably consolidated by the reading of Vitruvius and the early vision of antiquities of Verona] that architecture is largely reducible to

- elementary arrangements—more than to the organization of complex and articulated interior spaces that are coordinated with each other. These arrangements are particularly qualified by a ‘code’ of *per se* characterizing signs, by a system of linguistic elements (those which Alberti called ‘ornaments’) which the architect fits together in order to organize the surfaces and the volumes of the simple, but musically ‘proportionate’, construction. Actually, its execution is entrusted to the stonemasons.’
- 16 Yet, Palladio did not always apply the same attention to harmonic proportions as Howard/Longair 1982, 127, state: “Available evidence suggests that the patrons of the most harmonic schemes probably shared an interest in musical or architectural theory. Indeed, it seems that the proclivities of the patrons contributed significantly to the degree of harmony present in the schemes which they commissioned. This is suggested by the fact that even late in Palladio’s career when he was designing projects for theoretically-minded patrons in which all the dimensions could be interrelated by musical ratios, he was still producing other designs which displayed relatively little regard for overall musical harmony.”
 - 17 The importance of the orthogonal projection in Palladio’s works is reflected in Burns 1973a, 135: “Lo stesso Palladio disegnava l’alzato ortogonale, accostandolo alla pianta nelle versioni, in bella copia, dei suoi progetti degli anni quaranta, [...] e questo è indicativo della sua preferenza per il metodo ortogonale. Inoltre non vi sono dati sicuri per ritenere che i disegni dall’antico, nei quali l’edificio è reso in modo prospettico, derivano da studi fatti sul posto da Palladio stesso. Invece è probabile che *tutti* i disegni di questo tipo siano stati copiati da disegni altrui.” / Engl.: “The same Palladio drew the orthogonal elevation by placing it next to the floor plan in the fair copy versions of his projects of the Forties, [...] and this is indicative for his preference of the orthogonal method. Moreover, there are no reliable data to suggest that the drawings from the ancient, in which the building is rendered as a perspective, derive from studies made on the spot by Palladio himself. Instead, it is likely that *all* such drawings have been copied from drawings by others.”—Previously, Gian Giorgio Zorzi (Zorzi 1959, 33) had ruled out that perspective representations of ancient architecture could have come from Palladio’s hand. On the other hand, see Spielmann 1966, 14; Forssman 1973, 19; Lewis 1981, 45: “But we have repeatedly seen that Palladio’s use of non-Venetian measures cannot in itself be taken as an index of copying, any more than Zorzi’s old idea that the appearance of perspective renderings [...] would automatically remove a sheet from Palladio’s authorship.”—See Bürklin 2019, 20–31 (Die orthogonale Projektion).
 - 18 Vitruvius Pollio/Barbaro 1567, I 30.
 - 19 Vitruvius Pollio/Barbaro 1567, I 31–32.
 - 20 See Bürklin 2019, 23–28, where role models like Raffaello Santi, Piero della Francesca, Donato Bramante and Sebastiano Serlio are cited.—This tradition of architectural notation will be criticized by Bernard Tschumi in the *Manhattan Transcripts* (Tschumi 1994, 9), where he speaks of “a sort of prison-house of architectural language”.
 - 21 See Bürklin 2019, 32–51 (Der distanzierte Frontalblick—Architekturbilder der Symmetrie und Axialität).
 - 22 The *barchesse*, which were to be placed west of the central manor house have never been realized. See Beltramini/Padoan (eds.) 2002, 131; Ackerman 1967, 46.—Gioseffi 2008, 33, writes, that *barchesse* is a Venetian term. It names “le parti dipendenti adibite a scopi funzionali” (the dependent parts intended for functional purposes) of a villa.
 - 23 See Bürklin 2019, 126–136 (2D [3D]).

- 24 See Bürklin 2019, 60–95 (2. Palladios En-face-Bilder).
- 25 See Bürklin 2019, 141–145.
- 26 See Bürklin 2019, 274–280 (Bilder der Macht).
- 27 See Bürklin 2019, 12–14.
- 28 See Zaupa 1990, 12–13.
- 29 See Franco Barbieri 1972, 74–75: “[...] in un clima chiuso di provincia, la nobiltà locale, nell’atmosfera di amara decadenza che la priva di ogni autentica facoltà di comando, sfoga nella frenesia di costruire la sua repressa volontà di potenza. Costretto nelle fitte maglie della megalomania imperante, imbevuto, per le cure di un *‘patetico pedante’* umanista quale Giangiorgio Trissino, di entusiasmi classicistici ormai, alla metà del Cinquecento, già posti in crisi in ambienti più evoluti, Andrea concilia la libertà di artista con la prudenza dell’uomo: [...]” / Engl.: “[...] in a closed provincial climate, the local nobility—in the atmosphere of bitter decadence that deprives it of any authentic power of command—vents in the frenzy of building its repressed will for power. Bound in the dense mesh of the prevailing megalomania and—by the care of a *‘pathetic, pedantic’* humanist like Giangiorgio Trissino—imbued with classicistic enthusiasm that by now, in the middle of the Cinquecento, was already in crisis in more advanced circles, Andrea reconciles the freedom of the artist with the prudence of the human being: [...]”—See Bürklin 2019, 318–319.
- 30 Pomponazzi 1990/1562, 176–181. See in particular p. 190: “Praemium essenziale virtutis est ipsamet virtus, quae hominem felicem facit.” / Engl.: “The essential reward for virtue is virtue itself; it makes man happy.” See as well pp. 190–192: “At opposito modo de vitio: Poena namque vitiosi est ipsum vitium, quo nihil miserius, nihil infelicius esse potest.” / Engl.: “But the opposite is true with regard to vice: the punishment of the vicious is the vice itself; there can be nothing more miserable and nothing more unhappy.”—Zaupa 1990, 11–13, points out the importance of the Mantuan philosopher Pietro Pomponazzi during the 16th century.
- 31 Pico della Mirandola 1990/1486, 6–10.
- 32 Pico della Mirandola 1990/1486, 6: “[...] ut tui ipsius quasi arbitrarius honorariusque plastes et fictor, in quam malueris tute formam effingas.”
- 33 Pico della Mirandola 2001/1486, 83. / Ital., 82: “Di che segue che in Dio non sia bellezza perchè la bellezza include in sè qualche imperfezione, cioè lo essere composto in qualche modo. [...] Dopo Lui comincia la bellezza, perchè comincia la contrarietà, senza la quale non può essere cosa alcuna creata, [...]”
- 34 See Beltrami 2008c, 27, where he speaks of Trissino’s “classicismo militante”.
- 35 See Holberton 1990, 80: “Posterity’s criticism condemns more his [Trissino’s; added by Th. B.] lack of other qualities than his classicism, which had real virtue in its ability both to state the rules and to create satisfactory works of art bound by them or illustrating them. That is an achievement closely analogous to Palladio’s in architecture, and one may well assume that Palladio learnt to harness theory and practice partly by the example of Trissino’s charioteership.”
- 36 Rorty 1982, xxix.
- 37 See Bürklin 1997.—See also in another context Arendt 1958.

- 38 Kamper 1988; Flusser 1992.
- 39 Lyotard 1979.
- 40 Habermas 1995, 15: "Philosophie kann sich heute nicht mehr auf das Ganze der Welt, der Natur, der Geschichte, der Gesellschaft im Sinne eines totalisierenden Wissens beziehen." / Engl.: Habermas 1984, 1: "Philosophy can no longer refer to the whole of the world, of nature, of history, of society, in the sense of a totalizing knowledge."—Virilio 2009, 19–20.
- 41 See Acosta 2012; Krausová/Moravec 2012.
- 42 Benjamin 1991.
- 43 Rorty 1982, xxx.
- 44 Virilio 2009, 54.
- 45 See Bürklin 2013, 53.
- 46 Palladio always remained in close economic dependence on the Vicentine and Venetian rule, which used his skills intensively. See Beltrami 2008c, 73: "Non c'è dubbio che rispetto ad altri protagonisti della scena artistica veneziana, da Tiziano a Sansovino ad Alessandro Vittoria, Palladio non riesce, con il proprio lavoro, a incrementare sensibilmente le proprie entrate. Quello che aveva da vendere erano sostanzialmente idee, come abbiamo visto, non particolarmente ben pagate." / Engl.: "There is no doubt that compared to other protagonists of the Venetian art scene from Titian to Sansovino and Alessandro Vittoria, Palladio does not manage to significantly increase his income with his work. What he had to sell were essentially ideas, and as we've seen, not particularly well paid."—Palladio—the service provider of the Vicentine nobility and their instrument in realizing an *usanza nuova*, a "new method"—was quickly forgotten after his death. During the coming centuries Britons, such as first Inigo Jones and later Lord Burlington or Alexander Pope, recognized the potential of this architecture in terms of effectiveness, economy and efficiency. In the USA, Thomas Jefferson, the third president of the United States, built according to this model. But Palladianism was still to become a much wider movement. Palladian heritage was also instrumentalized in other parts of the world. As a sign of colonial power, this architecture can be found in the aftermath of the British and Dutch overseas activities.