Architecture, History, Archaeology: Drawing Ancient Rome in the Letter to Leo X & in Sixteenth-Century Practice

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Architects inevitably have an ambivalent relation to history. On the one hand, they depend on it for knowledge and inspiration. On the other hand, the weight of past achievement threatens to overwhelm them, crushing their chances for new invention. In Francesco Borromini's paraphrase of Michelangelo, "he who follows others never gets ahead of them."[1] Or as Friedrich Nietzsche wrote: "We want history only to the extent that history serves life."[2] I hope to expose the tension inherent in this relationship through an examination of a singular historical document, Raphael and Castiglione's Letter to Leo X of 1514–1515, in the context of sixteenth-century architectural and antiquarian culture.[3]

The Letter to Leo X is one of very few texts to address a paradox central to the Renaissance in Rome: How could the same architects and patrons who celebrated ancient Roman culture permit and even endorse the willful and systematic destruction of its monuments? The Letter begins in a tone familiar to readers of Petrarch: nostalgia for the glory that was Rome and melancholy over its loss. Following this poetic introduction, however, the authors adopt an altogether different posture, first through a rhetorically forceful call to Pope Leo X to end the needless destruction of the monuments of ancient Rome, and then through the articulation of a project to preserve at least the memory of the ruins by means of an ambitious program of graphic documentation.

Neither aspect of the Letter is without precedent: since the middle of the fifteenth century, various popes had attempted to curb the destruction of the ruins.[4] Architects since Brunelleschi—and certainly since Francesco di Giorgio and Giuliano da Sangallo—had recorded the ruins in their drawings, quite possibly with the dual purpose of building up their personal files and capturing the monuments before they were destroyed. However, what is striking about the Letter is the rigorous way in which it articulates these goals, and how in doing so it defines a position distinct from that of either the architect or the antiquarian: a point of view that might be characterized as protoarchaeological.[5] Unlike the strategies of the professional architect or antiquarian, both of whom tended to instrumentalize the monuments, the approach of the protoarchaeologist saw the study and documentation of the ruins as an end in itself. The significance of Raphael's Letter arises also from the fact that it articulates a theory of drawing at a time when its function and appearance was undergoing rapid transformation.

Previous interpretations of the Letter have been marked by the traditional bias of architectural history, favoring aspects of architectural culture that directly involve building. Most prominent among these studies is Wolfgang Lotz's "The Rendering of the Interior in Architectural Drawings of the Renaissance."[6] Lotz's primary concern is the development of conventions of representation; accordingly, he hones in on the passage of the Letter describing the system of representing plan, section and elevation according to the rules of orthogonal projection. Lotz writes,

> Therefore one might assume that Raphael's description of the orthogonal projection in his letter to Leo X was the result of theoretical studies concerning the problems of architectural drawings, especially as they involved the representation of an interior which grew out of his activities at St. Peter's.[7]

Although Lotz readily admits the hypothetical nature of his claim, it has taken on an authoritative status and has often been reiterated, perhaps most recently by Christof Thoenes.[8] Several other claims follow from this one: First, that Raphael's proposals are new, and second, that drawings prior to Raphael's, such as those of Baldassare Peruzzi and Giuliano da Sangallo, were "the preliminary step of the orthogonal projection explained in Raphael's letter."[9]

My aim is not to provide a point-by-point refutation of Lotz's hypotheses, but rather to suggest that a reading of the Letter's passage about drawing conventions, within the context actually supplied by the text itself, yields a different interpretation. Furthermore, I would like to suggest the possibility that the development of a convention of representation need not emerge from the laboratory of actual construction, but could originate with perception itself. Perhaps we should take Raphael at his word and believe that his desire to document the ruins in the way that he indicates arose from just that, a desire to document the ruins. Finally, I hope to give some indication that the techniques Raphael described were not unknown and furthermore that variation from those techniques was purposeful, rather than an indication of some prior stage of development.

Following an analysis of the key passages of the Letter in relation to sixteenth-century drawings, I will briefly consider later echoes of Raphael's Letter in the letters of Claudio

Tolomei. Tolomei's letters, written in the 1540s, bring aspects of the Letter to Leo X into relief and reveal the development of later sixteenth-century thought about reconstruction, archaeology and architecture.

Fundamental to Raphael's claims is his insistence on objectivity at every stage of the reception and recuperation of ancient monuments. This standard first emerges in reference to reconstruction. While the practice of reconstructing buildings was widespread, to my knowledge no one prior to Raphael had attempted to articulate a strategy for doing so. Raphael writes,

> Having been thus requested by your Holiness to make a drawing of ancient Rome, as much as can be understood from what is seen today, with the buildings that show such ruins, that with reason one can infallibly reduce to the terms in which they actually were, making those members that are completely ruined, and cannot be seen, correspond to those that remain standing, and can be seen.[10]

A fairly literal idea of reconstruction emerges from this passage: making the ruined parts correspond to the whole ones. In reality, reconstruction was rarely so straightforward, and more often than not required leaps of imagination. Raphael's denial of the subjective component of reconstruction suggests that he was aspiring to an accuracy characteristic of modern-day archaeology but not of most work done by his contemporaries. One might infer from his statement an implicit critique of the reconstructions carried out by an earlier generation of architects, such as those by Francesco di Giorgio and Giuliano da Sangallo, who blatantly modified buildings along the lines of their own ideas and experience.

Raphael's account of reconstruction is followed by a more precise set of guidelines, all marked by their concern for accuracy and precision. In one passage he reveals his motives for this insistence, "so that one who wants to study architecture will know how to do it without error, and we know, in the description of this work, that we have not been governed by chance and only by experience, but by true reason."[11] Raphael indicates that his work was intended for an audience of aspiring architects, and implies that a proper means for educating architects had been lacking up to this point.

Probably the most significant feature of the Letter for architectural drawing was the repudiation of perspective in favor of orthogonal drawing, and the statement that all buildings should be represented in plan, section (*parete di dentro*) and elevation (*parete di fuori*):

> And because, in my judgment, many deceive themselves in drawing buildings architecturally, I will state the way it seems to me one should follow to know all the correct measurements, and find all the parts of the building without error, which belong to the architect and not to the painter. Drawing of buildings is therefore divided into three parts, of which the first is the plan, that is to say the ground plan; the second is the exterior wall; the third the interior wall.[12]

Raphael concludes: "In sum, with these three modes, one can minutely consider all the parts of every building, inside and out."[13] Contrary to Lotz's hypothesis, he does not describe how these techniques should be used in relation to project drawings nor does he even imply that they might be relevant. Most significant in this approach is not the articulation of three types of representation, each of which had already been in use to varying degrees, but the insistence that they be applied systematically to all ruins.

By the time Raphael wrote this part of the Letter in 1514–1515, architects had been producing drawings of ancient Roman ruins for decades. It seems likely that we can believe Manetti when he says that Brunelleschi and Donatello were drawing the ruins together (whether or not they were measuring them is less clear); this activity is well documented for the next generation of artists and architects, in drawings by Francesco di Giorgio, Giuliano da Sangallo and Cronaca, as well as those in the Codices Escurialensis, Ambrosiana and Coner. Unfortunately, very few of Raphael's own architectural drawings survive, although those in the Fossombrone Codex are probably a reasonable guide to their appearance and content.[14] More difficult to place before the Letter, but certainly not long after, are the drawings of ruins by Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane and Baldassare Peruzzi. These reflect many different approaches to antiquity and include a wide range of representational conventions, including that of orthogonal projection. Yet none of these drawings adheres to the standard articulated by Raphael, that of representing the plan, section and elevation of each monument.

The lack of consistency in earlier drawings may be partly circumstantial. Each architect did the best he could with limited resources, whereas the project outlined by Raphael required large-scale patronage. But even when these factors are taken into account, an underlying difference in approach remains. The distinct strategies reflect different functions the drawings were meant to serve. Architects who worked before Raphael—and even his contemporaries—drew ruins essentially as a form of research, complementary and even continuous with their development of design ideas. This function had direct consequences both for their approach to reconstruction and representation. The aim of reconstructions was not merely to imagine buildings as they would once have been, but rather to improve upon the original. Alberti articulates this procedure, calling on the architect to record in drawing what he approves of past buildings, "yet anything that he considers can be greatly refined, he should use his artistry and imagination to correct and put right."[15] The reconstruction thus constitutes a design idea unto itself, and occupies a crucial intermediary stage in the transformation of the ancient model into a new design.

This function did not require the accurate, methodical approach specified by Raphael. Drawing a plan, section and elevation is certainly logical for project drawings because all three are necessary to convey the building's appearance; however, this was not the purpose specified by Raphael and the fact that such drawings have not survived is probably an indication that models were used in their stead.[16] It was far more efficient for architects simply to represent those parts of monuments that interested them, employing the graphic means

and conventions of representation, be they painterly or architectural, that best conveyed their interests. For Giuliano da Sangallo, this meant using pen and ink wash to show the signs of weathering on the surface of the stone. For Peruzzi it meant jotting down notes about the materials of which the different parts of a monument were made and using different colored chalk to distinguish the existing portions of monuments from his reconstructions or proposed interventions. Although Peruzzi is known for the accuracy of his measurements, he made ample and frequent use of pictorial means to illustrate space, both for his own projects and for existing buildings. His use of perspective reveals that for him, as for Giuliano, there was no need to choose between making only pictorial drawings or measured drawings; rather, one was free to select which was most effective in conveying the interest of a particular subject.[17] This does not make the drawings of Giuliano and Peruzzi "preliminary" stages on the road toward orthogonal drawings, as Lotz would have it, because it was not the aim of either architect to draw in a consistently orthogonal way.

It is worth considering more specifically the relationship of the Letter to Leo X to Giuliano da Sangallo's Codex Barberini because the Codex comes closer than any other document of that era to accomplishing Raphael's stated goals. While Giuliano is less consistent than his nephew, Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, in following the conventions of representation that Raphael recommends, he is more thorough in actually documenting the monuments. Giuliano's approach is more painterly and less systematic than Raphael proscribes, and he takes greater liberties with the reconstructions than Raphael would have sanctioned. However, Raphael's injunction against the painterly approach seems curious when, in Giuliano's drawings, it only serves to heighten one's understanding of the actual appearance of a building as well as the subjective effect it had on the memory. Indeed the very qualities of Giuliano's drawings which contradict Raphael's instructions, namely their pictorial emphasis on the ruined appearance of the stone, evoke the poetic power of the ruins in a manner parallel to that of the first part of the Letter. In this way Giuliano's drawings point to an irony: following Raphael's instructions would allow every quality of the ruins to emerge except those that inspired him to draw them in the first place—their age and their imminent disappearance. Could Raphael's rejection of pictorialism be considered anomalous, unnecessary to the achievement of his goals? This possibility becomes more convincing if one accepts the drawings from the Fossombrone Codex as close reflections of Raphael's own, because these reveal interest in such pictorial problems as the effects of light.

The different ways of representing ruins also had consequences for how the representations might be employed. As Howard Burns has demonstrated, Francesco di Giorgio's renderings of ancient monuments were filtered through his knowledge of Sienese architecture, as his designs also demonstrate.[18] Giuliano's drawings express a wide range of interests in the monuments: from their ornamental detail, to the relation of interior to exterior, to the form of the orders and the composition of the plan, and his designs demonstrate a similarly eclectic set of ancient sources. Peruzzi's investigations of the antique are also wide ranging, but seem directed toward research and toward an investigation of Vitruvius, possibly with the final goal of producing a treatise.[19] Antonio il Giovane's perception and representation of Roman monuments were shaped even more by his understanding of Vitruvius. Vitruvius offered a means to determine which monuments could be "correctly" readapted for contemporary use. Although this approach was in some ways more intricate, involving measuring tiny details and calculating proportions, in other ways it was reductive, in narrowing the range of monuments considered worthy of study.

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The relation of the Letter to Leo X to parallel investigations of antiquity may be better understood through a later sixteenth-century lens, in the letters of Claudio Tolomei. Tolomei, founder of the Accademia della Virtù in Rome and author of a grammar book on the Tuscan language, certainly knew of Raphael and Castiglione's Letter, and his own writings build from those foundations.[20] Two of Tolomei's letters in particular provide a backdrop for the broad shift in attitudes toward antiquity that had taken place by the middle of the century.

Tolomei writes from Rome on August 14, 1543, to his friend in Venice, Luca Contile. Tolomei fears that Venice, full of all those ornaments that human art can create, will make his friend forget the greatness of Rome. He wants to make his friend understand that Rome is today of the same prestige, and the same grandeur, that it was in antiquity:

> But be it as it may, old, weak, ruined, destroyed, in every way in its age and ruin, it is more beautiful, more noble and more worthy of veneration than all the other cities of Italy are young and strong. A broken arch, a crumbled temple, a ruined theater, a portico fallen to the ground, are worth more than all the whole houses, high palaces, wide streets, new temples, gracious gardens, not only in all the other cities of Italy, but even more in Rome itself.[21]

Tolomei here departs markedly from the standard topos of ruins, as well as from its variation in the Letter to Leo X. Rather than meditate on the passage of time or the loss of a civilization, he focuses on the positive aesthetic value of the ruins, going so far as to assert that a mere fragment of antiquity is superior to any modern creation.[22]

Tolomei articulates a more active position with regard to ruins in another letter from Rome to Conte Agostino de Landi on November 14, 1543. Here Tolomei's admiration for the ruins spurs an ambitious series of projects aimed at an explication of Vitruvius and an encyclopedic study of all things ancient.[23] These include a dictionary of Latin, Italian and Greek terms used by Vitruvius, a rewriting of Vitruvius's language into pure Latin and an account of the subjects of all the relief panels of Rome. Tolomei's meditation on the ancient city of Rome inspired the conception of a project—like Raphael's own—that was doomed by its ambition to remain unexecuted. While the project described in the Letter to Leo X

focuses on the graphic preservation of a fragile architectural heritage, Tolomei's point of access to ancient culture is through textual explication. For Tolomei, Vitruvius is not only the standard by which to judge the ruins but the lens through which all of ancient architecture is seen.

Unlike earlier approaches, however, Tolomei's proposal is so broad that, at times, it seems to encompass all possible responses to antiquity. After discussing the philological apparatus that should be compiled, he also specified that he would like to add

> [A] very beautiful and useful work, presenting drawings of all the antiquities of Rome, and some others that are outside of Rome, of which one can still have some idea from their remains. Where one will show all the plans, profiles, foreshortened views [scorci] and many other parts according to necessity, adding the correct and true measurements, according to the measure of the Roman foot, with note of its proportion in the measures of our times. And next to the figures will be two explanations: one historical, showing what building it was, and by whom and why it was made, and the other architectural, explaining the rationale, and the rules and the orders of that building. This, carried out diligently, aside from being useful to all architects, will in a certain way draw from the grave the already dead Rome, and bring her newly to life, if not as beautiful as before, at least with some semblance or image of beauty.[24]

A little later in this letter, Tolomei demonstrates that he has also absorbed the importance of details and of the orders:

> Then will follow another project of drawing all the ancient moldings that can be found, for example of doors, friezes, architraves and such things that are necessary to every architect, because through these one knows, for example, the measurements and the rules of everything, and how they should be formed, and the orders of which will be stated in this project next to each molding.[25]

In these two passages, Tolomei concisely describes both the goals of Raphael's proposal, and the practices of architects like Antonio il Giovane.

Several aspects of Tolomei's project in particular relate to the work of sixteenth-century architects. In response to the problem posed by the loss of the original illustrations from Vitruvius's text, Tolomei refers to the illustrated edition by Fra Giocondo. Although it merits the highest praise, Fra Giocondo neglected to illustrate many passages. He thus proposes that "someone should redo all the illustrations, drawing them with the most beautiful grace and refinement possible, and correcting those in which Fra Giocondo has erred, and adding many others in various places, that do not now exist, which things will be of great help in the understanding of this author."[26] He later recommends a Tuscan translation

of the text. In addition to the dictionaries of Greek and Latin terms, Tolomei suggests an illustrated dictionary of architectural elements. These proposals come close to describing the project for a new illustrated translation of Vitruvius, complete with abundant notes, undertaken by Andrea Palladio and Daniele Barbaro and published in 1556.[27]

Tolomei also describes a related project, equally pertinent to architects:

> Then will follow a connection of the rules of Vitruvius with examples of works, which book will be very useful, and beautiful, because where Vitruvius poses a rule, or an order of Architecture, in this book will be described where in ancient buildings such an order is seen, and finding that in another building architecture has departed from it [the rule], this will be pointed out, explaining the reason that the rules given by Vitruvius were not followed there. Thus, in a certain way, practice will be connected with theory.[28]

This proposal closely resembles the aims taken on by Sebastiano Serlio in his *Terzo libro* of 1544.[29] In a less direct way, the desire to connect theory to practice, and to understand Vitruvius in relation to actual buildings is also behind Palladio's *Quattro libri di architettura*.[30]

Tolomei, Serlio, Barbaro and Palladio all see the interpretation of the antique as inevitably bound up with Vitruvius. An unmediated experience of the ancient monuments, if such a thing could ever exist, had become impossible by this point. Palladio adopts the most sophisticated response to this situation: on the one hand, he collaborates with an expert humanist and philologist to produce the clearest possible rendering and illustration of Vitruvius; on the other hand, he recognizes the persuasive power and cultural centrality of the text and uses it to promote and disseminate his own work as an architect.

Palladio also made great strides in his use of drawings of ancient ruins in relation to his investigation of Vitruvius and to his own design.[31] Much of this had to do with his adoption of the conventions of representation that Raphael recommended. Palladio consistently included the plan, section, elevation and details of the monuments he drew, all with measurements, and he almost never used perspective. When confronted with a fragmentary monument, he freely reconstructed it on the basis of his own architectural ideas and his understanding of Vitruvius, often in a way at variance with the physical evidence (two prominent examples include his reconstructions of the Baths of Agrippa and of the Quirinal Temple). Despite the license he often took, his inclusion of measurements and use of orthogonal projection gave his drawings an aura of objectivity; moreover, the concordance of his reconstructions with Vitruvius reinforced their authority. Remarkably, and often in the face of physical and historical evidence to the contrary, his drawings continue to be cited by archaeologists as if they were truthful.

Palladio's approach was doubly clever. As a practicing architect, more important to him than making a persuasive reconstruction was convincing a patron of his design ideas.

Modified according to his will, the reconstructions of ancient ruins could serve as authoritative justification for his own designs (especially for an audience of Venetian patrons without firsthand knowledge of the ruins). In a sense, this is a reversal of the paradigm of model and copy: Rather than an architect looking at ancient monuments and making his own designs from what he finds, Palladio to some extent fashioned his drawings of the ruins in relation to his preexisting design ideas.

Another architect to take up aspects of Raphael and Tolomei's program, but in quite different ways, was Pirro Ligorio. The distance between Palladio and Ligorio registers the impossibility of fully realizing the program set out by Raphael and expanded by Tolomei, in part because of the ambition and internal contradictions of each, and in part because of the inevitable gulf between theoretical formulations and the realities of architectural practice. It is one thing to suggest that objectivity is desirable when writing at one's desk; it is quite another to be able to resist pictorial and imaginative impulses when in front of a monument. Despite Palladio's thorough scholarship, he never stopped being an architect, whereas Ligorio seems to have so immersed himself in ancient culture that, as his drawings show, he started to see not only through the eyes of an antiquarian but seemingly through those of an ancient Roman.

Ligorio certainly knew of the activities and aims of Tolomei's academy, and took them up with the same obsessive zeal that characterized Tolomei's articulation of the project,

in his manuscripts in Turin, Naples and Oxford, and in his maps of Rome of 1553 and 1561.[32] Specific to Ligorio was his attempt to represent the monuments as if he were an ancient Roman, reconstructing them according to ancient perceptions rather than according to how his contemporaries perceived them. Ligorio's approach was driven by a historical impulse, distinct both in origin and outcome from that of earlier draftsmen. Although Giuliano's drawings have a historical look simply because of the way he makes the buildings appear aged, his intentions and the content of his drawings are those of an architect. Raphael's project seems historical because it is prefaced by a delineation of the different periods and architectural styles, and in the first part of this paper I argued that Raphael's goals were in some ways archeological. However, when compared to the drawings of Ligorio, the modes of representation Raphael advocated do seem suited to the interests and needs of architects.[33] Ligorio's method of skewed perspective drawing could not be used for design drawings; moreover, his depictions of ancient monuments according to this convention would not have facilitated their adaptation into new designs. Ligorio's work, like Raphael's, manifests the tensions between the impulses to document the past and to build for the future. The trajectories of the antiquarian and the architect could not help but collide, at least until they were definitively separated by the invention of the modern discipline of archaeology.

NOTES

* My thinking on this topic has been very much influenced by discussions with John Shearman and Howard Burns, and I am grateful for the generosity of both.

[1] "Chi segue altri non gli va mai innanzi," Francesco Borromini, *Opus architectonicum*, ed. Maurizio De Benedictis (Rome, 1993), p. 30; and Francesco Borromini, *Opus architectonicum*, ed. Joseph Connors (Milan, 1998).

[2] Friedrich Nietzsche, "On the Uses and Disadvantages of History for Life," *Untimely Meditations*, ed. Daniel Breazeale (Cambridge, England & New York, 1997), p. 59.

[3] For convenience, I shall refer to Raphael as the author of the section of the Letter concerning drawings. I agree with John Shearman (*Raphael in Early Modern Sources*, 1483–1600 [in press]), that the letter was a collaborative effort throughout, and that Castiglione was primarily responsible for the first part and that Raphael was responsible for the second. Crucial for this interpretation is Fritz Ertl, *Baldassare Castigliones Beziehungen und Verhaltnis zu den bildenden Künsten* (Nuremberg, 1933). For bibliography, see Francesco P. di Teodoro, *Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione e la Lettera a Leone X* (Bologna, 1994); recent interpretations include: Thomas Greene, *The Light in Troy: Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry* (New Haven & London, 1982), p. 233; Christof Thoenes, "La 'lettera' a Leone X," in *Raffaello a Roma: Il convegno del 1983*, ed. Christoph Luitpold Frommel and Matthias Winner (Rome, 1986), pp. 373–81; and Christof Thoenes, "Vitruvio, Alberti, Sangallo: La teoria del disegno architettonico nel Rinascimento," in *Sostegno e adornamento: Saggi sull'architettura del rinascimento: Disegni, ordini, magnificenza* (Milan, 1998; first published as "Vitruv, Alberti, Sangallo: Zur Theorie der Architekturzeichnung in der Renaissance," in *Hülle und Fülle, Festschrift für Tilmann Buddensieg* ed. Andreas Beyer, Vittorio Lampugnani and Günter Schweikhart [Alfter, 1993], pp. 565–84). Of the three versions of the letter, two are manuscripts (Mantua, Archivio Privato Castiglioni, Documenti Sciolti a] n. 12; and Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Codice it. 37b) and the third, the Padua edition of 1733 (*Opere volgari e latine del conte Baldassar Castiglione*), is a printed

edition of a lost manuscript. The three versions are published with notes in Teodoro, 1994, pp. 63–202; and in Ettore Camesasca, *Raffaello: Gli scritti* (Milan, 1993), pp. 279–322; the Munich version is published in Vincenzo Golzio, *Raffael o nei documenti* (Vatican City, 1936), pp. 82–92. A partial translation is available in Elizabeth Holt, *A Documentary History of Art* (New York, 1957), vol. 1, pp. 289–96. The version that I cite and from which I translate is the new edited transcription of the Mantua manuscript in Shearman (in press). Since the page numbers I cite are from Shearman's typescript, which may not correspond to the page numbers of the printed edition, I also cite the Mantua manuscript as transcribed in Teodoro, 1994. Chronological issues surrounding the letter are also discussed by Shearman.

[4] These efforts are documented by Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli scavi di Roma*, vol. 1 (repr. Rome, 1989).

[5] I owe to John Shearman the coining of this term, in the context of conversations about the Letter.

[6] Wolfgang Lotz "The Rendering of the Interior in Architectural Drawings of the Renaissance," in *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), pp. 1–65; the essay was first published as "Das Raumbild in der Architekturzeichnung der italienischen Renaissance," in *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 7 (1956), pp. 193–226.

[7] Lotz, 1977, p. 23.

[8] Thoenes, 1998, pp. 161–76.

[9] Lotz, 1977, p. 23

[10] "Essendomi adonque comandato da Vostra Santitate ch'io pongha in dissegno Roma anticha, per quanto conoscere si pò da quello che hoggidì si vede, con gli edificii che di sé dimostrano tal reliquie, che per vero argumento si

possono infallibilmente ridurre nel termine proprio come stavano, facendo quellli membri che sono in tutto ruinati, né si veggono punto, corrispondenti a quelli che restano in piedi, e se veggono. . . ."; Shearman, in press, pp. 163–64; and Teodoro, 1994, pp. 67–68.

[11] "[A]cciochè chi vorà attendere alla architettura sappi oprar l'uno e l'altro senza errore, e conoscha noi, nella descriptione di questa opera, non ne essere governati a caso e per sola praticha, ma con vera raggione"; Shearman, in press, pp. 166–67; and Teodoro, 1994, p. 72.

[12] "E perché, secondo el mio judicio, molti se inganano circa el dissegnare li aedifici architectacamente, dirò qual modo mi pare che s'habbia a tenere per sapere tutte le misure iuste, e trovare tutti li membri delli aedificii senza errore, il che apertiene allo architetto a non al dipintore. El dissegno adonque deli aedificii se divide in tre parte, delli quali la prima si è la piñata, o vogliam dire dissegno piano; la seconda si è la parete dritta di fori; la terza la parete di dentro;" Shearman, in press, p. 169; and Teodoro, 1994, p. 76.

[13] "Insomma con questi tre modi si possono considerare minutamente tutte le parti d'ogni edificio, dentro e di fora"; Shearman, in press, p. 170; and Teodoro, 1994, p. 79.

[14] Lynda Fairbairn, *Italian Renaissance Drawings from the Collection of Sir John Soane's Museum* (London, 1998), vol. 1, pp. 224–26, discusses Raphael's drawings of the Pantheon. See also John Shearman, "Raphael, Rome and the Codex Escurialensis," *Master Drawings* 15 (1977): 107–46.

[15] Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge, Mass., 1988), pp. 315–16, book 9, chap. 10.

[16] Thoenes, 1998, pp. 170–71.

[17] This corresponds to the approach articulated in the Munich version of the Letter, but does not seem consistent with the original conception, and was probably a later addition. Shearman (in press) and Thoenes (1998, pp. 167–68) disagree on this point.

[18] Howard Burns, " 'Restaurator delle ruyne antiche': Tradizione e studio dell'antico nell'attività di Francesco di Giorgio," in *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore (Milan, 1994), pp. 151–81.

[19] Howard Burns, "Baldassare Peruzzi and Sixteenth Century Architectural Theory," in *Les traités d'architecture de la renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1988), pp. 207–26.

[20] Claudio Tolomei, *Il cesano, dialogo di M. Claudio Tolomei* (Venice, 1555; repr. as *Il cesano de la lingua toscana*, ed. Ornella Castellani Pollidori [Florence, 1974]). The Accademia della Virtù was also know as the Vitruvian Academy; see David S. Chambers, "The Earlier 'Academies' in Italy," in *Italian Academies of the Sixteenth Century*, ed. David S. Chambers and François Quiviger (London, 1995), p. 13 nn. 78 & 79; Margaret Daly Davis, "Zum Codex Coburgensis: Frühe Archäologie und Humanismus im Kreis des Marcello Cervini," in *Antikenzeichnung und Antikenstudieum in Renaissance und Frühbarock*, ed. Richard Harprath and Henning Wrede (Mainz, 1989), pp. 185–99; Silvia Deswartes-Rosa, "Francesco de Holanda et le Cortile di Belvedere," in *Il Cortile delle Statue: Der Statuenhof des Belvedere im Vatikan*, ed. Matthias Winner, Bernard Andreae and Carlo Pietrangeli (Mainz, 1998), p. 392 & n. 27; Herman Grimm, *Life of Michael Angelo*, trans. Fanny Bunnett (Boston, 1906), vol. 2, pp. 378–79; Pier Nicola Pagliara, "Vitruvio da testo a canone," in *Memoria dell'antico*, ed. Salvatore Settis (Turin, 1986), vol. 3, pp. 67–74; Alina Payne, *The Architectural Treatise in the Italian Renaissance: Architectural Invention, Ornament and Literary Culture* (Cambridge, England, & New York, 1999), pp. 26–27; Ioannis Poleni, *Exercitationes Vitruvianae Primae* (Padua, 1739); Clare Robertson, *"Il Gran Cardinale": Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven & London, 1992), p. 21; and Luigi Sbaragli, *Claudio Tolomei, umanista senese del cinquecento: La vita e le opere* (Siena, 1939).

[21] "Ma sia come elle vuole, vecchia, debile, ruinata, distrutta, in ogni modo ne la sua vecchiezza, e ruina ella è piu bella, piu nobile, e piu venera[n]da, che

non sono l'altre città d'Italia gioveni, e forti: un arco guasto, un te[m]pio disfatto, un teatro caduto, un portico gittato a terra, val piu che tutte le case intee, i palazzi alti, le strade larghe, i te[m]pii nuovi, e i graziosi giardini, non sol di tutte l'altre città d'Italia, ma di Roma istessa ancora." Claudio Tolomei, *De le lettere di M. Claudio Tolomei: Libri sette* (Venice, 1547), libro terzo, fol. 67r. This edition is erroneously dated 1542; the error is evident from the dates of the letters (which are all dated 1543); the date was corrected in the subsequent edition (Venice, 1554); fols. 104v–110r.

[22] The aesthetic qualities of ruins are explored in a number of pictorial works, from Maarten van Heemskerck and Étienne Du Pérac through Giovanni Battista Piranesi. On the sixteenth century tradition, see Nicole Dacos, *Roma, quanta fuit: Tre pittori fiamminghi nella Domus Aurea*, trans. Maria Baiocchi (Rome, 1995).

[23] Tolomei, 1547, fols. 81r–85r.

[24] "Co[n]giugnerassi a libbri sopradetti una vaghissima, e utilissima oepra, ponendo in disegno tutte l'antichità di Roma, e alcune ancora, che son fuor di Roma, de le quali s'habbia qualche luce per le reliquie loro. Ove si mostrara[n]no in figura tutte le pia[n]te, i profili, e li scorci, e molte altre parti secondo che sarà necessario, aggiugne[n]dovi le misure giuste, e vere secondo la misura del pie Romano, con l'avvertimento de la proporzione, ch'egli ha con le misure de nostri tempi. e appresso a le dette figure si faranno due dichiarazioni; l'una per vie d'historie, mostrando che edifizio fosse quello, e da chi, e perche conto fatto. E l'altra per via d'Architettura, isponendo le ragioni, e le regole, e gli ordini di quello edifizio; la qual cosa fatta diligentemente oltre ch'ella sarà utile a tutti li Architettori, ella in un certo modo trarrà del sepolcro de la gia morta Roma, e riduralla in nuova vita, se non come prima bella, con qualche sembianza o imagine di bellezza"; Tolomei, 1547, fol. 83r.

[25] "Segue appresso un'altra fatica di ritrar tutte le Modenature antiche, che si trovano, come di porte, fregi, architravi, e simil cose, le quali ad ogni Architettore son sommame[n]te necessarie, p[er]che in quelle si conoscon p[er] esempio le misure, e le regole di tutte, come si debbian formare, li quali ordini sara[n]no in q[ue]sta opera dichiarati appresso di ciascuna Modenatura"; Tolomei, 1547, fol. 83r.

[26] "Da questo mossi costoro hanno animo rinovar tutte le figure, disegnandole con piu bella grazia, e finezza che sarà possibile, emendando quelle, dove havesse errato Giocondo, e aggiugnendone in varii luoghi molte altre, c'hora non vi sono; le quali cose porgon grande aiuto a l'intendimento di questo autore"; Tolomei, 1547, fols. 81v–82r.

[27] Andrea Palladio and Daniele Barbaro, *I dieci libri dell'architettura di M. Vitruvio tradutti et commentati da Monsignor Barbaro eletto Patriarca d'Aquileggia* (Venice, 1556 & 1567).

[28] "Segue poi un collegamento de le regole di Vitruvio con gli esempii de l'opere, il qual libbro sarà molto utile, e bello, perche dove Vitruvio porrà una regola, overo uno ordine d'Architettura in questo libbro, si discorrerà in qual luogo ne li edifizii antichi sia osservato tal ordine, e trovando che in qualche altro edifizio l'Archiettor se ne sia partito, l'avvertirà, discorrendo la ragione, perche in quel luogo no[n] si siano osservate le regole date da Vitruvio: cosi si congiugnerà in un certo modo la pratica con la teorica, e si scenderà in belle, e utili contemplazioni"; Tolomei, 1547, fol. 82v.

[29] Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro di Sabastiano Serlio* (Venice, 1544, 1551 & 1562).

[30] Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro Libri di Architettura* (Venice, 1570).
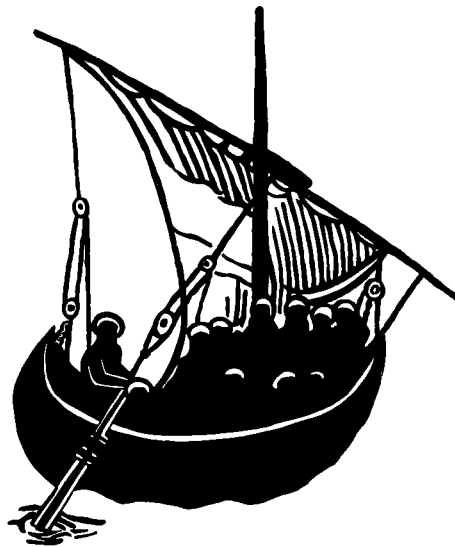
[31] This point was made by Howard Burns over many lectures at the Graduate School of Design, Harvard University and elsewhere.

[32] Howard Burns, "I disegni di Palladio," *Bolletino del centro internazionale di studi "Andrea Palladio"* 15 (1973): 187 n. 12; and Howard Burns, "Pirro Ligorio's Reconstruction of Ancient Rome," in *Pirro Ligorio: Artist and Antiquarian*, ed. Robert Gaston (Florence, 1988), p. 41.

[33] John Shearman, "Raphael as Architect," *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* 116 (1968): 401.
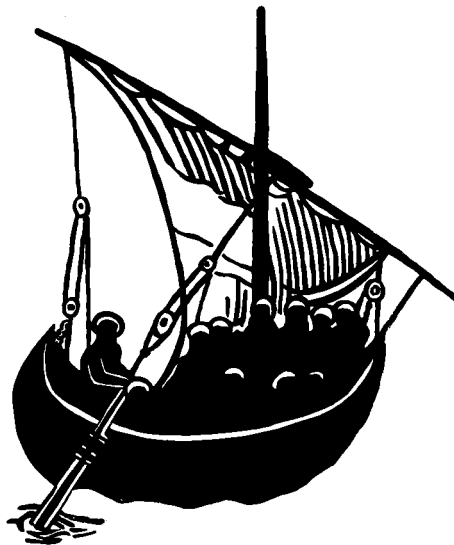
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