## Places of Performance:

# Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481-1536) - a Renaissance Painter-Architect

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To my mother, and to the memory of my father

#### Abstract

With far-reaching consequences, early modern painters in cities like Rome bent established rules of the guild system and participated in the building industry which had been traditionally controlled by masons and carpenters. My dissertation examines the career of Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481-1536) as one of the best examples of the "pittore-architetto" - an important yet little-studied professional trajectory that emerged in the Renaissance art world. By appropriating into his structural designs both, techniques from the representational arts and ideas from literary theory, Peruzzi actively helped transform architecture from a mechanical art to a visual (and therefore a liberal) art.

I consider Peruzzi's skillful synthesis of media as a case study to explore broader questions on Renaissance creativity and disciplinarity. The project not only offers a new synthetic profile of this influential figure, but also argues for a more inclusive approach towards the history of the arts - moving away from the medium-specific model that has dominated modern historiography.

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## **List of Abbreviations**

ASF Archivio di Stato di Firenze

ASR Archivio di Stato di Roma

ASS Archivio di Stato di Seina

BAV Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

BNF Bibliothèque nationale de France

GDSU Gabinetto dei disegni e delle stampe, Galleria degli Uffizi, Florence

fol. folio

fil. filza

MS manuscript

UA Architectural Drawings in the Uffizi Gallery collection

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  Nicholas Adams and Simon Pepper, Firearms and Fortifications: Military Architecture and Siege Warfare in Sixteenth-Century Siena. Chicago and London, 1986.
- Fig. 136 Baldassarre Peruzzi, UA555r. Study for the Rocca Sinibalda. Heinrich Wurm, *Baldassarre Peruzzi Architekturzeichnungen*. Tübingen, 1984.
- Fig. 137 Filippo Brunelleschi, Basilica of San Lorenzo, Florence. Artstor.
- Fig. 138 Donato Bramante, Choir of Santa Maria presso San Satiro, Milan. Artstor.

#### Introduction

Omnes artes quae ad humanitatem pertinent habent quoddam commune vinculum et quasi cognatione quadam inter se continentur.

Indeed, all the arts that pertain to humanity have a certain common bond, and are related to one another by a kind of kinship.

Cicero, In Defense of Archias

### 1.1 A Renaissance Painter-Architect

In Rome, Siena, and Bologna, Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481-1536) built his fame on his accomplishments in architecture, painting, stage-design, funerary sculpture, military engineering, and the science of perspective. This remarkably wide-ranging production was, however, also negotiated by a skillful synthesis of media; an achievement Peruzzi's contemporaries revered. This dissertation reexamines Peruzzi's works and legacy to better understand the "painter-architect" – a professional trajectory that emerged in the early modern world and exemplified by the career of this Sienese artist. By exploring Peruzzi's deep, lifelong engagement in inter-medial dialogue, this study addresses how Italian Renaissance painting and building (both ephemeral and permanent) freely shared techniques as well as concepts, and how this lively exchange meaningfully shaped the visual arts of the period in practice and in theory. It aspires toward an inclusive evaluation of the artist – one that considers his disparate activities not in a sequence as a series, but rather for their interconnection.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Piet Lombaerde, "Introduction: Painter-Architect, or Painter & Architect?" in *The Notion of the Painter Architect in Italy and the Southern Low Countries*, ed. Piet Lombaerde (Turnhout, 2014), IX-XXIV.

In the design of buildings, Peruzzi took productive advantage of his pictorial training by inventing a new, influential type of perspective drawing called *scaenographia* based on his study of Vitruvius. In stage design, working closely with Roman and Tuscan playwrights, he devised the canonical Renaissance perspective set by combining painted and built spaces to enhance the experience of dramatic fantasy in theater. Conversely in his paintings, such as the magnificent *trompe l'oeil* mural in the Villa Farnesina in Rome, Peruzzi operated the medium as an architect, transforming it into a vehicle for spatial design. His built structures, such as the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, in turn demonstrate in their plasticity a profound debt to the pictorial technique of modelling. Peruzzi's works, produced for such diverse purposes and in a rich variety of media, demand in their assessment a methodological approach that overcomes the traditional boundaries of medium. Yet syncretic art works such as these have always been problematic for traditional historical analysis, which tends to favor a compartmentalized study of discrete media.

Architecture, painting, sculpture, and dramatic theater are typically isolated from one another in the scholarship. This is not to say that each art form does not hold its own history, its own discourse, or require from its audience a specifically tailored engagement. Academic segmentation is problematic, however, when dealing with a Renaissance painter-architect like Baldassarre Peruzzi who not only practiced a wide array of art forms, but also sought unity across media in his work. While his contemporaries and immediate followers heralded Peruzzi for his syncretic creativity, his modern critical fortune has sharply declined precisely because of the belief that artistic

professionalism is manifested normatively through narrow specialization.<sup>2</sup> The last monograph on the artist to appear was William Kent's *Life and Work of Baldassarre*Peruzzi from 1925, and surprisingly little attention is paid on his prolific career in general. Scholarship on Peruzzi also tends to be fragmented into highly specialized case studies.<sup>3</sup>

This dissertation project began with a simple desire to understand the dramatic shift in a single artist's critical reception over time. How might we explain a marked decline in the fame of someone once so venerated to have received burial inside the Pantheon? My intention was not necessarily to redeem Peruzzi with renewed appreciation for his artistic significance, but to historicize and understand his critical reception as encounters with works of art that took place in specific, culturally defined times and places. The project therefore proceeds with the assumption that Peruzzi's works themselves generated such wildly varying critical responses – that the various interpretations were stimulated by the physical objects that he left behind.

Peruzzi's pictorial works were regarded as fundamentally disengaged from the period's artistic discourse for much of the twentieth century because non-figurative elements were so prominent in them.<sup>4</sup> His buildings, on the other hand, were defined as

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Howard Burns, "Baldassare Peruzzi and Sixteenth-Century Architectural Theory," in *Les traités d'architecture de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1988), 207-226; Mircea Toca, "La fortuna critica di Baldassarre Peruzzi, architetto e della sua opera grafica," *Apulum* 10 (1972): 291-311; Riccardo Pacciani, "La 'dappocaggine' di Peruzzi: Fortuna di un giudizio di Vasari," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena e architettura nel Cinquecento*, eds. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome, 1987), 539-549.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> William Kent, *The Life and Work of Baldassare Peruzzi* (London, 1925). At the time of writing this dissertation, Ann Huppert's highly anticipated monograph on Baldassarre Peruzzi was in production through Yale University Press. I have not had the opportunity to consult that manuscript while preparing this dissertation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> See for example, Sydney Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence*, 2 vols. (New York, 1961).

products of a "painter-architect" – a term used with clear pejorative connotations from the nineteenth-century onwards. Peruzzi's syncretic practice of art seemed nowhere more problematic than in his structural design drawings that characteristically relied on pictorial perspective. Scholars often saw this method of planning as proof of Peruzzi's inadequacies as an architectural designer. The first to critique his design methods was the architectural historian Heinrich von Geymüller, whose seminal study of drawings for the new Saint Peter's basilica in Rome guided the field for generations. Geymüller's influence is evident, for example, in James Ackerman's important essay on Renaissance architectural practice from 1954 in which he discussed Peruzzi's project drawing for the central crossing area of Saint Peter's (figs. 1, 2). Noting the peculiar insertion of a perspectival view in the carefully scaled plan drawing, Ackerman remarked that this represented, a painter's concept of architecture, where the draftsman designs spaces as superficial scenes. Ackerman's perceptive comments on the tensions between representation and building in Peruzzi's work soon drew further attention.

In 1956, in a highly influential publication on the Renaissance rendering of interior spaces, Wolfgang Lotz echoed Ackerman's sentiment by referencing the same drawing of Saint Peter's, and by faulting Peruzzi's perspectival view for its ornamental character that disrupts the uniformity of scale.<sup>7</sup> This mode of design seemed outmoded

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Heinrich von Geymüller, *Die ursprünglichen Entwürfe für Sankt Peter in Rom von Bramante, Raphael Santi, Fra Giocondo, den Sangallo's*, 2 vols. (Vienna, 1875). Geymüller attributed some of Peruzzi's most noteworthy drawings of Saint Peter's (such as UA2r) to Bramante, who he believed was a superior architectural designer. On this topic, see discussion in Josef Ploder, *Heinrich von Geymüller und die Architekturzeichnung: Werk, Wirkung, und Nachlaβ eines Renaissance Forschers* (Vienna, 1998).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> James Ackerman, "Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 13 (1954): 3-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Wolfgang Lotz, "Das Raumbild in der Architekturzeichnung der italienischen Renaissance," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Instituts in Florenz* 7 (1956): 193-226; English translation appeared as "The

and unprofessional to Lotz because it relied so closely on pictorial techniques. It was the antithesis to what he considered the "scientifically correct" visual communication method known as orthogonal projection, whose emergence Lotz equated with the modern discipline of architecture's coming of age (fig. 3). Orthogonal projection renders any three-dimensional depth flatly, and was favored by such Renaissance artists as Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484-1546) and Andrea Palladio (1508-80) who had little or no pictorial training. Because orthography abstracts depth by representing multiple viewpoints on paper at once, and because it is based entirely on mathematical values, Lotz found it to be a triumphant technological innovation over the more painterly perspective view based on subjective vision and fantasy. In his larger historical project of chronicling architecture's emergence as an autonomous discipline, Lotz casts Peruzzi the anti-hero who never escaped the identity of painter. In his eyes, Peruzzi was someone "clinging to perspective" unable to accept a more professional (meaning, scientific and

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Rendering of the Interior in Architectural Drawings of the Renaissance," in Idem, *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass., 1977), 1-65.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Wolfgang Lotz, Architecture in Italy: 1500-1600. (New Haven, 1995 [1974]), 25, 45-51, 69, 76, and 79. The evolution of this notion can be traced in, James Ackerman, "The Conventions and Rhetoric of Architectural Drawing," in Conventions of Architectural Drawing: Representation and Misrepresentation, eds. James Ackerman and Wolfgang Jung (Cambridge, MA, 2000), 9-38; For critiques of this thinking, see; Cammy Brothers, "Architecture, History, Archaeology: Drawing Ancient Rome in the Letter to Leo X and in Sixteenth-Century Practice," in Coming About ...: a Festschrift for John Shearman, eds. Lars Jones and Louisa Matthew (Cambridge MA, 2001), 135-140; Idem, "Reconstruction as Design: Giuliano da Sangallo and the "Palazzo di Mecenate" on the Quirinal Hill," Annali di Architettura 14 (2002): 55-72; Liisa Kanerva, Between Science and Drawing; Renaissance Architects on Vitruvius's Educational Ideas (Helsinki, 2006); Pierre Gros, "The Theory and Practice of Perspective in Vitruvius' De architectura," in Perspective, Projections and Design, eds. Mario Carpo and Frédérique Lemerle (New York, 2008), 5-18; Ann Huppert, "Envisioning New St. Peter's: Perspectival Drawings and the Process of Design," Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians 68 (June 2009): 159-177; Idem, "Roman Models and Sienese Methods: Baldassarre Peruzzi's Designs for San Domenico," in L'ultimo secolo della repubblica di Siena: arti, cultura, e società, eds. Mario Ascheri, Gianni Mazzoni, and Fabrizio Nevola (Siena, 2008), 107-119.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> This reading of orthography has proven resilient. Christoph Thoenes, "Vitruvio, Alberti, Sangallo: la teoria del disegno architettonico nel rinascimento," in James Ackerman and Christoph Thoenes, *Sostegno e adornamento: saggi sull"architettura del rinascimento – disegni, ordini, magnificenza* (Milan, 1998), 161-176, especially p. 163.

modern) mode of design, and whose buildings remained firmly rooted in a painterly understanding of form and space.<sup>10</sup>

Such critiques permeate formalist architectural criticisms of the painter-architect's practice constructed within the paradigms of Modernism.<sup>11</sup> Their anti-pictorial sentiment may seem extreme today and even easily dismissible as reflections of Modernism's deep sympathy towards science and technology.<sup>12</sup> Subjectivity inherent in perspective representations resisted notions of objectivity and universality so central to Modernism. Important reconsiderations have since emerged in the scholarship, however, on both, the idea that perspectival rendering may be arbitrary, and that the use of orthography implied absolute scientific precision.<sup>13</sup> But what challenges the criticism by Lotz and others most

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Lotz, *Architecture in Italy*, 45-51, and 79.

As recently as 2004, Arnaldo Bruschi contrasted Bramante's "scientific" approach to the study of ancient ruins against Peruzzi's "picturesque," "almost emotional," and "fantastic" drawings after the antique. Arnaldo Bruschi, "Da Bramante a Peruzzi: spazio e pittura," in Idem, *L'antico, la tradizione, il moderno. Da Arnolfo a Peruzzi, saggi sull'architettura del Rinascimento* (Rome, 2004), 324-327 [Originally published in *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, eds. Fagiolo and Madonna, 311-37]; Christoph Frommel, "Reflections on the Early Architectural Drawings," in *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: the Representation of Architecture*, eds. Henry Millon and Vittorio Lampugnani (New York, 1994), 101-122; Idem. "The Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: History, Evolution, Method, Function; Introduction," in *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and his Circle: Fortifications, Machines, and Festival Architecture*, eds. Nicholas Adams and Christoph Frommel (New York, 1994), 33. Even Frommel, who has led the study of Peruzzi's works for decades, has that "Peruzzi's predilection for perspective is all the more remarkable," because "he had already learned the precise representation of details in complementary elevations from Bramante by about 1506," – meaning, he had consciously chosen a regressive path.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Alina Payne, "Rudolf Wittkower and Architectural Principles in the Age of Modernism," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53 (1994): 322-342; Idem, "Architecture, Ornament, and Pictorialism: Notes on the Relationship Between the Arts from Wölfflin to Le Corbusier," in *The Built Surface, Volume 2: Architecture and the Pictorial Arts from Romanticism to the 21st Century*, ed. Karen Koehler (Ann Arbor, 2002), 54-72; Idem, "Alberti and the Origins of the Paragone between Architecture and the Figural Arts," in *Leon Battista Alberti: teorico delle arti egli impegni civili del De Re Aedificatoria*, eds. Arturo Calzona et al. (Mantua, 2007), volume 1, 347-368; Genevieve Warwick, *Bernini: Art as Theatre* (New Haven and London, 2013), 5. On technology and Modernism, see Hans Belting, *Art History After Modernism* (Chicago and London, 2003), 5; Alberto Perez-Gomez, *Architecture and the Crisis of Modern Science* (Cambridge Mass., 1983), 3-15.

Robin Evans, "Architectural Projection," in Architecture and its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation – Works from the Collection of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, eds. Eve Blau and Edward Kaufman (Montreal, 1989), 18-35; Idem, The Projective Cast: Architecture and its Three Geometries (Cambridge Mass., 1995), 123-177; Huppert, "Envisioning New Saint Peter's, 158-177.

forcefully is the fact that such critiques of inter-medial artistic production held little or no footing in the culture specific to Peruzzi's own time.

It is true that some Renaissance theorists like Leon Battista Alberti (1404-72) did caution architects against the dangers of painting because the latter was considered a potent but potentially deceptive medium in the Platonic tradition. Much of our inherited approaches to Renaissance painter-architects in fact stems from Alberti's unique opinion that:

(A painter) takes pains to emphasize the relief of objects in paintings, with shading and diminishing lines and angles; the architect rejects shading, but takes his projections from the ground plan and, without altering the lines and by maintaining the true angles, reveals the extent and shape of each elevation and side – he is one who desires his work to be judged not by deceptive appearances but according to certain calculated standards.<sup>14</sup>

But Alberti saw drawing mainly as an instrument for the physical realization of buildings, and not as a vehicle for architectural invention.<sup>15</sup> This is why he recommended that the architect use drawing only to supplement "the time-honored custom, practiced by the best builders" of preparing "models of wood or any other material."<sup>16</sup> In his deep mistrust of representation's capacity to transmit information accurately, Alberti feared that shading and perspective would obscure form and distract patrons.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor (Cambridge MA, 1988), Book 2, chapt. 1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Thoenes, "Vitruvio, Alberti, Sangallo," 161.

Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, Book 2, chapt. 1. Alberti denounced those architects who painted their models as "conceited ones, striving to attract and seduce the eye of the beholder, and to divert his attention from a proper examination of the parts to be considered toward admiration of himself." The second primary source often cited to critique a painter-architect's use of pictorial perspective is Raphael's letter to Pope Leo X from 1519, co-authored by Baldassar Castiglione and Angelo Colocci, where the architect is advised to forsake parallel lines for orthographic projection. The authors were discussing the documentation of existing buildings however, and not the design of new structures. See John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources* 2 vols., (New Haven, 2003), 500-545; Brothers, "Reconstruction as Design," 55-72.

As the fifteenth century progressed, a "pictorial invasion" in architecture – to use a problematic notion introduced by Erwin Panofsky<sup>17</sup> – steadily took hold, however. The tone discussing the power of images in architecture, and especially drawing, radically shifted from fear and blame to fascination and endorsement, as unity became a general aspirational theme for the arts. 18 Alberti himself had spoken of painting's pedagogical importance for architects as one of the two "vital arts" alongside mathematics: "he (the architect) should forsake painting and mathematics no more than the poet should ignore tone and meter. Nor do I imagine that a limited knowledge of them is enough." 19 And Alberti's distinction between painterly and architectural drawing actually urged practitioners and theorists alike to contemplate representation as an architectural problem for the first time. By the mid-sixteenth-century, Sebastiano Serlio (1475-54), alongside other authors such as Giorgio Vasari (1511-74), Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola (1507-73), Pietro Cattaneo (1510-74), Guillaume Philander (1505-63), and Daniele Barbaro (1514-70), were extolling as virtuous the architect who was fully versed in the representational arts. Practitioners were encouraged to harness the communicative powers of images for the art of building, and Renaissance architectural discourse came to regard graphic representation as something that needed to be embraced fully in the process of design.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Erwin Panofsky, "Excursus on Two Façade Designs by Domenico Beccafumi," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts* (Chicago, 1955), 230-236.

Thoenes, "Vitruvio, Alberti, Sangallo," 161-176; Caroline van Eck, "Verbal and Visual Abstraction: the Role of Pictorial Techniques of Representation in Renaissance Architectural Theory," in *The Built Surface vol. 1: Architecture and the Pictorial Arts from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, eds. Christy Anderson and Karen Koehler (Ann Arbor, 2002), 162-179; David Cast, "On the Unity/Disunity of the Arts: Vasari (and Others) on Architecture," in *Rethinking the High Renaissance: the Culture of the Visual Arts in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome*, ed. Jill Burke (Surrey and Burlington VT, 2012), 129-146; Stephen Parcell, *Four Historical Definitions of Architecture* (Montreal, 2012), 105-120; Alexander Marr, *Between Raphael and Galileo: Mutio Oddi and the Mathematical Culture of Late Renaissance Italy* (Chicago and London, 2011), 167-176.

<sup>19</sup> Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, Book 9, chapt. 10.

The connection with representation was critical in establishing architecture as a discipline like poetry and painting that joined the seven liberal arts; that is, the *trivium* of logic, grammar, and rhetoric, along with the *quadrivium* of geometry, music, astronomy, and arithmetic. This intellectual history is at odds with the narrative that dominated twentieth-century scholarship on the period.

Peruzzi's early critical fortune proves that recourse to pictorial techniques or thinking was not condemned as regressive or unprofessional by early modern standards, but actually celebrated as the ultimate sign of an accomplished practitioner. We find remarkable consistency in accounts by Peruzzi's peers that uniformly saw his synthesis of space and image as deserving of praise. In 1538 for example, only two years after Peruzzi's death, the well-informed Portuguese critic Francisco de Holanda (1517-85) discussed the Sienese artist in his *Second Roman Dialogue* as someone who owed his "wealth of invention and boldness of design in architecture" to his status as a "true painter." This topos becomes well established in period literature. In his *Antichità di Roma* from around 1549, the painter-architect and antiquarian Pirro Ligorio (1514-83) similarly remarked that Peruzzi's architectural drawings were informed by his learned theories in both, the art of painting *and* of building. Likewise, in his biography of Peruzzi from 1550 (revised significantly in 1568), Vasari anointed Peruzzi the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Francisco de' Hollanda, *Diálogos em Roma* (Lisbon, 1538); Grazia Dolores Foggiero-Metz ed., *Conversations on Art with Michelangelo Buonarroti* (Heidelberg, 1998), 92-93.

Ligorio had an in-depth understanding of Baldassarre's practice as he was a close friend of Peruzzi's son and architect Sallustio, and had studied with the Farnese architect Jacopo Meleghino who had inherited half of Peruzzi's papers in 1536. Ligorio claimed that he had dedicated an entire chapter (now lost or never composed) on Peruzzi's drawings in one of the thirty books constituting his treatise on Roman antiquity. Pirro Ligorio, *Antichità di Roma*, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Canon.Ital.138, fol. 27a. "(...) disegni di Baldassare eccellentissimo architetto, le lode del quale si servarranno nel xxv libro, dove diffusamente tratteremo dele regole dela pittura e d'alcune de l'architettura, parlando degli antichi e moderni maestri." On Ligorio and Peruzzi, see, Carmelo Occhipinti, "Ligorio e la storia dell'architettura: il caso di Bologna e il ricordo di Peruzzi," *Annali di architettura* 21 (2009): 99-110.

consummate painter-architect of the enlightened third age, who first bestowed his profession the *bella e buona maniera* of painting.

So diligent, indeed, was this craftsman, so rare and so beautiful his judgment, and such the method with which his buildings were always designed, that he never had an equal in works of architecture, seeing that, in addition to his other gifts, he combined that profession with a good and beautiful manner of painting.<sup>22</sup>

The Florentine sculptor Benvenuto Cellini (1500-71) in his *Discourse on Architecture* similarly praised Peruzzi as "the most excellent painter" who used "good judgment" to "seek out the *bella maniera* in architecture." Cellini additionally suggested that Peruzzi was someone who advocated for intermedial artistic practice regularly.

He [Baldassarre] would often times say that he knew how Vitruvius had not chosen from among those beautiful styles [of building] the most beautiful, since he was neither a painter nor a sculptor; this fact made him ignorant of this admirable art's most beautiful [examples].<sup>24</sup>

Other sixteenth-century authors, including Serlio, Vincenzo Borghini (1515-80), Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1538-1600), and Egnazio Danti (1536-86), further echoed these statements in their writings.

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Gaston du C. de Vere, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors, and Architects by Giorgio Vasari* (London, 1912-14), vol. 4, 69; Vasari-Milanesi, *Le vite*, vol. 4, 599-600. "E di vero questo artefice fu tanto diligente e di si raro e bel giudizio, che le cose sue furono sempre in modo ordinate che non ha mai avuto pari nelle cose d'architettura, per avere egli, oltre l'altre cose, quella professione con bella e buona maniera di pittura accompagnato."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Cellini wrote *Discorso dell'architettura* in 1565 but was not published until 1776. Cellini intended to publish it as part of his *Trattati dell'oreficeria e della scultura* but the work was omitted in the original 1568 edition due to censorship. The original manuscript is in the Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana di Venezia, Lascito Nani. Benvenuto Cellini, *I trattati dell'oreficeria e della scultura*, ed. Carlo Milanesi (Florence, 1857 [1776]), 224-225. "Baldassarre da Siena, eccellentissimo pittore, cercò della bella maniera della architettura, e per meglio chiarirsi qual fussi la migliore, si sottomesse a ritrarre tutte le belle maniere che egli vedeva delle cose antiche in Roma; e non tanto in Roma, che ci cercò per tutto il mondo dove fusse delle cose antiche, con mezzo di quali uomini che si trovavano in diversi paesi. (...) di modo che in su quelle fatiche copiate dagli antichi il detto Baldassarre aveva fatto una scelta, secondo il suo buon giudizio, sì come eccellente pittore."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Cellini, *Discorso dell'architettura*, 225. "(...) molte volte disse che conosceva che Vitruvio non aveva scelto di queste belle maniere la più bella, si come quello che non era né pittore né scultore; la qual cosa lo faceva incognito del più bello di questa mirabile arte."

The profusion of praise for inter-medial production in these mid-to-late-sixteenth-century sources is indicative of the currency the notion of *disegno* enjoyed at this time, and how Peruzzi's mode of practice seemed to accord with that ideal. But these testimonies are also remarkable in how consistently they perceive Peruzzi's highest achievement to have been his synthesis of painting and building. I rely on such period accounts throughout the dissertation, partly because their Peruzzian contents are virtually un-mined, but also because they poignantly outline how disciplinarity was negotiated in this time period. The portrait they paint defines the painter-architect as someone who practices with a clear awareness of his engagement in a liberal art. Re-evaluating the painter-architect's position and legacy can nuance our understanding of the relationship between the various fine arts, and between the visual arts and the liberal arts more broadly in the early modern world.

## 1.2 Painter-Architects in the Building Industry

Peruzzi lived and worked in an age where art practitioners commonly straddled multiple media in their workshop production. As Piet Lombaerde recently pointed out, in Italy, "there were not only painter-architects and sculptor architects, but also goldsmitharchitects (Brunelleschi), carpenter-architects (Giuliano da Sangallo), writer-architects (Alberti), and stonemason-architects (Bernardo Rossellino)." This is because there was no equivalent to the modern profession of architect in the classification of trades by the guild system. In the case of painter-architects, to name but a few well-known examples,

Lombaerde, "Introduction," xv.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Mary Hollingsworth, "The Architect in Fifteenth-Century Florence," *Art History* 7 (1984): 385-410; John Staley, *The Guilds of Florence* (Methuen, 1906), 320-342; Ackerman, "Architectural Practice," 3.

Giotto (1267-1337), Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1502), Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519), Donato Bramante (1444-1514), Raphael (1483-1520), Giulio Romano (1499-1546), and Giorgio Vasari (1511-74), all entered the building trade later in life with considerable backgrounds in painting. <sup>27</sup> This professional trajectory circumvented the standard process long maintained by the guilds. In some city-states like Venice, practicing as a painter-architect was prohibited by stringent regulations for this very reason. <sup>28</sup> In Rome, this was not entirely the case. Two powerful guilds did control building activities there in the early *Cinquecento* – the carpenters' *Arte dei Falegnami* and the stonemasons' *Arte dei Muratori e dei Falegnami*. <sup>29</sup> And the painters belonged to a historic professional cooperation of their own called the *Università dei pittori e dei miniatori*, which eventually becomes the *Accademia di San Luca* in 1577. <sup>30</sup>

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Francesco Benelli, *The Architecture in Giotto's Paintings* (Cambridge and New York, 2012); Marvin Trachtenberg, *The Campanile of Florence Cathedral: Giotto's Tower* (New York, 1971); Arnaldo Bruschi, "Prima del Brunelleschi: verso un architettura sintattica e prospettica da Arnolfo a Giotto," *Palladio* 27 (1978): 47-76; Bruno Adorni ed., *Giulio Romano architetto: gli anni mantovani* (Milan, 2012); Howard Burns, Christoph Frommel, and Stefano Ray eds., *Raffaello architetto* (Milan, 1984); Paolo Galluzzi ed., *Leonardo da Vinci: Engineer and Architect* (Montreal, 1987); Leon Satkowski, *Studies on Vasari's Architecture* (New York, 1979); Guido Beltramini, "Mantegna e la firma di Vitruvio," in *Mantegna e le arti a Verona 1450-1500*, eds. Sergio Marinelli and Paola Marini (Venice, 2006), 139-147; David Hemsoll, "Raphael's New Architectural Agenda," in *Imitation, Representation and Painting in the Italian Renaissance*, eds. Roy Eriksen and Magne Malmanger (Pisa and Rome, 2009), 209-231; Filippo Camerota, "Bramante Prospettivo," in *Donato Bramante: ricerche, proposte, riletture*, ed. Francesco Paolo di Teodoro (Urbino, 2001), 19-45.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Catherine Wilkinson, "The New Professionalism in the Renaissance," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (Oxford, 1977), 124-160; Howard Burns, "Painter-Architects in Italy During the *Quattrocento* and *Cinquecento*," in *The Notion of the Painter Architect in Italy and the Southern Low Countries*, 4. Brunelleschi famously refused to pay dues to the stonemasons' guild in order to practice as an architect. See Leopold Ettlinger, "The Emergence of the Italian Architect During the Fifteenth Century," in *The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession*, ed. Spiro Kostof (Oxford, 1977), 96-123.

Paul Anderson, "Master Carpenters in Renaissance and Baroque Rome: The Collaboration of Artists, Architects and Artisans on Monumental Commissions in the Cinquecento and Seicento," (PhD diss. University of California Santa Barbara, 2008), 17-19; Gonippo Morelli, *Le corporazioni romane di arti e mestieri dal XIII al XIX secolo* (Rome, 1937). Marble workers were grouped under a prestigious cooperation called the *Università dei Marmorari* to which the Cosmati workshop once belonged.

For the history of this institution during the time period relevant to Peruzzi, see Isabella Salvagni, *Da Universitas ad Academia: la corporazione dei pittori nella chiesa di san Luca a Roma 1478-1588* (Rome, 2012), 69-85; Luigi Huetter, *Le università artistiche di Roma: cenni storici* (Rome, 1925).

Each group even issued licenses to practice in the eternal city for the price of an annual tax.<sup>31</sup> But artists employed in a court by a powerful private patron often worked around these established guidelines, since their salary was determined by talent and not by guild rules.<sup>32</sup>

The highly active building industry in Rome in the early sixteenth-century was populated by a large number of local and emigrant professionals with a whole variety of specializations. Its organization was traditionally systematized according to the materials the artisans employed – either wood or stone. Painter-architects contributed their drafting skills (*arte del disegno*). Many of them, including Peruzzi, also possessed advanced knowledge of arithmetic and geometry.<sup>33</sup> But their success in entering and eventually even leading the building trade stemmed primarily from the fact they competed in the arena of ideas rather than of material skills.<sup>34</sup> A command over drawing meant that painter-architects produced a *disegno* or a *modello* in the sense that we conceive of the term "design" today. They easily assumed roles relating to structural problem solving. These tendencies naturally led painter-architects to take responsibility of large building

Salvagni assumes that Peruzzi was a member of the painters' guild, but there is no record documenting his personal membership. His half-brother Pietro d'Andrea Viventi da Volterra was a member at least since 1527.

The painters, for instance, paid 2 *scudi* to the *Università* every year. Salvagni, *Da Universitas ad Academia*, 162, n.1.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Thomas Puttfarken, *Titian and Tragic Painting: Aristotle's Poetics and the Rise of the Modern Artist* (New Haven and London, 2005), 25; Martin Warnke, *The Court Artist: On the Ancestry of the Modern Artist* (Cambridge, 1993), 32-42; Burns, "Painter-Architects in Italy," 1-8.

On Peruzzi's knowledge of mathematics and geometry, see Mark Wilson Jones, "Palazzo Massimo and Baldassarre Peruzzi's Approach to Architectural Design," *Architectural History* 31 (1988): 59-106; Giulia Ceriani Sebregondi, "Indagine sulla capacità aritmetiche degli architetti del Cinquecento attraverso i disegni di Baldassarre Peruzzi, Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane e Michelangelo Buonarroti," in *Porre un limite al infinito errore: studi di storia dell'architettura dedicati a Christof Thoenes*, eds. Alessandro Brodini and Giovanna Curcio (Rome, 2012), 43-53.

Alberti had stated that an architect "must have an understanding and knowledge of all the highest and most noble disciplines" unlike a carpenter, who "is but an instrument in the hands of the architect" and lacks "sure and wonderful reason and method." Alberti, *On the Art of Building*, 3.

projects almost as construction managers. Serlio would state in 1537 that, "the architect – who cannot and should never be without perspective – being in charge of all the other craftsmen who work on the building, must not allow anything to be done without his judgment and without his advice." If a foreman in a stonemason's guild rose through the ranks by way of experience and material knowledge, a painter-architect took charge by marketing his vision and ideas for a project. When the state of the state of

Very little is known of Peruzzi's first twenty years in Siena prior to his move to Rome circa 1503, let alone of his training in painting or in building.<sup>37</sup> The only archival documents from this period to have surfaced are his baptismal record from 1481, and two payment receipts from 1502 for a ceiling painting in the venerated chapel of Saint John the Baptist in the Sienese cathedral.<sup>38</sup> The latter describe the twenty-year-old Baldassarre as a *dipentore*, and suggest an established independent practice of a licensed painter.<sup>39</sup> Additional information on Peruzzi's early years comes from three biographical accounts written in the mid-sixteenth century. Vasari, in 1550, noted that Peruzzi took up painting

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole Generale dell'architettura* (Venice, 1537), chapter 11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Marvin Trachtenberg, *Building in Time: From Giotto to Alberti and Modern Oblivion* (New Haven and London, 2010), 264-270.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Few studies address this period of Peruzzi's life. Christoph Frommel, *Die Farnesina und Peruzzis architektonisches Frühwerk* (Berlin, 1961), 120-124; Michael J. Miller, "Alcune cose in Siena, non degne di memoria: Baldassarre Peruzzi's Beginnings," *Bulletin: Allen Memorial Art Museum* 46 (1993): 2-16; Manfredo Tafuri, "La chiesa di San Sebastiano in Vallepiatta a Siena," in *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, eds. Francesco Paolo Fiore and Manfredo Tafuri (Milan, 1993), 303-317; Mauro Mussolin, "San Sebastiano in Vallepiatta," in *Baldassare Peruzzi 1481-1536*, eds. Christoph Frommel et al. (Venice, 2005), 95-122.

The baptismal record is from 7 Mar. 1481 (Sienese calendar 1480). "Baldassare Tommaso figliuolo di Giovanni da Salvestro da Volterra fu battezzato addì 7 di Marzo, fu compare Jacomo da Piemonti." Archivio di Stato di Siena, *Libro Battezzati San Giovanni anno 1480*, f. 458, 7v; Kent, *Life and Works of Baldassare Peruzzi*, 1-4; Alessandro Biagi ed., *1481-1981 Baldassarre Peruzzi architetto: commemorazione V centenario della nascita* (Siena, 1981), 130-131.

Nicoletta Maioli Urbani, "Duomo di Siena – opere attribuite al Peruzzi," in *Rilievi di fabbriche attribuite a Baldassarre Peruzzi*, ed. Marisa Forlani Conti (Siena, 1982), 248-249; Timothy Smith, "Alberto Aringhieri and the Chapel of Saint John the Baptist: Patronage, Politics, and the Cult of the Relics in Renaissance Siena," (PhD diss., Florida State University, 2002). The payment records are from 20 July and 15 October 1502. Archivio del Opera del Duomo di Siena 718, *Debitori e Creditori*, 593.

as a youth out of financial necessity to support his mother and sister after his father Giovanni di Salvestro had passed away. His teachers supposedly included "ingenious persons (...) particularly goldsmiths and draftsmen," who led him to "devote himself heart and soul to drawing." Graphic production was placed at the center of Peruzzi's artistic education in this biography, and this theme recurs in Serlio's account of Peruzzi as well. In this text too, young Baldassarre's zeal for drawing was portrayed as the main incentive behind his move towards architecture.

The supremely capable Baldassare Peruzzi from Siena, was he too not a painter and very gifted at perspective? When wishing to record measurements of columns and other ancient things in order to be able to draw them in perspective, he was so fired by these proportions and measurements that he dedicated himself entirely to architecture and progressed so far that he was second to no one.<sup>42</sup>

Peruzzi's artistic education is recalled in association with drawing by Egnazio Danti too.

In describing various methods of perspectival rendering and their inventors, Danti touched upon Peruzzi's tutelage in Siena.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> "E non molto dopo morto il padre. Si diede alla pittura con tanto studio, che in brevissimo tempo fece in essa meraviglioso acquisto, imitando, oltre le opere de' maestri migliori, le cose vive e naturali; e cosi facendo qualche cosa, poté con quell'arte aiutare se stesso, la madre e la sorella, e seguitare gli studi della pittura." Giorgio Vasari, "Vita di Baldassare Peruzzi Pittore ed Architetto Sanese," in *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari con nuove annotazioni e commenti*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, vol. 4 (Florence, 1906 [originally 1550]), 590. Giovanni di Salvestro Peruzzi was a weaver from Volterra, and had settled in a small village called Ancaiano 18km (11 miles) southwest of Siena, where Baldassarre was born. Peruzzi had a half-brother, Pietro d'Andrea Viventi da Volterra, which likely means that his mother remarried Andrea Viventi who happened to be from Volterra like her first husband Giovanni di Salvestro Peruzzi. On Pietro d'Andrea Viventi, see Christoph Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner* (Vienna and Munich, 1967/68), 10, note 17; Salvagni, *Da Universitas ad Academia*, 69-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> "Intanto essendo Baldassare cresciuto, praticava sempre con persone ingegnose, e particolarmente con orafi e disegnatori; per che, cominciatogli a piacere quell'arti, si diede del tutto al disegno." Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 4, 590.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Sebastiano Serlio, *Della prospettiva* (Paris, 1545), 25v. Drawing in perspective was tied to the study of ancient ruins. Margaret Daly Davis, "Perspective, Vitruvius, and the Reconstruction of Ancient Architecture: The Role of Piero della Francesca's *De Prospettiva Pingendi*," *Studies in the History of Art* 59 (2003): 259-279.

In the figure of the present chapter [on perspective], one can clearly understand how the rule of Vignola conforms to that ordinary [rule] of the ancients, that is called *the rule of Baldassarre from Siena*, because it was by him that it was reformulated and reduced to that excellence and simplicity that one finds today. He acquired this from Francesco di Giorgio Sanese, sculptor, architect, and painter.<sup>43</sup>

This account that Peruzzi had studied from Francesco di Giorgio Martini has since been widely accepted.<sup>44</sup>

From the biographical descriptions at hand then, drawing emerges as the pathway through which Peruzzi learned to grasp architecture and to negotiate the conceptualization of new spaces. The sheer number of Peruzzi's surviving drawings seems to confirm these early narratives that stressed his primary introduction to architecture through graphic rendering. Close to five hundred sheets of Peruzzi's

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, *Le due regole della prospettiva pratica*, ed. Egnazio Danti (Florence, 1583), 72. "Nella figura del presente capitolo si può chiaramente conoscere la conformità che la regola del Vignola ha con questa [regola] ordinaria de gl'antichi, da esso chiamata regola di Baldassare da Siena, perché da lui fu riformata et ridotta in quella eccellenza et facilita che hoggi si trova: il quale hebbe in ciò per precettore Francesco di Giorgio Sanese, scultore, Architetto, et Pittore (...)." Danti goes on to say that the Sienese architect Oreste Vanocci Biringucci gave him some of Francesco di Giorgio drawings. While Danti does mention later on page 82 that he remembers hearing many times from his father, Giulio Danti (a "singular friend" of Peruzzi's), how Baldassare devised the so-called "regola ordinaria," his father does not seem to be his source for Peruzzi's relationship to Francesco di Giorgio. Biringucci may have provided that information instead. On the so-called *regola di Baldassare* see chapter 6, note 10.

Peruzzi's ownership of Francesco di Giorgio's drawings proves Peruzzi's knowledge of the latter's work, but not an apprenticeship per se. Francesco di Giorgio lived and worked in Urbino until 1489. In the last ten years of his life, even after his "permanent" return to Siena, he traveled constantly on major commissions to Milan, Pavia, Bracciano, Florence and Naples. This nomadic lifestyle left him little time for instructing the next generation of Siena in a workshop setting. For these reasons, Pini and Milanesi had formed an opinion that Peruzzi probably studied with someone else, like the prolific painter Bernardino Fungai (1460-1516). See Gaetano Milanesi and Carlo Pini, *La scrittura di artisti Italiani (sec. XV-XVII) vol. 2* (Florence, 1876) 121; Howard Burns, "A Peruzzi Drawing in Ferrara," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz*, 12 no. 4 (1965/66): 245-270; Idem., "Progetti di Francesco di Giorgio per i conventi di San Bernardino e Santa Chiara di Urbino," in *Studi Bramanteschi: atti del congresso internazionale* (Rome, 1974), 293-311; Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, 9-11.

architectural study, design, and presentation drawings today survive. <sup>45</sup> And the original (presumably even larger) body of works on paper would have been unrivaled in number. Peruzzi's encounter with architectural mass, geometry, and proportion was mediated by two-dimensional representation, and the boundary between image and space was, from the beginning, a fluid one for him. <sup>46</sup>

The education that Peruzzi's early biographers ascribed him was also none other than the exemplary didactic course for modern architects outlined in period treatises.

Alberti, Antonio di Averlino Filarete (1400-69), Francesco di Giorgio, and later, Serlio too, advocated that proficiency in graphic rendering was a fundamental step towards professional matriculation. Serlio would state this most unequivocally when he emphasized how pictorial skill was "absolutely necessary for an architect." This high regard for drawing among Renaissance architects and theorists closely recalled Vitruvius' authoritative classical text, where all practitioners were prescribed a certain "knowledge of draftsmanship." Skillful drawing of course made the painter-architect profession

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Heinrich Wurm, *Baldassare Peruzzi Architekturzeichnungen: Tafelband* (Tübingen, 1984); Ann Huppert, "The Archaeology of Baldassare Peruzzi's Architectural Drawings," (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2001), 3-4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> On stylistic grounds, Christoph Frommel has identified a group of drawings that document the classical ruins in Rome and formerly attributed to a so-called Pseudo-Cronaca as the work of the young Baldassarre Peruzzi. His attribution to some of the better-known drawings in this group have been contested more recently by The problems relating to this attribution are beyond the analytical focus of this dissertation. The inclusion or exclusion of these specific drawings into or from the canon of Peruzzi's *oeuvre* does not alter the general biographical account that he first came to approach architectural models, design, and problems through the graphic arts. Christoph Frommel, "L'esordio Romano di Peruzzi: dal gruppo dei disegni dello Pseudo Cronaca a Bramante," in *Architettura alla corte papale nel Rinascimento*, ed. Christoph Frommel (Milan, 2003), 157-191; Arnold Nesserlath, "Pseudo-Cronaca: Veduta del interno di Santo Stefano Rotondo," in *La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti: umanisti, architetti, e artisti alla scoperta dell'antico nella città del Quattrocento*, ed. Francesco Paolo Fiore and Arnold Nesserlath (Milan, 2005), 362.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Serlio, *Della Prospettiva*, 25v.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Book 1, chapt. 1. "Deinde graphidis scientiam habere, quo facilius exemplaribus pictis quam velit operas speciem deformare valeat." Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid Rowland (Cambridge, 1999), 22. "He must have knowledge of draftsmanship so that he can more easily use illustrated examples at will to represent the appearance of the work that he proposes."

more viable in a competitive market. But practicing critics like Francesco di Giorgio also understood that drawing was useful as a cognitive tool.

Eupompus of Macedonia, distinguished mathematician, wrote that man could perfect no art without arithmetic and geometry. Similarly, the art of drawing was valued no less necessary to any scientific operation forenamed, not only by him, but by many other excellent men. (...) And although in our [time] it is considered worthless and inferior to many other mechanical arts, when one considers how useful and necessary the art of drawing is to every work of man – be it in invention, in explaining concepts, in production, or in the military arts – it is easily judged how this [drawing] is one necessary tool in every knowledge and works of things that can be carried out with correct reason.<sup>49</sup>

Such insistence upon drawing's wide applicability foreshadows the foundational status *disegno* would achieve in theoretical discussions on art in the following century.<sup>50</sup>

With a thorough grounding in drawing, Peruzzi navigated between painting and building with agility. He was engaged in both fields already prior to his departure for Rome. For example, his name is closely associated with the last two architectural projects Francesco di Giorgio executed in Siena before his death in 1502 – the church of San

<sup>50</sup> Werner Oechslin, "Die Universale Zeichnung ('*Disegno*') des Künstlers und/versus die '*Graphidis Scientia*' des Architekten," in *The Notion of the Painter Architect*, 9-38.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> According to Pliny, the classical Greek painter who made this claim was not Eupompus of Macedonia as Francesco thought, but his student, Pamphilos, who would later become Apelles' teacher. See Pliny, *Natural History*, Book 34, chapt. 61, and Book 35, chapt. 75. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare*, ed. and trans. Corrado Maltese (Milan, 1967), 293-294. "Scrive Eupompo di Macedonia, egregio matematico, nissuna arte perfettamente nelli omini essere senza aritmetica e geometria. Similmente non solo da lui ma da molti altri eccellenti non meno necessaria era stimata l'arte del disegno a qualunque operativa scienza che le prenominate. (...) E benché in di nostri sia reputata vile et inferiore a molte altre arti meccaniche, niente di meno chi considerarsi quanto sia utile e necessaria in ogni opera umana [l'arte del disegno], sì nella invenzione, sì in possere esplicare li concetti, sì nell'operare, sì all' arte militare (...) facilmente giudicaria essa essere uno mezzo necessario in ogni cognizione et opere delle cose fattibili con dritta ragione."

Sebastiano in Vallepiatta (begun after 1493), and the Chigi family villa known as *le Volte* (1496-1505).<sup>51</sup>

It should be recalled that Peruzzi's traversal of media in practice would have been nothing out of the ordinary in the Sienese fifteenth-century context. Siena had a long and illustrious history in inter-medial art production grounded in a thorough training in drawing. Aside from the many painter-architects active in the city including Francesco di Giorgio, sculptors heavily populated the building trade there. This is evident from the fact that those proficient in sculpture traditionally occupied the important position of headmaster at the *Opera del Duomo*. These figures included Jacopo della Quercia (1372-1438), Antonio Federighi (c. 1420-1483), Giacomo Cozzarelli (1453-1515), and Ventura Turapilli (c. 1460-1522). All four men were initially trained as sculptors, who came to lead the most ambitious building projects of *Quattrocento* Siena. The headmasters were not called "architects," but "capomastri," or "maestri di disegni," and in addition to managing various projects on behalf of the *Opera*, they were contracted to instruct

Although no concrete documentation has emerged to reveal Peruzzi's role in these projects securely, it is entirely possible that he brought these buildings to completion after Francesco's death. See, Francesco Paolo Fiore, "La villa Chigi alle Volte e il linguaggio architettonico peruzziano nella tradizione di Francesco di Giorgio," in *Baldassare Peruzzi: pittura, scena e architettura*, 133-167; Tafuri, "La chiesa di San Sebastiano in Vallepiatta a Siena," 303-317; Mauro Mussolin, "San Sebastiano in Vallepiatta," 95-122.

Fabrizio Nevola, Siena: Constructing the Renaissance City (New Haven and London, 2007); Università degli studi di Siena, Jacopo della Quercia nell'arte del suo tempo (Florence, 1975); John Paoletti, "Quercia and Federighi," The Art Bulletin 50 (1968): 281-284; Carlo Sisi, "Giacomo Cozzarelli (Siena, 1435-1515)," and "Lorenzo di Mariano detto il 'Marrina' (Siena, 1476-1534)," in Domenico Beccafumi e il suo tempo, ed. Giovanni Agosti (Milan,1990), 540-547, and 554-565; Mirella Cirfi Walton and Ettore Pellegrini, L'architettura di Antonio Federighi | The Architecture of Antonio Federighi (Siena, 2009); Mauro Mussolin, "Prassi, teoria, antico nell'architettura senese del Rinascimento: un percorso per immagini attraverso i documenti della Biblioteca comunale," in Architetti a Siena: testimonianze della Biblioteca comunale tra XV e XVIII secolo, eds. Daniele Danesi, Milena Pagni, and Annalisa Pezzo (Milan, 2009), 45-69.

willing local youths in the art of drawing in a kind of a state-sponsored academy. <sup>53</sup> It is recorded for instance, that in 1505, when Giacomo Cozzarelli past on the position to his successor Ventura Turapilli, eight boys were in the institution's care, each compensated handsomely with a Florin a month for their work. <sup>54</sup> Rather than promoting narrow professionalization, the goal of this studio seems to have been the preparation of a group of local artists who could deliver quality products in a timely fashion depending on the *Opera*'s specific needs of the day, regardless of medium.

While Peruzzi's exact relationship with this civic institution is unclear, the *capomastro* when he was between the ages of nine and twenty-four would have been Cozzarelli – Francesco di Giorgio's long-time professional associate and right-hand-man, who accompanied Francesco upon his return to Siena from Urbino in 1489. <sup>55</sup> Peruzzi carried this institution's artistic culture with him in his practice in many ways. <sup>56</sup> He

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> The headmasters were appointed by the state and paid by the *Opera*. Mussolin, "Prassi, teoria, antico nell'architettura senese del Rinascimento," 45-69.

<sup>54 &</sup>quot;(...) Et teneatur, et debeat retinere [Ventura Turapilli] assidue in dicta opera octo pueros, et eos docere de arte sua; qui pueri habeant a dicta Opera florenum unum, pro quolibet et quolibet mense, et approbentur singuli dicti pueri per dictos tres, et incipiat tale salarium dicto Venture kalendis Novembris proximi, et intelligatur conductus ad eorum beneplacitum." Archivio del Stato di Siena, *Deliberazioni della Bali*a, vol. 47, fol. 75. Published entirely in Gaetano Milanesi, *Documenti per la storia dell'arte Senese: Secolo XVI* (Siena, 1856), vol. 3, 27-29. Cozzarelli's architectural work in Siena include the Osservanza, fortification of Montepulciano (1495), Santo Spirito in Siena (1498-1504), Santa Maria Maddalena outside Porta Tufi (1508) commissioned by the *Commune*, and the completion of palazzo del Magnifico for Pandolfo Petrucci (c. 1508) opposite the Baptistery (damaged in 1512 after Pandolo's death).

Feruzzi's first recorded contract as an independent painter came from the *Opera del Duomo*, which suggests that the organization at least placed a great deal of confidence in his person and skill. On Cozzarelli and Francesco di Giorgio's partnership, see P. Bacci, "Commentari dell'arte senese, I: Il pittore scultore e architetto Iacopo Cozzarelli e la sua permanenza a Urbino con Francesco di Giorgio Martini dal 1478 al 1488," *Bollettino Senese di storia patria* 39 (1932): 97-112; Alessandro Angelini, "Francesco di Giorgio pittore e la sua bottega: alcune osservazioni su una recente monografia," *Prospettiva* 52 (1988): 10-24; Fabrizio Nevola, "Lots of Napkins and a Few Surprises: Francesco di Giorgio Martini's House, Goods and Social Standing in Late-Fifteenth-Century Siena," *Annali di architettura* 18/19 (2006/07): 71-82.

<sup>56</sup> In 1527, when he flees to Siena from the violent Sack of Rome, he assumed the historic stately post of capomastro at the Opera. From 10 July 1527 to July 1529, he claimed a salary of 30 ducats a year from the Opera, in addition to his salary of 60 (later doubled to 120) ducats a year from the Sienese Signoria. Pio Paschini, "Documenti Vaticani su Baldassare Peruzzi," Roma: Rivista di studi e di vita Romana 8

looked to the collaborative model of production that was typical of the *Opera del Duomo* in his Roman period. Especially in contrast to contemporaries like Raphael and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484-1546) who managed an active *bottega* (workshop) of their own, Peruzzi preferred targeted partnerships with working professionals. He did base his practice out of a studio near San Salvatore in Lauro in Rome that he purchased in 1511 (with the help of his friend Raphael) along with his younger half-brother Pietro d'Andrea Viventi da Volterra. The But Peruzzi often collaborated with junior artists according to the demands of each project at hand. He also maintained close associations with carpenters and stonemasons. This was closer to the ways in which the various *Arte* traditionally operated. During 1527 and 1535 when Peruzzi worked for the Sienese government, the position of "*architettore della Repubblica*" required him to engage in a

<sup>(1930): 161-168;</sup> Cristiano Tessari, *Baldassare Peruzzi: Il progetto dell'antico* (Milan, 1995), 20-23; Francesco Paolo Fiore, "Baldassare Peruzzi a Siena," in *Baldassare Peruzzi 1481-1536*, 83-94; Nicholas Adams, "Baldassare Peruzzi as Architect to the Republic of Siena 1527-1535: Archival Notes," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 88 (1981): 256-267.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> The notarized mortgage for the two adjoining properties for the two brothers from the Ospedale di Sant'Ambrogio dei Lombardi is transcribed in Franco Borsi et. al., *Raffaello: elementi di un mito. Le fonti, la letteratura artistica, la pittura di genere storico* (Florence, 1984), 48. See also Salvagni, *Da Universitas ad Academia*, 70 and note 86.

A number of artists including Serlio, Daniele da Volterra, Francesco da Siena, Jacopo Meleghino, Antonio Maria Lari, and Pietro Cataneo would claim tutelage under Peruzzi but none of these figures entered Peruzzi's long-term care as apprentices. Baldassarre collaborated with his half-brother Pietro d'Andrea Viventi da Siena in Rome on a number of projects, but we know very little about this artist. Baldassarre also raised his son Sallustio as an architect. On Peruzzi's workshop practice, see, Lionello Puppi, "Il problema dell'eredità di Baldassare Peruzzi: Jacopo Meleghino, il 'mistero' di Francesco Sanese e Sebastiano Serlio," in *Baldassare Peruzzi: pittura, scena, architettura*, 491-501; Roberto Guerrini, "Il 'creato' di Baldassarre Peruzzi: testimonianze su Francesco da Siena (ed altri artisti senesi del Cinquecento)," *Bullettino Senese di Storia Patria* 89 (1982): 155-195; Fabiano Fagliari-Zeni-Buchicchio and Christoph Frommel, "Un'opera riscoperta di Baldassarre Peruzzi: il Palazzo per Giovanni Corrado Orsini," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 32 (2002): 7-36; Maurizio Ricci, 'Fu anco suo creato ...': l'eredità di Baldassare Peruzzi in Antonio Maria Lari e nel figlio Sallustio (Rome, 2002); Valeria Annecchino, "Baldassare Peruzzi e la didattica dell'architettura a Siena," in *Baldassare Peruzzi* 1481-1536, 309-318.

In 1529, when Peruzzi was unable to pay back the ransom he had incurred while captive by the Spanish troops in 1527 during the Sack of Rome, he turned to Girolamo d'Angelo de' Menichelli, a Sienese stonemason who lent him the large sum of 155 scudi "gratis et amore." (Peruzzi's salary this year from the Republic of Siena was 120 scudi). The two seemed to have worked closely on military engineering projects in Siena. Paschini, "Documenti Vaticani," 161-168; Nicholas Adams, "Baldassare Peruzzi: Architect to the Republic of Siena 1527-35," (PhD diss. New York University, 1977), 390.

variety of media also. In essence this experience could be compared to a court appointment. He was charged on behalf of the state with painting, residential architecture for the Florentine ambassador, engineering (dams, bastions, and defense walls), ephemeral arches for Charles V's triumphal entry, theater sets, and even metallurgy to devise an alloy for the Sienese mint. Such broad-ranging responsibilities would have necessitated a collaborative spirit.

A small document in Peruzzi's hand now in the Uffizi gallery's collection tellingly records his mode of project management (fig. 4). In a simple list, Peruzzi kept count of the *giornate* (work days) owed to nine artists for an unidentified commission. Among those named are accomplished professionals like the painters Jacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Jacopo Siculo (1490-1453) and Giovanni da Udine (1487-1564), whose work hours Peruzzi managed. This type of collaborative production and project-based instruction were the norm in Cozzarelli and Francesco di Giorgio's professional circle, and probably expected by an institution like the *Opera del Duomo* in Siena for reasons of efficient productivity. A certain pragmatism surrounds Peruzzi's professional self-identification as well. In his correspondences and signatures on contracts, he would sign his name

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Adams, "Baldassarre Peruzzi," xv-xxiv; Giulia Ceriani Sebregondi, Architettura e committenza a Siena nel Cinquecento: L'attività di Baldassarre Peruzzi e la storia di Palazzo Francesconi, (Florence, 2011), 23-47.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> UA410v. Gaetano Milanesi was the first to comment on this intriguing list, located amidst Peruzzi's drawings. Wurm dated the note to 1518-1523. Frommel and Nicole Dacos argued that it probably concerned the *volta d'orata* project in the Palazzo della Cancelleria from 1519. Vasari, *Le vite*, vol. 4, 618; Wurm, *Architekturzeichnungen*, 15; Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, 14; Nicole Dacos, "Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner by C. L. Frommel," *The Art Bulletin* 52, no. 4 (1970): 442-445; Bruno Adorni, "Vignola, a Serious Training: Painting, Perspective, Architecture," in *The Notion of the Painter Architect*, 60-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Alessandro Ångelini, "Renaissance Art in Siena: Patrons, Artist, and Workshops," in *Renaissance Siena: Art for a City*, Luke Syson et al. (London, 2007), 38-40.

interchangeably as "pittore," "architecto et pittore," or as "architetto." The choice of title seemed to depend more on the type of commission he was involved in at that particular moment, and on what type of artistic expertise his correspondent wished him to provide.

Peruzzi's artistic education and practice should remind us that an intermedial approach was absolutely widespread among the visual artists of the early modern period even when specialized guild systems controlled their activity. It is easy to loose sight of how common the painter-architect profession was in a monographic study that calls attention to an individual artist's life, achievements, and legacy. But in reality, the protagonist featured in such study may merely offer an optimal lens through which to examine broader social-historical phenomena. The Sienese late-fifteenth century context should set the scene for the dissertation's main analytical interests – that is, the intersections of media in Peruzzi's mature practice, and how his tendencies toward syncretism reverberated in the subsequent theoretical discussions on art and architecture.

## 1.3 Intersections of Practice

The four interpretive chapters in this dissertation highlight specific ways in which the practices and discourses germane and pertinent to the representational arts manifest in Peruzzi's architectural works, design processes, and thinking. Paying close attention to intersections of media, each chapter focuses on one particular pictorial technique or concept that Peruzzi applied to spatial design. Peruzzi's own writings on these subjects unfortunately do not survive (or never existed). This seeming limitation is actually a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> For instance, "Baldassarr architecto da Siena" on UA545r and UA500r. "Jo[vanni] Baldassarre Perutio architectore et pictore" on UA485r. Wurm, *Architekturzeichnungen*, 141, 237, 239.

blessing in disguise for those who wish to approach his artistic ideas, for they force us to engage in a different type of reading. Having no choice but to deduce theoretical speculations from material evidence means that discussion will never veer far into the purely notional. In forming my analyses I rely heavily on the visual evidence and on the history of their reception as sources of insight.

One important instance of intermedial practice was Peruzzi's invention of a type of architectural rendering Vitruvius called *scaenographia*. Unlike a schematic plan or an elevation, *scaenographia* relies on optical techniques common to the painter's workshop (shading and single-point perspective) to simulate real visual experience. Although long identified as the most characteristic of Peruzzi's architectural drawing methods, Peruzzi's *scaenographia* has never been studied as a typology before or even classified properly under its Vitruvian term previously. Through examination of a critical mass of Peruzzi's *scaenographia* drawings, chapter two reveals the atmospheric qualities that make this rendering method compelling, and examines its effectiveness as a pragmatic design instrument. What emerges is a new understanding of Peruzzi's "painterly" practice of architecture, firmly rooted in the Vitruvian tradition in its cultural signification.

Peruzzi knew that architecture and the visual arts related intricately. In chapter three, I explore this medial dialogue with emphasis on Peruzzi's stage designs. Renewed interest in classical drama revolutionized popular entertainment starting in the mid-fifteenth century, by inciting new forms of literature, performance, and even artistic patronage; but the significant impact theater also exerted over the field of building is hardly recognized today. Painter-architects were intimately involved in the production of *all'antica* plays, working closely with humanist writers and actors in cultural centers such

as Rome, Ferrara, Milan, and Venice. This lively participation in playmaking brought about profound shifts in architectural discourse and practice, in part because theater became the locus where the visual arts, literature, and performance fluidly intersected.<sup>64</sup>

The same chapter reexamines one of the most often repeated accounts about Peruzzi as a scenographic designer – that he invented the perspective stage set during the Roman production of Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena's vernacular comedy, *La Calandria* in 1514. Although it was Serlio who canonized and disseminated the perspective stage set in his *Treatise on Perspective* (1545), the invention of the influential scenographic typology was uniformly attributed to Serlio's teacher, and to his set for *La Calandria*, starting in the mid-sixteenth-century. I argue that this attribution was a posthumous legend, and that its fabrication and circulation were deliberate. In order to understand why Peruzzi's followers constructed and repeated this elaborate account, I carefully consider the stage typology and its agency. A surprising parallel emerges between the *piazza più strada* set that Peruzzi "invented," and the script of *La Calandria*, especially in their common, rhetorical methods of audience engagement. Because Peruzzi's perspective stage employed an authorial communication method, it served

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> On exchanges between Renaissance theater and the visual arts, see, Leonard Barkan, *Mute Poetry, Speaking Pictures* (Princeton, 2013), especially chapter 4, "The Theater as a Visual Art," 127-160; Kristin Philips-Court, *The Perfect Genre: Drama and Painting in Renaissance Italy* (Surrey and Burlington VT, 2011); Marc Bayard, "In Front of the Work of Art: The Question of Pictorial Theatricality in Italian Art 1400-1700," *Art History* 33 (2010): 263-277; Stijn Bussels and Caroline van Eck, "The Visual Arts and the Theatre in Early Modern Europe," *Art History* 33 (2010): 209-223.

<sup>65</sup> Jack d'Amico, "Drama and the Court in La Calandria," Theatre Journal 43 (1991): 93-106; Franco Ruffini, Commedia e festa nel rinascimento: La Calandria alla corte di Urbino (Bologna, 1986); Fabrizio Cruciani, "Gli allestimenti scenici di Baldassarre Peruzzi," Centro internazionale di studi d'architettura Andrea Palladio 16 (1974): 155-172; Nino Pirotta and Elena Povoledo, "Regular Comedy and the Perspective Set," in Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi, ed. Nino Pirotta (Cambridge, 1982), 311-344.

In my comparative analysis of space and performance structure, I refer to Gay McAuly, *Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre* (Ann Arbor, 1999); Iain Mackintosh, *Architecture, Actor, and Audience* (London, 1993).

architecture in claiming a parallel status to speech.<sup>67</sup> The chapter uncovers the central position of Peruzzi's scenography within the *paragone* debate between architecture and rhetoric.

A fluency in the discourses of the figurative arts and of literature was what fundamentally distinguished painter-architects from the masons, stonecutters, and carpenters in the building trade. Chapter four explores this point by inquiring into the painter-architects' methods of spatial invention. It identifies as prevalent in this profession the understanding that invention pertained to *content* rather than to *form*, and ties this thinking to the pictorial tradition. <sup>68</sup> As authors on the arts from Alberti to Paolo Pino (1534-65) have argued, "painting is really poetry, that is to say invention, which makes appear that which is not as if it were (...)."<sup>69</sup> As in poetry, Renaissance painting commonly employed as a method of invention *ekphrasis*, or the artful description of canonical content. This understanding of invention recurs in spatial products of the Renaissance painter-architects as well. The chapter features prominently Peruzzi's trompl'oeil mural in the Villa Farnesina called the Sala delle Prospettive from 1517, which had significant ties to poetry both contemporary and classical. While we tend to regard the systematic study of classical forms and philological interest in Vitruvius' treatise as Renaissance architecture's more typical disposition towards invention, poetic imagination

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> For ties between Renaissance architecture and rhetoric, see Mario Carpo, *Metodo et Ordini nella teoria architettonica dei primi moderni: Alberti, Raffaello, Serlio e Camillo* (Genoa, 1993); Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007); Lex Hermans, "The Rules of Rhetoric as Manual for Reading Classicist Architecture," *Wolkenkuckucksheim* 12 (2008) consulted online on 7 Oct. 2014 (http://www.tu-

cottbus.de/theoriederarchitektur/Wolke/wolke\_neu/inhalt/en/issue/issues/207/Hermans/hermans.php).

68 David Rosand, "Ekphrasis and the Generation of Images," *Arion*, 3rd series, no. 1 (1990): 61-105;
Francis Ames-Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven, 2000); Martin Kemp, "From Mimesis to Fantasia: the Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration, and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 347-398.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Paolo Pino, *Dialogo della Pittura* (Venice, 1548), 16r.

also served as an important guide for building. Identifying *ekphrastic* poetry as a source for architectural invention extends discussion of the *Sala delle Prospettive* into new directions.

Chapter five considers pictorial *rilievo* (modelling) as an inspiration in Peruzzi's theory and practice of building. It traces the connections between his renowned representational works in *chiaroscuro* (monochrome painting) and his built works, such as the Palazzo Massimo alle colonne in Rome, and how Peruzzi developed his understanding of plasticity through repeatedly drawing and painting fictive light. I argue that Peruzzi's representations of illumination in diverse contexts, including prints, drawings, and murals, cultivated a heightened sensitivity toward the role of optics in architecture. This medial exchange concretely established buildings as objects of corporeal vision, and therefore of judgment and criticism. This understanding is significant, as it constituted one of the keys in the early modern re-definition of architecture as a visual art.

A methodological framework that combines art and architectural history and theory, literary history and criticism, as well as performance studies, lead to a new avenue for understanding and appreciating the rich hybridity in the practice and products of Italian Renaissance painter-architects. In Peruzzi's case, his modes of recourse to the pictorial tradition in his architectural practice prove diverse and profound. It would be reasonable to ask whether observations on inter-medial practice made here by connecting Peruzzi's pictorial and spatial works could be more broadly applicable to discussions of Renaissance painter-architects and their practice in general. While analyses of works by Peruzzi are of course too specific to generalize, the broader questions of how visual

artists mediated between architecture and poetry, rhetoric, or optics leaves much room for further discussion. Through the lens of Peruzzi's career, this dissertation reveals

Renaissance artistic practice as a complex activity that evolved not through narrow professionalization, but through a rich exchange of diverse fields that freely shared their strategies, techniques, expertise, and concepts. My attention to painter-architects in this framework contributes a new understanding, not only of this important profession, but also of the broader theme of early modern professional communication and disciplinarity.

Scaenographia (Perspective) Rendering and the Practice of Architecture as a Visual Art

## 2.1 Perspective Drawing

Baldassarre Peruzzi's pictorial and architectural interests intersected notably in his structural design process. The most conspicuous node of his medial synthesis was perspective rendering. Of the approximately three hundred and fifty sheets of architectural project drawings (drawings of new buildings) by Peruzzi's hand that survive in various repositories around the world today, over forty show designs that are represented in this method. As far as the evidence suggests, no other contemporary architectural designer utilized this pictorial mode of representation in combination with schematic plans and elevations in the process of invention as early or as often as Peruzzi did.

We traced in the introductory chapter how perspectival rendering constituted the polemical fulcrum of Peruzzi's historiography, and how the very use of pictorial perspective was often interpreted to mark a painter-architect's dubitable competence. The typical reading of Peruzzi's architectural project drawings is that they defy precision and obscure any concrete methodology through an illusionism that aesthetically appeals to the beholder. And while new studies have begun to question this long-standing assumption in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Heinrich Wurm's catalog raisonné of Peruzzi's architectural drawings compiled 495 sheets, rejecting an additional 124 works traditionally attributed to the Sienese artist. From this large corpus, around 30 drawings fit the category outlined here, while an additional 10 sheets form a sub-group, showing structural details in perspective. The updated attributions and full illustrations make this volume essential, the accompanying commentary volume was regrettably never published. There are also a handful of drawings that never made it into Wurm's catalog. Heinrich Wurm, *Baldassare Peruzzi Architekturzeichnungen: Tafelband* (Tübingen 1984).

the scholarship, truthfulness still firmly remains the criteria of these drawings' critical discussion, as their assessment as painterly continues to inhibit their inclusion in the realm of real architecture.<sup>2</sup>

This chapter conducts a typological analysis of such perspectival renderings within Peruzzi's vast corpus of architectural drawings in an attempt to free these works from their long-standing characterization as pictorial fiction. In the process of design, Peruzzi strategically employed optical systems of representation in combination with a variety of other drawing techniques to solve a wide array of problems. A close look at the role perspective rendering played as a design instrument reveals what particular advantages in building a painter-architect's draftsmanship provided. Peruzzi took a building's visual effects carefully into account, both in devising and in refining his projects. He innovatively appropriated optical techniques for the sake of spatial invention, and practiced architecture as a visual art.<sup>3</sup> This approach to design came to profoundly impact both theory and practice in the second half of the sixteenth-century.

## 2.2 Perspectival Rendering as Vitruvian Scaenographia

An exemplary model of the drawing typology in question is UA25r in the Uffizi collection – one of the most visually stunning architectural project drawings from the early sixteenth-century (fig. 5).<sup>4</sup> The sheet forms part of a series of sketches relating to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Ann Huppert, "Envisioning New St. Peter's: Perspectival Drawings and the Process of Design," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 68 (2009): 159-177.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> David Summers, "The 'Visual Arts' and the Problem of Art Historical Description," *Art Journal* 42 (1982): 301-310.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Geymüller had attributed the drawing to Bramante. For long it was thought to show Peruzzi's ideas for Saint Peter's. Parsons definitively proved the work's connections to the Carpi cathedral project. Heinrich von Geymüller, *Les projets primitif pour la basilique de Saint-Pierre de Rome* (Vienna and Paris, 1875-

the cathedral of an independent city-state in the Emilia Romagna called Carpi. It documents a considerably advanced design for this project, carried out by Peruzzi between 1514 and 1515 for the ruler of Carpi, Alberto Pio III (1475-1530), who lived and worked in Rome as the imperial ambassador to the papacy. In an off-axial perspective view in brown ink and wash, UA25r presents a grandiose church interior with quickly drawn lines laid according to a vantage point positioned near the entrance. Peruzzi used perspective to showcase the structure's longitudinal progression. We see the interior space extend from the triple bay nave with barrel-vaulted side-aisles through the crossing area, to the brightly lit choir apse behind the high altar. A continuous entablature emphasizes this horizontal line as it guides our view successively through the building from front to rear. The working drawing also conveys a sophisticated *all'antica* structure in sheer monumentality – remarkable, given the sheet's minute actual physical dimensions (80 x 112 mm).

80), 140 and plate 18, fig. 6; Pasquale Nerino Ferri, *Indice geografico-analitico dei disegni di architettura civile e militare esistenti nella R. Galleria degli Uffizi in Firenze* (Rome 1885), 149; Giorgio Vasari, *Le vite de più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori (...) con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1879), vol. 4, 634; Paolo Portoghesi, *Rome of the Renaissance*, (London, 1971), 68; Peter W. Parsons, "Between Typology and Geometry: Designs by Baldassare Peruzzi for Carpi Cathedral," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 35 (2003/04): 287-326.

On this project see, Parsons, "Between Typology and Geometry," 309-310, and n. 33; Arnaldo Bruschi, "Baldassare Peruzzi in San Pietro attraverso i suoi disegni," in *Il disegno di architettura: atti del convegno 15-18 Feb. 1988*, ed. Paolo Carpeggiani (Milan, 1989), 181-190; idem, "Le idee del Peruzzi per il nuovo San Pietro," *Quaderni del Istituto di storia dell'architettura* 15/20 (1990/92): 197-248; Wolfgang Jung, "Verso quale nuovo San Pietro? Sulla prospettiva a volo d'uccello UA2 di Baldassare Peruzzi," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 25/30 (1997), 149-156; Hans Hubert, "Baldassarre Peruzzi und der Neubau der Peterskirche in Rom," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi: 1481-1536*, eds. Christoph Frommel et al. (Vicenza, 2005), 371-409; Romano Pelloni, "La presenza di Baldassarre Peruzzi nel progetto per la cattedrale," in *Un Tempio Degno di Roma: La Cattedrale di Carpi*, eds. Dante Colli, Alfonso Garuti, and Romano Pelloni (Modena, 1987), 35-48; Sandro Benedetti, "La sperimentazione di Baldassarre Peruzzi: il duomo di Carpi," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena e architettura nel Cinquecento*, eds. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome, 1987), 65-77; Hans Semper, *Carpi: Ein Fürstensitz der Renaissance* (Dresden, 1882).

Peruzzi distinctively combined a perspectival composition with *chiaroscuro* shading. UA25r represents the imagined structural body's appearance under natural lighting where interplay between light and shade on the material surface brings out the form's solidity and mass. Shading also helps anchor the work in time and in place. And together with compositional devices like foreshortening, diagonal movement from foreground to background, and eye-level vantage point, shading works to situate the viewer *within* the image. Peruzzi calls on both, the science of optics and the geometry of light to suggest a physical relationship between the viewer and the depicted structure. Illustrated here are thus the calculated effects that a structure would perform on a beholder.

UA25r is one of Peruzzi's most frequently illustrated architectural drawings.<sup>7</sup>
What accounts for its modern popularity is the classical grandeur this rendering so dramatically evokes. But the drawing is distinguished also by the method of representation that its maker employed to produce it. Perspective and shading are found in combination only rarely among architectural project drawings of the early *Cinquecento*. The visual effects of space were much more prevalently addressed in this fashion by graphic studies after the antique or of landscapes. In fact, in its rendering, UA25r is closer aligned to topographical vistas produced by artists like Maerten van

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Ernst H. Gombrich, *The Heritage of Apelles: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (Ithaca, New York, 1976), 3-18; David Summers, "The Heritage of Agatharchus: on Naturalism and Theatre in European Painting," in *The Beholder: The Experience of Art in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Thomas Frangenberg (Surrey and Burlington VT, 2006), 14-17; Idem, *Vision, Reflection, and Desire in Western Painting* (Chapel Hill, 2007), 16-41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See Parsons, "Between Typology and Geometry," note 33.

Heemskerck that immerse the viewer in majestic panoramas (fig. 6). Topographical panoramas and archaeological study drawings, however, fundamentally differ as a category of images in that they map and record existing sites to replicate the experience of present structural bodies. Peruzzi's rendering instead visualizes an imagined (non-existent) edifice in the process of new construction. Rather than reproducing the empirical world, they are objects *for* mimesis and models to be imitated in real life.

Peruzzi's perspective drawings are rarely centralized renderings. He more often employed an off-axial view to show the sequence of structural form. His renderings also insist notably upon an eye-level vantage point. This is the case not only with UA25r, but generally with perspective drawings in the corpus of his architectural designs. The preference is in strong contrast to what other contemporary painter-architects like Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) favored (figs. 7, 8). Leonardo customarily depicted his architectural designs and their variations from an elevated bird's-eye-view perspective. The high vantage point he preferred may allow the beholder to contemplate a three-dimensional structure more fully, but distorts the proportional relationship between the viewer and the building. In the pre-aviation era, the effect is closer to that of observing miniature models of construction. In contrast, Peruzzi chose to render architectural constructions in perspective in proportional scale to our bodies. He firmly roots both, the designed structure and the beholder to the same ground to simulate a personal encounter. If Leonardo's renderings of buildings evoke an abstract "mind's-eye-view" in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For a possible connection between Heemskerck's topographical vistas and Peruzzi's spatial representations, see Arthur di Furia, "Heemskerck's Rome: Antiquity, Memory and the Berlin Sketchbooks" (PhD diss., University of Delaware, 2008), 57-58, and 83.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> A rare exception is his famous "bird's-eye-view" of the interior of Saint Peter's (UA2r).

Platonic sense, Peruzzi's insist upon aligning graphic representation with vision as a singular corporeal experience.<sup>10</sup>

Aligning a representation with corporeal vision was considered highly characteristic of Peruzzi's work already in the sixteenth-century. Peruzzi did habitually position the vantage point of a perspectival representation in correspondence with the viewer's line of sight. The *tromp l'oeil* mural in the villa Farnesina in Rome (1517-19) is the most elaborate pictorial cycle that employs this system as we will see in more detail in chapter 4. But there were other instances too. If figurative mural paintings were to be placed high above the floor, Peruzzi took special care to address the discrepancy between the vantage point in the painting and that of the viewer. The frescoed *Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple* in Santa Maria della Pace in Rome was, in its original placement, painted to simulate a panel painting that was hung on the wall (fig. 9). Vignola praised the conceit as exemplary in a letter to the architect Martino Bassi published in 1572.

The expert Baldassarre Peruzzi of Siena did this (painting) in the Temple of Peace in Rome, where he simulated a wooden frame fastened to the wall with iron hinges, so that if one doesn't know that it is painted on the wall, he judges it to be a painting on canvas. The same effect cannot be produced in sculpture.<sup>11</sup>

By presenting a fresco painting as if it were a canvas painting, Peruzzi tried to compensate for the inevitable discrepancy between the image's perspectival construct and the beholder's point of view. What he preferred in his pictorial works as well as in his

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Kathleen Blair Moore, "Ficino's Idea of Architecture: the 'Mind's-Eye-View' in Quattrocento Architectural Drawing," *Renaissance Studies* 24 (2009): 332-352.

In Vignola's letter to Bassi, published in, Martino Bassi, *Dispareri in materia d'architettura et perspettiva, con pareri di eccellenti et famosi architetti che li risolvono* (Brescia, 1572), 14. "(...) fece l'intendente Baldassarre Peruzzi Senese, nel Tempio della Pace in Roma, il quale finse un telaio di legname esser attaccato a gangheri di ferro alla muraglia: talché chi non sa, che sia dipinto nel muro, lo giudica un quadro fatto in tela. Per tanto non si può in scoltura far tale effetto."

architectural renderings was to align a perspective image with the viewing subject's line of sight.

Why would Peruzzi choose to make this unusual rendering technique a major component of his architectural design process? One critical motive was surely the authority of Vitruvius. Although never identified as such before, in weaving together perspective and *chiaroscuro* shading, this characteristically Peruzzian architectural drawing type corresponds to one of the three rendering methods that Vitruvius discussed in the *Ten Books of Architecture*. The ancient Roman author described what he called the three "species" (or appearances) of architectural design in book one chapter two.<sup>12</sup>

The species of design [dispositio], which are called ideai in Greek, are these: Ichnographia, orthographia, and scaenographia. Ichnographia is the skillful use to scale, of compass and rule, by means of which the on-site layout of the design is achieved. Next, orthographia is a frontal image, one drawn to scale, rendered according to the layout of the future work. As for scaenographia, it is the shaded rendering of the front and the receding sides as the latter converge on a point (in a circle). These species are produced by analysis [cogitatio] and invention [inventio]. Analysis is devoted concern and vigilant attention to the pleasing execution of design. Invention is the unraveling of obscure problems, arriving, through energetic flexibility, at a new set of principles. These are the terms for design. <sup>13</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> From the Latin *specolare* – to look.

Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, book 1 chapt. 2. "Item Scaenographia est frontis et laterum abscendentium adumbratio ad circini que centrum omnium linearum responsus." See also Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid Rowland (Cambridge, 1999), 24-25. From a vast literature on the subject of *scaenographia*, see A. M. G. Little, "Scaenographia," *The Art Bulletin* 18 (Sept. 1936): 407-18; Rudolf Wittkower, "Brunelleschi and 'Proportion in Perspective," *Journal of the Courtauld and Warburg Institutes* 16 (1951): 275-91; Wolfgang Lotz, "The Rendering of Interiors in Architectural Drawings of the Renaissance," in Idem., *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture* (Cambridge, 1977), 1-65; Pierre Gros, "Le rôle de la scaenographia dans les projets architecturaux du début de l'Empire romain," in Idem., *Le dessin d'architecture dans les sociétés antiques* (Leyde, 1985), 231-253; James Ackerman,

Renaissance architects read this passage with extreme care as an urgent call for the definition and mastery of these three types of drawing. Acquisition of these drafting skills became a prerequisite in building according to classical principles, for Vitruvius here seemed to be imparting not only fundamental techniques of the trade, but also a whole system of design.

Early modern readers translated *ichnographia* and *orthographia* more or less consistently as *pianta* (plan) and *profilo* or *alzato* (elevation), but the precise definition for *scaenographia* and its artistic merits became topics of intense discussion. As Vitruvius' use of the Latin word *adumbratio* (shading) reiterates, *scaenographia* is a variation of the Greek term *skiagraphia* meaning shadow painting. Early modern readers struggled to translate the term however. Vitruvius' Greek vocabulary in the *Ten Books* was notoriously problematic, and the text lacked illustrations that may have

<sup>&</sup>quot;The Conventions and Rhetoric of Architectural Drawing," in *Conventions of Architectural Drawing:* Representation and Misrepresentation, eds., James Ackerman and Wolfgang Lotz (Cambridge MA, 2000), 9-38; Branko Mitrovic, "Paduan Aristotelianism and Daniele Barbaro's Commentary on Vitruvius' De Architectura," Sixteenth Century Journal 29 (1998): 667-688; Francesco Paolo di Teodoro, "Vitruvio, Piero della Francesca, Raffaello: note sulla teoria del disegno di architettura nel rinascimento," Annali di architettura 14 (2002): 35-54; Summers, "The Heritage of Agatharchus," 9-35.

<sup>14</sup> Maria Teresa Bartoli, "Orthographia, ichnographia, scaenographia," *Studi e documenti di architettura* 8 (1978): 197-208; Rolf Tybout, "Die Perspektive bei Vitruv: zwei Überlieferungen von *scaenographia*," in *Munus non ingratum: Proceedings of the International Symposium on Vitruvius' De Architectura and the Hellenistic and Republican Architecture*, eds. Herman Geertman and Jan de Jong (Leiden, 1989), 55-68; Christoph Thoenes, "Vitruv, Alberti, Sangallo. Zur Theorie der Architekturzeichnung in der Renaissance," in *Hülle und Fülle: Festschrift für Tilmann Buddensieg*, eds., Andreas Beyer, Tilmann Buddensieg, and Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (Alfter, 1993), 565-584; Idem., "Vitruvio, Alberti, Sangallo: La teoria del disegno architettonico nel Rinascimento," in *Sostegno e Adornamento: Saggi sull'Architettura del Rinascimento* (Milan, 1998), 161-176; Júlio César Vittorio, "A scaenographia vitruviana e a perspectiva artificialis," in *Ars, Techné, Technica: a fundamentação teórica e cultural da perspectiva*, ed. Magno Morares Mello (Belo Horizonte, 2009), 91-100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Summers, "The Heritage of Agatharcus," 14-17; Idem. *Vision, Reflection, and Desire*, 16-41; Eva Keuls, "Skiagraphia Once Again," *American Journal of Archaeology* 79 (1975): 1-16.

elucidated his ideas.<sup>16</sup> Unable to ascertain a comparable Tuscan term, Francesco di Giorgio used both *scinografia* and *scienogrofia* in his early translation (circa 1480 to 1485).<sup>17</sup> Later, in his *Trattato* II (after 1490), Francesco adjusted the spelling to *scenogrophia* following the phrasing Giovanni Sulpizio da Veroli (1440-1508) used in 1486 when he published the first printed edition of Vitruvius' text.<sup>18</sup>

Peruzzi's method of perspectival rendering accords closely with interpretations of the term *scaenographia* that emerged in the *Cinquecento*. Translators who engaged in an advanced philological study of Vitruvius' treatise proffered that *scaenographia* equaled modern painterly perspective. For example, in 1514, the humanist Fabio Calvo (c. 1450-1527) translated the passage on *scaenographia* into the vernacular as follows.

Scienographia is shading and (a representation of) the front and the side, fleeing from the eye, a response, or rather, a correspondence, of all the lines to the center

From indications in the text, we know that 10 illustrations originally accompanied Vitruvius' treatise. The oldest surviving manuscript is Carolingian – which only contains a single drawing of a wind rose in book I. Vitruvius' Greek was problematic. Leon Battista Alberti noted that the ancient author "wrote neither Latin nor Greek, so that as far as we are concerned he might just as well have not written at all, rather than write something we cannot understand." Leon Battista Alberti, *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert (Cambridge MA, 1987), Book 6, chapt. 1. See also Ingrid Rowland, "Vitruvius in Print and in Vernacular Translation: Fra Giocondo, Bramante, Raphael, and Cesare Cesariano," in *Paper Palaces: the Rise of the Renaissance Architectural Treatise*, eds. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven, 1998), 105-121.

The first translation, referred to as the *Trattato* I, is preserved in two different copies after a lost original manuscript. Giustina Scaglia ed., *Il Vitruvio Magliabechiano di Francesco di Giorgio Martini* (Florence, 1985), 17; Idem, "A Vitruvianist's '*Thermae*' Plan and the Vitruvianists in Rome and Siena," *Arte Lombarda* 84/85 (1988): 85-101. For all known *Quattrocento* manuscript copies of Vitruvius, see list in appendix to Georgia Clarke, *Roman House – Renaissance Palaces: Inventing Antiquity in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Cambridge, 2003), 283-290. Between 1486 and 1550, 28 editions (including translations) of Vitruvius were published and fourteen reprints are documented.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Authors continued to spell this word differently well into the Cinquecento. Sebastiano Serlio used "*Sciographia*" in his first two publications, but switched to "*Scenographia*" later, starting with his book on perspective from 1545. This shift probably indicates consultation of two *Cinquecento* printed editions and commentaries – Fra Giocondo and Cesare Cesariano.

of the circle, or, to the circumference of the interior, or we might say, to the point.<sup>19</sup>

The phrase "fleeing from the eye" is cancelled out, probably because Vitruvius' text never specified that the center of convergence equaled the beholder's eye. <sup>20</sup> But a marginal note on the same folio in Raphael's hand makes explicit what Calvo intended: "scienographia is the view in perspective, or rather, the demonstration of the internal order of the building which one must coordinate with the exterior." Calvo and Raphael interpreted the third Vitruvian architectural rendering method as something that equaled modern painterly perspective, where all the horizontal lines converged in one or more vanishing points that had a direct relation to the eye of the viewer. Their collaborative translation emphasized what Vitruvius only loosely suggests in his definition – that this type of drawing simulated real visual experience.

Cesare Cesariano discussed the same issue at greater length in 1522 in his elaborately illustrated commentary on Vitruvius' treatise where he specified the etymology of the word in detail. *Scaenographia*, he said, derived from "ςκια, which in Greek means shadow, or the imitation of illuminated things." Cesariano then pointed out the representation's conformity with rules of optics.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> "La scienographia è una adombrazione, e della fronte, e del lato, <del>fugiente da l'ochio</del>, e un responso overo accordo di tutte le linee al centro del circino, over circuito di dentro, o volemo dire al punto." Vincenzo Fontana and Paolo Morachiello eds., *Vitruvio e Raffaello: il 'De Architectura' di Vitruvio nella Traduzione di Fabio Calvo Ravennate* (Rome, 1975), 78-79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Pierre Gros, "The Theory and Practice of perspective in Vitruvius' De Architectura," in *Perspective*, *Projections and Design: Technologies of Architectural Representation*, eds. Mario Carpo and Frédérique Lemerle (New York and London, 2007), 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "Scienographia è la veduta in prospettiva, overo la dimostrazione dell'ordine interno dello edifizio che se ha da fare acordato col de fora." Fontana and Morachiello, *Vitruvio e Raffaello*, 78. Raphael considered Agatharchus to be among the "auctori in architectura," rather than among the writers on painting.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> "(...) σκια quale in greco significa a noi umbra seu immitatione de la cosa luminata." Cesare Cesariano, De architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare affigurata di Lucio Vitruvio Pollione (Como,

*Scenographia* is truly, in this section [book I of Vitruvius' treatise], not only a shaded rendition of *orthographia*, which is a frontal representation as mentioned above, but a demonstration done according to the rules of optics (...) as is well known to professors of perspective.<sup>23</sup>

He concludes that renderings of architecture in this mode "appear to imitate the *idea* of them [buildings] using shadows."<sup>24</sup> The consensus is codified to an even greater extent in the mid-sixteenth century. Sebastiano Serlio stated in the preface to his book on perspective from 1545 that, "to come straight to the practical needs of the architect, I would indeed say that perspective is what Vitruvius calls *scenografia* (...)."<sup>25</sup> By 1583, Egnazio Danti would plainly state in the opening paragraph to Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola's *Two Rules of Practical Perspective* that "the most noble art of perspective" was unmistakably "called *scaenographia* by the Greeks."<sup>26</sup>

Sixteenth-century translators and commentators equated *scaenographia* to painterly perspective in *chiaroscuro* in part because Vitruvius' own passage on Greek stage backdrops in the seventh book seemed to support this interpretation.

1521), Book 1 chapt. 2 ii. This comment is followed by a caveat that he will explain later in the section on theaters in book V why the Greek term for *scaena* originally meant "shaded hut".

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> "Ma questa Scenographia e proprio in questa parte non solum una adumbratione de la pincta fronte predicta de la Orthographia, ma una dimonstratione facta con la ratione del Optica." Cesariano, *De architectura*, Book 1, ii, 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Ibid., Book 1, ii, 2. "(...) pareno immitare la idea de quelli con lumbra." Although Cesariano's illustration of *scaenographia*, which features the Gothic cathedral of Milan, is neither shaded nor rendered in perspective. Desmond Hui, "Ichnographia, Orthographia, Scaenographia: An Analysis of Cesare Cesariano's Illustrations of Milan Cathedral in his Commentary on Vitruvius," in *Knowledge and/or/of Experience: the Theory of Space in Art and Architecture*, ed. John Mcarthur Brisbane (Queensland, 1993), 77-97.

Sebastiano Serlio, Della Prospettiva (Paris, 1545), 2; Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture Volume One: Books I-V of 'Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva.' (New Haven and London, 1996), 37. "Ma venendo alla prattica e al bisogno dell'architetto, dirò bene che prospettiva è quella cosa che Vitruvio domanda scenografia, cioè la fronte e li lati di un edificio et anco di qualunque cosa ò superficie ò corpo."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, *Due regole della prospettiva pratica*, ed. Egnazio Danti (Rome, 1583), 1.

In Athens, when Aeschylus was producing tragedies, Agatharchus was first to work for the theater and wrote a treatise about it. Learning from this, Democritus and Anaxagoras wrote on the same subject, namely how the extension of rays from a certain established center point ought to correspond in a natural ratio to the eyes' line of sight, so that they could represent the appearance of buildings in scene paintings (*scaenam*), no longer by some uncertain method, but precisely, both the surfaces that were depicted frontally, and those that seemed either to be receding or projecting.<sup>27</sup>

This description of the Greek scene painting seemed to refer to a perspectival composition that shared representational techniques with *scaenographia* mentioned in book one. The two types of classical representations (architectural drawing and stage scenery) become synonymous in the Renaissance imagination. And this range of *scaenographia*'s applicability explains at least in part why early modern painter-architects like Peruzzi, Giulio Romano, and Giorgio Vasari could navigate between architectural and theatrical projects with such ease and authority.

No surviving architectural drawing by Peruzzi's hand is captioned anywhere as *scaenographia*. Nevertheless, other evidence strongly suggests that this was the precise

True in Declaration

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, preface to book 7; Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 86. The classical Greek treatises on the subject cited here were frustratingly unavailable to readers in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Francesco di Giorgio searched dusty scriptoria for Greek and Latin texts that Vitruvius mentioned, although he seems to have given up the search after a certain period. "(...) non t[r]uovo da Vitruvio in qua alcuna che in tale arte più copiosamente abbi tratato, per bene che molti sieno stati." See Alessandro Parronchi's introduction to *Il Vitruvio Magliabecchiano di Francesco di Giorgio Martini* (Florence, 1985), 24.

Daniele Barbaro identified this trend as a problem in his influential commentary on Vitruvius from 1556. Barbaro considered the term *scaenographia* misleading and suggested that it was a transcription error. "This usefulness of the profile moves me to interpret (the term) as *sciographia*, and not *scaenographia*. Because if in fact *scaenographia* is a description of scenery and perspective, it is something that is necessary in theatrical things, as will be discussed in book V. It (the term) however does not seem to agree with the idea of design [dispositio] of which is discussed here." He advised replacing *scaenographia* with *sciographia* (section or profile), because he found the former term out of place in a discussion of architectural drawings for its close association with theater. Daniele Barbaro, *I Dieci Libri dell'Architettura di M. Vitruvio* (Venice, 1567 [1556]), 30; Mitrovic, "Paduan Aristotelianism," 667-688.

understanding with which Peruzzi produced his most recognizable architectural imagery. The three Vitruvian drawing types were undoubtedly in his lexicon since Peruzzi had been planning to publish his own illustrated commentary on the *Ten Books*. <sup>29</sup> He also referenced the term *ichnographia* directly in his surviving works. The plan drawing for an unexecuted Teatine church in Rome modeled after the ancient temple of Minerva Medica is a good example. <sup>30</sup> In this drawing from the early 1530s, we find the word *ichnographia* printed conspicuously in the very center of the sheet (fig. 10). That Peruzzi rendered his architectural schemes in perspective and in *chiaroscuro* shading without realizing its typological association with the classical drawing category is therefore highly unlikely.

Vitruvius considered management of a building's appearance as an essential criterion in guaranteeing quality. "Nothing should be of greater concern to the architect," he wrote in book six, than for his building to "seem to have been designed correctly with nothing wanting in its appearance." Commenting on the importance of optics, he outlined how a gifted architect takes advantage of the fact that "the mind is quite frequently deceived by visual judgments." A building's overall design therefore must

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Howard Burns, "Baldassarre Peruzzi and Sixteenth-Century Architectural Theory," in *Les Traités d'architecture de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1988), 207 and 213.

Rossella Ongaretto, "Baldassarre Peruzzi e i Teatini," Quaderni dell'Istituto di storia dell'architettura 57/59 (20011/12): 129-142; Guglielmo de Angelis d'Ossat, "Tre progetti del Peruzzi per chiese romane," in Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena e architettura, 290-307. Referencing Vitruvian drawing typologies like this was not uncommon. Among Peruzzi's contemporaries, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger often designated his drawings as either ichnographia or orthographia.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, Book 6, chapt. 2. i; Idem., *Ten Books on Architecture*, 78. "Nothing should be of greater concern to the architect than that, in the proportions of each individual element, buildings have an exact correspondence among their sets of principles. Then (...) it is the special skill of a gifted architect to provide for the nature of the site, or the building's appearance, or its function, and make adjustments by subtractions or additions, should something need to be subtracted from or added to the proportional system, so that it will seem to have been designed correctly with nothing wanting in its appearance."

compensate for problems such as site irregularities, so that ultimately "its appearance will be shapely beyond question to those who behold it."<sup>32</sup> In his comment on this exact passage, Daniele Barbaro remarked in 1556 that, "the weakness of the eye also imparts various errors, but many such things mentioned can be remedied by the talented architect." Buildings are best judged by "those who have seen the entirety of the work," and for this reason, "it is here that we see how necessary perspective is to the architect."<sup>33</sup> The Paduan architect Gianfrancesco Fortuna discussed the same issue in his manuscript commentary on Vitruvius from 1546 dedicated to Cosimo I de' Medici.

(...) Perspective is the principal member of architecture, because, to be sure, if the architect wants to make a drawing (disegno) of what he wants to fabricate or build, I say that if that drawing is not rendered in perspective it will never be able to demonstrate its natural effect.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Vitruvius, Book 6, chapt. 2. iv; Idem., *Ten Books on Architecture*, 78. "Therefore if things that are true appear false and many things are taken to be other than they are by our eyes, I think there should be no doubt that it is proper to make additions and subtractions according to the natures and requirements of sites – but this should be done in such a way that nothing will be found wanting in the work. These adjustments must be made by sharp judgment on site, not only on the basis of standard method." Serlio praised Bramante for taking the viewer's line of sight into account at the *Tempietto* in Rome, where an optical corrective was used to adjust the building's height. See Sebastiano Serlio, *Terzo libro, nel quale si figurano e si descrivono le antichità di Roma*, (Venice, 1540), 18;

Daniele Barbaro, *I Dieci Libri*, 277-278. "La infermità dell'occhio partorisce anche diversi errori; però a molte cose delle sopra dette il valente Architetto può rimediare." "Et qui si vide quanto sia necessaria la prospettiva allo architetto." Barbaro's *La Pratica della Prospettiva* from 1569 also dealt with painted and built architecture. See Margaret Daly Davis, "Perspective, Vitruvius, and the Reconstruction of Ancient Architecture: The Role of Piero della Francesca's *De Prospettiva Pingendi*," *Studies in the History of Art* 59 (2003): 259-279; David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge and New York, 1987), 48-49; Gros, "The Theory and Practice of Perspective in Vitruvius' De Architectura," 5-18. Gros argued that vision in Vitruvius specifically controlled *symmetria*. On the decline in the faith in the architectural expert's visual judgment, see Petra Brouwer, "The Unreliable Eye: The Decline of Vision as a Reliable Source of Knowledge in Dutch Architectural Theory of the Nineteenth Century," in *Dealing with the Visual: Art History, Aesthetics, and Visual Culture,* eds., Edward Winters and Caroline van Eck (Aldershot, 2005), 191-208.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Gianfrancesco Fortuna, Regole generali di architettura (1546?), Biblioteca Laurenziana, Med.Palat.51, fol. 5v. "(...) prospettiva è membro principale di l'architettura. Perché certissimo, si lo Architetto vol fare uno disegno, di qual si voglia fabricha, over defficio: dico che si quel tal disegno non

Fortuna's testimony is particularly valuable, as he mentions in the dedication that he decided to take up the task of writing a treatise that unites architectural theory and practice, specifically because the late Baldassarre Peruzzi was unable to bring his own learned writings on the subject to completion. <sup>35</sup> Peruzzi's use of *scaenographia* is based on a very similar understanding about the role of optics in design. He employs the rendering to consider the visual effects of a structure (or of its detail) and as a measure against distortions in the product's final appearance. Scaenographia serves its primary utility therefore in the process of design.

Peruzzi's scaenographia drawings reveal him to be a practitioner who sought to build attentively in the classical manner. His antiquarian inquiries extended beyond

On this point, see chapter 6, note 9 in this dissertation. Fortuna's volume would have been more or less contemporary to Serlio's publications – even though the latter is mentioned no where in Fortuna's manuscript. Serlio's first publication (1537) and Fortuna's text suggestively share the same title, Regole generale d'architettura, and both claim to synthesize Peruzzi's excellent teachings. If these two architects from the Veneto were both in Peruzzi's Roman circle, it would be easy to imagine their acquaintance with each other.

è tirato in prospettiva, che mai potrà mostrare lo effetto suo naturale. Ne mancho il prospettivo potrà tirare justo il suo disegno in prospettiva se lui non ha notitia de le misure et termini de la Architettura." Almost nothing is known about this author – not even his life dates. He seems to have spent quite some time in Rome in Peruzzi's circle, and calls himself 'Architectus.' His text is a commentary on Vitruvius dedicated to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici, but only the dedication and the section treating book one has survived. Other parts may never have been written judging from the fact that Fortuna solicits Cosimo's backing for completing his translation and commentary. See, Lionello Puppi, "L'inedito Vitruvio di Gianfrancesco Fortuna (med. palat. 51) e un'ipotesi sui commentari di Baldassarre Peruzzi," in Les traités d'architecture de la Renaissance, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1988), 255-262; Idem, "Maestro J. Francesco Fortuna Padoano ditto el Sole, Architetto," Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova 67 (1978): 43-60.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Fortuna, *Regole generale*, fol. 4r. "(...) se qual moderno speculatore in le discipline mathematice, et architettoniche, di Baldasara da Sciena defonto, havesse in luce posto gli soi libri de Architettura, li quali lui havia gia gran parte forniti, non ho dubio che quelli non fosse statti l'ultime dechiarationi, si de vochaboli come di graphida, over disegno, et prospettiva. Et che'l desideroso desciplinate frutto grandissimo cavato non havesse. Ma poi che sua sorte non ha voluto, pensai io, come minimo un giorno stando solingo, con quel più facil modo potesse, tradure, et dichiarar li sopra ditti X libri di M[arco] V[itruvio] A[pollione] et luminar li con alcune mie regole ante ditte, a comodità, et uso di ogni universale ingegno (...)"

interests in exemplary form and measure to include aspects of practice that are less discernable. While Peruzzi studied the Roman ruins and Vitruvius' text with fervor and appropriated forms and construction techniques he gleaned from them gracefully to his own works, he was equally interested in implementing the classical system of design into his process of invention. But his objective should not be reduced simply to formal classicism. What he professes is a belief that the quality of a building is determined by the manner in which it is conceived. Peruzzi's *scaenographia* was far from an anticlassical heresy or an eccentric artistic compulsion. It was a consciously selected method of design informed by a critical understanding of classical principles and its profound relevance to the practice of contemporary visual culture.

## 2.3 Scaenographia in the Design Process

Scaenographia offered many advantages in the architectural design process. The rendering method's efficacy becomes clear by following a particular project's unfolding on paper step by step. Carpi cathedral provides a particularly useful case study in this line of investigation because its design sequence, contract details, and construction process are documented relatively well. The project also offers a rare opportunity to compare Peruzzi's drawings against a standing building.

For Peruzzi's relationship with the antique, see Cristiano Tessari, *Baldassare Peruzzi: Il progetto dell'antico* (Milan, 1995); Vitale Zanchettin, "Costruire nell'antico. Roma, Campo Marzio 1508-1523: Peruzzi, la confraternita di San Rocco e i cantieri intorno al mausoleo di Augusto," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi 1481-1536*, 123-153, and 511-522; Christoph Frommel, "'Ala maniera e uso delj boni antiquj:' Baldassarre Peruzzi e la sua quarantennale ricerca dell'antico," in op. cit., 3-83; Ann Huppert, "The Archaeology of Baldassare Peruzzi's Architectural Drawings," (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2001); Mark Wilson Jones, "Palazzo Massimo and Baldassarre Peruzzi's Approach to Architectural Design," *Architectural History* 31 (1988): 59-106; Pier Nicola Pagliara, "Raffaello e la rinascita delle tecniche antiche," in *Les Chantiers de la Renaissance*, ed. Andre Chastel and Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1991), 51-69.

This was a commission that marked a significant break in Peruzzi's architectural career. Alberto Pio III was a skilled diplomat, an ambitious prince, a highly educated art collector, and an altogether new type of patron for the painter-architect whose previous major employers consisted primarily of Sienese compatriots like Agostino Chigi, and those in Chigi's familial circle in Rome.<sup>37</sup> The monumental cathedral project provided Peruzzi an occasion to extend his practice into new territory. He operated remotely from Rome as Carpi's court architect and produced designs of at least two more churches (the facade for the so-called *Sagra*, and the church of San Niccolò) for the city in addition to the cathedral.<sup>38</sup> These works were part of Pio's drastic interventions into Carpi's urban fabric. Pio chose the painter-architect's avant-garde and Roman architectural language to reframe some of the most politically significant sites in Carpi.

Peruzzi never traveled to Carpi in person but instead was given design instructions and site measurements in Rome from Pio's agents.<sup>39</sup> Upon receiving the

Pio was mentored in his youth by both the Venetian publisher Aldo Manuzio and the humanist Giovanni Pico della Mirlandola, his maternal uncle. His name appears on the list of members of the Accademia Aldina, and he seems to have sponsored several Greek publications through the Aldine press. He had a substantial collection of antiquities in Rome. Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus vol. 84*, *Controversies with Alberto Pio*, ed. Nelson Minnich (Toronto, 2001); Elena Svalduz, "Bellissime investigazioni: su alcuni progetti di Baldassare Peruzzi per Alberto Pio da Carpi," in *Baldassare Peruzzi 1481-1536*, 181-197; Idem, *Da castello a 'città': Carpi e Alberto Pio 1472-1530* (Rome, 2001); Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven, 2006), 150-164; Anna Maria Piras, "Una collezione di difficile ricostruzione: la raccolta di antichità di Alberto III Pio di Carpi," in *Collezioni di antichità a Roma tra '400 e '500*, ed. Anna Cavallaro (Rome, 2007), 219-224; Angela Nuovo, "Appendice: Alberto Pio e Aldo Manuzio," in *Carpi: Una Sede Principesca del Rinascimento*, ed. Luisa Giordano (Pisa, 1999), 353-358; Cesare Vasoli, "Alberto Pio III," in *L'immagine del principe: i ritratti di Alberto III nel Palazzo dei Pio a Carpi*, ed. Manuela Kahn-Rossi (Carpi, 2008), 13-54.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> In Carpi, Peruzzi was involved in the remodeling of the church called the *Sagra* affiliated with the Pio castle, and the new construction of the Franciscan church of San Niccolò. He may also have had a hand in some remodeling work on the castle. See, Svalduz, *Da castello a 'città*.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Nicolo Rocca, *Lettere e documenti interessanti la storia del Duomo e della Collegiata di Carpi* (Carpi, 1863), 27-41.

charge in 1514, he considered two canonical alternative forms for the cathedral, deliberating over a centralized temple plan and a longitudinal basilica plan as surviving drawings illustrate. The Greek-cross form remained a possibility almost throughout the entire design process. At first Peruzzi sought formal inspirations on a large sheet using floor plans and proportional measurements. This step is documented in three graphic fragments from the Uffizi collection that once formed a single sheet together (fig. 11).<sup>40</sup> At what scale he envisioned the new building is evident in the monuments selected as design models – the temple of Minerva Medica, the basilica Maxentius in the forum, the Lateran oratory [destroyed in 1587], and the so-called *piazza d'oro* vestibule from Hadrian's villa in Tivoli. 41 On the sheet, Peruzzi juxtaposes sketches of these four structures outlined from memory and from field notes. 42 The primary concern here was the potential architectural solution that the models could inspire. Archaeological precision was less important. For example, the temple of Minerva Medica is given a portico in the sketch, while the floor plans for two other monuments were "filled in" with deductive analysis. 43 The models' conditions and proportions were modified in order to convey their full visual effects.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Parsons, "Between Typology and Geometry," 289. Parsons convincingly reconfigured these three fragments according to the evidence of their chain lines.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> ibid., 289 and 317.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> The Basilica Maxentius was one of Peruzzi's favorite motifs. A number of his studies after it survive, including UA396r., UA487v, UA539v., and UA543v. Two sheets after the Lateran Oratory also survive. And UA428 attributed to Peruzzi documents the Temple of Minerva Medica. The plan may have been inspired also by Bramante's Nymphaeum at Genazzano. Piers Dominic Briton, "A Peruzzi Drawing and the Nymphaeum at Genazzano," *Source: Notes in the History of Art* 19 (2000): 1-6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> A similar procedure was recounted by Serlio in his third book, when he described how Peruzzi, after excavating parts of the ancient Theater of Marcellus' foundation in Rome "deduced the whole from the part uncovered (...)." Sebastiano Serlio, *Terzo Libro*, 69v; Hart and Hicks, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, 136.

Perspective drawing was integral to the painter-architect's thinking even in this early stage of design. The three renderings of prototypes on this sheet articulate structural volume and mass that cannot be conveyed through diagrammatic floor plans or sections. Peruzzi needed an immediately consumable visualization of scale, illumination, volumes, and proportions. The use of perspective and shading in this brainstorming phase suggests that, when devising new forms, Peruzzi relied on a structure's visual effects just as much as he did on a floor plan's geometry.

On the verso of the same sheet, we find the artist struggling to resolve two major problems: the cathedral's overall plan and the form of the crossing piers (fig. 12). In a series of detailed sketches, he analyzed several complex classically inspired plan variations while simultaneously seeking the piers' footprint. How closely Peruzzi conflated these two issues is evident especially in UA529v, where their geometry even become indistinguishable at times. Here too, the painter-architect turns to *scaenographia* in seeking solutions. On the upper-right corner for example Peruzzi elaborates on the piers' grouping using shading and perspective as if to test the design detail he first devised in plan. Nearly identical piers as these also appear on the bottom right of UA451, where Peruzzi starts to propose a variety of detailed solutions for the interior (fig. 13). Double columns line the ambulatory and nave. Options for side chapels and sacristies are considered on the left, while greater attention to concrete measurements is noticeable

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Hetty Joyce, "Studies in the Renaissance Reception of Ancient Vault Decoration," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 67 (2004): 219-220. Joyce identifies the inspiration for these floor plans as ancient Roman vault coffering patterns. Like the thinking expressed on the sheet's recto then, images on the verso demonstrate a design practice that began with the selection of classical models.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> This sheet's relevance to the project is evident in the Carpian scale Peruzzi used. See Parsons, "Between Typology and Geometry," 297, n. 9

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> For the connection between these two projects, see Dante Colli, Alfonso Garuti, and Romano Pelloni eds., *Un Tempio Degno di Roma* (Carpi, 1987).

overall. Here again, half cropped off on the left hand edge, we find a small perspectival detail of the crossing area. His use of the pen is both quick and rough. Modifications of proportions and ratios were made directly on the drawings.

This is generally the case with most surviving examples of Peruzzi's *scaenographia* drawings. On UA143r also from the Uffizi collection, for instance, drawn probably for Saint Peter's basilica, Peruzzi works out the mathematical proportions of the details directly above the perspectival and shaded image (fig. 14). He is especially interested in the distances between the parts here, and in working out the final appearance of the design. That this was not a presentation drawing created simply as an aesthetically pleasing image for the patron is therefore obvious. However small, these types of examples make absolutely explicit how *scaenographia* served in the process of imagination, invention, and of revision and not necessarily in the transfer of a design to a construction.

Records indicate that Peruzzi produced a wooden model for the cathedral that survived at least until 1624.<sup>47</sup> When workers in Carpi were anxious to start construction in November 1514, Pio himself wrote back to assure them that the *modello* would be arriving shortly, indicating his intimate knowledge of the work's progress.<sup>48</sup> The model remained in Pio's Roman residence before reaching Carpi in June the next year. Vasari commended this wooden model in 1568 as "very beautiful and constructed according to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Gasparo Pozzuoli, *Cronaca di Carpi stesa l'anno 1624*, 166-67. (Unpublished manuscript in the Archivio Comunale di Carpi, Archivio Guaitoli filza 9, fasc. 1).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Rocca, *Lettere e documenti*, 27-41; Garuti, Colli, and Pellon, *Un tempio degno di Roma*, 12; Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance*, 151, and n. 204; Parsons, "Between Typology and Geometry," 303-305. During 1514-15, Pio was a living at the villa of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este along the Tiber.

Vitruvius' rules and orders."<sup>49</sup> He also noted that the model was accompanied by a drawing, which has since vanished without a trace. But an account of this presentation drawing's presence suggests that Peruzzi chose to supplement the three-dimensional model with a graphic commentary. A point of comparison would be the magnificent final drawing Peruzzi created in 1523 for the interior remodeling of the church of San Petronio in Bologna that combines orthogonal projection with plan and perspective views (fig. 15).<sup>50</sup> The presence of the final model (or models) for the Carpi's cathedral reiterates the argument that *scaenographia* primarily served the painter-architect as compositional exercises towards development of specific structural details. Once the form and proportions of an element were devised, they would be articulated with precision in the three-dimensional model. This was especially true for monumental constructions such as cathedrals and palaces.

Peruzzi continued to visualize his ideas graphically as they concretized using both plan and perspective drawing in the advanced design phase of Carpi cathedral. He understood that a variety of rendering methods were necessary in devising structural solutions and rendered his concepts systematically. This is particularly evident on the recto and verso of UA150 (figs. 16, 17), where two alternative designs for the church are considered on a single sheet. Exploring the viability of a Greek cross plan versus a Latin cross one, Peruzzi partners each design in plan with a smaller perspectival view. The

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Giorgio Vasari, "Vita di Baldassare Peruzzi," 598. "Fece ancora (...) il disegno e modello del duomo di Carpi, che fu molto bello, e secondo le regole di Vitruvio con suo ordine fabbricato." Vasari is the only source that mentions this drawing in addition to the model. The practice of presenting both drawings and wooden models to patrons was not uncommon. Francesco di Giorgio provided both, for example, at S. Maria del Calciano in Cortona (1484), where he collaborated with Luca Signorelli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> On this magnificent drawing, see Richard Tuttle, "Baldassare Peruzzi e il suo progetto di completamento della basilica petroniana," in Una basilica per una città: sei secoli in San Petronio, eds. Mario Fanti and Deanna Lenzi (Bologna, 1994), 243-250.

painter-architect relied on the cumulative effects of these representational modes to convey his ideas as accurately as possible. And he seems to have continued to work in this same manner throughout his career. Well into the 1530s, for example, he juxtaposed a *scaenographia* view side by side with a scaled plan drawing in a proposal for the Medici burial chapel in the choir of Santa Maria sopra Minerva in Rome (fig. 18). Compared to the rougher earlier sketches for this project, both views here show refinement and clarity (fig. 19). Measurements are simplified and internalized in the forms presented.

This practice of combining a variety of representational methods is completely in keeping with the Renaissance understanding of Vitruvius' drawing system. Visual evidence from the period that make this line of thinking explicit is very rich. For example, in a manuscript copy of Vitruvius from Ferrara dated to 1490 (fig. 20), an unidentified humanist at the court of Ercole I d'Este demonstrated through illustrations how *ichnographia*, *orthographia* and *scaenographia* should be juxtaposed to communicate different characteristics of a single structure. The same Ionic temple is represented three times in this instance because the drawing techniques were understood

This presentation drawing belonged to the private collection of Dr. Richard P. Wunder at least until the late 1970s. It was attributed to Peruzzi by Angelis d'Ossat in 1987, and was unknown to Wurm. Wunder deceased in 2002, and the current location of this drawing is unknown. See Guido del Borgo and Giorgio Neerman eds., *Disegni Antichi: architettura, scenografia, ornamenti* (Milan, 1978), cat. 4 (as a work by Giovanni Mnatno); Angelis d'Ossat, "Tre progetti del Peruzzi," 263-307; Christoph Frommel, *Architettura alla corte papale nel rinascimento* (Milan, 2003), 334-357; Loren Partridge, "Le tombe dei papi Leone X e Clemente VII," in *Baccio Bandinelli: scultore e maestro 1493-1560*, eds. Detlef Heikamp and Beatrice Paolozzi Strozzi (Florence, 2014), 169-186.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Claudio Sgarbi, *Vitruvio Ferrarese de Architectura: la prima versione illustrata* (Modena, 2003). See also Claudio Sgarbi, "Between Words and Drawings: Dissertation on a Newly Found Illustrated Version of *De Architectura*." (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993). Sgarbi dates the manuscript to somewhere between 1496 and 1511. The section on theaters in Book five is profusely illustrated, which is perhaps appropriate for an edition commissioned in Ferrara – one of the most active centers for theater in Italy at the time.

as an anthology that worked collectively. To take another example, in the widely read first illustrated edition of the Vitruvian *Ten Books* from 1511, Fra Giovanni Giocondo (1433-1515) similarly showed that all three drawing methods were to be applied to a single structure to convey different types of information (figs. 21, 22).<sup>53</sup> Each discrete drawing type carried its own objective. Plan and elevation views display inherent order and articulate measurements, but they are incapable of communicating mass, plasticity, or the immediate visual effects of a form or a space. This is where *scaenographia* was useful. The latter offered an approximation of, or even a substitution for, the physical experience of the structure and served in the provision of good visual judgment.<sup>54</sup>

These properties innate to *scaenographia* could have accounted for at least two inspired design solutions at Carpi cathedral. The first is the ingenious use of natural light (fig. 23). Luminosity is closely controlled here to set a hierarchy of sacredness that distinguishes the various interior spaces from one another. The cathedral's tall nave and crossing are flooded with light. Their luminosity is in strong contrast to the darker side aisles and family chapels that become contemplative spaces. The distinction would have been even more pronounced in the original design. Prior to the late-nineteenth-century

Fra Giocondo opts for a perspective line drawing in illustrating *Scaenographia*. Lucia Ciapponi, "Fra Giocondo da Verona and his Edition of Vitruvius," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 47 (1984): 72-90; Georgia Clarke, *Roman House – Renaissance Palaces*, 283-290.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> It is this same understanding that led Raphael, Baldassarre Castiglione and Angelo Colocci to advocate the combination of multiple rendering methods in creating archaeological drawings of Roman ruins in their petition to Leo X from 1519. "The volume of bodies (*grossezza de'corpi*) cannot be shown on a plane if those parts that have to be seen further away do not diminish proportionally according to how the eye sees naturally." Francesco Teodoro, *Raffaello, Baldassar Castiglione e la lettera a Leone X* (Bologna, 1994), xxii; Huppert, "Envisioning New St. Peter's," 160-161 and n. 14; John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources 2 vols*. (New Haven and London, 2003), vol. 1, 537-538.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Parsons noted that the side-aisles might have been lit by *oculi* in the past, which are now patched up and filled. But the nave was constructed much later under Este rule, between 1605 and 1701, with deviations from Peruzzi's model. See Parsons, "Between Typology and Geometry," 301-303.

conservation work on the church's interior, the liturgical center around the high altar area was illuminated strikingly by a Serlian window in the apse (now blocked). The idea for this Serlian window is present in UA25r (see fig. 5). We will examine more closely in chapter five how Peruzzi's deft pictorial handling of light came to impact the tectonic forms of his architectural compositions. Suffice it to say for the study currently at hand that drawing in *scaenographia* would have brought Peruzzi's attention to strategies of illumination. Plan and elevation drawings would not have encouraged the same type of design enquiry. Peruzzi expressed concerns for Carpi cathedral's lighting repeatedly in his drawings. The small sketch of Basilica Maxentius (see fig. 11) shows that he looked for illumination strategies in classical precedents. But his attention to the same problem is also evident in UA25r (see fig. 5), and in the perspectival view of the interior on UA449r (see figs. 16, 17) where the path of natural light into the crossing is marked.

Scaenographia concurrently prompted Peruzzi to play with form in inventive ways too. This is particularly evident in the cathedral's four large crossing piers supporting the dome (figs. 24, 25). As Manfredo Tafuri noted, the piers transitioned from convex to concave gradually as they rose from floor to drum. Such plasticity that evocatively calls the Baroque to mind was highly unusual for the early Cinquecento.

Peruzzi's sketches for the project show intense deliberation on the shape of these piers, in

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> For the history of Carpi cathedral's construction and restoration, see Ibid., 301-305; Garuti, Colli and Pelloni, *Un Tempio Degno di Roma*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Cristina Càndito, Il disegno e la luce: fondamenti e metodi, storia e nuove applicazioni delle ombre e dei riflessi nella rappresentazione | Drawing and Light: Bases and Methods, History and New Applications of Shadows and Reflections in Representation (Florence, 2010), 182-189.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance*, 151-152. Tafuri also pointed to Antonio da Sangallo's design for Sant'Egidio in Cellere as possible inspiration. See also Sandro Benedetti, "La sperimentazione di Baldassare Peruzzi," 65-78.

part because the first phase of the cathedral's construction was to start here. We know that the crossing (along with the choir, sacristies, and transepts) was fully complete by 1525.

What inspired this elastic solution in the piers were the curved corners found at *piazza d'Oro* in Tivoli and at the Lateran oratory. Peruzzi carefully studied details of these models, not only in small perspectival drawings as we saw on UA156r (see Fig. 11), but also more carefully in UA438r (fig. 26). That the Lateran oratory was a particularly important referent for the crossing's design seems to have been known to those who studied Peruzzi's building in Carpi. In an anonymous sixteenth-century drawing, the two structures are compared side by side to demonstrate their affinity (figs. 27, 28). Had Peruzzi relied solely on ground plans, only with difficulty would he have been able to devise such a complex vertical volume. Neither would have orthography led him to conceive of such a solution since it forsakes any indication of depth. In this instance, it must have been *scaenographia* – or, the painterly use of shading and perspective – that served as a unique and advantageous design apparatus. It introduced questions into the design process that other rendering methods could not, and ultimately helped the painter-architect generate inventive structural results.

The same mode of volumetric thinking is visible in other *scaenographia* drawings by Peruzzi as well. For instance, in UA117r for the design of the church of San Domenico in Siena (fig. 29) he relies on *chiaroscuro* shading to experiment with design variations of side chapels. In this small work too, he is interested in how alternatively modeled spaces create differently contrasting values of light and shade. The arched wall on the right has a Serlian window while the one on the left does not. The latter is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Peruzzi also looked carefully at the Lateran oratory's octagonal dome, which he applies to Carpi cathedral in a monumental scale. Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance*, 152.

conceived as an apsed chapel-like space, while the former is a flat wall with three deep niches. He pays attention to illumination, tectonic mass, and recession of space, which can only be contemplated through this mode of representation.

A broad-ranging utility thus marked this optical rendering method as an effective tool for architectural design. Its illusionism should be understood not as a product of fantasy or imprecision but rather of pragmatism. What this type of drawing offers is actually quite banal in our age of digital technology – a concretely rendered preview of a three-dimensional structure's quality and its calibrated visual effects. This pragmatic character is present even in the painterliest of Peruzzi's preparatory drawings like UA25r. (See fig. 5). *Scaenographia* stimulated new architectural ideas and solicited solutions to practical problems through visual means. Peruzzi's immediate followers saw this particular manner (or *maniera*) of design as a pictorial operation at its core. As we covered in chapter one, critics like Vasari, Serlio, Lomazzo, and de Hollanda perceptively attributed Peruzzi's "wealth of invention and boldness of design in architecture" to his pictorial skills, and considered him second to no one in architecture specifically because he "combined that profession with the good and beautiful manner of painting." 60

Scaenographia drawing was an important source for Peruzzi's exalted critical fortune in the sixteenth century that praised medial synthesis. But historically contingent motives also shaped this artistic legacy. The final section of this chapter engages Peruzzi's manner of practice with later readings and considers the position of painter-architects in a shifting theoretical discourse on architecture.

<sup>60</sup> See notes 21 and 23 in chapter one. This reading by contemporaries would counter Christoph Frommel's opinion that Peruzzi belonged to a vast group of artists who preferred to operate in a generic classical vein, rather than develop a unique personal style. See Christoph Frommel, "Baldassarre Peruzzi pittore e

architetto," in Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura scena e architettura nel Cinquecento, 21-46.

## 2.3 Architecture as a Visual Art

Towards the end of his life, following his return to Rome from Siena in 1532, Peruzzi prepared to publish a commentary on Vitruvius' treatise, a book on military architecture, and a book on antiquity. While none of these projects made it to the printing press and no theoretical account by Peruzzi's hand has survived, many of his ideas and methods were discussed in publications subsequently issued by those who studied directly with him. Sebastiano Serlio, Pietro Cataneo of Siena (c. 1510-71), and Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola were among those sixteenth-century authors writing on architecture and on perspective who stressed the importance of Peruzzi's painterly use of optics in his building practice. Their writings in many ways codified the theories that Peruzzi's *scaenographia* drawings communicate.

Serlio was the first Renaissance theorist to define the main task of an architect as giving visual form to an abstract idea through drawing.<sup>62</sup> His treatise broke from previous Renaissance texts on architecture by placing pictorial (and perspectival) representation at the very center of architectural invention. This was essentially an open endorsement of painter-architects and their typical modes of practice. An ideal architect for Serlio is someone who commands exceptional pictorial skill, for architectural invention for him occurs through representation. Visual perception is a vital tool in this enterprise. This is why Serlio claimed that *scaenographia* was "absolutely necessary for the architect," and

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Burns, "Baldassare Peruzzi and Sixteenth-Century Architectural Theory," 207-226; Hubertus Günther, "Ein Entwurf Baldassarre Peruzzis für ein Architekturtraktat," Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana 26 (1990): 136-170.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Caroline van Eck, "Verbal and Visual Abstraction: the Role of Pictorial Techniques of Representation in Renaissance Architectural Theory," in *The Built Surface volume 1: Architecture and the Pictorial Arts* from Antiquity to the Enlightenment, eds. Christy Anderson and Karen Koehler (Ann Arbor, 2002), 162-179.

why "a perspectivist would be nothing without architecture, nor the architect [be anything] without perspective." Baldassare Peruzzi is listed alongside other painter-architects like Bramante, Raphael, Girolamo Genga (1476-1555), and Giulio Romano, as an artist representative of this theoretical construct.

Pietro Cataneo similarly highlighted the importance of optics in the process of architectural invention in his treatise titled *L'architettura* from 1567. "If the architect is unable to become a master of perspective, he will never honor himself well, nor demonstrate by way of drawing his concept." The close coincidence of this statement to Serlio's is all the more significant because Cataneo was otherwise a very harsh critic of Serlio's opinions. Cataneo believed that *scaenographia* was important because an architect needed to understand the principles governing sight, light, and shadow to "show the *effects* of the building." 65

(Perspective) demonstrates more types of viewing, and teaches us what is light, what might be shadow, what is space. It locates what causes (distorted) appearances, and inquires into shortcomings of the rays for [shining] one or more lights above various forms of bodies. And together with representations of shadows and of lights, and the accidents of vision, (perspective) describes the object in diverse means. <sup>66</sup>

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Serlio, *Della Prospettiva*, 3. "Et però, si come da principio dissi, la prospettiva è molto necessaria all'architetto, anzi, il prospettivo non sarà cosa alcuna senza l'architettura, né l'architetto senza prospettiva."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Pietro Cataneo, *L'architettura Libri Otto*, (Venice, 1567), preface to book 8. "Ma se lo architetto non sera prospettivo, non potrà mai così bene né onorarsi né mostrare per disegno il suo concetto." Elena Bassi, Sandro Benedetti, and Renato Bonelli eds., *Trattati* (Milan, 1985), 441. Cataneo's treatise is made up of eight books. The first four books were published in 1554. The full eight books were issued together in 1567.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Pietro Cataneo *L'Architettura*, 175. "si dimostreranno gl'effetti della fabbrica (...)." Emphasis mine.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> "Mostrandosi la prospettiva più sorte di vedere, e insegnandoci che cosa sia luce, qual che sia ombra, e qual sia intervallo, e trovando le cause de visibile che si veggano per i falsi intervalli, ricercando il ferrimento da i razzi per uno o più lucidi sopra diverse figure di corpi, e insieme le figurationi delle

Peruzzi's artistic heirs concurred that a modern architect must concern himself with matters of design and not only with construction. They also agreed that *scaenographia* was an effective device in the process of invention and of revision, much in the same way that Peruzzi used the drawing typology in his own creative activity. These author-practitioners must have acquired an understanding of *scaenographia's* pragmatic benefits from Peruzzi, and emphasized its utility in their manuals.

The conservation history of Peruzzi's *scaenographia* renderings reveals that a second contemporary opinion existed parallel to this appreciation based on utility. The physical evidence of drawings themselves indicates that these works were prized as objects for their aesthetic value. Peruzzi's *scaenographia* drawings were assigned importance almost immediately after the painter-architect's death. <sup>67</sup> Their current physical conditions in the Uffizi gallery show that drastic interventions were made at a relatively early date. Like UA25r for Carpi cathedral, many works in this category were brazenly excised from larger sheets and collected as prized items or as rare commodities. Some were collated into albums and held in the vast drawing collection of the seventeenth-century Florentine Cardinal Leopoldo de Medici (1617-75). <sup>68</sup> Others had suffered the

ombre e delle luci, e gli accidenti del vedere, e l'oggetto per la diversità del mezzo si qualifichino." Cataneo *L'Architettura*, 175. Cataneo used the term "*intervallo*" because in the classical tradition, space was defined as the distance between two points. Ingrid Rowland, "Renaissance Ideas of Space: Introduction," *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 58 (2013): 1-2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> The Uffizi's architectural drawings were cataloged in its current numbering system by the curator Pasquale Nerino Ferri (1851-1917). The works attributed to Peruzzi at that time are listed in, Pasquale Nerino Ferri, *Indice geografico-analitico dei disegni di architettura civile e militare esistenti nella R. Galleria degli Uffizi in Firenze* (Rome, 1885), xxxvi-xxxvii. Gaetano Milanesi provided brief descriptions of these architectural drawings in his commentary to Giorgio Vasari's biography of Peruzzi. See, Vasari-Milanesi, vol. 4, 615-640.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Filippo Baldinucci, *Listra de' nomi de' pittori, di mano de' quali si hanno disegni (...) fino al presente giorno 8 Settembre 1673* (Florence, 1673); Idem, *Notizie de' professori del disegno da Cimabue in qua* (Florence, 1811 [originally published in 6 volumes between 1681-1728]), 97. "Fu Baldassarre Peruzzi

same fate in Giorgio Vasari's great *libro de' disegni*. <sup>69</sup> The ways in which such early collectors handled these works conditioned the drawings' curatorial treatment well into the twentieth century. In a suggestive reproduction, William Kent's monograph on Peruzzi from 1925 showed a number of *scaenographia* drawings mounted together on a single support in a style highly reminiscent of the *Libro dei disegni* tradition (fig. 30). <sup>70</sup> This context long determined the ways in which Peruzzi's *scaenographia* drawings were studied and interpreted.

The rarely reproduced versos of the excised *scaenographia* drawings often reveal lines and measurements that belonged to plan or elevation views of related projects.

These contextual connections are now very difficult to retrace. The procedure the collectors performed is easily imaginable. It would have involved taking a sheet like UA107 (see fig. 1) and cutting the small shaded perspective view out to be collated into a

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gran disegnatore, inventore maraviglioso, e molto imitatore della maniera di Raffaello. Veggonsi i suoi disegni tocchi d'acquarelli a chiaroscuro con numero grandissimo di figure, e abbigliamenti nobili, nella raccolta della gloriosa memoria del Serenissimo Cardinal Leopoldo di Toscana." Baldinucci was familiar with this collection as he was Leopoldo de Medici's chief art consultant. In 1673, he says the collection contained 10 drawings by Peruzzi. The oldest inventory of the drawings in the Uffizi collection is Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, *Inventario generale dei disegni 1775-93*, Florence, Uffizi Gallery GDSU, ms 102; Miriam Fileti Mazza, *Storia di una collezione: dai libri di disegni e stampe di Leopoldo de' Medici all'età moderna* (Florence, 2009); Francesco Grisolia, "Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni e l'indice di CXXII volumi di disegni della Real Galleria: genesi e lettura di un inventario," *Studi di Memofonte* 2 (2009), http://www.memofonte.it/index.php?option=com\_content&task=view&id=141&Itemid=507 (consulted 11/15, 2014).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Vasari's collection of drawings were dispersed and sold. The majority went to France, but 107 sheets were purchased as a group by the Uffizi gallery in July 1798, including a good number of architectural drawings. Licia Collobi Ragghianti, *Il libro de' disegni del Vasari* 2 vols. (Florence, 1974); idem, "Il libro de' disegni del Vasari: disegni di architettura," *Critica d'arte* 127 (1973): 3-120; idem, "Nuove precisazioni sui disegni di architettura del 'libro' del Vasari," *Critica d'arte* 130 (1973): 31-54; Anna Forlani Tempesti, "Giorgio Vasari and the 'Libro de' disegni': a Paper Museum or Portable Gallery," in *Giorgio Vasari and the Birth of the Museum*, eds. Maia Wellington Gahtan and Alessandro Cecci (Burlington VT, 2014), 31-52.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> The Gabinetto dei Disegni e Stampe eventually started mounting these small drawings individually in the mid 20th century.

separate album along with similarly rendered examples by the same artist. The removal would have obscured the fact that Peruzzi wished to visualize the proportions and volumes of a particular design detail that he had shown on the same sheet in plan or in elevation. In the case of UA107, this connection is made clear in the plan by the word "QUESTO," which lets the viewer know which area is portrayed in the perspective sketch. The heavy-handed interventions by collectors isolated *scaenographia* drawings from their original contexts as aesthetic novelties and divorced them from the realm of practice. Their utility in the design process was significantly obscured as a result, and Peruzzi's Vitruvian conviction that *scaenographia* must be presented alongside plans and elevations as a set was also effectively erased.

Some of Peruzzi's students practiced a similar (if less violent) form of "collecting" by hand-copying his *scaenographia* drawings. In the so-called *Taccuino Senese di Baldassarre Peruzzi* at the Biblioteca Communale di Siena for instance, numerous project drawings by Peruzzi in *scaenographia* were transcribed and compiled. Folio 28r assembles four varying styles of perspectival interior elevations on the upper half of its sheet (fig. 31). The student arranged the drawings on a grid like an avid collector would assemble a scrapbook using real fragments. On the lower half of

The *Taccuino Senese di Baldassare Peruzzi* was first acquired in Rome by the Comunale's librarian Giuseppe Chiaccheri in 1780. A limited number of facsimile editions were printed at the quintcentennial of Peruzzi's birth. *Taccuino S IV 7 detto di Baldassare Peruzzi della Biblioteca Comunale di Siena: V Centenario della Nascita di Baldassare Peruzzi.* (Siena, 1981); Mircea Toca, "Osservazioni sul cosiddetto 'Taccuino Senese di Baldassare Peruzzi," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* 1 (1971): 161-179 and plates. The most up-to-date study on the album – although mostly on figurative sketches – is, Valeria Cafà, "The Young Bartolomeo Passarrotti and the Sienese Sketchbook of Baldassarre Peruzzi," *Master Drawings* 51 (2013): 15-30. The notebook may once have belonged to the architect, Jacopo Meleghino, who inherits half of Peruzzi's papers in 1536.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> The center right perspective shows the ancient theater of Ferento. Its composition is similar to that used by Serlio in his illustration of the monument. Book three. The plan of an ecclesiastical structure

folio 34r a drawing after Peruzzi's plan for Saint Peter's basilica shows a striking resemblance to UA25r's composition (fig. 32). The notebook further contains seventeen studies in comparable rendering techniques.<sup>73</sup> These transcribed fragments that employ perspective and shading were assembled for their expressive aesthetic qualities.

The excised drawings in the Uffizi collection as well as the hand-drawn copies after Peruzzi's designs in the *Taccuino Senese* denote how *scaenographia* renderings were appreciated as exemplary demonstrations of an inventor's concepts — not as records of his thought processes or problem solving skills. Works like UA25r were consumed purely as images divorced from practice. If architectural historians from the late nineteenth century and onwards read Renaissance perspective renderings such as these as fantastic imaginations of a pictorial practitioner with questionable competence in spatial design, this opinion was guided by the early history of collecting to a large extent.

Speaking of perspectival architectural drawings, Cesare Cesariano had stated in 1521 that, "it is the view (*il vedere*) that determines beauty." In its enactment of optical function, *scaenographia* embodied the notion that architecture itself was a subject worthy of visual judgment. And this notion that *scaenographia* played a role in the production of beauty becomes increasingly important in the mid sixteenth-century, especially among members of the Florentine *Accademia del disegno* who sought to defend architecture's status as a visual and therefore a liberal art. Beauty is emphasized in this context as an

occupying the lower half seems to bear no relation to the four views above it, separated by a horizontal line.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> These are on folios UA23v, UA24r, UA28r, UA28v, UA29r, UA29v, UA32r, UA33r, UA34r, UA34v, UA36r, UA37r from the Uffizi collection

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Cesariano, De architectura, Book 3, chapter 2. "è il vedere [che] perseque la venustate."

indispensable disciplinary component that elevates architecture above the "necessary" and the "mechanical" arts conditioned by utility.

It was the vice president of the Florentine *accademia del disegno*, Vincenzo Borghini (1515-80) who first articulated this view clearly in writing. In a manifesto for the newly founded organization titled *selva di notizie* from 1564, Borghini claimed that an architect was someone who conceives of a building's form as an idea, who differed from a mason or a builder engaged in manual labor.

I would like to note here an idea of mine, and to say that, if we are to speak of a master [foreman] like a most excellent painter, sculptor and architect, it would be necessary to distinguish a bit clearer the nature of architecture. I believe that those works considered useful deserve true and great praise of no small measure. And it is from her that ancient houses in Florence emerge and in many other cities in Italy too, made of good masonry, solid and secure, that defend against the cold and the heat, protect men and things, provide infinite comfort etc. And this [type of work] is of masters or headmasters who we call masons – or architects, as they like to call themselves. But this art is entirely mechanical and should not be placed among the liberal arts, since it lacks *ingegno* as well as invention.<sup>75</sup>

While the mason (*muratore*) produced honorable and necessary works, his focus on utility meant that his art would lack the capacity to invent.<sup>76</sup> The criterion for the practice

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> This line of reasoning essentially echoed the argument put forth a century earlier by Antonio Averlino Filarete, who singled out *disegno* and its capacity to express invention as that which distinguished an

of architecture as a liberal rather than a mechanical art was thus determined as an inclination towards pleasure and beauty. This was the academy's institutional response against earlier *Paragone* discussions where Benedetto Varchi and others had isolated architecture away from painting and sculpture as a "necessary" art and questioned its equivalence to the representational arts that pursued mimesis.<sup>77</sup>

Against those who saw architecture's primary goal as the service of utility, Borghini and the *accademia* countered by emphasizing aesthetic qualities.

But when, beyond usefulness, it [the art of building] addresses the festivals and solicits thoughts of delight and of ornament as do the ancient structures of Rome made with enormous expense and pomp like the Settizonio etc., then I doubt that it [architecture] does not alter nature and enter in company with painting and sculpture to enjoy the same privileges to become a gentle and spiritual art. <sup>78</sup>

The *academia* felt a particular need to emphasize beauty and downplay utility in architectural discourse, for, as Matteo Burioni recently argued, despite its initial purpose as a centralized regulating body for all aspects of artistic education and production in Tuscany, the *accademia* faced much practical and theoretical difficulties in incorporating

architect from a builder. Antonio Averlino detto il Filarete, *Trattato di architettura (1460-64) 2 vols.*, eds. Anna Maria Finoli and Liliana Grassi (Milan, 1972), 10-11.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Benedetto Varchi, *Due Lezzioni (...) nella quale si disputa della maggioranza delle arti*, (Florence, 1549); Alina Payne, "Alberti and the Origins of the Paragone between Architecture and the Figural Arts," in *Leon Battista Alberti: Teorico delle Arti egli Impegni Civili del 'De Re Aedificatoria*,' 2 vols., eds. Arturo Calzona et al., (Mantua, 2007), vol. 1, 347-368.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Borghini, *Selva di Notizie*, 73. "Ma quando, oltro al'utile, ella si veste dal di feste e vuol pensare al diletto et a l'ornamento, come sono le fabriche antiche di Roma fatte con soverchia spesa e pompa, co[me] il Settizonio etc., alora io dubito ch'ella non muti natura et entri a compagnia colla pittura e scultura e goda e medesimi privilegi e diventi arte gentile e di spirito." But the notion that painting could provide pleasure to viewers as well as to practitioners was already expressed in the 1430s by Alberti in his treatise on painting. See Alberti, *De Pictura*, Book 2, 28.

architecture into its institution.<sup>79</sup> The precarious nature of this relationship held grave consequences. Architect members remained far fewer in number compared to painters and sculptors, and their membership was always contentious. The academy also consciously excluded masons and military architects from its ranks.<sup>80</sup> In order to unite architecture harmoniously with painting and sculpture as equal sisters under *disegno* and to legitimize the academy's structural framework, a new conceptual system separate from the notion of mimesis required statement. Representation was an absolutely central issue in this debate. While the mason and the architect both employed drawing, what separated the former from the latter was increasingly, the ability to express invention.<sup>81</sup> Architectural *disegno* was proof of creativity and of a judicious eye for beauty. The academicians aligned architectural drawing more closely with ornament and artifice, because this move allowed architects to join the nobler group of visual artists who practiced an intellectual and liberal art.<sup>82</sup>

Matteo Burioni, Die Renaissance der Architekten: Profession und Souveränität des Baukünstlers in Giorgio Vasaris Viten (Berlin, 2008). See chapter 2, "Die Architektur und die Künste des Disegno," 47-90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> David Cast, "On the Unity / Disunity of the Arts: Vasari (and Others) on Architecture," in *Rethinking the High Renaissance: The Culture of the Visual Arts in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome*, ed. Jill Burke (Burlington VT, 2012), 138-139; Anne Reynolds, "The Accademia del Disegno in Florence: Its Formation and Early Years," (PhD diss., Columbia University, 1974), 220 and 247.

Eliana Carrara "La nascita dell'Accademia del Disegno di Firenze: il ruolo di Borghini, Torelli, e Vasari," in Les Académies dans l'Europe humaniste: idéaux et pratiques, ed. Marc Deramaix (Geneva, 2008), 129-162; Matteo Burioni, "Die Architektur: Kunst, Handwerk oder Technik? – Giorgio Vasari, Vincenzo Borghini und die Ordnung der Künste an der Accademia del Disegno im frühabsolutistischen Herzogtum Florenz," in Technik in der frühen Neuzeit – Schrittmacher der europäischen Moderne, eds. Gisela Engel et al. (Frankfurt am Main, 2004), 389-408; Simonetta Bracciali and Alessandro d'Alssandro, "L'accademia dell'arte del disegno a Firenze: prime ipotesi di ricerca," in La nascita della Toscana: dal Convegno di studi per il IV centenario della morte di Cosimo I de' Medici (Florence, 1980), 129-158.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>82</sup> On this point, see also Alina Payne, "Alberti and the Origins of the '*Paragone*' between Architecture and the Figural Arts," 347-368.

These theoretical formations greatly shaped the way Peruzzi's perspective drawings were treated and discussed. Contours of Peruzzi's legacy as an artist were defined in large measure through these central Italian academic debates in the sixteenth century. As a founding member of the Florentine *accademia del disegno*, Vasari not only shared the opinions expressed by his close friend Borghini, but colored his influential artist biographies accordingly too. This is why, in his *Life* of Peruzzi, the Sienese artist is profusely praised for his intermedial manner of design that incorporated painting's "*bella maniera*." Architecture, like painting and sculpture, had to be practiced with a judicious eye. And Peruzzi's *scaenographia* drawings were viewed to exemplify this idealized method.

The reception of Peruzzi's *scaenographia* drawings highlights how contrasting strains in sixteenth century architectural criticism either emphasized or marginalized their pragmatic utility. Peruzzi was one among many painter-architects of this period who changed the relationship between image and space through their practice. His flexible attitude toward media by no means implied a lack of discipline. Rather, such an approach offered him new possibilities in design and in theory. His working drawings introduced vision as a central question for the discipline of architecture and, as a consequence, sparked a debate between beauty (*venustas*) and function (*utilitas*) that was to persist for the next several hundred years.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Mircea Toca, "La fortuna critica di Baldassare Peruzzi: architetto e della sua opera grafica," *Apulum* 10 (1972): 291-311.

Breaking the Fourth Wall: Rhetorical Agency and Peruzzi's Scenographic Architecture

## 3.1 A Painter-Architect's Mindset

An examination of Peruzzi's method of structural design in the previous chapter has revealed how Renaissance painter-architects exploited their distinctive skill-sets for an effective production of architecture. The pictorial roots in their practice, however, entailed not only techniques but also ideas. This chapter accordingly addresses what may be called the mindset of a painter-architect, or the conceptual dimensions of inter-medial practice. It argues that figures like Peruzzi trained in the representational arts brought to their engagement with building certain deeply engrained artistic objectives and predispositions. They appropriated what was considered to be virtuous in painting in their practice of building. The conceptual framework within which they operated critically helped fashion a new architectural agenda because it articulated novel themes and questions.

I will trace in this chapter how Peruzzi's works brought forward the idea that a built space must be eloquent. The humanists' "rediscovery" of essential theoretical writings on rhetoric by Quintilian and Cicero in the early fifteenth century encouraged authors as well as visual artists to adopt persuasion as an objective in their works, as John Spencer, Michael Baxandall and many others have demonstrated. The visual arts'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Poggio Bracciolini discovered a complete manuscript copy of Quintilian's *Istitutio Oratoria* in St. Gall 1416. Cicero's three major volumes on rhetoric, *Orator, Brutus*, and *De Oratore*, came to light in 1421. Remiggio Sabbadini, *Le scoperte dei codici Latini e Greci ne secoli XIV e XV* (Florence, 1905), 77-79; Rensselaer Lee, "Ut Pictura Poesis: The Humanistic Theory of Painting," *The Art Bulletin* 22 (1940): 197-269; John Spencer, "Ut Rhetorica Pictura: A Study in Quattrocento Theory of Painting," *Journal of* 

rhetorical turn was cogently marked when Leon Battista Alberti outlined the three main objectives of painting in his treatise *On Painting* by borrowing from Cicero the three main goals in oratory – to please (*delectare*), to move (*movere*), and to instruct (*docere*).<sup>2</sup> That the rules and standards of early modern architecture were also guided by classical rhetoric is equally well known.<sup>3</sup> Alberti again was first to discuss around 1450 the practice of rhetoric as a guide for building, and his advice took root quickly and firmly in texts on the subject.<sup>4</sup> There is no longer any question that architectural practice resembled rhetoric by the time Daniele Barbaro and Vincenzo Scamozzi were writing a century later. The latter's *Universal Idea of Architecture* from 1615 most succinctly summarizes the analogy between the process of design and the process of composition:

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the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes 20 (1957): 26-44; Michael Baxandall, Giotto and the Orators: Humanist Observers of Painting and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition (Oxford, 1971); Thomas Puttfarken, The Discovery of Pictorial Composition: Theories of Visual Order in Painting 1400-1800 (New Haven and London, 2000), 53-59.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Cicero defined the three main tasks of oratory (*officia oratoris*) as *docere*, *delectare*, and *movere*. Cicero, *Brutus*, 49.185. The same issue is addressed, in varying forms, in *De Oratore*, 2.27, 2.28, 2.29, 2.42, 2.77, and also in his *De optimo genere oratorum* 3 and 16; Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria* 12.2. In Quintilian's words, "The orator's duty is not only to instruct, but also to move and to delight the audience." Cicero, *On the Orator*, 2 vols. trans. E. W. Sutton (Cambridge MA and London, 1976); Idem, *Brutus*, trans. G. L. Hendrickson (Cambridge MA and London, 1962); Idem, *On Invention, The Best Kind of Orator, Topics*, trans. H. M. Hubbell (Cambridge, MA and London, 1949). Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, 5 vols. trans. Donald Russell (Cambridge MA and London, 2002).

On Renaissance architecture and rhetoric, Giulio Carlo Argan, "Retorica e Architettura," in *Stil und Überlieferung in der Kunst des Abendlands - Theorien und Probleme* (Berlin 1967), 218-221; Christine Smith, *Architecture in the Culture of Early Humanism: Ethics, Aesthetics, and Eloquence 1400-1470* (New York, 1992), 172-180, 186-197; Caroline van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts in Early Modern Europe* (New York, 2007); Idem, "The Retrieval of Classical Architecture in the Quattrocento: the Role of Rhetoric in the Formation of Alberti's Theory of Architecture," in *Memory and Oblivion: Proceedings of the 29th International Congress of the History of Art*, eds. W. Reinink and J. Stumpel (Dordrecht, 1999), 231-238; Lisa Bek, "Innocence Lost: Symbolism to Rhetoric in Architecture and the Renaissance Concept of Invention," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 33 (2008): 89-121; David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London and New York, 2003), 98-101, 536-530; Lex Hermans, "The Rules of Rhetoric as Manual for Reading Classical Architecture," in *On the Interpretation of Architecture: Theory of Interpretation (International Journal of Architectural Theory)* 12 no. 2 (2008): http://www.tu-

cottbus.de/theoriederarchitektur/Wolke/wolke\_neu/inhalt/en/issue/issues/207/Hermans/hermans.php (accessed 7 May 2013).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Van Eck, "The Retrieval of Classical Architecture," 231-238.

Like the orator goes on recounting everything in an ordered manner, appropriate to time and place, and uses the colors of rhetoric and the terminology of that art, in exactly the same way the architect must layout his inventions, designs, and the disposition of the parts in a well-ordered way to the building.<sup>5</sup>

Architectural design invited particularly easy comparisons to the art of letters because it could reference grammar, composition, and rules of ornament.<sup>6</sup> And such an analogy did effectively move architecture "away from the sphere of manual activity, and made (...) to show that it shares the sophistication, importance for society, and intellectual standing of rhetoric."<sup>7</sup>

And yet, while scholarship on this subject has greatly clarified how rhetoric became a practical model for architects, surprisingly little attention has been paid overall on how exactly buildings themselves were understood to parallel speech. In other words, we may say that buildings were designed and executed according to the newly emerging rules of the field that increasingly looked to the rhetorical tradition, but we still lack a fundamental understanding of how the very products of architectural invention – the buildings themselves – were considered to behave like speech. In painting, for example, the capacity "to move an audience" was vital in forming the art's analogy to rhetoric. Agency is precisely what legitimizes painting's claims as a liberal art:

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Vincenzo Scamozzi, *Idea dell'architettura universale* (Venice, 1615), Book 1, chapter 43. "E siccome l'oratore va narrando il tutto ordinatamente à tempo, e luogo, convenevole, et usa i colori Retorici, e termini dell'Arte: così parimente l'Architetto, dee spiegar le sue inventioni, disegni, e la dispositione delle parti bene ordinate all'edificio, et applicar al genere quell'ordine, che più propriamente se le conviene."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Paul Davis and David Hemsoll, "Sanmicheli's Architecture and Literary Theory," in *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture c. 1000-c. 1650*, eds. Georgia Clarke and Paul Crossley (Cambridge and New York, 2000), 102-117 and 192-195; David Hemsoll, "A Question of Language: Raphael, Michelangelo and the Art of Architectural Imitation," in *Raising an Eyebrow: John Onians and World Art Studies – An Album Amicorum in His Honour*, ed. Lauren Golden (Oxford, 2001), 123-132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Van Eck, Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts, 41-42.

The *istoria*, which merits both praise and admiration, will be so agreeably and pleasantly attractive that it will capture the eye of whatever learned or unlearned person is looking at it and will move his soul.<sup>8</sup>

Passages like this excerpt from Alberti's advice on history painting recall classical sources like Horace's *Ars Poetica* that outlined plainly what an effective piece of writing must do.

It is not enough for poetry to be beautiful, it must also be pleasing – such as to move the soul of its listeners in whatever direction it wishes.<sup>9</sup>

If the criterion for eloquent painting and eloquent writing was essentially the same, how did the model affect architecture that similarly began to harbor rhetorical aspirations? I wish to draw attention to a comparable but often marginalized tradition in Renaissance architectural discourse that considered buildings equally capable of performing persuasion.

There are several passages from the greater body of early modern theoretical texts on architecture that address the issue of architectural agency. Barbaro noted, for instance, that architecture's agency resided in its visuality. "Like a speech has forms and various ideas to satisfy the ears, so has architecture its aspects and forms to satisfy the eyes." <sup>10</sup> But a more elaborate account of architecture's agency from this period is Sebastiano Serlio's brief pamphlet on scenography, appended to his *Treatise on Perspective* 

<sup>9</sup> Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 99-100; Idem, *Satires, Epistles, The Art of Poetry*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge MA and London, 1970). "Non satis est pulchra esse poemata; dulcia sunto et quocumque volent anumum auditoris agunto."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura*, 2.40; Idem, *On Painting*, trans. John Spencer (New Haven and London, 1966), 75. "Historia vero, quam merito possis et laudare et admirari, eiusmodi erit quae illecebris quibusdam sese ita amenam et ornatam exhibeat, ut oculos docti atque indocti spectatoris diutius quadam cum voluptate et animi motu detineat.

Daniele Barbaro, M. Vitruvii de architectura (Venice, 1567), 115. "Si come la oratione ha forme, et idee diverse per sodisfare alle orecchie, così habbia l'Architettura gli aspetti, forme sue per satisfar a gli occhi."

published in French and in Italian in Paris in 1545 (figs. 33-36). That the issue of architectural agency should be broached in a text about theaters seems fitting, for notions of performance and communication are so central to the building typology. The widely read pamphlet described and illustrated the three canonical stage type variants (the comic, the tragic, and the satirical set) primarily relying on Vitruvius' models but also including modern innovations like the raked stage (*declivio*), the proscenium arch, and the backdrop (*fondale*). The first was a three-dimensionally constructed perspective device that diminished in scale as it receded towards a single vanishing point on the painted backdrop. It is this modern invention that the passage in question discusses as follows.

Of the many man-made things which give great pleasure to the eye and satisfaction to the soul when looked at, the uncovering of a scene set on stage is, in my opinion, one of the best. There you can see in a small space, created with the art of perspective, splendid palaces, huge temples, multifarious buildings both near and far off, spacious *piazze* graced with diverse edifices, long, straight streets crossed by other roads, triumphal arches, exceedingly high columns, pyramids, obelisks and thousands of other beautiful things adorned with infinite lamps (...) All these things are so satisfying to the eye and soul that it is hard to imagine any man-made material object that is more beautiful.<sup>12</sup>

Myra Nan Rosenfeld, "From Bologna to Venice and Paris: The Evolution and Publication of Sebastiano Serlio's Books I and II, On Geometry and On Perspective for Architects," in The Treatise on Perspective: Published and Unpublished, ed. Lyle Massey (Washington DC, 2003), 280-321; Pietro Roccasecca, "Sebastiano Serlio: Placing Perspective at the Service of Architects," in Perspective, Projections and Design: Technologies of Architectural Representation, eds. Mario Carpo and Frédérique Lemerle (London, 2007), 95-104.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> "Fra l'altre cose fatte per mano degli huomini che si possono riguardare con gran contentezza d'occhio e satisfattion d'animo: e (al parer mio) il discoprirsi lo apparato di una scena, dove si vede in piccol spatio fatto dall'arte della prospettiva, superbi palazzi, amplissimi tempii, diversi casamenti, e da presso, e di lontano spatiose piazze ornate di varii edifitii, drittissime et lunghe strade incrociate da altre vie, archi trionfali, altissime colonne, piramide, obelischi, et mille altre cose belle, ornate d'infiniti lumi, (...) le quai tutte cose dan tanto di contentezza all'occhio et all'animo, che cosa materiale, fatta dall'arte, non si potria imaginare più bella, et di quelle cose, poi che siamo in proposito dell'arte della prospettiva, io ne tratterò alquanto." Sebastiano Serlio, *Della Prospettiva* (Paris, 1545), 43v-48v; Idem, *Sebastiano Serlio* 

This account anticipates the "aesthetics of effect," or the solicitation of an emotional response through sensory stimulation that becomes the hallmark principle of Baroque theater. 13 What may merely sound at first like Serlio's subjective impressions here is instead an astute commentary on the capacity of a spatial construction to incite an emotional response in the beholder. It is critical that Serlio's language should recall wellestablished conventions in classical writing. Phrases such as "satisfying the eye and soul" derive from the tradition of authors describing an eloquent speech or a poem, and we saw earlier how Alberti had applied the same terms to history painting. Serlio additionally identifies as essential Ciceronian rhetorical techniques such as "variety" and "artifice (perspective)" as devices through which a theater achieves eloquence threedimensionally. 14 And when Serlio says that a theatrical set is more beautiful than any other man-made object in the world because it affects his soul, he is thinking of passages like the one by Horace cited above. A built space parallels an eloquent speech in this passage, not through formal style, or through a designer's method of practice, but much more basically through architecture's effectiveness as an expressive medium.

This theoretically ambitious enterprise to compare built space to speech in its performative agency concerns Baldassarre Peruzzi directly, because Peruzzi was

on Architecture Volume One: Books I-V of 'Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospettiva,' trans. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven and London, 1996), 82-93.

Lex Hermans, "The Performing Venue: The Visual Play of Italian Courtly Theatres in the Sixteenth Century," *Art History* 33 (2010): 293-303; Erika Fischer-Lichte, "Transforming Spectators into *Viri Percusi*: Baroque Theatre as Machinery for Producing Affects," in *Performativity and Performance in Baroque Rome*, ed. Peter Gilgren and Mårten Snickare (Burlington VT, 2012), 87-97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2.40; David Summers, *The Judgment of Sense: Renaissance Naturalism and the Rise of Aesthetics* (Cambridge and New York, 1987), 37. The criteria for praise in history painting according to Alberti are likewise copiousness and variety. Alberti, *On Painting*, 2.40. "The istoria, which merits both praise and admiration, will be so agreeably and pleasantly attractive that it will capture the eye of whatever learned or unlearned person is looking at it and will move his soul. That which first gives pleasure in the istoria comes from copiousness and variety of things."

identified by multiple sixteenth-century sources (including Serlio himself) as the artist who invented the perspective stage typology. <sup>15</sup> The most extensive account of this invention is found in Peruzzi's biography in the second edition of Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists* from 1568. I cite the passage in full here below as an important reference point for this chapter's arguments.

In regard to the greatly honored apparatus that the people of Rome made on the Capitoline when the staff of the Holy Church was presented to Duke Giuliano de' Medici, of the six painted histories created by six different excellent painters, the one by Baldassarre's hand, seven *canne* high and three-and-a-half wide, which showed Giulia Tarpea betraying the Romans, was without a doubt judged the best of all the others. But that which amazed everyone was the perspective (*prospettiva*), or the scenery of a comedy, so beautiful that nothing better could be imagined: this was because the variety and beautiful manner of the houses, the different loggias, the *bizarrerie* of the doorways and windows and other architectural things seen there were so well conceived and of such extraordinary invention, that it would be impossible to describe the thousandth part.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> From a vast literature on the history of the Italian Renaissance stage that mention Peruzzi's contributions, see, Fabrizio Cruciani, "Gli allestimenti scenici di Baldassarre Peruzzi," Centro Internazionale di Studi d'architettura Andrea Palladio 16 (1974): 155-172, 69-82; Idem. "Le feste per Isabella d'Este Gonzaga a Roma nel 1514-1515," Teatro e Storia 2 (1987): 167-188; Thomas Pallan, Vasari on Theatre (Carbondale and Edwardswille, 1999), 20-21, 24-27; Klaus Neijendam, "Il portico and la bottega on the Early Italian Perspective Stage: A Comparative Study in the Theatre Iconography," in *The Renaissance* Theatre: Texts, Performance, Design - Volume 2, Design, Image and Acting, ed. Christopher Cairns (Aldershot, 1999), 29-40; Idem, "La théâtre de la Renaissance à Rome," Analecta Romana Instituti Danici 5 (1969):103-156; Richard Krautheimer, "The Tragic and the Comic Scene of the Renaissance, the Biltmore and Urbino Panels," Gazette des Beaux-Arts 154 (1948): 327-346; Paola Ventrone, "La scena prospettica rinascimentale: genesi e sviluppo," Culture teatrali 7/8 (2003): 141-150; Antonio Stäuble, "Scenographia ed architettura teatrale nel Rinascimento," in Letteratura e critica: studi in Onore di Natalino Sapegno vol. 2, ed. Walter Binni (Rome, 1975), 391-416; Nino Pirotta and Elena Povoledo, "Regular Comedy and the Perspective Set," in Music and Theatre from Poliziano to Monteverdi (Turin, 1982), 311-334; C. Thomas Ault, "Baldassare Peruzzi and the Perspective Stage," Theatre Design and Technology 43 (2007): 33-50; Götz Pochat, "Peruzzi's Bacchides: Reconstruction of a Stage Performance in Rome 1531," in Docto Peregrino: Roman Studies in Honor of Torgil Magnuson, ed. Thomas Hall (Goteborg, 1992), 261-281; Alessandro d'Ancona, Origini del Teatro Italiano 3 vols. (Turin, 1891); Eduard Flechsig, Die Dekoration der modernen Bühne in Italien (Dresden, 1894), 55-71; 88-95; Ludovico Zorzi, Il teatro e la citta: saggi sulla scena italiana (Turin, 1977), 58, 93; "Peruzzi, Baldassarre," in Encyclopedia dello spettacolo (Rome, 1961), vol. 8, 34-38.

And when the *Calandra*, a comedy by Cardinal Bibbiena, was acted for Pope Leo, Baldassarre made the apparatus and the perspective, which was no less beautiful, rather more so than that he had made the other time [at the Capitoline Hill, as described above; and for such work he deserved even more praise, since for some time comedies and consequently scenery for them had fallen into disuse, replaced by festivals and mystery plays. And either before or after the *Calandra* was acted, which was one of the first plays in the vulgate to be seen or performed, suffice it to say that during the time of Leo X, Baldassarre made two scenes that were marvelous and that opened the way for those made in our times. Nor could one imagine how he, in such a narrow place, made room for so many streets, palaces, and various temples, balconies and cornices so well made that they seemed not imitations but very real, and the piazza not painted and little but real and very large. Similarly, he arranged the chandeliers, the interior lights that served the perspective, and all the other necessary things with great judgment. Although, as I said, the practice of comedies had been lost almost completely, in my belief this manner of spectacle, when it has all its accessories, surpasses any other kind, however magnificent and sumptuous.<sup>16</sup>

Vasari asserted confidently that the perspectival apparatus Peruzzi constructed for *La Calandria* deserved praise, not only because it revived a stage typology that had fallen into disuse since antiquity, but also because the set was "marvelous," and "opened the way for those made in our times." A scenographer himself, Vasari's discussion of Peruzzi's perspective sets closely recalls the passage from Serlio's pamphlet that he must have known intimately. The biographer relied on Serlio's text in the process of revising the *Vite* in preparation for the second edition, which greatly amplified the section on Peruzzi's achievements as a stage designer. Reference to Serlio is clear, for instance, where Peruzzi's *prospettiva* is described as "so beautiful that nothing better could be

Giorgio Vasari, Le vite de più eccellenti pittori scultori ed architettori (...) con nuove annotazioni e commenti di Gaetano Milanesi, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1879), vol. 4, 609.

imagined."<sup>17</sup> We hear echoes of Serlio when Vasari's also says that the variety of the architect's inventions was also such that "it would be difficult to describe the thousandth part,"<sup>18</sup> or, "in my belief, this manner of spectacle (...) surpasses any other kind, however magnificent and sumptuous."<sup>19</sup> Paraphrasing Serlio in this way, Vasari transfers the notion of eloquent building from the generic disciplinary aspiration that it is in Serlio's pamphlet to an individual and specific artistic accomplishment in his biography of Peruzzi.

If theorists like Alberti, Serlio, Barbaro, and Scamozzi wished to reframe the means and ends of architecture according to those for speech that classical authors like Cicero, Quintilian, Horace and others had outlined, the painter-architect Peruzzi built spaces both ephemeral and permanent to address the beholder persuasively. He, collaborating with contemporary stage directors and playwrights like Tommaso 'Fedra' Inghirami (1470-1516) and Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1470-1520), approached drama and performance that were based strongly in classical oratory to seek an architecture of eloquence. What linked Peruzzi's built spaces, Serlio's text, and classical sources on persuasive speech together was the understanding that the primary task of rhetoric lay in its agency.<sup>20</sup> For Peruzzi, that agency had to be conveyed visually and spatially through material artifacts.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> "Ma quello che fece stupire ognuno fu la prospettiva, o vero scena d'una commedia tanto bella, che non è possibile immaginarsi più."

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 <sup>&</sup>quot;(...) la quale maniera di spettacolo avanza, per mio creder, quando ha tutte le sue appartenenze,
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Oratory and drama were tightly connected in the classical tradition, especially since the fifth and last step in oratory called *Actio* (delivery) related to an actor's performance on stage. Cicero compared delivering a speech to acting in front of an audience on stage in *De Amicitia* 97; Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and* 

## 3.2 Enacting Eloquence

Serlio's pamphlet on scenography invites us to consider Renaissance architecture and classical rhetoric as essentially analogous in their performative character. A remarkable embodiment of this line of thinking is Baldassarre Peruzzi's first ex-novo architectural commission in Rome for the wealthy Sienese merchant banker Agostino Chigi (1466-1520) called the Villa Farnesina, a suburban residence constructed between 1508 and 1511 on the banks of the Tiber (fig. 37). This building is often referred to as a hybrid between a theater and a country residence. The U-shaped form recalls classical descriptions of villas by authors such as Pliny and Statius, while the main entry facade with the five-bay loggia on the northern side was designed according to mathematical ratios for a classical *scenae frons* (stage backdrop) that Vitruvius spelled out in book five of his treatise *On Architecture*. The pairing of a public entertainment facility and a private residence had strong imperial connotations, and Peruzzi would return to fuse the

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the Visual Arts, 23-24; Raimondo Guarino, "Recitare il teatro: retorica e scena nel primo rinascimento italiano," in Teatro, Scena, Rappresentazione dal Quattrocento al Settecento; atti del Convegno internazionale di studi, ed. Paola Andrioli Nemola (Galatina, 2000), 111-124.

The issue of "performativity" in early modern art has recently received attention from Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood. My interest in the concept differs from theirs, in that I define performativity as a real-spatial operation that takes place between a work of art or architecture and the beholder, rather than as a creative act of an author/artist. Alexander Nagel and Christopher Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance* (Cambridge, MA and London, 2010), 15, and 340-345.

Vitruvius, On Architecture, 5.6; James Ackerman, "Sources of the Renaissance Villa," in Studies in Western Art: The Renaissance and Mannerism. Acts of the Twentieth International Congress of the History of Art (Princeton, 1963), 6-19; Mark Wilson Jones, "Palazzo Massimo and Baldassare Peruzzi's Approach to Architectural Design," Architectural History 31 (1988): 59-61; Christoph Frommel, Die Farnesina, 34-38; Idem, Der Romanische Palastbau (Tübingen, 1973), vol. 2, 149-174; David Coffin, The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome (Princeton, 1979), 87-91; Christoph Frommel et. al., La Villa Farnesina a Roma / The Villa Farnesina in Rome, 15-23; Cruciani, Teatro nel rinascimento Roma, 348-357. For the Villa Farnesina's ties to the Chigi family villa in Siena called Ville Le Volte, see Francesco Scoppola, "Villa Chigi alle Volte Alte," in Rilievi di fabbriche attribuite a Baldassarre Peruzzi, ed. Marisa Forlani Conti (Siena, 1982), 361-433.

same two structural types together later in the 1520s when he converts the Augustan theater of Marcellus into a *Cinquecento* palazzo for the Savelli family (see fig. 85).<sup>23</sup>

The Villa Farnesina's hybridity in form mirrored its mixed function. Chigi ran his immense financial empire that stretched from London to Constantinople out of this humbly scaled building, which he used as his permanent residence from1511 to his death in 1520.<sup>24</sup> But on festive occasions, such as the feast of Chigi's patron saint, St.

Augustine, or Chigi's wedding to his second wife in 1519, a raised platform stage would be set between the two wings and spectacles would entertain guests of widely varying social status, including popes, cardinals, Italian and international dignitaries, curialists, businessmen, and University students.<sup>25</sup> At one such gathering in honor of the young Federico Gonzaga of Mantua (1500-40), Chigi had Sienese children perform a pastoral play in their local dialect.<sup>26</sup> In 1521, a year after Agostino's death, an unidentified household carpenter billed Agostino's heirs for an enormous total sum of 1103 ducats for unpaid work, listing (alongside furniture, property fences, window frames, and panel for an altarpiece), stage sets that were made on two occasions - one to entertain Julius II, and the other, the Duchess of Urbino.<sup>27</sup> The villa that Peruzzi designed was one of the first

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Cristiano Tessari, *Baldassarre Peruzzi: Il progetto dell'antico* (Rome, 1995), 123-136. The Circus Maximus, situated right in front of the Palatine hill where the emperors traditionally lived, is the most prominent Roman model for this hybrid.

Felix Gilbert, *The Pope, His Banker, and Venice* (Cambridge, 1980); Ingrid Rowland, "Render unto Caesar the Things Which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1986): 673-730; Idem, *The Roman Garden of Agostino Chigi* (Groningen, 2005), 1-48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Frommel, *Die Farnesina*, 34-37. Preparations for this stage were usually entrusted to household carpenters, rather than to Peruzzi. B.A.V. MS Vat. Lat. 11172, fol. 132.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Alessandro Luzio, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio alla corte di Giulio II," *Archivio della R. società romana di storia patria* 9 (1886): 542; Coffin, *The Villa*, 107.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> B.A.V. MS Vat. Lat. 11172, fol. 132. The document is dated to 1521, and begins, "Questi sono tucti li lavori che io ho facto per messer Augustino Ghisio." Cited in part by Giuseppe Cugnoni, "Note al Commentario di Alessandro VII sulla vita di Agostino Chigi," *Archivio della società romana di storia patria* 2, no. 4 (1879): 220-221.

permanent structures dedicated to the performance of plays built in Rome since the fall of the Roman empire, and the contemporary poet Egidio Gallo (d. 1524) described the setting in 1511 appropriately as a "*scena pro comedies ver tragediis*." Chigi, who enthusiastically supported the theater from a young age, provided opportunities for actors and poets to produce at his villa experimental vernacular pastorals and ludic improvisations in addition to classical works in Greek and Latin.<sup>29</sup>

What makes the Villa Farnesina so exemplary of Peruzzi's equation of building to rhetoric is the so-called "theater-motif" found in the loggia/stage backdrop. The motif consists of a round-arched opening framed by two engaged-pilasters supporting an entablature above, and it first appeared in 78 B.C.E. in the *Tabularium* on the Capitoline hill (fig. 38). It subsequently came to adorn exteriors of theaters commonly throughout the imperial Roman provinces. Within the city of Rome, the motif is found on iconic structures such as the Theater of Marcellus and the Colosseum (see fig. 85). It maintained strong ties to the theater in the early modern cultural imagination. In early printed editions of plays by Plautus and Terence, for example, the actors were often depicted delivering their lines in front of *loggie* with this motif (fig. 39). If, as Ovid put it, a theater was a place "both to see and to be seen," the theater-motif exemplifies this two-fold

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Egidio Gallo's five-book poem *Vera Libellus* (1511) was one of two literary works that celebrated Peruzzi's suburban villa for Agostino Chigi. Another poet, Biagio Pallai (Blosio Palladio) wrote the second work, *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii* (1512). See, Egidio Gallo, "De viridario Augustini Chigii vera libellius," intro. and trans. Mary Quinlan McGrath, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 38 (1989): 2-99; Blosio Palladio, "Suburbanum Augustini Chisii," intro. and trans. Mary Quinlan McGrath, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 39 (1990): 93-156.

Luzio, "Federico Gonzaga ostaggio alla corte di Giulio II," 542; Coffin, *The Villa*, 107; Fabrizio Cruciani, *Teatro nel Rinascimento Roma: 1450-1550* (Rome, 1983), 306-485; Frommel et. al., *La Villa Farnesina a Roma*, 56-68; Ingrid Rowland, "Some Panegyrics to Agostino Chigi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 47 (1984): 194-199; Fabio Chigi, *Familiae Chisiae Commentarii* (Rome, 1878). Agostino Chigi's nephew and biographer, Fabio Chigi (Pope Alexander VII) noted that Agostino had founded the Sienese theatre troupe known as the *Congrega dei Rozzi*. One of the leading figures of the Rozzi, Niccolò Campani (*lo Strascino*), performed frequently at the Villa.

visuality by supporting the act of looking.<sup>30</sup> The arched motif, as a threshold for the viewer's gaze, indicates a point from which one looked outward, and simultaneously, signals a subject worthy of our attention.

Visitors to the *Tabularium* were (and are still) awarded a panoramic view of the Roman Forum sprawling below through its arches. The motif resurfaced in this capacity as observatory with desire to please by means of the eye in two mid-*Quattrocento* papal structures called *belvedere*. At the Villa Belvedere that Innocent VIII built on the Vatican hill in the 1480s, the theater motif provided magnificent and privileged views of the Roman countryside (fig. 40). Similarly, the elongated courtyard linking that villa to the Vatican apartments constructed by Bramante a few decades later for Julius II employed the theater-motif as platform for visual observation (fig. 41). At least the lower eastern *loggia* was complete by 1509, when Julius II invited spectators there to enjoy a bullfight.<sup>31</sup> Peruzzi alludes to such notions of a *belvedere* at the villa Farnesina too.

The theater motif additionally operates as a device that solicits our attention and admiration through vision. In antiquity, the motif commonly framed life-size honorific statues of *viri illustres* (famous men) on the exterior of theaters, or victorious generals under triumphal arches (fig. 42). The motif found reemployment in this capacity as frame in the mid-*Quattrocento* in two benediction loggias in Rome (figs. 43, 44). Both completed by 1471, the loggias in front of old Saint Peter's and the church of San Marco

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 1.4; Idem, *Art of Love / Cosmetics / Remedies for Love / Ibis / Walnut-tree / Sea Fishing / Consolation, trans.* J. H. Mozley and revised by G. P. Goold. (Cambridge MA and London, 1929). The etymology of "theater" is the Greek term "*thea*" from the verb "*theaomai*," to gaze with admiration. Caroline van Eck and Stijn Bussels, "The Visual Arts and the Theatre in Early Modern Europe," *Art History* 33 (2010): 212.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> A culture-shocked Erasmus of Rotterdam recounted the event. Cruciani, *Teatro nel rinascimento Roma*, 330-331.

showcased pontiffs blessing the faithful gathered below. Of course neither of these ecclesiastical structures were theaters per se. Yet as spaces of display strongly subjected to the public gaze they should be considered a kind of a stage. Peruzzi's theater-motif too would have framed and honored Agostino Chigi greeting his guests at the entrance to his villa like the ancient *viri illustri* and Renaissance pontiffs.

Peruzzi processed classical and modern precedents with sophistication at the Villa Farnesina to synthesize a hybrid structure that fluently exercised visual rhetoric. He employed a design motif that appeals concretely to our sense of sight, and inventively brought to life a material setting that conjures the Ovidian notion of theater – a place in which one sees and is seen. The Villa Farnesina raises vision to the level of consciousness. This operation ties architecture solidly to rhetoric because persuasion in the classical tradition always involved the visual sense – both literally and metaphorically. A successful orator, according to Greek and Latin sources on eloquent speech, is tasked with impressing the audience by "placing things before our eyes." The notion was almost commonplace. Aristotle, for example, discussed such visualization as the proper function of the figure of speech in his *Art of Rhetoric*. In the Roman context too, Cicero and Quintilian considered vividness and clarity of description (or *Enargeia*) absolutely essential to rhetoric's capacity to impact its audience.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Katherine Lamp, "'A City of Brick:' Visual Rhetoric in Roman Rhetorical Theory and Practice," *Philosophy and Rhetoric* 44 (2011): 178-183; Jens Kjeldsen, "Talking to the Eye: Visuality in Ancient Rhetoric," *Word and Image: A Journal of Verbal/Visual Enquiry* 19 (2003): 133-137.

Aristotle, *Rhetorica*, 1411b. 24, and 1411b.33; Idem, *Art of Rhetoric*, trans. John Henry Freese (Cambridge MA and London, 1975); Sara Newman, "Aristotle's Notion of 'Bringing-before-the-Eyes:' Its Contributions to Aristotelian and Contemporary Conceptualizations of Metaphors, Style, and Audience," *Rhetorica* 20 (2002): 1-23. In his *Moralia*, Plutarch commented on how Thucydides could turn the listener of his works into a spectator. Plutarch, *Morals*, William Goodwin ed., 5 vols. (Boston, 1874), 5: 402. "Therefore Thucydides always derives at this perspicuity, to make the hearer (as it were) a spectator, and to inculcate the same passions and perturbations of mind into his readers as they were in who beheld the causes of those effects."

For oratory fails of its full effect, and does not assert itself as it should, if its appeal is merely to the hearing (...) and not displayed in their living truth to the eyes of the mind.<sup>34</sup>

The desire to turn a reader or a listener into a spectator was ubiquitous in this tradition, and Peruzzi's villa that *places things before our seeing eyes* should be understood as enacting a similar kind of metamorphic procedure. Vision is made to be both the painter-architect's subject and medium of eloquent expression.

Such astute engagement with rhetorical themes through optical techniques was highly characteristic of this painter-architect's work. Peruzzi's broad interest in vision guided his design practice in the form of perspectival drawing as we saw in the previous chapter. But the same theme also shaped his critical principles as his immediate followers in the late sixteenth-century duly noted. In 1590, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo (1538–1600) suggestively described this characteristic in his *Idea del Tempio della Pittura*.

(...) and under Vincenzo Foppa and Bramante, Bernardo Zenale, il Buttinoni, Bramantino and Baldassare Peruzzi became famous, who urged to place things according to our vision as the ancient [painter] Asclepiodorus used to.<sup>35</sup>

Lomazzo groups Peruzzi together with three other painter-architects [Bramantino (c. 1456-1530), Bernardo Zenale (1464-1526) and Bernardino Butinone (c. 1450- c.1510)] and traced their artistic genealogy back to Bramante and to Foppa (c.1427-1515) and to the Greek painter Asclepiodorus – all experts in perspective. Together, the six modern

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Quintilian, *Institutio Oratoria*, 8.3.61-2; Van Eck, *Classical Rhetoric and the Visual Arts*, 3-9.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Idea del Tempio della Pittura* (Milan, 1590), Chapter 37. "(...) e sotto Vincenzo Foppa e Bramante, divennero famosi Bernardo Zenale il Buttinoni, Bramantino, Baldassar Petruccio, che attesero a collocar le cose secondo il nostro vedere, come gia fece l'antico Asclepidoro." Pliny and Plutarch praised the Greek painter Asclepidorus for his knowledge of proportion and symmetry to which even the great painter Apelles supposedly admitted defeat. In his *Rime* from 1587, Lomazzo also says of Peruzzi: "Egli hà mostrato l'alta prospettiva che da Bramante trapassò a il Petrucci con soma gratia posta al suo vedere."

artists urged fellow practitioners to "place things according to our vision," and to engage their audience in a visual process like an orator in Quintilian's image. Period accounts like this present Peruzzi as an active participant in the vibrant early modern dialogue on disciplinarity and creativity.

## 3.3 The Roman Production of *La Calandria*

When the duchess of Mantua Isabella d'Este sojourned in Rome on her way to and from Naples between November 1514 and January 1515, it was said that she suspended the eternal city in one long continuous festival.<sup>36</sup> On behalf of this honored guest of pope Leo X, cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena directed his risqué Plautine comedy *La Calandria* during carnival, inside the apostolic palace, with Baldassarre Peruzzi as scenographer, and young noble Romans as actors.<sup>37</sup> The production was only one among

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Isabella d'Este arrived in Rome in early November 1514. She made her way to Naples after Christmas, but stopped again in Rome on her slow journey back to Mantua. Alessandro Luzio, *Isabella d'Este: ne' primordi del papato di Leone X – il suo viaggio a Roma nel 1514-1515* (Milan, 1906), 53-54; Cruciani, "Le feste per Isabella d'Este," 172; Idem, *Teatro nel rinascimento Roma*, 440-448. Adolf Gaspary suggested in 1888 that the Roman production accompanied by Peruzzi's set actually took place at the Vatican in 1518, rather than 1515. This date was reprinted by D'Ancona in 1891. See, Adolf Gaspary, *Geschichte der Italienischen Literatur vol. 2 - Der Italienische Literatur in der Renaissance Zeit* (1888). I consulted the Italian translation by Vittorio Rossi, *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* Vol. 2, part 2 (Turin, 1901), 236-237; Alessandro D'Ancona, *Origini del Teatro Italiano Libri Tre* (Turin, 1891), vol. 2, 396.

Bibbiena himself preferred to remain silent about the production. In a letter to Giuliano de Medici from mid February 1515, he remarked, "I shall let others write (to you) about the feast of this Carnival." Cited in Cruciani, "Le feste per Isabella d'Este," 171. The only written accounts of *La Calandria's* Roman production known to date come, not from eyewitness reports, but from the curialist Paolo Giovio's biographies of Cardinal Bibbiena and of Leo X in the *Elogia Doctorum Virorum* from 1546. Neither mentions Peruzzi. In Bibbiena's *Life*, Giovio noted how: "He (Bibbiena) wrote with marvelous sweetness of style the comedy *Calandria*, which was later recited during carnival in the Papal palace by young noble Romans, to bring delight to the Marchioness of Mantua named Isabella, with such beautiful scenery, and such cheerful spectacle, that it is almost necessary to confess that despite their excellence, no comical poet has ever composed anything more learned or more humorous, nor staged a play with more magnificence." The description in Leo X's biography slightly differs. "He [Bibbiena] used to encourage young noblemen to act in plays, and would set up stages in the spacious rooms within the Vatican. For this reason, when he had decided by chance to use his noble actors to stage the comedy *Calandria* (which was hilarious because of its racy and clever banter) in honor of Isabella, wife of the

many theatrical performances the papal court would stage for the erudite connoisseur Isabella's pleasure. But the duchess would have shown particular interest in this comedy, having heard of the play's great success at its recent premier in Urbino under the direction of her close friend Baldassar Castiglione from her daughter Eleonora Gonzaga, the duchess of Urbino.<sup>38</sup> Although obscure to non-specialists, *La Calandria* is an important drama and a standard in anthologies of Italian Renaissance plays. It is considered the earliest regular comedy (structured in five acts) composed in vernacular prose, which generated numerous productions in cities across Italy and many printed editions.<sup>39</sup> In a

Marquis of Mantua, he asked that the Pope himself might watch from a prominent position." I thank Tom Hendricksen for his assistance in translating these passages from Latin.

Urbano Urbani's biography of the duke of Urbino, Francesco Maria della Rovere, mentions how Bibbiena had solicited permission from the duke to produce the play outside of Urbino. B.A.V. MS Urb. Lat. 490, 193v-196v. "(...) volendosi poi per l'author proprio farla recitare in Roma, né per molte prove fattone riuscitogli richiese Francesco Maria dil rolo e dillo ordine secondo l'era stata data fuora in Urbino; et così haut oli tutto, lui poi la fece recitare in Roma."

Francesco Gonzaga's Mantuan envoy in Rome, the Archdeacon of Gabbioneta, possibly referred to the set (if only generically) in his letter to the Marquis dated 12 January 1515. The envoy explained how the pope was attempting to detain Isabella even longer in Rome by organizing in her honor "all the feasts that have never before been done before in Rome," and especially by "preparing a beautiful new comedy (...) with a very beautiful set." Luzio, *Isabella d'este*, 107.

It is unclear which space within the apostolic palace accommodated the performance. One candidate would be the reception hall within Bibbiena's own apartment-suite, located directly one floor above Leo's living quarters in the apostolic palace. But this relatively small room (10 x 15m) may not have been capable of accommodating the set and the guests. (Giovio described the room in which the production was held "spatiosa" after all). Two rooms in Bibbiena's apartments also caught fire in 21 December 1514, precisely when preparations for a stage set may have been underway – which makes the audience hall increasingly unlikely as the site for *La Calandria*'s production. Marino Sanuto, *Diarii*, vol. 19, 336; Henry Dietrich Fernandez, "Raphael's Bibbiena Chapel in the Vatican Palace" in *Functions and Decorations: Art and Ritual at the Vatican Palace in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, eds. Tristan Weddigen, Sibile de Blaauw, and Bram Kempers (Vatican City, 2003), 115-130.

<sup>38</sup> On the Urbino production of *La Calandria*, Franco Ruffini, *Commedia e festa nel Rinascimento: la 'Calandria' alla corte di Urbino* (Bologna, 1986); Jack D'Amico, "Drama and the Court in La Calandria," *Theatre Journal* 43 (1991): 93-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Nerida Newbigin, "Politics and Comedy in the Early Years of the Accademia degli Intronati of Siena," in *Il teatro Italiano del Rinascimento*, ed. Maristella de Panizza Lorch (Milan, 1980), 123-134; Mauda Bregoli-Russo, "La Calandria del Bibbiena nel suo contesto letterario," *Rivista di studi italiani* 17 (1999): 58-67; Richard Andrews, "Written Texts and Performed Texts in Italian Renaissance Comedy," in *Writers and Performers in Italian Drama: From the Time of Dante to Pirandello*, eds. Julie Dashwood and Jane Everson (New York, 1991), 75-94. The comedy was first published in 1521 – only a year after Bibbiena's death – by a highly prolific Sienese script publisher named Giovanni d'Alessandro Landi, known as "Giovanni delle commedie" (1478-1551). The initiative was sponsored by a 23-year-old Sienese Deacon, Bandino Bandini, who was the brother of Cardinal Francesco Bandini Piccolomini (in

panegyric epigram dedicated to the comedy, the Roman academician and playwright Evangelista Maddaleni Capodiferro called Fausto (d. 1526) noted that Bibbiena's play surpassed Aristophanes and Terence, and raised the Tuscans above the Greeks as well as the Romans. <sup>40</sup> But beyond its novel literary form, my interest in this comedy concerns its Roman stage-set attributed to Peruzzi first by Vasari, and the audience address that its perspectival construct employed, which was critical to the success of the play. The episode can teach us a great deal about the relationship between architecture, drama, and rhetoric in the early modern world.

To better understand the visual rhetoric in Peruzzi's architecture that so inspired theorists writing a generation later, it is important to reconstruct an image of the set that he created specifically for *La Calandria*'s Vatican production. Theater architecture is by nature unescapably ephemeral. And the surviving visual evidence for Peruzzi's set for *La Calandria* is accordingly terribly fragmentary. For a Tuscan loyalist like Vasari, it mattered that a pioneering invention like the recently-codified perspective set should be tied to a vernacular drama written by a Medici partisan like Bibbiena and staged with

Rome since 1517), who was among the founding members in 1525 of the playwriting academy known as the *Intronati* in Siena. I thank the Houghton Rare Books Library at Harvard University for granting access to a valuable copy of the *editio princeps*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Evangelista Maddaleni Capodiferro detto Fausto, *De Calandria Comoedia* "Cadet Aristophanes Tuscoque Terentius ori / Etruschi superant graeca latina sales." B.A.V. MS Vat. Lat. 3351, 132v.

All No documentary evidence proving Peruzzi's participation in this production has emerged. Bibbiena did know Peruzzi most likely in his capacity as Vatican treasurer and head of the *fabbrica* of Saint Peter's overseeing the basilica's reconstruction, especially after Bramante's death in April 1514. The three surviving account books of relevance from this time are, Archivio di Stato di Roma, *Camerale I, spese minute del palazzo* #1488 and #1489, which document Leo X's household expenses from the years 1513-1519. In the Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro, Cardinal Bibbiena's personal account book in Armadio 2, Ripiano E, vol. 99, did list an amount he loaned to the traveling Isabella d'Este, but no word on the expenses for Carnival. A lamentable loss (probably due to the 1527 Sack of Rome) are the volumes from the years 1505-1530 documenting the expenses on the apostolic palace in the Archivio di Stato di Roma, Camerale I, Fabbriche collection.

support from Leo X. <sup>42</sup> Ascribing *La Calandria* a place of prominence, Vasari's narrative broadly showcased the sophistication of Tuscan culture and the political power of the Medici. But in reality, the essentially Vitruvian stage typology emerged in the early sixteenth-century at many courts across Italy to accompany various performances of plays by Plautus and Terrence. Peruzzi's experiments in *all'antica* scenography were not so radically distinct from Pellegrino da Udine's painted backdrops for Ariosto's *Cassaria* produced in Ferrara in 1508, or Girolamo Genga's elaborate wood and stucco constructions for the premier of *La Calandria* in Urbino, or even Raphael's set for Ariosto's *I Suppositi* from 1519 in Rome. <sup>43</sup> Today the model most famously survives at the Teatro Olimpico in Vicenza, designed by Andrea Palladio and Scamozzi in the late sixteenth century (fig. 45). These models share formal and ideological attributes because they emerge from a similar intellectual font.

The most relevant precedent for Peruzzi would have been Genga's set that occupied the massive *Salone del Trone* in Urbino's Palazzo Ducale (fig. 46).<sup>44</sup> But this

<sup>44</sup> Peruzzi and Genga knew each other. They possibly met in Siena before Peruzzi left for Rome circa 1503, since Genga had followed Luca Signorelli there in 1498 to collaborate on the interior paintings

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> G. L. Moncarello, *Il Cardinale Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena: umanista e diplomatico 1470-1520* (Rome, 1953); Pacifico Sella, "Il Cardinale Bibbiena e la Fabbrica di S. Pietro: libro dell'entrata ed uscita," *Revirescunt chartae codices documenta textus: Miscellanea in honorem Fr. Caesaris Cenci*, eds. Pacifico sella and Alvaro Cacciotti (Rome, 2002), 503-553; Angelica Pediconi, "Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1470-1520): A Palatine Cardinal," in *The Possessions of a Cardinal: Politics, Piety and Art, 1450-1700*, eds. Mary Hollingsworth and Carol Richardson (University Park PA, 2010), 92-112. Bibbiena worked as private secretary to Leo X. He was in the Medici household his entire life. A powerful member of Leo's inner circle, Bibbiena had secured the cardinalate to Santa Maria in Portico in 1513 after orchestrating Giovanni de' Medici's ascent to the papal throne, and the Medici family's return to Florence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> On Vitruvius' description of stage sets, see chapter 2 note 27 in this dissertation. Antonio Stäuble, "Scenographia ed architettura teatrale nel Rinascimento," in *Letteratura e critica: studi in Onore di Natalino Sapegno*, ed. Walter Binni (Rome, 1975): 391-416; Pirotta and Povoledo, "Regular Comedy and the Perspective Set," 311-334; Manfredo Tafuri, "Il luogo teatrale," in *Il teatro italiano del Rinascimento*, ed. Fabrizio Cruciani (Bologna, 1987), 53-66; Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, "*Vitruve et le théâtre de la renaissance italienne*," in *Le lieu théâtrale à la Renaissance: colloques Internationaux du Centre de la Recherche Scientifique, Royaumont, 22–27 mars 1963*, ed. Jean Jacquot (Paris, 1964), 1-23; Howard Burns, Christoph Frommel and Stefano Ray eds., *Raffaello architetto* (Milan, 1984), 226-228.

stage was built to accommodate not only *La Calandria* but also two additional modern comedies (Nicola Grasso's *Eutichia*, and an unidentified work by Guidobaldo Rugiero) for the same Carnival season. It filled different needs therefore from the ones Peruzzi's set had to fulfill two years later solely for the production of Bibbiena's comedy. But the detailed description of Genga's set by Castiglione who directed the play is still informative.

The scenery imitated the ultimate space between the city wall and the last houses; the foot of the stage very naturally showed a reproduction of the city wall with two towers, one at each end of the room: in one stood the pipers, in the other the trumpet players. In the middle was another well-formed flank: the auditorium remained like the city moat, traversed by two walls as if to restrain the water.

(...) the backdrop depicted a very fine city with streets, palaces, churches, towers, true streets, and all in relief, but still assisted by excellent painting and very good perspective. Among other things there was an octagonal temple in half-relief, very well defined, that given all the other works of the state of Urbino, it was hard to believe that this had been made in four months. All made of stucco, with beautiful decorations imitating windows of alabaster, architraves and cornices of fine gold and ultramarine blue, and, in certain places, jeweled windows that seemed very real, completely rounded figures of imitation marble, carved decorations. It would take too long to tell it all. This stood nearly at the center. At one side was a triumphal arch, a good pole's length from the wall, as finely made as possible. 45

commission for Pandolfo Petrucci's palace. Genga spends a considerable amount of time in Siena also between 1510-11. On a drawing by Genga in the National Gallery of Scotland (D.1569), he notes on the verso, "Ricordo parlare a Baldassarr da Siena." For their relationship, see, Barbara Antonelli, "Novità su villa Imperiale: il progetto dei giardini e i rapporti di Girolamo Genga con i Senesi." *Pesaro, città e contà - Rivista della società pesarese di studi storici* 15 (2002): 41-68.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Baldassar Castiglione to Ludovico Canossa. This letter was published in 1561 by Atanagi in Venice, and would have been available for Vasari's consultation when revising his *Lives* for the second edition. Ruffini, *Commedia e festa nel Rinascimento*, 307-310; Thomas Pallen, *Vasari on Theatre* (Carbondale IL, 1999), 93-96; Dionigi Atanagi, *De le lettere facete e piacevoli di diversi grandi huomini et chiari ingegni* (Venice, 1561), 179.

At Urbino then, the set for *La Calandria* involved a backdrop painted in perspective with larger, sumptuously decorated, buildings in stucco and wood dotting the stage. The audience would have been made to look into a city from its entrance, across what appeared to be a moat. What Peruzzi developed in Rome, if we are to believe Vasari's description, was a set that expanded the illusionistic effect in Genga's model. He added the raked stage between the platform where the action would take place and the painted backdrop, which would have enhanced the illusive depth of the whole conceit. This configuration allowed actors and directors greater flexibility in their production as opposed to static painted backdrops.

While no drawing by Peruzzi for *La Calandria* survives, a group of drawings from the sixteenth century that have been traditionally associated with this production can be studied together as a constellation to propose what the legendary stage may have looked like. Theater historians most often connect with this production the beautiful large finished drawing of a perspective set numbered UA291 in the Uffizi Gallery that shows a city dotted with iconic classical monuments (fig. 47). Its attribution to Peruzzi has been refuted almost unanimously by architectural historians on stylistic grounds. <sup>46</sup> But new scholarship on this work has brought to light how the drawing once belonged to Vasari's

This prized drawing was one of the few from the album that never left Florence, because Vasari's heirs gave them to the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1574. Vasari's collection of drawings was otherwise dispersed and sold. The majority went to France, but 107 sheets were purchased as a group by the Uffizi Gallery in 1798, including a good number of architectural drawings. Collobi thinks that Peruzzi's other scenographic drawings in the Uffizi (UA30, UA268, UA269) also belonged to Vasari's personal collection. Licia Collobi Ragghianti, *Il libro de' disegni del Vasari 2 vols*. (Florence, 1974); Idem, "Nuove precisazioni sui disegni di architettura del 'libro' del Vasari," *Critica d'arte* 127 (1973): 31-54; Idem, "Nuove precisazioni sui disegni di architettura del 'libro' del Vasari," *Critica d'arte* 130 (1973): 31-54; Anna Forlani Tempesti, "Giorgio Vasari and the 'Libro de' disegni': a Paper Museum or Portable Gallery," in *Giorgio Vasari and the Birth of the Museum*, eds. Maia Wellington Gahtan and Alessandro Cecci (Burlington VT, 2014), 31-52; Annamaria Petrioli Tofani, "Catalog # 167, Perspective Scenery with Roman Buildings," in *The Renaissance of Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture*, eds. Henry Millon and Vittorio Lampugnani (Milan, 1994), 532.

vast Libro de' disegni collection. It is highly likely that Vasari, who would have been only four years old in 1515 and definitely not present at the Vatican production, had this particular drawing in mind when he described Peruzzi's invention for La Calandria in his biography. Similarly tied to Peruzzi's designs for *La Calandria* conventionally is UA30, an unfinished or abandoned, birds'-eye-view drawing (fig. 48). Because of the two towers present at either edge of this drawing, Fabrizio Cruciani thought the sheet might relate to Genga's work in Urbino.<sup>47</sup> Two further works on paper have been traditionally associated with the event – one in the Swedish National Museum's collection (fig. 49). and another, (a partial copy after the first) in the Sienese Pinacoteca. The Sienese painterarchitect Bartolomeo Neroni called Riccio (c. 1505-71) seems to be the author of both of these (fig. 50). 48 None of these four drawings can be securely tied to Peruzzi's hand, or necessarily to a production of La Calandria. Their connection to the 1515 Vatican performance derives mostly from the stage typology that they demonstrate, and from the Roman landscape that they seem to suggest. Yet the manners in which they tightly gather Roman monuments in a perspectively constructed street that extends from a piazza into the distance suggests characteristics that Peruzzi's set likely shared. Rising behind the cavea in the distance are familiar structures like the Pantheon, Trajan's column, and the Coliseum that identify the scene as Rome, which is where the action of *La Calandria* is set in the script. Nothing conceals the vanishing point. And the eye-level renderings (aside from the abandoned UA30) transmit the idea that Serlio advised in his treatise,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Cruciani, "Gli allestimenti scenici di Baldassarre Peruzzi," 160; Cruciani, *Teatro nel rinascimento Roma*, 459-469.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> This work (Pinacoteca cat.121a) has been recently reattributed tentatively to Bartolomeo Neroni called Riccio. Marco Ciampolini, "Il seicento alla mostra dell'antica arte senese del 1904 con un'appendice sui disegni," in *Il segreto della civiltà; la mostra dell'antica arte senese del 1904, cento anni dopo* (Siena, 2005), 100-109.

where the perspective construct's horizon line should be made to align with the height of the real actors' heads, as if in an Albertian painting.

Further details on La Calandria's stage can be gathered from three drawings for other ephemeral sets that are securely tied to Peruzzi. The first is a work in the Biblioteca Reale in Turin (fig. 51). This drawings dates to late 1515, and relates to a series of temporary structures constructed to celebrate Leo X's meeting with king Francis I in Bologna that December to mark a new alliance between France and the Papal State.<sup>49</sup> Only one half side of the stage is shown, but it is clear that the set would have consisted of a cityscape with a long central street that extends from a piazza into the distance, according to a carefully laid out perspectival system on a raked stage. The buildings up front would have been practicable for the actors, as the props and figures in the drawing make evident. An off-axial perspective view is employed here to articulate the stage-right elevation. The method of rendering recalls how Peruzzi preferred to employ perspective in his architectural design drawings as well, such as in UA25 (see fig. 5). And he continued to render his stage sets this way even after gaining more experience as a scenographer. The preparatory drawings for the production of Plautus' *Bacchides* from 1531 that Peruzzi produced employ essentially the same method of projection, where his thinking is articulated in a combination of plan and highly detailed off-axial perspective

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Dario Donetti, "87: Baldassarre Peruzzi – Scena Teatrale," in *Nello Splendore Mediceo: Papa Leone X e Firenze* eds. Nicoletta Baldini and Monica Bietti (Florence, 2013), 528-529; Christoph Frommel, "'Ala maniera e uso delj boni antiquj:' Baldassarre Peruzzi e la sua quarantennale ricerca dell'antico." In *Baldassarre Peruzzi 1481-1536*, et. al. eds. Christoph Frommel (Venice, 2005), 30; Arnaldo Bruschi, "Da Bramante a Peruzzi: spazio e pittura," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena e architettura nel Cinquecento*, eds. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome, 1987), 326-329.

views with careful measurements (figs. 52, 53). Peruzzi's set for *La Calandria* must have shown similar thinking.

An even more fruitful but less traveled avenue of inquiry concerns the script of *La Calandria* itself. Italian Renaissance theater architecture is hardly ever considered in comparison to the play-texts that they accompanied. But this source can yield much valuable information regarding scenographic design and its practice. That Peruzzi's perspective set should be aligned with Bibbiena's script is hardly surprising – a scenographer's task is after all to bestow each play a three-dimensional setting for its enactment. Peruzzi would have studied the script in detail in order to create a set that suited the play. What would have helped him envision the setting in particular are descriptive passages from the prologue, where the locus of action is indicated in the section called the "*argomento*." The complex Plautine plot involving a cross-dressing male and female twin, Lidio and Santilla, is first introduced in this section too. When the performance begins the prologue speaker emerges alone on stage. He begins by divulging to the audience that the two protagonists are:

(...) both today in Rome, where in a moment you will see them. Don't believe, however, that they've come here from Rome by means of necromancy, for the city that you see here before you *is* Rome. That city, once so large, spacious, and great that with all its triumphs it encompassed many cities, countries, and rivers,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Fabrizio Cruciani, "Prospettive della scena: *Le Bacchidi* del 1531" *Biblioteca Teatrale* 15/16 (1976): 49-69; Idem, *Teatro nel rinascimento Roma*, 510-521; Pochat, "Peruzzi's Bacchides," 261-281; Arnaldo Bruschi, "Scene prospettiche urbane nel Cinquecento: progettazione, costruzione, caratteri - la scena per le Bacchidi del 1531," in Origini della commedia dell'Europa del Cinquecento, ed. Maria Chiabò (Rome, 1994), 177-192.

now has become so small that, as you see, it can be easily contained in your city. That's the way the world turns.<sup>51</sup>

The *description* here must have conditioned the formal make-up of Peruzzi's set in important ways. It requires first of all that the backdrop conform to the speaker's monologue. The audience is oriented towards the city of Rome that has materialized before their eyes almost miraculously. The locus of action is also to be set in modern times, and is said to contain recognizable vestiges of Rome's bygone grandeur. It would have been absolutely logical therefore for Peruzzi to include, as part of the stage's apparatus, buildings that speak to the collective imagination of Rome, such as the Colosseum, the Pantheon, the Milizia tower, and triumphal arches, like the microcosmic representation in UA291 does (see fig. 47). The sense of revelry in the decline of Rome expressed here was clearly intended for a non-Roman audience – probably the courtiers of Urbino. <sup>52</sup> Dissuaded from suspecting sorcery and yet, the audience is urged still to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena, "La Calandra," in *Five Comedies from the Italian Renaissance*, ed. and trans. Laura Gianetti and Guido Ruggiero (Baltimore and London, 2003), 4.

The authorship of *La Calandria*'s prologue has at times been attributed to Castiglione, because in Castiglione's letter to Canossa, he mentioned how Bibbiena's prologue for the play arrived to Urbino much too late for the actor to memorize. "(...) our Bernardo's Calandro (...) was very extremely pleasing. And since his prologue arrived [to Urbino from Rome] so late that the actor who was to recite it lacked time to learn it, one of mine was recited that sufficiently please everyone. On the other hand, only a few things [in the script] were changed, except for some scenes that perhaps could not be recited, but little or nothing, and nearly all remained as it was."

Bibbiena did send Castiglione the finished prologue in the end, and for this reason, most scholars believe that the one prologue commonly printed in the sixteenth century was in fact by the Cardinal. In the 1880s, however, Isiodoro del Lungo discovered an unpublished prologue in Florence, which he believed to be Bibbiena's original prologue for *La Calandria*. As Fossati later argued, the content of this prologue does not seem to match the body of the comedy in any way. The full text of this prologue is transcribed in Fossati's edition of the play. See Ruffini, *Commedia e festa nel rinascimento*, 197-199; Pallen, *Vasari on Theatre*, 93-96; Giorgio Padoan ed., *La Calandra, commedia elegantissima per messer Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena* (Padua, 1985); Isiodoro del Lungo, *Florentia: Uomini e cose del Quattrocento* (Florence, 1897); Paolo Fossati ed., *La Calandria* (Turin, 1973). For an analysis of the two prologues and their contents in particular, see Donatella Riposio, '*Nova Comedia v'appresento:' Il prologo nella commedia del Cinquecento* (Turin, 1989).

marvel at the miraculous apparition of a city on stage – an audacious challenge against any scenographer tasked with its visualization.

What this kind of comparative analysis immediately brings to light is a scenographic practice that must have entailed close collaboration with the dramatist, actors, and the director in charge of the production. Castiglione described the arduous preparations for La Calandria's premier in Urbino as "a battle" with "the painters, and the carpenters, as well as the musicians and the dancers." <sup>53</sup> Playwrights knew full well that the public production of their work was at the mercy of stage designers and actors. To make sure that a performance would be prepared according to his own vision, Egidio Gallo included stage directions in his 1505 publication of two Neo-Plautine plays (Bophilaria and Annularia) that he dedicated to Agostino Chigi. 54 And in September of 1513, when the Roman municipal government erected an elaborate all'antica theater on the Capitoline hill to celebrate the conferral of Roman citizenship to the brother and nephew of pope Leo X, the preparations for the production of Plautus' *Poenulus* for this well-attended ceremony similarly involved "all the best architects, builders, and painters that could be found," like Giuliano da Sangallo, Pietro Rosselli (1474-1521), and Peruzzi, as well as accomplished men of letters such as Fedra Inghirami and his student Camillo Porcari [Porzio] (d. 1521). 55 Public pageantry events like these were carried out

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Castiglione to Canossa. See translation in, Pallen, *Vasari on Theatre*, 93-96.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Egidio Gallo, *Comoediae* (Rome, 1505). I thank Ingrid Rowland for this reference. The volume I consulted is housed in the Biblioteca Universitaria di Bologna, two other known copies are in existence - One in the British Museum, the other in the Bibliothèque nationale de *France*.

<sup>55 &</sup>quot;Costui, fatta elletione di megliori architetti, fabri, et pittori che possibil sia stato ritrovare (...)." Paolo Palliolo da Fano, Narratione delli spectacoli celebrati in Campidoglio da Romani nel ricevere lo Magnifico Juliano et Laurentio di Medici per suoi patritii, part I, cited in Cruciani and Bruschi, 24, 131. The codex is now conserved separately in four parts. Fabrizio Cruciani and Arnaldo Bruschi, Il teatro del Campidoglio (Milan, 1968); Arnaldo Bruschi, "Il teatro capitolino del 1513," Bollettino del centro internazionale di studi di architettura Andrea Palladio 16 (1974): 189-218; Charles Stinger, "The

collaboratively for obvious reasons. And precisely because they necessitated an "all-hands-on-deck" approach, they offered fertile ground for the exchange of ideas across disciplines.

Aside from the scenic descriptions that would have determined the stage set's content, *La Calandria*'s prologue would have conveyed to Peruzzi the comic tone that the author wished to strike. The prologue was traditionally where the dramatist candidly explained his own work and the approach he took to compose it to prepare the audience for the play itself.<sup>56</sup> In the classical tradition, rhetoricians called the prologue *exordium*.<sup>57</sup> This was a section in an oration that delivers the speaker's defense of his work, a brief summary of the speech, an introduction to the narrative's protagonists, and guidelines for the audience. The main objectives of *exordium* were to instruct, to move, and to capture the audience's attention in a direct voice, or, in other words, to eloquently persuade. Angelo Poliziano explained the *exordium* in 1494 as the only place within a dramatic composition that "permitted the expression of something extra to the benefit of the

Campidoglio as the Locus of *Renovatio Imperii* in Renaissance Rome," in *Art & Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy: 1250-1500*, ed. Charles Rosenberg (Notre Dame, 1990), 135-156. Bibbiena was present at this event as part of the Medici household. Alberto Pio of Carpi, who was to become an important patron for Peruzzi just a year later, was also in attendance as Imperial ambassador to Rome.

For prologues in Renaissance drama see, Alessandro Ronconi, "Prologhi Plautini e prologhi Terenziani nella commedia italiana del Cinquecento," in Il teatro classico italiano nel Cinquecento (Rome, 1971), 197-214; Riposio, 'Nova comedia v'appresentò' (1989); Douglas Bruster and Robert Weimann, Prologues to Shakespeare's Theatre: Performance and Liminality in Early Modern Drama (London and New York, 2004); Emily Kearns, "The Prologues of Comoedia Sacra and their Classical Models," Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 86 (1991): 403-411; Rita Jones, "Asked to Bear their Part: Redefining the Audience in Early Modern Drama," (PhD. Diss. University of North Carolina Greensboro 2007); Robin Miller, "The Prologue in 17<sup>th</sup> Century Venetian Operatic Libretto: Its Dramatic Purpose and the Function of its Characters," (PhD diss. University of North Texas, 1998). For a broader discussion of Renaissance prefatory practice, see: Kevin Dunn, Pretexts of Authority: the Rhetoric of Authorship in the Renaissance Preface (Stanford, 1994).

The four parts of a speech, according to Cicero's *De Partitione Oratoria* are, *Exordium* (prologue), *Narratio* (narrative account of incident), *Confermatio* (logical arguments supporting the premise), and *Peroratio* (summary and appeal).

author, the drama itself, or the actors."<sup>58</sup> Early modern authors studied this formula closely. The prologue of *La Calandria* is in keeping with the practices of classical playwrights like Plautus and Terence who adopted the rhetorical *exordium* strategically.

Bibbiena's language in the prologue shows acute self-awareness throughout, and places emphasis on the notion of novelty to justify its use of the vernacular. *Artifice* is so central a theme to this monologue that even the discreet tasks of the actors and the audience receive commentary, exposing the performative and interpretive processes that any theatrical event fundamentally entails. In an open disclosure the audience is asked to anticipate fantasy and to deliver favorable judgment.

Today you will see a new comedy entitled *Calandria*, in prose, not in verse; modern, not ancient; Italian, not Latin. It is called *Calandria*, which comes from the name of Calandro, a character whom you will find so foolish that it's hard to imagine Nature ever creating such a man. <sup>59</sup>

Directly addressing the audience before him, the prologue speaker suspends dramatic fantasy and speaks across the invisible fourth wall that should stand between the actors' fantastic realm on stage and the real world of the audience. The monologue both defends the playwright's composition and eases the spectators' transition into the fictional world, all the while beseeching the audience candidly.

The rest of the prologue continues in this vein to at once build and rupture dramatic fantasy.

The author did not want to present this comedy in verse because it treats of everyday things and uses everyday language, and especially because we speak

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> "(...) Il prologo è una specie di prefazione della storia e solo in esso si può esporre, oltre l'argomento, qualche altra cosa al pubblico, per beneficio dell'autore, o del dramma stesso, o dell'attore." In Angelo Poliziano, *La commedia antica e l'Andria di Terenzio*, ed. R. Lattanzi Roselli (Florence, 1973), 12.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Bibbiena, La Calandria, 2.

freely in ordinary prose, not in meter. That this comedy is not ancient should upset no one of good taste, for modern things and the new are always more enjoyable than the old or the ancient. The latter, from long use, often seem musty. It's not in Latin, because it is being played before large numbers of people who are not all learned, and the author – wanting to give you greater pleasure – decided to use Italian so that everyone could understand and enjoy the comedy equally. Moreover, given that Italian is the language that God and Nature have given us, it shouldn't be less appreciated or enjoyed than Latin, Greek, or Hebrew. Our language wouldn't be inferior if we praised, practiced, and polished it with the same diligence that the Greeks and the others did theirs. For those who appreciate other languages over their own are their own enemies. I know that as far as I'm concerned I hold my own language more dear than any other, and I believe the same is true for you. So I hope you'll be pleased to hear this comedy in your own language. But I've made a mistake: you will hear this comedy in our language, not yours, for after all we are the ones who are speaking and you listening.<sup>60</sup>

In a particularly delightful passage towards the end of the prologue, the speaker even solicits the audience's participation directly:

If there are those among you who will say that the author has stolen this [script] shamelessly from Plautus (...) we beg of him not to bring the matter to the attention of the authorities – instead, go whisper it quietly in the ear of Plautus.<sup>61</sup>

The task, of course, is an impossible one. Bibbiena's entire prologue for *La Calandria* in this way demonstrates a desire to instruct, to move, and to delight the audience in close agreement with the three main tasks of a Ciceronian orator who wins over his listeners' hearts and minds. This is indicative of how dramatic composition and performance formed subfields within the discipline of rhetoric.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Ibid, 2-3.

<sup>61</sup> Ibid, 3

The way in which La Calandria's prologue addresses its audience is remarkably similar to the agency of a perspective set. The operations of the perspective set can be characterized mainly in two ways. On the one hand, it attempts to substantiate the imaginary world of the play by situating the action in a specific locality that the script calls for (see fig. 47). If every theater set strives to persuade us of a fictional world, we may say that the perspective stage demonstrates greater ambitions for persuasion in its illusionistic character. Unlike a cartographic map that represents a place to *inform* viewers, a stage set must also transport the audience, mind and body, to the moment and to the site of action. Scale and volume were important elements in this undertaking since they worked to enhance the sense of immediacy, and to unify real time with fictional place. By embedding the audience's gaze within its own three-dimensional structural constitution, Peruzzi's perspective stage would have masterfully transported the beholders to that imaginary location. <sup>62</sup> The perspectival construct implied the audience's corporeal presence, unwavering attention, and even their empathetic responses. It reframed the viewers as attentive live witnesses to an unfolding spectacle, just as a prologue speaker does on stage. The structure is uniquely suited for preparing an audience to embrace fiction, which must at least in part explain its popularity and longevity in the history of Western theater

Simultaneously to this illusionistic objective, however, the perspective stage also acts as a subversive force that breaks down the fictional world of the play. By addressing the audience independently of the actors, it establishes an autonomous line of

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<sup>62</sup> Michael Schwartz, "Beholding and its Displacements in Renaissance Painting," in *Place and Displacement in the Renaissance*, ed. Alvin Vos (Binghamton NY, 1995), 231-254; Cesare Molinari, "Gli spettatori e lo spazio scenico nel teatro del Cinquecento," *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* 16 (1974): 145-154.

communication outside the world of the play, thereby revealing both the representational character of theater and its rhetorical objective. Decidedly shattered is the proverbial "fourth-wall," or the invisible boundary that separates the actors' make-believe realm from the real world of the spectators. If often overlooked in studies on set designs, this performative force that discloses illusions powerfully counters the persuasive force of deception that resides within the very same structure. By demonstrating an awareness of the audience's presence, the perspective stage thus reveals openly the fragility of its artifice and the deliberateness behind its conceit.

These two opposing performative forces are often noted as the paradoxical components of mimetic art in the realm of painting. But together they are known in literary theory and in performance studies today as *Verneinung* (negation) – a device in fiction wherein the spectators or readers are simultaneously made aware of both reality and non-reality, persuaded and dissuaded. We might say that these conflicting and oscillating, binary impulses underpin the very notion of theatricality at its core, soliciting both delight and suspicion concurrently. It is the same formula that we find employed in *La Calandria*'s prologue. Peruzzi gave visual and spatial form to this authorial method of communication in accordance with the traditions of oratory and drama. His three-dimensional speech delights through wondrous artifice, and instructs as well as moves the audience to enhance their experience of fiction. The performativity of his perspective stage structures the viewing process in similar ways with the rhetorical address in Bibbiena's script for *La Calandria*. Peruzzi's eloquent construction affects like speech,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Gay McAuly, Space in Performance: Making Meaning in the Theatre (Ann Arbor, 1999), 39-42.

and plainly states how the visual is by no means subordinate to the verbal in its communicative strength.

Pictorial equivalents to this type of audience address were numerous. A particularly notable example may be what Alberti called the "witness figure" in his treatise *On Painting*.

Then, I like there to be someone in the *historia* who tells the spectators what is going on, and either beckons them with his hand to look, or with ferocious expression and forbidding glance, challenges them not to come near, or points to some danger or remarkable thing in the picture, or by his gestures, invites you to laugh or weep with them.<sup>64</sup>

The figural type Alberti describes absolutely abounds in paintings from central Italy (fig. 54). In Masaccio's *Trinity* at the church of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, it is the Virgin Mary who acts as the witness figure. In correct accordance with her theological position, she intercedes between the mortal beholders and the holy trinity. Shattering the fourth wall to return our gaze, she points to her crucified son. Mary acknowledges the presence of the viewers directly and attempts to influence our critical response, literally, "to move our soul" in the afterlife. Her performative role is like the operations enacted by Peruzzi's perspective set, or the prologue speaker on stage.

To consider an example beyond the realm of painting, the literary formula of *exordium* and its personification is referenced in the first pages of Serlio's *On the Five*Styles of Building from 1537. Here, Serlio compares his famous plate that represented all five of the architectural orders side by side to a prologue in a classical comedy (fig. 55)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Alberti, On Painting, 2.42.

At the beginning of this book, I wished to imitate the ancient writers of comedies, some of whom, when they were to perform a comedy, used to send out a messenger who, in a few words, told the spectators all that the comedy was about. Therefore, since, in this volume, I am going to discuss the five styles of buildings, that is, Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian and Composite, I thought that, at the beginning, the forms of all the types to be described should be seen here. (...) This is, however (as I said), only to show a general rule at a single glance. 65

Serlio's analogy contrasts architectural discourse with the performance of classical comedy. Both engage in a rhetorical exercise of decorum. The illustration of the five orders, moreover, is a preview for the whole treatise. And like the "messenger" who delivers the prologue in a comedy, it empowers the readers with foresight, ruptures narrative, and explains the author's intentions simultaneously. Serlio creates a visual equivalent to the traditional *exordium* in an exercise that is essentially identical to Peruzzi's. His summation of the rhetorical tasks of the prologue speaker, as well as his visual appropriation of this authorial communication strategy, parallels what Peruzzi accomplished in his set for *La Calandria*.

## 3.4 Painter-Architects and Visual Rhetoric

In superimposing onto the Renaissance milieu a fundamentally twentieth-century definition of architecture as a matter of pure form, architectural history in the age of modernism produced influential narratives that saw divisive specialization as a barometer for professionalism in the discipline.<sup>66</sup> An architectural practitioner's reference to or participation in other media – and especially those of the representational arts – was

65 Serlio, Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture Volume One, 254-255.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Alina Payne, "Rudolf Wittkower and Architectural Principles in the Age of Modernism," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 53 (1994): 322-342.

negatively described as an adulteration that diluted the purity of a mathematical science. In the history of painting too, the medium's advent as a "modern" art has been identified as recently as 2010 with its conceptual break from architecture in the works of Raphael. But the prolific careers of the sixteenth-century painter-architects like Peruzzi suggest a radically different understanding. Participation in a shared, timeless, dialogue among poets, painters, sculptors, musicians, and dramatists was precisely what endowed their profession authority. And such conversations were understood, rather, to broaden the scope of architecture as an artistic medium as well as its relevance to contemporary society.

Peruzzi's oeuvre became a touchstone in the late-sixteenth-century theoretical discourse on architecture in part because it encouraged an alignment of disciplinary objectives with rhetoric, the representational arts, and with the liberal arts. His desire and ability to task built spaces (either ephemeral or permanent) with the exercise of eloquence originates in his mindset as a painter who seeks to persuade through visual means. But if his pictorial formation mediated his interests in eloquent building, this is not to say that a direct, one-to-one relationship can be drawn with any specific painting in existence. Nor did Peruzzi likely copy with any strict systematic method the rules of oratory from any particular classical manual by Aristotle, Cicero, or Quintilian. The relationship between representation, space, and text in Peruzzi's artistic imagination cannot be easily reduced

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Nagel and Wood, *Anachronic Renaissance*, 355. "This capacity [of painting] to comment on architecture creates an asymmetry, since architecture has only a limited capacity to comment on painting. This asymmetry is the key to painting's conceptual, though not necessarily physical, break with architecture in the sixteenth century. The break that marks the advent of a "modern art - and by that we mean an art whose premises and aims, whose institutional and theoretical justifications, are still more or less continuous with those of the art of our own time - will be the extraction of painting from the total context of the built space." The subject of this discussion is the painter-architect Raphael's *School of Athens* in the Vatican *Stanza della Segnatura*.

to such direct stylistic influences. What his scenographic inventions bring to light is a nuanced thinking that prioritizes media as different yet equally powerful means of expression - and not as categories of mere material distinction.

Ut Architectura Poesis: Architectural Invention in the Ekphrastic Tradition

## 4.1 Methods of Invention

When he assumed the position of *Camerlengo* in 1515 on behalf of the confraternity of San Rocco, the thirty-four-year-old Baldassarre Peruzzi followed his signature in the ledger proudly with a description of his métier: pittore architetto. Although the critics' estimation of this vocation would fluctuate dramatically over the centuries, the selfidentification has survived as a remarkably constant element in Peruzzi's legacy. The notion followed him literally to the grave. Composed in 1536 by his heirs for his funeral and laid upon his tomb in the Pantheon, Peruzzi's epitaph celebrated the artist for his balanced accomplishments in both, painting and in building. As this dissertation has traced already in part, Peruzzi hardly conceived of pictorial and architectural activities as autonomous parallel pursuits, or merely as separate sources of workshop revenue. The products of his broad-ranging career attest rather to a strong syncretic drive, where ideas, objectives, and practical methods of one art freely shaped another.

For Peruzzi, as was the case with many of his colleagues, unity of the arts was not simply an ideal but often a practice that served as a real source for artistic invention. We

Zanchettin, "Costruire nell'antico. Roma, Campo Marzio 1508-1523: Peruzzi, la confraternità di San Rocco e i cantieri intorno al mausoleo di Augusto," in Baldassarre Peruzzi 1481-1536, eds. Christoph

Frommel et. al. (Venice, 2005), 123-153, 511-522.

ASR, Ospedale di San Rocco b. 233 registro di conti; Christoph Frommel, Die Farnesina und Peruzzis architektonisches Frühwerk (Berlin, 1961), 171-188; Paola Canofeni, "La confraternita di S. Rocco: origine e primi anni," Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria 109 (1986): 57-86; Vitale

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> "Viro et pictura et architectura alisque ingeniorum occubuisset temporibus nostra illum felicius legerunt." Maria Wellington Gahtan, "Epitaphs in Giorgio Vasari's Lives," Journal of Art Historiography 5 (2011): 1-24. The epitaph is recorded by Vasari, but as Gahtam noted, it was likely a paper epitaph and part of the funeral ritual, rather than a stone inscription.

have observed already how Peruzzi's training in the pictorial tradition endowed him with particular skill sets and mindsets as he approached building. These theoretical and technical dispositions allowed Peruzzi to introduce into the practice of building new design methods and disciplinary aspirations. But beyond such integrations of techniques and objectives across media, Peruzzi's hybridity in thinking also provides us with valuable insight into Renaissance creativity more broadly.

In this chapter I ask how the painter-architect tradition, as a unique creative practice in its own right, approached the question of invention. Aptly positioned to challenge media-specific thinking, painter-architects devised new types of representations and spaces by flexibly reinterpreting and appropriating critical artistic concepts that were developed for different media. One of the most striking characteristics of this practice was its enthusiastic embrace of literary theory in the service of spatial design. Elsewhere in this dissertation, we have seen how Peruzzi's spatial and visual applications of theories of rhetoric guided *Cinquecento* architectural discourse to adopt persuasion as a fundamental goal for building. Rhetoric provided painter-architects models for spatial communication. It enabled practitioners to ponder "how" a building may speak. But poetry was also influential for an equally important reason, for it was perceived to determine the content of spatial invention, or "what" a building may say. In this chapter, poetry will emerge as a reference that distinguished the spatial products of painterarchitects from those of the masons and carpenters – their counterparts in the building trade without pictorial training.

It is hardly surprising that rhetoric and poetry, which had so strongly colored the early modern production of painting and sculpture, would also come to influence

building. The approach was first outlined by Leon Battista Alberti in his *De Pictura*, where a clear path to invention in painting is said to begin by consulting "literary men, who are full of information about many subjects and will be of great assistance in preparing the composition of a *historia*, and the great virtue of this consists primarily in its *inventio*." The equation of invention to literature persisted in the theoretical texts on that art. In his *Dialogo della Pittura* from 1548, Paolo Pino (1534-65) advanced this idea further. While Pino wished to provide painters with the capacity to invent autonomously from writers, he still defined invention for painters like Alberti as consisting in "finding poetry and *historie* by oneself." For Pino, poets are not necessarily sources for all pictorial invention, but a model for painters in the process by which they invented subjects:

(...) because painting is really poetry, that is to say invention, which makes appear that which is not, it would be useful to observe certain procedures chosen by those other poets who write.<sup>5</sup>

Alberti's and Pino's advice recall the long tradition of Western painting as essentially biblical illustration. But their formulations on the subject of invention at a century's distance are particularly significant because they both effectively defined pictorial invention as pertaining to *content* rather than to *form*. Invention was an *idea* that

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura* 3.53; Cecil Grayson, *Leon Battista Alberti: On Painting and On Sculpture* (London 1972), 94.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Paolo Pino, *Dialogo della Pittura* (Venice, 1548), 15v. "'Inventione": questa s'intende nel trovar poesie et historie da se. L'inventione consiste nella fantasia inventiva, nel trovar cioè i soggetti, senza ricavarli da poeti o da storici, cioè da fonti letterarie: oppure consiste nell'interpretare tali soggetti con proprietà ed efficacia, variando atteggiamenti, rifuggendo dalla confusione derivante da troppe figure, introducendo ornamenti graziosi e bizzarri."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Pino, *Dialogo della Pittura*, 16r-16v. "Et per che la pittura è propria poesia, cioè inventione, la qual fà appare quello che non è, però util sarebbe osservare alcuni ordini eletti dagli altri poeti che scrivono (...)." Translation is mine.

gave pleasure, even without material realization.<sup>6</sup> This particular disposition towards invention was pervasive in the Renaissance representational arts, where painters and sculptors familiarized themselves with literary subjects to seek inventive content for their work.

While the enormous impact that poetry exerted on the production and criticism of Renaissance painting and sculpture is well known, its direct relationship to building has yet to receive serious consideration. Did this disposition towards invention condition the painter-architects' approach to building? Ekphrasis emerges as a particularly important concept in this context, for it engendered one of the most standard systems of invention in the representational arts of the period. In its classical Greek and Roman origins, ekphrasis was a descriptive *laudatio*, written either in verse or in prose to evocatively portray a notional or real object, person, event, or a site. It was a rhetorical exercise that sought to match in words not only what forms and actions the eye sees, but also what metaphorical essences it may decipher from them. Thus in Homer's famous account of Achilles' shield in the *Iliad*, the subjects represented on the shield are metaphorically tied to the fate of Troy. 8 In the early fifteenth-century, Alberti encouraged his contemporary painters to engage with classical ekphrasis as a source for pictorial invention. He famously posed a challenge in his text to recreate a lost classical masterpiece that depicted an allegory of Calumny by the Greek painter Apelles, based on Lucian's poetic description of it. Among those early modern painters who took up the challenge were Botticelli and Mantegna.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> On this point, see David Rosand, "*Ekphrasis* and the Generation of Images," *Arion* 1 (1990): 62; Martin Kemp, "From Mimesis to Fantasia: The Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration, and Genius in the Visual Arts," *Viator* 8 (1977): 351-357.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For a general discussion of *ekphrasis* in the classical world, see Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis*, *Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Burlington, 2009).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Stephen Scully, "Reading the Shield of Achilles: Terror, Anger, Delight," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 101 (2003): 29-47.

This challenge by an author to painters inaugurated a long tradition of Renaissance *ekphrastic* competition, where poets, painters, and sculptors alike took on one another by attempting to replace their rival's work with their own artifice. By engaging with ekphrastic texts, an artist instantly enters into dialogue with a canon and joins an artistic community that spanned great distances of time. While in the twenty first century invention may apply more commonly to an *ex nihilo* act, creativity in the Renaissance involved inspired competition with existing work. Lorenzo Valla argued this point in 1455 in a lecture he delivered in Rome.

(...) nothing should be able to progress or grow much that is not being built up, elaborated, and refined by many individual men, particularly men who are in competition with each other and vying with each other for public esteem. What sculptor or painter or other such artist would ever have been excellent or of any distinction in his craft if he had been the only practitioner of that craft? Each invents something different, and what each individual regards as excellent in the work of another he tries to imitate and rival and surpass. In this way an eagerness for study is kindled, progress is made, the arts grow up and reach the heights, and this happens the better and quicker the more individuals there are applying themselves to them.<sup>10</sup>

But this kind of direct intellectual rapport with a community of rival artists both past and present must have appealed to designers of buildings as well.

To understand how early modern artists could have conceived of the tradition of *ekphrasis* as a viable model for spatial invention, this chapter conducts a case study on

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Rosand, "*Ekphrasis* and the Generation of Images," 61-105; Francis Ames Lewis, *The Intellectual Life of the Early Renaissance Artist* (New Haven and London, 2000),189-207; David Cast, *The Calumny of Apelles: A Study of the Humanist Tradition* (New Haven, 1981).

Apelles: A Study of the Humanist Tradition (New Haven, 1981).

10 Lorenzo Valla, Oratio in principio sui studii (1455) trans. Michael Baxandall, Giotto and the Orators, Humanist Observers of Painting in Italy and the Discovery of Pictorial Composition 1350-1450 (Oxford, 1971), 118, 176.

Peruzzi's sala delle prospettive – perhaps the most syncretic of artworks in his entire oeuvre. As painted architecture, this project uniquely highlights the tension between representation and building that typically characterize the work of painter-architects. I will argue here that Peruzzi not only took inspiration from ekphrastic literature for his subject matter in a manner absolutely traditional to Renaissance production of pictorial composition, but that he also radically converted poetic *ekphrasis* into a spatial device that configured an architecture of allusion. The goal for this chapter is to articulate how poetic ekphrasis harmoniously coexisted as an impetus for structural design, side by side with the systematic and philological study of classical forms that we tend to regard as Renaissance architecture's more typical disposition towards invention. While the poetic and the imaginative dimensions of practice were never systematized as part of the architect's academic training in the theoretical writings on the discipline, they were widely influential and considered to be absolutely legitimate sources of design inspiration in practice. The chapter concludes by highlighting the afterlife of Peruzzi's thinking – pointing to the shifting definitions of architectural invention in the later half of the sixteenth century that increasingly looked towards philology rather than to poetry.

## 4.2 The sala delle prospettive: a Construction in Paint

The 1510s was a fruitful decade for Baldassarre Peruzzi both professionally and privately. He marries Lucrezia, a daughter of an unknown painter named Antonio del Materasso around 1510, purchases a home in 1511, and becomes a father the following

year when the couple's first son Sallustio is born. <sup>11</sup> Fully immersed in the cultural circle of Julian and Leonine Rome, Peruzzi expanded and solidified his professional practice by ambitiously taking on a whole series of diverse and challenging commissions. Projects such as the Villa Farnesina (1506-12), the Capitoline Theater (1513), Carpi Cathedral (1514-16), work at the Vatican such as the completion of Bramante's *Tegurium*, <sup>12</sup> the Ponzetti chapel in Santa Maria della Pace (1516-17), <sup>13</sup> the competition for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (1518), <sup>14</sup> Palazzo Orsini at Bomarzo (1519), <sup>15</sup> and the church of San Rocco (1519-23) <sup>16</sup> firmly established Peruzzi as a leading art practitioner of his time. The empirical knowledge of construction and design these endeavors provided would allow him to serve with confidence as architect to Saint Peter's starting in 1520 alongside Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. And these engagements undoubtedly endowed Peruzzi with the expertise and social network he would require to survive the 1520s – the most turbulent decade of his life – when circumstances both violent and desperate would force him to seek alternative employment options far outside the walls of his adoptive city.

<sup>16</sup> Zanchettin, "Costruire nell'antico," 123-153.

The couple had six children (Sallustio, Simone, Onorio, Claudio, Emilia, and Sulpizia) together. Sallustio became an architect, Onorio a painter. Giorgio Vasari, "Vita di Baldassare Peruzzi Pittore ed Architetto Sanese," in *Le Opere di Giorgio Vasari con nuove annotazioni e commenti*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi, vol. 4 (Florence, 1906 [originally 1550]), 613; Christoph Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner* (Vienna and Munich, 1967/68), 10; Idem, *Die Farnesina*, 176; Franco Borsi et. al., *Raffaello: elementi di un mito. Le fonti, la letteratura artistica, la pittura di genere storico* (Florence, 1984), 48; Isabella Salvagni, *Da Universitas ad Academia: la corporazione dei pittori nella chiesa di san Luca a Roma 1478-1588* (Rome, 2012), 70 and note 86.

The *Tegurium* was the temporary structure that covered the high altar of St. Peter's during its renovation. The Doric structure was begun by Bramante in 1513, and demolished in 1592. John Shearman, "Il 'Tiburio' di Bramante," in *Studi Bramanteschi: atti del congresso internazionale ; Milano, Urbino, Roma, 1970* (Rome, 1974), 567-573, tav. CCIV; William Tronzo, "Il Tegurium di Bramante," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'architettura* 25-30 (1995-97): 161-166; Lex Bossman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Hilversum, 2004), 105-118.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Maria Vittoria Brugnoli, "Baldassarre Peruzzi nella chiesa di S. Maria della Pace e nella 'uccelliera' di Giulio II," *Bollettino d'arte* 58 (1973): 113-122.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Markus Kresting, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Rom und die Zentralbauideen des Cinquecento (Worms, 1994).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Fabiano Fagliari-Zeni-Buchicchio and Christoph Frommel, "Un' opera riscoperta di Baldassarre Peruzzi: il Palazzo per Giovanni Corrado Orsini," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Biblioteca Hertziana* 32 (2002): 7-36.

Tension between representation and building plays out in significant ways in many of these projects from the 1510s, but in none more so than with the *sala delle prospettive*, a fresco cycle executed between 1517 and 1519 for Agostino Chigi's second-floor reception hall in the Villa Farnesina (fig. 56). The *tromp l'oeil* fresco succinctly combines Peruzzi's varied artistic interests in building, painting, and theater. The illusionistic mural has long been regarded the quintessential example of early modern pictorial architecture. As early as 1583, Egnazio Danti referred to it in the opening paragraph of his commentary to Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola's *Due regole della prospettiva pratica* as a paradigm for judicious use of perspective. Il it is still one of the chief works constituting Peruzzi's fame, and his legacy as an inter-medial practitioner continues to rest on it.

Danti's admiration for Peruzzi's skillful use of perspective typifies the way in which this work is commonly discussed. In modern studies on the *sala delle prospettive* also, Peruzzi's classicism and mastery of perspective are routinely invoked to color a biographical narrative and an artistic hierarchy. The odds are rarely in Peruzzi's favor. For Sydney Freedberg, writing in 1961, the *sala delle prospettive* cast Peruzzi as

Paolo d'Ancona, *Gli affreschi della Farnesina a Roma* (Milan 1955); Anton Boschloo, "Il fregio dipinto nei palazzi romani del Rinascimento: forma e funzione," *Mededelingen van het Nederlands Instituut te Rome* 43 (1981): 129-141; Arnaldo Bruschi, "Da Bramante a Peruzzi: spazio e pittura," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena, e architettura nel Cinquecento,* eds. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria L. Madonna (Rome, 1987), 311-337; Ute Ewering, *Der mythologische Fries der Sala delle Prospettive in der Villa Farnesina zu Rom* (Muenster, 1993); Sydney Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance in Rome and Florence* (Cambridge Mass., 1961), 399-404; Freedberg, *Painting in Italy: 1500-1600* (Harmondsworth, 1975), 106-109; Frommel, *Baldassarre Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, 87-93; Idem, *La Villa Farnesina a Roma / The Villa Farnesina in Rome* (Modena, 2003), 126-133; Federico Hermanin, *La Farnesina* (Bergamo, 1927), 81-89; Andrée Hayum, "A New Dating for Sodoma's Frescoes in the Villa Farnesina," *The Art Bulletin* 48, no. 2 (1966): 215-217; Mogens Nykjær, "La villa Farnesina: identificazione di un motivo ovidiano nella sala delle prospettive," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 21 (1993): 213-218; Rosalia Valori-Piazza ed., *La Sala delle Prospettive: Storia e Restauro* (Rome, 1981); Idem, "Il fregio della sala delle prospettive: un'ipotesi per la bottega del Peruzzi," in Fagiolo and Madonna eds., *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, 363-431.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, *Due regole della prospettiva pratica*, ed. Egnazio Danti (Rome, 1583), 1.

someone fundamentally disengaged from the period's pictorial discourse, as either a retardataire classicist or an immature Mannerist. 19 For Arnaldo Bruschi, the fresco underscored Peruzzi's 'picturesque' understanding of spatiality that opposed Bramante's monumental classicism more than any other work in his *oeuvre*. <sup>20</sup> But if critics have struggled to locate this project's value beyond its maker's skillful hand, the notion of illusion must be to blame. With all its connotations of artificiality and deception, the idea easily lends itself to discussions of technical proficiency and rivalry. *Inganno* (deception) has so profoundly dominated the conversation that seeing past the work's striking visual effects has proved to be exceptionally challenging.

But in the first volume published in his Seven Books on Architecture, Sebastiano Serlio alluded to an altogether different contemporary critical agenda:

Baldassarre, more learned in this art [of perspective] than anyone of this century. wanting to decorate a room of Agostino Chigi, a distinguished merchant in Rome, simulated [contrafatto] with art some columns and other structures to such a level that the great Pietro Aretino, just as judicious in painting as in poetry, stated that nothing in that house was painted more perfectly than this, even though there were things there by the hand of the divine Raphael of Urbino.<sup>21</sup>

While Serlio too was compelled to engage in a game of artist ranking, his citation of the opinion of a critic like Pietro Aretino is particularly intriguing. Serlio does not bother to explain the logic behind his good friend's preference for the sala delle prospettive over

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Freedberg, *Painting of the High Renaissance*, vol.1, 397-412.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Bruschi, "Da Bramante a Peruzzi," 311-37

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> "(...) Baldesar, cosi dotto in questa arte come alcun'altro che sia stato a questo secolo, che volendo ornar una sala d'Agostin Ghisi, signorille mercatante in Roma, finse con l'arte alcune colonne et altri architetture a tal proposito che 'I gran Pietro Aretino, così giudizioso ne la pittura come ne la poesia, hebbe a dire non esser in quella casa la più perfetta pittura di questa, nel grado suo, quantunque ci sono anco de le cose di mano del divin Raffaello da Urbino." Sebastiano Serlio, Regole generali di architettura (Venice, 1537), Chapter 4, 11.

the works of Raphael in the Villa Farnesina, but his suggestion that Aretino's opinion should be respected for its basis in both "painting as in poetry" is revealing. <sup>22</sup> The *sala delle prospettive*'s significant ties to poetry deserve closer attention, as it speaks to literary theory's key role as mediator between the disciplines of painting and architecture.

In fact, Agostino Chigi's villa on the via della Lungara was a popular subject among poets active in Rome in the early *Cinquecento* (see fig. 37).<sup>23</sup> Between 1511 and 1512, even before the residential complex was fully complete, two poems in Latin celebrating the villa's classical heritage and beauty were printed: Biagio Pallai's *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii*, and Egidio Gallo's *Vera Libellus*.<sup>24</sup> In their printed editions, these two major works were accompanied by shorter laudatory poems by a dozen or so writers. And several additional poems inspired by the villa were written by members of the Roman Academy in manuscript form.<sup>25</sup> The existence of these ekphrastic texts is by now well known, and their connection to Chigi's extraordinary vision as a patron of the arts has received frequent mention. But the gap between these texts and the works of Peruzzi still remains to be bridged. What has been taken for granted almost

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> For Aretino's prolific career as an art critic, see, Norman Land, "*Ekphrasis* and Imagination: Some Observations on Pietro Aretino's Art Criticism," *The Art Bulletin* 68 (1986): 207-217.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Ingrid Rowland, "Some Panegyrics to Agostino Chigi," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* 47 (1984): 194-199; Idem, "Render unto Caesar the Things Which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1986): 673-730; David Rijser, *Raphael's Poetics: Art and Poetry in High Renaissance Rome.* (Amsterdam, 2012), chapter 4, "Art, Poetry and the Owner of the Villa Farnesina."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> Biagio Pallai, Suburbanum Augustini Chisii (Rome, 1512); Egidio Gallo, De Viridario Augustini Chigii (Rome, 1511); Mary Quinlan-McGrath, "Aegidius Gallus, De Viridario Augustini Chigii: Vera libellus. Introduction, Latin Text and English Translation," Humanistica Lovaniensia 38 (1989): 1-99; Idem, "Blosius Palladius Suburbanum Augustini Chisii. Introduction, Latin Text, and English Translation," Humanistica Lovaniensia 39 (1990): 93-156.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> On the so-called *Accademia Romana*, see, Ingrid Rowland, "Raphael and the Roman Academy," in *On Renaissance Academies: Proceedings of the International Conference from the Roman Academy to the Danish Academy in Rome* (Rome, 2011), 133-146.

absolutely until now is the profound intermedial dialogue that these texts, building, and images engage in.

Peruzzi's collaboration with poets in general has received very little consideration thus far. This is surprising, given the wealth of written evidence at hand. Living poets of the Roman Academy were celebrating Peruzzi's first *ex-novo* construction profusely as "the seat of the Gods," '26 "immense dwelling with kingly splendor," '27 a "royal home" that "restored the ancient splendors of Rome" once lost to "Barbarian fury," and as a site amidst "delightful gardens of such kind that no age of man has ever produced." Of course the writers used hyperbolic language to also exploit Peruzzi's project and market their own literary prowess and classical learning. But the fact that the poets never once mentioned Peruzzi by name does not negate the mutual dependency of their panegyric poetry and the villa's architecture. It is difficult to imagine how the young designer of such a celebrated structure would be ignorant of his building's public acclaim, or have no direct dealings with his critics in person.

Instead, evidence suggests that Peruzzi was respected and admired by his early critics who knew him well. He develops a long, productive, and friendly working relationship with a number of them beyond the walls of Chigi's Tiber residence. For instance, Alberto Pio III, the prince of Carpi, was one of the poets that offered Pallai

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Girolamo Donato, "Felix Villula" BAV. Vat.Chis.D.III.39, fol.181; Quinlan-McGrath, "Blosius Palladius," 146-147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Girolamo Borgia, "Ad Aug. Chisium Hieronymus Borgia," BAV. MS. Barb.lat.1903. fol. 99v-100r; Quinlan-McGrath, "Blosius Palladius," 144-145.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Girolamo Borgia, "In Idem," BAV. MS. Barb.lat.1903. fol. 99v-100r; Quinlan-McGrath, "Blosius Palladius," 144-147.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Biagio Pallai, *Suburbanum Augustini Chisii* (Rome, 1512), lines 5-7; Quinlan-McGrath, "Blosius Palladius," 116-117.

praise for his poem in the *Suburbanum* under the pseudonym "*il Savoia*." Within just two years Pio would become one of the most important patrons of Peruzzi's architecture, exporting his works to the Emilia Romagna as we examined in chapter 2. Peruzzi worked closely with Biagio Pallai also. Soon after the publication of the *Suburbanum*, they both became involved in the highly publicized Capitoline Theater production held in honor of the Medici in 1513. Pallai would later commission two buildings of his own from Baldassarre Peruzzi – a private residence in the heart of the Borgo, and a villa (now destroyed) on Monte Mario not far from Raphael's Villa Madama for the Medici. Egidio Gallo too was an actor and playwright, who likely collaborated with Peruzzi on producing theatrical performances at Chigi's villa on festive occasions.

Pallai and Gallo are both well informed on the Villa Farnesina's construction process, its ornamental scheme, and the various functions it served. Gallo's *Vera Libellus*, for instance, is the first written account to suggest that the villa was designed to entertain guests as a classical theater.<sup>33</sup> And Pallai, in the opening lines of his *Suburbanum*, takes time to praise the "speedy works of the artisans," suggesting his first-hand knowledge of the project's execution on site.<sup>34</sup> Both authors are highly attuned to questions of artistic

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Pio uses the pseudonym "il Savoia" in the publication. Alberto Pio's grandfather claimed the title 'di Savoia' to indicate political allegiances. The grandson used this as his pseudonym in his prolific career as a Latinist. For identification of Alberto Pio as 'il Savoia,' see Alfredo Cesareo, *Pasquino e Pasquinate nella Roma di Leone X* (Rome, 1938), 236-237, 256-257; Fabrizio Cruciani and Arnaldo Bruschi, *Il teatro del Campidoglio e le feste Romane del 1513* (Milan, 1968), xl-xli.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Quinlan-McGrath, "Blosius Palladius," 95.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Enzo Bentivoglio, "La presenza di Baldassarre Peruzzi nei lavori della casa di Blosio Palladio," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, eds. Fagiolo and Madonna 193-204; Maurizio Ricci, "Un progetto di palazzo peruzziano. un'ipotesi sulla casa romana di Blosio Palladio," *Quaderni del Dipartimento patrimonio architettonico e urbanistico* 7 (1994): 71-80; Idem, "*Villula ter quaterque felix*.' Baldassarre Peruzzi e la villa di Blosio Palladio a Monte Mario," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, eds. Frommel et. al. 273-283, 569-572.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Frommel, *Die Farnesina*, 36-43; Mark Wilson Jones, "Palazzo Massimo and Peruzzi's Approach to Architectural Design," *Architectural History* 31 (1988): 60-62.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Pallai, *Suburbanum*, lines 28-30; Quinlan-McGrath, "Blosius Palladius," 116-117. "Hic celeres fabrorum operas coeuntibus effert: Hi fieri potuisse negant."

medium, too. Referencing the interior decor of Ovidian scenes that Peruzzi had only just finished in the *sala del freggio* on the ground floor, Pallai invokes the *paragone* between poetry and painting in his own ekphrastic composition.

Then these whom the verses of Ovid painted, the painter repainted, and he equaled in skill the Ovidian colors. So fortunate the painter is by the poet, as the Poet by the painter.<sup>35</sup>

The idea of artistic *paragone* seems to have been very much on Peruzzi's mind when he returned to Chigi's villa a half a decade later to adorn the spacious room on the *piano nobile* now known as the *sala delle prospettive* (see fig. 56). Contemporary poetic responses to his villa would have provided fresh inspiration for decorating the structure's interior. For the general iconographical scheme of the representation, Peruzzi drew heavily on Gallo and Pallai's publications that celebrated his built work. The figurative elements in the fresco of this room are presented generally in accordance with Gallo's *Vera Libellus*, which transformed this villa with words into a fantastic new abode for the Olympian gods, and especially, Venus, the goddess of love.<sup>36</sup> The polychrome marble in the illusionistic construction relates instead to Pallai's *ekphrasis* of the villa's upper floor, where particularly close attention was paid to the richness and variety of the stones in use:

Should I sing of the frames of doors and windows made from parian marble? (...)
Oh, should I speak of you stones? And marbles scattered here and there and

<sup>35</sup> Pallai, Suburbanum, lines 66-70; Quinlan-McGrath, "Blosius Palladius," 118-120. "Denique quas Ovidi versus pinxere, repinxit Pictor, et aequavit Pelignos arte colores. Tam foelix pictor vate, ut pictore Poeta."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Gallo's text was based on two main classical ekphrastic compositions: Statius' portrayal of Manilus Vopiscus' villa in the *Silvae*, and Claudian's *Epithalamium of Honorius and Maria*. Peruzzi may have also consulted these original sources. David Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, (Princeton, 1979), 100; Manfred Luchterhandt, "Im Reich der Venus: zu Peruzzis *Sala delle Prospettive* in der Farnesina," *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana* 31 (1996): 230-239.

marble stairs, and the facing of marble? (...) But if now the commerce of a Barbarous race existed, hither Paros, hither the Numidians, and whoever had fame in marbles would all drag the quarried rocks here; and many a column would stand in the porticoes, and the marble would be thick through all the rooms; the beams of both citrus and cedar would breathe upon the ceilings; nor would the barbarian prefer that his mountains decrease by trees and rocks for any [other] place. And equally, although no ships bring foreign marbles [today], we see these, which you gather on all sides from far and wide, either dug up from the earth or broken from the ruins of the ancients. For this reason, your praise is greater, because you set up rich country estates in a poor age (...).<sup>37</sup>

This subject gives Pallai an opportunity to lament the poverty of his own age, which lacks imperial command over territories formerly under Roman control. But it also allows him to celebrate Chigi's powerful financial empire that can compensate for this loss. The excerpt reminds us that *ekphrasis* was never supposed to be a technical list of facts, but a description with an epideictic mission as an agent of fame, that is, to praise or blame the featured object's maker whether he was the patron or the artist.<sup>38</sup>

Filling the room entirely with fictive polychrome marble, Peruzzi for his part repainted the verses of the poet "in Ovidian colors." But this episode of inspired emulation is more complex than it first appears, for there are several additional links in this chain of artistic response. Pallai's ekphrastic description was based on the actual polychrome marble *spolia* that Peruzzi had used in the building around the doorways circa 1508-1510 (figs. 57, 58). And this unusual use of rich, colorful marble in a suburban villa made direct reference to the classical Latin poet Statius' ekphrastic text that celebrated Pollius Felix's villa at Surrentum, in Book Two of his *Silvae*:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Pallai, Suburbanum, lines 90-125; Quinlan-McGrath, "Blosius Palladius,"

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Baxandall, Giotto and the Orators, 85-96. As Baxandall stated succinctly, ekphrasis was never neutral.

But one room stands far out, one room from all the rest, which over the sea's straight track presents you with Parthenope.

Here are marbles hewn from the depth of Grecian quarries: here vein-splashed product of eastern Syene, here what Phrygian axes hewed in mournful Synnas amid the fields of wailing Cybele, where on painted stone the white space is picked out with purple circles. Here too is marble quarried from Amyclaean Lycurgus' mountain – green, rocks mimicking soft grass – here glisten the yellow stones of Numidia and Thasos and Chios and Carystos that rejoice to match the waves.<sup>39</sup>

But if Statius' description of a polychrome upper-floor dining hall had originally conditioned the construction, Peruzzi consulted the passage yet again in his capacity as painter, for, as a simple comparison of these two passages and the fictive representation makes clear, the specific source for the green and yellow marble (*verde antico* and *giallo antico* – or Numidian marble) in the illusionistic painting was Statius rather than Pallai.

Further classical references supplemented these two main texts. The concept of an upper-story belvedere surrounded by an open colonnade with access to panoramic views, for example, derives from Vitruvius' description of the Greek dining room. <sup>40</sup> Pliny the Younger's seaside dining hall at his Laurentine villa was just as relevant. <sup>41</sup> What Peruzzi demonstrates at the *sala delle prospettive* is his understanding of invention as a syncretic processing of multiple models, not unlike Cicero's definition of invention in literary composition. <sup>42</sup> At each creative juncture the original referent is replaced. Statius, Pallai, and Peruzzi equally attempt to subsume and to substitute with their artifice the original

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Statius, *Silvae*, 2.2.83-93; Idem, *Silvae*, trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey (Cambridge MA and London, 2003), 122-135.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, 6.3.10; Luchterhandt, "Im Reich der Venus," 230-239.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Pliny the Younger, *Epistolae*, 2.17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Cammy Brothers, "Architecture, Texts, and Imitation in Late-Fifteenth- and Early-Sixteenth-Century Rome," in *Architecture and Language: Constructing Identity in European Architecture c. 1000 – c.1650*, eds. Georgia Clarke and Bernard Crossley (Cambridge, 2000), 82-101.

work and all its derivatives. And this particular chain of artistic emulation would continue. In the late sixteenth century, the *sala delle prospettive* would directly inspire new work, such as the salone in the Villa Pallavicino delle Peschiere in Genoa by Giovan Battista Castello, known as *il Bergamasco* (1525-1569) (fig. 59).<sup>43</sup>

The manner in which Peruzzi dealt with written sources in the *sala delle prospettive* parallels his approach to material exempla in his artistic practice in general. Both in his paintings and in his architecture, he commonly reconfigured ancient and modern details to devise a new work of great fantasy and ingenuity. For example, his pictorial language in the *sala delle prospettive* is strongly tied to Pinturicchio's late Roman *oeuvre*, which featured classicizing architectural motifs. Pinturicchio's enormously successful workshop established what might be considered a distinctively Roman genre of *all'antica* interior fresco painting, where large-scale fictive structures framed narrative scenes in open landscapes. <sup>44</sup> An obvious reference point was the frescoed loggia in the papal villa Belvedere that included views of various Italian cities. <sup>45</sup> The della Rovere family in particular – into which Chigi would be adopted in 1509 –

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> The ceiling of this room is heavily indebted to Raphael's figures in the loggia of Cupid and Psyche at the villa Farnesina. Lauro Magnani, "Alessi, Cambiasso, Castello: Un dibattito tra architettura e pittura alla metà del Cinquecento a Genova," in *Vitruvio nella cultura architettonica antica, medievale e moderna. Atti del convegno internazionale di Genova 5-8 Nov. 2001*, ed. Gianluigi Ciotta (Genoa, 2003), 520-527, 762-766; Piero Boccardo, "L'attività di Giovanni Battista Castello il Bergamasco a Genova: un artista e la sua cultura tra Roma e Fontainebleau," in *Luca Cambiasso: un Maestro del Cinquecento Europeo* (Milan, 2007), 85-111.

<sup>(</sup>Milan, 2007), 85-111.

44 Anna Cavallaro, "Le decorazioni perdute del Pinturicchio in alcuni palazzi romani della seconda metà del Quattrocento," *Roma moderna e contemporanea* 6 (1998): 103-125, 238.

<sup>45</sup> The traditional attribution of this badly damaged cycle to Pinturicchio dates back to Vasari. David Coffin believes instead that the author was Mantegna. See Jürgen Schulz, "Pinturicchio and the Revival of Antiquity," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 25 (1962): 35-44; Sven Sandström, "The Programme for the Decoration of the Belvedere of Innocent VIII," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift* 29 (1960): 35-60; David Coffin, "Pope Innocent VIII and the Villa Belvedere," in *Studies in Late Medieval and Renaissance Painting in Honor of Millard Meiss*, ed. Irving Lavin (New York, 1977), 88-97; Simona Olivetti, "La Historia naturalis (XXXV, 116-117) di Plinio il Vecchio, fonte per la decorazione della loggia del Belvedere di Innocenzo VIII," *Storia dell'arte* 59 (1987): 5-10; *Denis Ribouillault*, "Les paysages urbains de la loggia du Belvédère d'Innocent VIII au Vatican," *Studiolo* 8 (2010): 139-167.

were great consumers of this type of decor. <sup>46</sup> Pinturicchio's *Sala dei Mesi* in Domenico della Rovere's palace in the Borgo (Palazzo Penitenzieri) provides an additional sense of what models Peruzzi might have been responding to (fig. 60). <sup>47</sup> Another near contemporary example is the *sala delle muse* in Leo X's hunting lodge, the castello di Magliana, attributed to Gerino Gerini da Pistoia (1480-1529) (fig. 61). <sup>48</sup>

Contemporary pictorial evidence from sites outside of Rome also suggests that patrons read large-scale mural depictions of classical architecture to connote *Romanitas*. <sup>49</sup> Alberto Pio da Carpi commissioned a mural from Giovanni del Sega (c.1450-1527) in this fashionable vogue for an audience hall in his family *castello* (fig. 62). Following a long-term residency in Rome, Pio seems to have been eager to transform Carpi according to the latest Roman style. Sienese mural painting from the 1490s and 1500s delighted similarly in classicizing *tromp-l'oeil* compositions. Pandolfo Petrucci and his *Noveschi* oligarchy (1487-1525), whose political rhetoric often emphasized ties to ancient Rome commissioned works like Pietro Orioli's (1458-96) fictive architecture in the palazzo Pubblico. <sup>50</sup> These types of paintings stood out brilliantly in a Gothic city like

 <sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Julius II's residence while Cardinal at Santi Apostoli held another great example of this type of interior decor by Pinturicchio.
 <sup>47</sup> Anna Cavallaro, "Pinturicchio nel palazzo di Domenico della Rovere: La sala dei Mesi," in Stefano

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Anna Cavallaro, "Pinturicchio nel palazzo di Domenico della Rovere: La sala dei Mesi," in Stefano Colonna ed., *Roma nella svolta tra Quattro e Cinquecento* (Rome, 2004), 269-280.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Anna Cavallaro, La Villa dei Papi alla Magliana (Rome, 2005), 32-35, 49-64.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Alberto Pio commissioned a mural in this fashionable vogue from Giovanni del Sega (c.1450-1527) for an audience hall in his castle of Carpi. Following a long-term residency in Rome, Pio seems to have been eager to transform Carpi according to the latest Roman style.

Petrucci claimed descent from a Roman senatorial family. One major intervention he planned while in power was to unify the piazza del campo behind a classicizing portico. On the issue of classicism in Renaissance Siena see, Philippa Jackson, "The Patronage of Pandolfo the Magnificent," in *Renaissance Siena: Art for a City*, Luke Syson et. al., (London, 2007), 60-73; D. L. Kawsky, "The Survival, Revival, and Reappraisal of Artistic Tradition: Civic Art and Civic Identity in Quattrocento Siena," (PhD diss. Princeton University, 1995); Fabrizio Nevola, "Revival or Renewal: Defining Civic Identity in Quattrocento Siena," in *Shaping Urban Identity in the Middle Ages*, eds. P. Stabel and M. Boone (Leuven, 1999), 111-134; Giulia Ceriani-Sebregondi, "Fece molti disegni di case ai suoi cittadini,' architetture e committenti di Baldassarre Peruzzi a Siena," in *Archivi*, *carriere*, *committenze*: *contributi* 

Siena where classical architectural remnants were rarely found in the built fabric (fig. 63). Peruzzi would certainly have known this work, as well as Pinturicchio's famed *all'antica* cycle in the Piccolomini library in the Sienese cathedral adjacent the chapel of Saint John the Baptist where he received his first recorded commission. Designed to honor the noted humanist and Sienese pontiff Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, the fresco cycle turns to the classical language of architecture to evoke the grand Roman setting.

Peruzzi's *sala delle prospettive* is rooted in this *all'antica* pictorial tradition. But it also departs from it in a notable way by placing the fundamental focus of composition on the architectural structure itself. While pictorial architecture is not necessarily a novelty in the context of early *Cinquecento* painting, Peruzzi's work is distinctive in its complete aestheticization of architecture as a subject of representation. He promoted architecture from its status as a framing device for painted figurative scenes to its new role as the main subject within the representation that frames our lived experiences.

The inventive re-composition of models recurs in the details composing the fictive architectural structure at the *sala delle prospettive*. The painted structure as a whole had no direct model among known buildings in Rome or in Italy. Its use of polychrome marble, the double-colonnade belvedere form, and *cellae* jutting out onto the porch are unique among standing buildings. But if Peruzzi's painted structure was a fantastic invention that lacked a precise material referent, it carefully reconfigured details selected from specific and choice precedents.

For example, the architrave below the frieze with its double fascia, running across the entire room, is modeled after that of the Arch of the Argentarii in the Forum Boarium (figs. 64, 65). The general configuration of the shorter walls, where two columns together support a long architrave, recalls the Pantheon's rectangular apse spaces in the interior, although Peruzzi flattens the gentle curve in the Hadrianic structure and opens it up on both sides (fig. 66). These monuments each served in devising the shallow double portico space that we see on the shorter walls of the room, leading to the fictive terrace beyond. The Tuscan order employed here is very close to that which Bramante devised for the *Tempietto* just a five-minute walk up the Janiculum hill from the Villa Farnesina. And the concept of a Tuscan belvedere recalls Giuliano da Sangallo's loggia for Julius II at the Castel Sant'Angelo. (Fig. 67) While executed in pigments with a brush, the inventive recomposition employed here exactly mimics the strategy Peruzzi follows in devising his built works, as we saw at the Cathedral of Carpi.

It is also characteristic of Peruzzi to select formal precedents strategically to solve specific problems. The only drawing of the *sala delle prospettive* by Peruzzi's hand to have survived is Uffizi 565A, which records on its recto the measurements of the various wall surfaces and exits in the room (fig. 68). On the verso of this sheet, previously never considered in relation to this project, Peruzzi studies three Roman monuments all set in the Forum Boarium: the Arch of Janus, the circular Temple of Vesta, and the Arch of the Argentarii (fig. 69). Many of the issues Peruzzi is concerned with in the studies on this sheet resurface in the architectural representation in the *sala delle prospettive*. For example, the relationship between a tall base, a sculptural niche, and an arched space is examined at the Arch of Janus. The plan of the Arch of the Argentarii's pier is applied

almost directly at the *sala delle prospettive* to the end wall porticos. Reference to the Arch of the Argentarii at the *sala delle prospettive* becomes even clearer in UA442r, (never considered in relation to this project) where the black-chalk perspectival drawing shows detailed measurements of the pier's plan, not at ground level, but at the level right above its tall base (fig. 70). The form is remarkably reminiscent of the ensemble at the *sala delle prospettive*.

Peruzzi had employed the Tuscan capital that we find in the *sala delle prospettive* elsewhere before. It is one of two stylistic options he offers in a mock-up for a triumphal arch on Orn.72 from the Uffizi collection (fig. 71). This presentation drawing has been associated with the temporary triumphal arch Agostino Chigi commissioned and had erected along the *via papalis* in celebration of Leo X's public procession to the Lateran to mark his election to the papal throne in 1513.<sup>51</sup> It is tempting to read as intentional Peruzzi's return to this motif a half a decade later at the villa Farnesina. Was this capital an expression of an aspiration to establish a specific architectural motif that uniquely belonged to Chigi? Or did Peruzzi simply find the form aesthetically pleasing and easy to depict foreshortened in a complex perspectival composition? Either way, the capital is one among a variety of sources that together constituted the design for the *sala delle prospettive*, even if the reference in this case was to his own past work.

Like a poet composing a text according to Cicero's rules of composite emulation, Peruzzi devised his *sala delle prospettive* as a learned amalgam that implemented details from ancient and modern examples, carefully selected according to specific demands of

Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna, "Il Possesso di Leone X: il trionfo delle prospettive," in La Festa a Roma dal Rinascimento al 1870, vol. 1, ed. Marcello Fagiolo (Rome, 1997), 42-49.

the project. <sup>52</sup> As David Hemsoll and others have pointed out, this strategy was in keeping with contemporary analogies between poetic invention and invention in the visual arts in the circle of Raphael, Pietro Bembo, and Baldassare Castiglione. <sup>53</sup> Peruzzi's work at the villa Farnesina connects him directly to their contemporary discussions. Whether the task at hand was pictorial or architectural invention, Peruzzi maintained the same pragmatic disposition toward exempla as a well-informed, erudite connoisseur. The strategies of poetic composition endowed the painter-architect a pathway to invention in both form and in content.

## 4.3 Virtual Space – *Ekphrasis* and Performance

In considering a Renaissance painter-architect's engagement with poetic literature, we have thus far examined how Peruzzi's strategies of pictorial invention paralleled those developed for poetry. In paying close attention to subject matter and visual references within the representation, we have treated the *sala delle prospettive* almost exclusively as an image and ignored its spatial dimension. But Peruzzi's interest in *ekphrasis* transcended media divides. In the *sala delle prospettive*, as we shall see, *ekphrasis* is also employed as a spatial device.

One of the most striking aspects of this work is in fact its spatial "agency" – by which I mean performance or operation. In *situ*, the representation is monumental in scale, completely usurping the interior space. Every inch of the wall surface below the classicizing coffered ceiling is painted to simulate a polychrome marble belvedere, set to

the Italian Renaissance, eds. Roy Eriksen and Magne Malmanger (Pisa and Rome 2009), 209-231.

On Peruzzi's classicism, see Cristiano Tessari, *Baldassarre Peruzzi: Il progetto dell'antico* (Rome, 1995).
 David Hemsoll, "Raphael's New Architectural Agenda," in *Imitation, Representation, and Painting in*

scale in relation to the viewer's body. Because the pictorial conceit is free of any border or framing device that might divide the representation from our lived world, the boundaries between reality and illusion are ambiguous. As such, the representation acquires the role of the frame that entirely controls the room's configuration. Every beholder who enters is therefore immediately immersed in the fiction, mind *and* body. This is why Peruzzi's pictorial representation demands to be considered an architectural project – not because of any structural mass or tectonic form that it feigns, but because it operates on spatial terms to condition the beholder's behavior within, and raises to the level of consciousness our sensory experiences.

Both in his *scaenographia* drawings and in his stage-set designs, Peruzzi demonstrated exceptional command of pictorial perspective as a spatial device that controls the viewer's interactions with a representation. At the *sala delle prospettive*, he develops the mechanism into a fully three-dimensional operation that involves the beholder physically. This move essentially reverses the process of painterly abstraction that Erwin Panofsky considered the hallmark of Renaissance pictorial perspective. For Panofsky, the significance of the linear perspective system inaugurated by Brunelleschi and the Florentine artists in the early fifteenth century was rooted in its capacity to abstract and rationalize the space of our everyday experiences into a mathematical and mental space. <sup>54</sup> But in Peruzzi's *sala delle prospettive*, that abstraction is restored to the realm of lived perception. What this work offers its audience through perspectival representation is an opportunity for a fully embodied, subjective, and visionary experience of a rationalized, objectified, and systematized space. Peruzzi's room stresses,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form*, trans. Christopher Wood (New York, 1991), 72.

by way of its design, how space pertains simultaneously to both the domain of reason and to the domain of the senses, and integrates the conceptual and the perceptual.

One of the ways in which Peruzzi controls the viewer's rapport with the *sala delle prospettive* is by bifurcating the primary viewpoint of its perspectival representation. It has often been noted how the illusionistic architecture of this room cannot be fully appreciated from the very center of the hall. <sup>55</sup> The illusion is most effective from two standpoints immediately before the exits on the shorter walls – one following the main staircase, and the other leading to the patron's bedroom (fig. 72). Peruzzi oddly rejected the common painterly practice of placing the main vantage point across from the center of the image, choosing to place it instead on two separate points in the periphery, in a surprising reinterpretation of the notion of *symmetria*. What this bifurcation of the primary viewpoint implies is twofold: first that the illusion was to strike us immediately as we entered the room upon first glance; and second, that the ideal observer would be in motion. The viewer was to traverse the main visual axis between the master bedroom and the main staircase, rather than stand statically in the very center of the hall.

An expectation that the beholder would be moving is clear also from the distant landscape views of Rome inserted between the columns. As one traverses the room, the landscapes on the shorter end-walls slowly emerge to become the central subject of representation (figs. 73-75). Walking across the hall along the main visual axis to approach the opposite door, the illusionistic colonnade comes to loom larger and larger, gradually exceeding the scope of our fields of vision. At this point a shift in visual focus

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Coffin, *Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome*, 101-103; Martin Kemp, "Precision and Pragmatism: Baldassare Peruzzi's Perspectival Studies and the Sala delle Prospettive," in *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Joseph Connors* 2 vols., eds. Machtelt Israëls and Louis Waldman (Cambridge MA, 2013), 318-320.

occurs, where the panoramic landscape views of Rome begin to take center-stage and distract us from the fictive architecture. The sensation that this shifting visual focus creates is remarkably akin to actually walking out onto an open-air terrace from an enclosed space. With superb command of proportion, optics, and aerial and linear perspective, Peruzzi programs into his pictorial representation a three-dimensional motor experience.

In constructing this conceit, Peruzzi most likely took into account the quotidian use of the hall by its occupants, taking note of the common movements through its space by the patron, his family members, and servants. The agency of Peruzzi's illusionistic system agrees with and mirrors the corporeal movements of Chigi and his household members. The mural succeeds in soliciting a specific visual experience and a somatic consciousness in the beholder. The designer's artifice encourages us to move along the prescribed trajectory, as if following choreography for a dramatic performance in which the actor doubles as an audience member. We are made to reflexively perceive our own movements, and to become aware of our very own acts of seeing.

There is valuable historical testimony to this particular manner of seeing that the *sala delle prospettive* demands in Giorgio Vasari's discussion of Peruzzi's work in the Villa Farnesina. Vasari's comments on the *sala delle prospettive* in his biography of Peruzzi are relatively few, only briefly mentioning how the projection skillfully extends the room beyond its actual walls. <sup>56</sup> But this statement forms an important part of a much longer discussion in the biography on Peruzzi's extraordinary pictorial artifice as

<sup>56</sup> Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori scultori e architettori nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568*, eds. Rosanna Bettarini and Paola Barocchi (Florence, 1976), vol. 4, 318. "La sala similmente è fatta in partimenti di colone figurate in prospettiva, le quali con istrafori mostrano quella essere maggiore."

demonstrated at the Villa. In an anecdotal episode that immediately follows, Vasari recalls accompanying Titian to Chigi's residence along the Tiber personally. As they looked upon the ceiling of the loggia of Galatea, the Venetian painter, often criticized by Vasari for his ignorance in the art of *disegno*, refuses to believe that the masterful relief painting was a fictive projection (fig. 76).

But what is the greatest marvel of all [at the villa Chigi] is a loggia that may be seen over the garden, painted by Baldassarre with scenes of the Medusa turning men into stone, such that nothing more beautiful can be imagined; and then there is Perseus cutting off her head, with many other scenes in the spandrels of that vaulting, while the ornamentation, drawn in perspective, simulated [contrafatto] in color and in stucco, is so natural and lifelike, that even to excellent craftsmen it appears to be in relief. And I remember that when I took the cavalier Titian, a most excellent and honored painter, to see that work, he would by no means believe that it was painted, until he had changed his point of view, when he was struck with amazement. <sup>57</sup>

Peruzzi's skills in *prospettiva* and *rilievo* then, as manifested in the two villa Farnesina fresco cycles, are implicitly compared to Medusa's superhuman powers to "turn men into stone." Vasari has Titian momentarily stupefied with marvel, forever defeated by Peruzzi's artifice. To readers familiar with classical literature on art, the episode immediately calls to mind the popular Plinian legend of the ancient Greek painter Zeuxis

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Vasari, *Vita di Peruzzi* (1568), p. 318. "E quello che è di stupenda maraviglia, vi si vede una loggia in sul giardino dipinta da Baldassarre con le storie di Medusa quando ella converte gl'uomini in sasso, che non può immaginarsi più bella, et appresso quando Perseo le taglia la testa, con molte altre storie ne' peducci di quella volta: e l'ornamento tirato in prospettiva di stucchi e colori contraffatti è tanto naturale e vivo, che anco agl'artefici eccellenti pare di rilievo. E mi ricorda che menando il cavaliere Tiziano, pittore eccellentissimo et onorato, a vedere quella opera, egli per niun modo voleva credere che quella fusse pittura: per che, mutato veduta, ne rimase maravigliato."

fooled by his rival Parrhasius' fictive curtain.<sup>58</sup> But Vasari's anecdote also suggestively lays out the ideal model of viewership in sequence. Every beholder visiting Peruzzi's works at the villa Farnesina are encouraged to empathize with Titian's experience. They are to be taken in initially by the awe-inspiring illusion, whose admirable artifice is revealed by the engaged beholder's motion. Bodily movement through space and mindful viewing characterize Vasari's response to the works by Peruzzi, too.

It was neither casual nor arbitrary that the manner of seeing that the *sala delle prospettive* demands and that Vasari commented on relate very closely to a type of visuality that recurs in architectural *ekphrasis* both classical and modern. Typically, in *ekphrasis* that treated villas, palaces, and cities (or *laudes locorum*), the author's acts of seeing and his/her sequence of ambulatory movements are essential building blocks of the narrative construct. These descriptions were supposed to be improvisations, spontaneously composed on site to record personal encounters with the various subjects. <sup>59</sup> In the Greek sophist Philostratus the Elder's *Imagines*, for example, the author recounts his visit to a villa near Naples where he is asked by the host's young son to give an impromptu lecture on more than sixty paintings that adorned the walls of the villa. <sup>60</sup> The ekphrastic composition as a whole serves almost as a guidebook to a private museum. The reader follows the protagonists from one painting to another to yet another

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, 35. See also Svetlana Alpers, "Ekphrasis and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari's Lives," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 no. 3 (1960): 190-215. The incident brought Parrhasius great fame, because as Zeuxis put it, he had only managed to fool birds with his painting of grapes while Parrhasius managed to fool a great painter like himself.

Norman Land, *The Viewer as Poet: The Renaissance Response to Art* (University Park PA, 1994).

Philostratus the Elder, *Imagines*. I consulted the translation by Arthur Fairbanks (New York and London, 1931). This text has been suggested as an important source for Raphael's *Galatea* and Sebastiano del Piombo's *Polyphemus*, both in the villa Farnesina's loggia of Galatea on the ground floor. The hypothesis that Agostino Chigi envisioned this loggia (if not the entire villa) as a modern reincarnation of the setting Philostratus described in his ekphrastic text is a highly plausible one.

in sequence, as if on a real guided tour of the collection. The poet places emphasis not only on visualization, but also on evoking one's presence at a given site. The trope was absolutely common in this genre of literature, and recalls Aristotle's advice that "(...) the poet should, as far as possible, keep the scene before his eyes (...) as clear as if he were present at the actual event."

In his *ekphrasis* of Vopiscus' luxurious villa in Tibur, Statius chronicled the experience of a similar house tour in his Silver Age Latin. Although Statius is interested in more than just painting, he also structures his text like Philostratus as a chronicle of a personal visit. The reader is invited to move along with him from one admirable object on display to another, experiencing with the author the sense of awe generated by what is seen.

Works of art I saw, creations of old masters, metals variously alive. 'Tis labor to list the golden figures or the ivory or gems fit to adorn fingers of all that artist's imagination wrought, first in silver or bronze miniature, then to attempt huge colossi. As I wondered agaze and cast my eyes over it all, I suddenly found myself treading wealth. (...) My steps were aghast. <sup>62</sup>

It is typical for an ekphrastic text like this to chart observations in time, and to convey the movements of the author's eyes and body. Motion and vision were essential components of *ekphrasis* in Renaissance sources as well. In Biagio Pallai's *Suburbanum*, the reader is constantly reminded of the author's physical motion at the Villa Farnesina and his acts of seeing. The sixteenth-century poet is the protagonist of his own work like the classical models he emulated. He wanders through the villa Farnesina's delightfully

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<sup>61</sup> Aristotle, *Poetics*, 1455a. (http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/text?doc=Perseus%3Atext%3A1999.01.0056%3Asection%3D1455 a) Last consulted 5 Oct. 2014.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Statius, *Silvae* 1.3.47-57.

cool and lush gardens, beautiful loggias on the ground floors, basement cellars, attic, and the upper floor halls. Take, for example, the following section that praises Chigi's gardens:

Let me sing your praises, to conclude the songs of your villa. What first? Shall I speak of the paths? Shall I speak of the retreats? I am moved hither, here I am held; now I am drawn this way, now that; out of my mind; and I would desire to run over all with a single glance, but yet it is not sufficient to scan one single thing with many glances.<sup>63</sup>

Mixing formal description with evocative metaphors, Pallai remarks upon something that inspires admiration at each juncture. In the garden, he is particularly taken by the productive orchards of exotic species that, "partly golden, partly green, and shine by the double harvest," <sup>64</sup> yielded "innumerable fruits hanging by art on foreign boughs, the work of grafting." <sup>65</sup> Pallai sees this as a super-human, super-natural achievement.

You [Chigi] conquer the woods [*silvae* in Latin, a pun on Statius' poem] and the trunks. And you level the excessively unbending pride of fruits. And by the gift of your beautiful art, you replace Nature with a better culture. (...) Here Venus and the graces, and gentle Cupids linger. Let this be the true home of Spring.<sup>66</sup>

Agostino Chigi seems to have accepted willingly the responsibility of providing the public with occasions for *meraviglie* (marvel) that accompanies ownership of this type of leisurely *all'antica* setting. Befitting his popular title, "*il magnifico*," Chigi treated

65 ibid., lines 216-217."Quid poma per artem Innumera enumerem externis pendentia ramis Insitionis opus?"

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Pallai, Suburbanum, 180-185; Quinlan-McGrath. "Vestra canam: vestrae vos claudite carmina villae. Quid primum? dicam ne vias? dicam ne recessus? Huc agor, heic tenor: nunc huc nunc distrahor illuc Mentis inops: unoque velim decurrere visu Omnia, nec multo satis est decurrere visu Omnia, nec multo satis est decurrere visu Singula."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> ibid., lines 199-200. "quae ve aurea parte parte virent, biferoque micant pomaria cultu."

<sup>66</sup> ibid., lines 230-232, 238-240. "Tu silvas, truncosque domas. nimiumque rigentes Pomorum exaequas fastus. artisque beatae Munere, Naturam cultu meliore reponis. (...) Heic venus et charites, placidique morantur amores. Haec Veris sit vera domus."

his retreat on the Tiber among other things as a private gallery space – displaying some of the best works of sculpture, coins, and inscriptions from antiquity alongside murals by contemporary artists like Raphael, Peruzzi, Sebastiano del Piombo (1485-1547) and il Sodoma (1477-1549).<sup>67</sup> With pride he would guide his guests through the house, room by room, to flaunt his extensive collection, which easily rivaled those amassed by elite aristocratic families or ancient Greek and Roman patrons invoked in ekphrastic literature. One can imagine how these house tours could quickly become tedious though. Filippo Beroaldo the Younger (1472-1518), in a refreshingly candid poem printed with Biagio Pallai's *Suburbanum*, complained of Chigi's long-windedness:

While you lead us abut through the rooms of the villa, good Chigi, and while you are going through the gardens, an hour passes; and hunger shakes our insides. Do not think that you feed my stomach with a noble painting; come, let us marvel at the remaining having drunk well; everything pleases me when I am satisfied. Then indeed let Blosius [Biagio Pallai] sing his songs, by which the honor of your villa grows; and may the villa more clearly show your name to posterity. 68

The poem provides witty testimony to the villa's function as a gallery. But this fact also raises a number of alluring questions. If Chigi was in the habit of entertaining his guests with lengthy house tours to flaunt his art collection as Beroaldo here testifies, could this function have encouraged Peruzzi to design a space specifically with an ambulatory gallery visitor in mind? Might we make the analytical leap and consider Peruzzi's choice to encode a specific physical response in his fictive architecture a curatorial one?

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> On Agostino Chigi's antique collection, Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome c. 1350-1527* (New Haven, 2010), 299-304.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> BAV Stamp. Barb. GGG VII 62; Quinlan-McGrath, "'Blosius Palladius," 108-109

We have concrete evidence suggesting that the *sala delle prospettive* did serve as a showroom for the patron's collection of antique statues. An inventory of Chigi's material possessions written several months after his death in 1520 documents how the room used to be filled with "two small figures of marble above the mantle," and "five marble heads [placed] above the five doors." The inventory also makes special mention of "an augur of marble, kneeling and sharpening a knife." Roberto Bartalini identified the last item in 1992 as the famed, late third-century Pergamene statue of the Arrotino (Scythian Knife Sharpener), now in the Uffizi collection, which originally belonged to a three-figure sculptural group portraying the *Flaying of Marsyas* (fig. 77). 70 Its subject matter was only identified in the nineteenth-century, and Peruzzi may have been ignorant of the work's Apollonian theme. <sup>71</sup> But the near-life-size piece, placed on a tall pedestal as documented, certainly would have commanded the attention of Chigi's houseguests. The complex crouching pose of the Scythian slave even inspired Peruzzi's own figurative work in the room, as evidenced by the figures in the Mount Helicon scene in the frieze (fig. 78). The Arrotino's anguished gaze, originally raised towards Marsyas hanging from a tree awaiting punishment for his hubris, would here have been in dialogue with the Olympian deities depicted above the doorways and windows looking down into the room.

The statue of the *Arrotino* was like the mythological scenes in the frieze and the sculptural busts in the niches, intended as a conversation piece for the patron and his guests to address in their exchanges and stroll through the villa. The Ovidian scenes in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> "In sala grande: uno augure de marmore sta a ginochi piegati et sega un saxo / cinque teste di marmore sopra a cinque porte de mischio che sonno in sala / Doi figure piccole de marmore sopra el camino in sala." *Inventario dell'eredità di Agostino Chigi il Magnifico* (BAV Chigi 8868), 18r.

Roberto Bartalini, "Due episodi del mecenatismo di Agostino Chigi e le antichità della Farnesina," *Prospettiva* 67 (1992): 17-38; Christian, *Empire Without End*, 301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Peruzzi painted the flaying of Marsyas scene from Ovid in the *sala del fregio* downstairs, without referring to the Arrotino's particular pose. The date of Chigi's purchase of this work is unknown.

the frieze also included quotations of other works from antiquity that did not belong to Chigi's personal collection. For instance, on the lower right corner of the scene of the Deluge we find a seated woman in profile with her left leg outstretched and right hand on her face (fig. 79). This figure in the fresco is inspired by a Hellenistic statue of a seated muse (now in the Skulpturensammlung in Dresden), a work for which two drawings by Peruzzi's hand survive (figs. 80, 81).<sup>72</sup> The statue is believed to have been in the collection of Cardinal Ippolito I d'Este (1479-1520) at one point, who displayed the work in his villa on the Quirinal Hill.<sup>73</sup> The learned viewer was expected to delight in identifying the famous source for such work, and to discuss the other collections in town. What is put on display then is this dialog among the cognoscenti, taking place not only among the great Renaissance collectors of antique works, but also among the visual artists both past and present. Peruzzi here again showcases his malleability as an artist and deep interest in inter-medial practice by turning a piece of damaged marble sculpture into a full representation.

The illusionistic architecture in the *sala delle prospettive* endowed every beholder the potential to assume the role of an ekphrastic poet touring the home's marvels. The type of viewership Peruzzi specifically encoded into his space still today functions as its maker likely intended, at nearly five hundred years' remove. But something more alchemical also happens to the viewer during his/her encounter with the work. The marvel of the perspective construct, like the head of Medusa, is meant to inspire awe and

<sup>72</sup> Valeria Cafà, "Divinità a pezzi: prove di restauro di scultura antica nei disegni di Baldassarre Peruzzi," in *Some Degree of Happiness: studi di storia dell'architettura in onore di Howard Burns*, eds. Maria Beltramini and Caroline Elam (Pisa, 2010), 155-171, esp. 157-162.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Cafà, "Divinità a pezzi," 157-158; Frommel, *Baldassarre Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, 152, n, 111. The Liverpool drawing may have a later date. Christoph Frommel has suggested 1532, since the verso seems to depict a vestibule that resembles that of the palazzo Massimo alle Colonne.

to stupefy the beholder upon first glance, playfully turning us living men into stone. In that instant, and for that brief second, the beholder joins the marble works like the *Arrotino* in Chigi's private collection. The conceit is meant to bring delight to the encounter. But it also speaks to the general tone of the room that plays upon notions of appearance and substance. Beyond mere inspiration for representational subject matter then, ekphrastic literature offered Peruzzi a model for an entire spatial experience. He modeled the agency of his space itself upon the precedents of villa *ekphrases*. In this case study at least, we seem to find Peruzzi approaching the activity of place making as something akin to event planning.

The analogy between the visuality of the *sala delle prospettive* and an unfolding of an ekphrastic text is strengthened further by the landscape views inserted into the mural (figs. 82-84). Landscape paintings are themselves comparable to description in their function, and this affinity to *ekphrasis* may explain why this mural incorporated topographical panoramas so unusually early for Italian painting. <sup>74</sup> Readership and viewership seem interchangeable here too. <sup>75</sup> By no means is Peruzzi's panorama an "accurate," cartographic representation of Rome. If today the walls of the room were to be made translucent so that the actual city could be compared with the one depicted, the vistas on offer would be noticeably at odds. Recognizable landmarks such as the Torre di Milizia and the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia do not concur with their siting in the city. Most egregious is the Tiber river, depicted twice, flowing in two different directions on two separate walls. This disorienting array transports the viewer to an imaginary

On landscape painting as description, see Edward Casey, Representing Place: Landscape Painting and Maps (Minneapolis and London, 2002), 156-164; Svetlana Alpers, The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century (Chicago, 1983), chapter 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> On this subject, see discussion in chapter 3, notes 33 and 34.

Rome, a mental image composed of cherry-picked landmarks, conjured, as if by memory, with a certain randomness.<sup>76</sup> But what is really at stake in this disorienting and imprecise panorama is actually temporality. For the doubling back of the Tiber and the incorrect sequence of landmarks in the image allow us beholders to experience Rome in a manner that would be physically impossible to experience in real-time tours of the material city.

Again, the reference for this viewing experience seems to be poetic *ekphrasis*. This type of disorientation and temporal interference recur in ekphrastic narratives quite commonly, as poets sought to construct persuasive imagery and strong metaphors through elaborately crafted descriptions. The poets' movement between sites in *ekphrasis* often took seemingly improbable paths that would be impossible to follow physically in real-time. In Book Eight of Virgil's *Aeneid*, for example, Evander famously takes Aeneas on a walking tour of the sites that will one day be part of Rome, calling to Aeneas' mind's eye the splendor of his new *patria* to foretell its grand destiny.<sup>77</sup> On a less epic scale, Pallai's ekphrastic account of his own tour of the Villa Farnesina describes a series of places that would be difficult to physically follow in sequence. Ekphrastic writing often mixed vague and imprecise reminiscences and non-linear narratives, reminding us how it took poetic license from reality as it saw fit in order to fulfill that ultimate epideictic task.

The virtual tour of Rome that Peruzzi's panoramic landscape view in the *sala* delle prospettive allows functions much in the same way. Here Peruzzi's reliance on *ekphrasis* effectively freed space from linear time. There is a very strong desire to express an emblematic simultaneity here – to symbolically and fantastically fuse together

Walter Benjamin compared the panoramic landscape to memory. Walter Benjamin, "Paris, capitale du XIXe siècle" [1939]. Published as "Paris, the Capital of the 19th Century," in Uwe Steiner ed., Walter Benjamin: an Introduction to his Work and Thought (Chicago 2010).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Diana Spencer, Roman Landscape: Culture and Identity (Cambridge, 2010), 49-56.

distant temporal moments. Peruzzi converts *ekphrasis* to the realm of lived experience, translating a text that unfolds in time into a real encounter that unfolds in both time *and* in space. If authors thought of ekphrastic descriptions as substitutes for the buildings and cities both real and notional, Peruzzi re-substituted their descriptions in turn with an architecture of allusion. What his work demonstrates is the potential of space as an agent of poetic experience, where the presence of the absent (a lost time in this case) is invoked persuasively.

At the villa Farnesina, these efforts were mediated strongly by representation. But the spatial evocation of the classical past was a challenge Peruzzi took up willingly in other building projects, too. Increasingly, in his later works, he sought to address temporality through abstract tectonic forms rather than through representation. The strongest example of this effort is perhaps the Theater of Marcellus complex executed for the Savelli family (fig. 85). Here Peruzzi converted the first century Augustan structure (one of the most celebrated of Roman landmarks) into a functional and stylish *all'antica* palazzo. His engineering skills, knowledge of construction, archaeological expertise, and practical approaches to conservation certainly guided this massive undertaking that consolidated a ruined jumble of travertine and marble into a livable structural complex. But these pragmatic attitudes were also undeniably accompanied by an inventive imagination and fantasy of an artist prone to allegorical thinking. The fragmentary ruin of the theater, like an excerpt from a classical text, is displayed to evoke the memory of a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Tessari, *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, 123-136; Tessari, "Baldassarre Peruzzi e il palazzo Savelli sul teatro di Marcello," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, eds. Frommel et. al., 267-271, 567-568; Annarosa Cerutti Fusco, "'*Ubi nunc est domus Sabellorum fuit olim Theatrum Marcelli*' – il Coliseo de' Savelli da domus munita a palatium columnatum al tempo di Baldassarre e Salvestro Peruzzi," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 55 (2010): 101-110.

distant past. The manner in which Peruzzi displays the ruin recalls the common practice of using spoliated material in new construction. But the experience of simultaneity he allows his beholders through this structure is much more concrete, for the distant past that the building evokes is specifically rooted in the theater's precise location and not just in its original material fabric.

We see the mindset of a painter-architect similarly at work in Peruzzi's unrealized residential project for the Orsini family from the mid 1520s (fig. 86). This enormous double complex, which was to accommodate the living quarters of Aldobrandino Orsini (archbishop of Nicosia in Cyprus) and his brother Arrigo Orsini (count of Nola), would have been built on the remains of the Baths of Agrippa in the center of Rome not far from the Pantheon. The monument, then known as the "ciambella," was to be renovated into a circular courtyard with an ambulatory portico. The massive complex would have provided a view through its central axis that extended all the way to the current Largo Argentina. Peruzzi configures here, too, a space that aspired to an emblematic simultaneity. He sought to achieve here too an architecture of allusion – an architecture that rhetorically entwines past and present legends together, that positions itself concretely in history, that tethers disparate temporal moments to a single real place, that simulates a mentally conjured image in material form, and that speaks of loss and of recovery with equal eloquence.

Other painter-architects shared these aspirations. Recourse to poetic invention in Renaissance spatial design is exemplified, for example, by Raphael's Villa Madama on

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Tessari, *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, 116-123; Christoph Frommel, "'Ala maniera e uso delj boni antiquj:' Baldassarre Peruzzi e la sua quarantennale ricerca dell'antico," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, eds. Frommel et. al. 35-38.

the Monte Mario in Rome, built for the Medici family roughly contemporaneously to Peruzzi's sala delle prospettive in its initial phase of construction (figs. 87, 88). 80 In its physical state, the villa is unfinished. But an idea of its complete setting was relayed in a valuable description of the project written by Raphael's own hand. 81 (Fig. 35) Raphael's account was not a blueprint for construction in words, but rather, a learned poetic evocation of the whole design concept modeled after Pliny's villa epistles to Apollinaris and to Gallus. 82 Through writing, Raphael, the painter-architect, even assumes the role of the poet. Raphael's use of literature is strategically related to the goals of his building. unlike the poetry that the painter-architect Bramante composed. 83 What Raphael conveys in ekphrastic writing is the "idea" of his ultimately unfinished invention, whose value was not contingent upon material realization. Raphael's letter is an attempt to articulate the ekphrastic nature of his architecture in a very direct fashion. Although this letter on the villa Madama is well known, its relationship to the two printed exphrastic poems that exalted Peruzzi's villa for Agostino Chigi written by Gallo and Pallai has never been discussed. Both, the architecture of the villa Farnesina and of the villa Madama engage in

No the villa Madama, from a vast literature, see, John Shearman, "A Functional Interpretation of the Villa Madama," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 20 (1983): 241-327; Christoph Frommel, "La villa Madama e la tipologia della villa Romana nel rinascimento," *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* 11 (1969): 47-64; Guy Dewez, *Villa Madama: a Memoir Relating to Raphael's Project* (New York, 1993); Sheryl Reiss "Giulio de' Medici and Mario Maffei: a Renaissance Friendship and the Villa Madama," in *Coming About...: a Festschrift for John Shearman*, ed. Lars Jones (Cambridge Mass., 2001), 281-288; Wolfgang Jung, *Über szenographisches Entwerfen: Raffael und die villa Madama* (Braunschweig, 1997).

The letter is housed in A.S.F. Archivio Mediceo, fil.94, n.162, c.295. For a transcription and extensive bibliography, see John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources 1483-1602* (New Haven and London, 2003), 1.405-413; Roger Jones and Nicholas Penny, *Raphael* (New Haven and London, 1983), Appendix I, 247-248; Philip Foster, "Raphael on the Villa Madama: the Text of a Lost Letter," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 11 (1968): 308-312.

Pliny the Younger, *Epistles* 2.17, 5.6; Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, *The Villas of Pliny from Antiquity to Posterity* (Chicago and London, 1994), 40-72 "Chapter 2. The Medici and Pliny."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Luca Beltrami, *Bramante poeta* (Milan, 1884); Ada Berti, *Artisti-poeti italiani dei secoli XV e XVI* (Florence, 1907), 20-25.

productive and direct dialogue with ekphrastic writing. And this line of thinking in the early sixteenth century artistic circles calls for much further study.

## 4.4 Invention in Renaissance Architecture between Poetry and Philology

With their serious engagement with *ekphrasis*, Renaissance painter-architects demonstrated how certain skill sets and mindsets were unique to their trade alone. Their fluency in the discourses of the figurative arts and of literature distinguished them socially and artistically from their rival masons, carpenters, and stonecutters in the building trade. This alignment of their craft with those of the fine arts was what eventually moved architecture to the status of a liberal art. In the early sixteenth century, an interest in articulating spatial content through building led architectural designers to turn logically to poetry. *Ekphrasis* could serve as an impetus for structural design because it offered spatial designers like Peruzzi ideas for their projects' conceptual and allegorical setting. The structural products that resulted from such an approach to design could comfortably define architecture as a representational art like poetry, painting, and sculpture.

Gradually however, invention in architecture came to be associated more closely and exclusively with form. Architects will come to pursue measurements, proportions, and orders with an unprecedented intensity to establish, through writing and through visual media such as printed engravings, the rules and principles that would guide architecture as an autonomous discipline for the next few hundred years. The illustrated printed manuals on architecture by (among others) Serlio, Vignola, Palladio and Scamozzi strongly demonstrate this trend. Their search for the ultimate proportions of the

five orders stridently show architecture's move towards philological study. And their dissemination of classical architectural details through printed images was an altogether different model of engagement with the canon from the system that *ekphrasis* offered.

This is not to say that painter-architects rejected these inclinations. It goes without saying that the question of form was always critical to Renaissance architectural practice. Francesco di Giorgio, for example, expressed deep interest in classical architectural form, its rules, and variety as he collected a diverse group of models from his studies of Roman ruins in his sketchbook and his manuscript treatise. Heruzzi himself documented classical exempla meticulously, working towards an ultimately unrealized illustrated commentary on Vitruvius, and on classical monuments. We tend to regard such systematic study of classical forms and philological interest in Vitruvius' text as Renaissance architecture's more typical disposition towards invention. And according to such interest in form, guidelines for architectural practice were modeled increasingly after grammar and syntax that operated with rules and standards. And concerns for mathematical precision and systematicity understandably come to dominate in a discipline that sees invention chiefly as a problem of form.

This move towards philology markedly altered architecture's relationship with language, and set the course of the discipline's mainstream trajectory. To be sure, there was strong pushback against this development within the Renaissance, too. The sculptor Vincenzo Danti (1530-76) of the Florentine Academy, for instance, had Serlio's successful treatises on architectural rules and orders in mind when he lamented that the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>84</sup> Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati di Architettura, Ingegneria, e arte militare*, ed. Corrado Maltese (Milan, 1967), 2 vols.

<sup>85</sup> Brothers, "Architecture, Texts, and Imitation," 82-101.

noble, artful, ingenious, and judicious architecture of the ancients was in his day "reduced under many rules, orders, and measures." He scathingly noted that, while "these things render it (architecture) very easy to execute, these days, anyone who knows how to draw two lines can perform the part of the architect." Danti was alarmed by the philological turn to formal imitation in contemporary architecture, particularly because this seemed to distance the art from the model of invention practiced by its sisters painting and sculpture. He pointed out that in painting and in sculpture, "no rule for imitation had ever been formulated."

The Milanese critic Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo was even harsher in his remarks. In his *Treatise on the Arts of Painting, Sculpture, and Architecture* from 1582, Lomazzo slandered Serlio and his publications for producing all over Italy "those practical architects around the construction site, [who compose] only by way of materials and the discourse of fabrication without any of their own invention." Because he led architecture astray from virtuous invention, Lomazzo scathed that "Serlio has turned more dog-slayers into architects than he has hairs in his beard." For Lomazzo, architecture's capacity to

Wincenzo Danti, *Il primo libro del trattato delle perfette proporzioni* (Florence, 1567), chapter 11. "Ma è ben vero, che l'architettura, perché compone le cose da sua posta, cioè non imita nella maniera che fanno l'altre due, si come è detto, pare che sia di molto maggior artifizio e perfezione. Ma non già oggi, che sotto tante regole, ordini, e misure, è stata ridotta: le quali la rendono facilissima nelle sue esecuzioni. Quegl'antichi primi ritrovatori di tanti bell'ordini, con tanti belli ornamenti, e comodità furono quelli, i quali si può dire che fussero in ciò di grandissimo ingegno e giudizio et che allora essa architettura per i suoi esecutori fusse nobilissima, et molto artifiziosa. Ma come ho detto in questi tempo quasi ogn'uno che sappia tirare due linee può fare l'architettore, rispetto alle regole di sopra dette. Ma non cosi interviene alla scultura et alla pittura; alle quali non è mai stata formata regola niuna che possa facilitare veramente questa loro imitazione."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (1582), book six, chapter 45. "Et questa non è opera se ne non di periti disegnatori, e che hanno pronte le mani à delineare e mostrare in figura quanto concepiscono nella sua idea di fare, opera in somma di Michelangelo, di Bramanti, di Raffaelli, di Petrucci, di Primatici, di Romani, di Sangalli, di Centogati, di Montelupi, di Genghi, di Carnevali, di Mantegni, di Zanali, di Bramantini, di Gobbi, e di molti altri di questa classe, che sono stati divini nel comporre tali cose, e non di certi architetti prattichi intorno alle fabriche, solamente per via di materia e discorso di fare, senza alcuna invention loro, di quali ne è piena tutta

invent freely could only be guaranteed through the "spirit" of painting, and by following the practice of architects like Michelangelo, Bramante, Raphael, and Peruzzi who could express their concepts freely through drawing.

But why weren't imagination and *fantasia* ever systematized as part of the Renaissance architect's training in the theoretical writings on the discipline? This might have been due to the fact that the spatial realization of poetic fantasy is as problematic an enterprise as the verbal description of the visual. Inadequacies are inevitable since, in any medium, real presence can at best be merely simulated. Artists and writers often expressed in their works this sense of shortcoming and ineptitude openly. For example, when Petrarch first visited Rome after dedicating his formative years entirely to the study of the classics, he wrote to his close friend Giovanni Colonna that his humble gifts were unequal to the great eternal city:

You thought that I would be writing something truly great once I had arrived in Rome. For the present, I know not where to start, overwhelmed as I am by the wonder of so many things and by the greatness of my astonishment.<sup>88</sup>

A poet's proclamation that his art was unbefitting of his subject descends from a well-established rhetorical trope known as *capitatio benevolentiae*, which often recurs in the initial lines of ekphrastic writing. <sup>89</sup> Statius too, while walking through Pollius Felix' magnificent villa, lamented his limited poetic powers.

88 Francesco Petrarch, Letters on Familiar Matters (Rerum Familiarium Libri) vol. 1: Books I-VIII, trans Aldo Bernardo (New York, 2005), 113.

l'Italia, mercè di Sebastiano Serlio, che veramente ha fatto più mazzacani architetti che non haveva egli peli in barba. I quali ancora che facciano fabriche a furia, tuttavia non vi si vede dentro quel grilo dell'arte, cioè quello spirito che gia dipinse in persona della pittura un antico pittor Greco."

Ruth Webb, "The Aesthetics of Sacred Space: Narrative, Metaphor, and Motion in Ekphrasis of Church Buildings," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 53 (1999): 59-74, especially pp. 59-61; Ruth Webb, *Ekphrasis, Imagination and Persuasion in Ancient Rhetorical Theory and Practice* (Burlington, 2009), 174.

Not if Helicon were to grant me all his streams (...) could I match in Pierian strains the countless sights and ornaments of the area. My eyes scarce held out in the long procession, scarce my steps, as I was led from item to item. <sup>90</sup>

This sense of confronting a herculean task, and the impossibility of artistry, is equally present in Peruzzi's illusionistic architecture. We see it play out in the *sala delle prospettive* when Peruzzi carefully juxtaposes imitated marble against the actual marble samples strategically placed throughout the room. The doorway made of *verde antico* is deliberately framed on either side by fictive *verde antico*. (Figs. 36-37) Even with the sheen of varnish that may once have covered the fresco's surface, <sup>91</sup> this is a bold act of contest, like placing the sitter next to a finished portrait. The luster of the stone surface, difficult to recreate with matt pigments on stucco, works more to accentuate the artificial than to authenticate the fictive. <sup>92</sup> One may see this as an expression of pride in artistic virtuosity on Peruzzi's part. <sup>93</sup> But by emphasizing the sixteenth-century artist's core mission – to challenge nature with artifice – this juxtaposition also places Peruzzi's pictorial architecture squarely in dialogue with *ekphrasis* and its nearly impossible task of poetic description. Such perception of difficulty would have made the poetic appear an unfitting approach in architectural instruction.

Aside from the difficulty description presents as a creative task, there were other reasons why poetry never became the normative guide for the Renaissance practice of building. If architectural invention is defined as pertaining to concepts and/or to ideas rather than to form, practitioners had no real means to acquire this creative power or learn

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Statius, *Silvae* 2.2; Shackleton Bailey, 124-127.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> For the history of the conservation work this frescoed room has received, see Valori-Piazza 1981.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> On '*Difficolta*' (Difficulty) as an artistic concept, see, David Summers, "Maniera and Movement: The *Figura Serpentinata*," *Art Quarterly* 35 (1972): 269-301.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>93</sup> Luchterhandt, "Im Reich der Venus," 227.

to yield it. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Artistic *ingegno* (genius) that generated inventive ideas was considered innate to individuals. It was regarded as something impossible for a practitioner to acquire through experience or through instruction from another. Housalthough a theorist like the painter-architect Francesco di Giorgio may state that architecture is "a subtle imagination conceived in the mind, which is made manifest in the work," he is unable to provide concrete guidelines for aspiring students to generate that "subtle imagination." The poetic dimensions of spatial design were never fully incorporated into the architect's systematized academic training.

In approaching philology rather than poetry, sixteenth-century architectural discourse gravitated towards the traditional Latin sense of the term "invention," which concerned discovery of truth more than fantastic and imaginative creation. <sup>96</sup> As the most pragmatic of the three sister-arts, architecture aligned its invention more comfortably with natural philosophy and therefore with science. But those who engaged in the high practice of architecture – that is, to those entrusted with one-of-a-kind building projects – notions of temporality, allegory, canonical precedents, and uniqueness of site were of equally serious concerns in the creative process. The contributions towards this end by painter-architects such as Peruzzi pose healthy questions on some of our most basic assumptions about classicism and about Renaissance artistic practice.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>94</sup> Kemp, "From Mimesis to Fantasia," 349-355; Murray Bundy, "Invention and Imagination in the Renaissance," *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 29 (1930): 535-545.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>95</sup> Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Trattati*, I: 36. "Ma se l'architettore non ha prespicace e singulare ingegno e invenzione, none aspetti mai perfettamente tale arte esercitar potere, imperò che l'architettura è solo una sottile immaginazione concetta in nella mente la quale in nell'opera si manifesta."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>96</sup> Kemp, "From Mimesis to Fantasia," 348; David Mayernik, *The Challenge of Emulation in Art and Architecture: Between Imitation and Invention* (Burlington VT, 2013), 215. See chapter 7 "On Invention."

Rilievo (Modelling): Building and Optics

## 5.1 Modelling and the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne

Palazzo Massimo alle colonne is Baldassarre Peruzzi's last work. It was the first residential palace for Roman noble families to witness construction following the Sack of Rome (1527-28) that had left much of the city a devastated ruin (figs. 90-98). Noted for its technical refinement and sophisticated formal expressions, the building is almost evanescent as it resists quick discernment. Its signature curved facade unfurls like fabric between two adjoining buildings, perforated in the lower-center by a spacious Doric order portico. The main entrance opens to a long, dark, barrel-vaulted corridor, which leads to a spacious, light-filled, off axially positioned courtyard, then to a covered loggia, to a second open courtyard thereafter, followed by a tall back entrance that finally opens onto piazza de' Massimi and onto piazza Navona beyond. The sequence of starkly heterogeneous types and scales of spaces defies expectations for symmetry and uniformity, and suggests a sectional design process. The structure as a whole almost seems erratic, and the sensation it provides recalls an urban landscape. Peruzzi here refused to render architecture into an instantly consumable iconic image. Instead, through

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The most comprehensive study on the palace to date is Valeria Cafà, *Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne di* Baldassarre Peruzzi: storia di una famiglia romana e del suo palazzo in rione Parione (Venice, 2007); Arnaldo Bruschi, "Roma, dal Sacco al tempo di Paolo III (1527-50)," in Storia dell'architettura italiana: il primo Cinquecento, ed. Arnaldo Bruschi (Milan, 2002), 166-175; Mark Wilson Jones, "Palazzo Massimo and Baldassarre Peruzzi's Approach to Architectural Design," Architectural History 31 (1988): 59-106; Christoph Frommel, "Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne," in Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena e architettura nel Cinquecento, eds. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Madonna (Rome, 1987), 241-262; Armando Schiavo, "I vicini di Palazzo Braschi," Capitolium 41 (1966): 21-44; Heinrich Wurm, Der Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne (Berlin, 1965).

a rich array of original tectonic forms combined in creative variation, he produced an architectural body that unfolds empirically across time and space.

This approach to architectural composition pervades Peruzzi's earlier built works also, but the thinking is made particularly explicit in the palazzo Massimo's main courtyard, where each of the four elevations around the atrium differs from one to another in height and in surface articulation (see figs. 94-98). Every visible angle of the courtyard thus presents a fresh appearance and responds performatively to a moving viewer. This is perhaps why Alois Riegl once called this courtyard "one of the most picturesque internal spaces" in all of Renaissance Rome.<sup>2</sup> Peruzzi differentiates the four elevations volumetrically rather than superficially through applied ornament. Formal variables are juxtaposed to create a series of extrusions and recessions in the courtyard that interact with natural light in dramatically different manners. What defines the design here is bold modelling, as mass, plasticity, light and shade take center-stage. Peruzzi in fact shows remarkably close attention to problems of illumination at the palazzo Massimo. Light is not only used to meet pragmatic needs of visibility but also to dramatize the setting and to invite exploration of spaces in sequence. Light here is furthermore an aesthetic instrument that coalesces the structure together as a unit. The slanting light-wells (some real, some blind) strung along horizontally across the entire main courtyard between the ground floor level and the *piano nobile*, for example, manipulate our perception and tie the whole atrium setting together; giving unity and regularity to the otherwise potentially incoherent design (see figs. 99-100).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Alois Riegl, *The Origins of Baroque Art in Rome*, trans. Andrew Hopkins and Arnold White (Los Angeles, 2010 [Vienna, 1908]), 144.

In this process, Peruzzi comments on one of architecture's most distinguishing characteristics as a visual art form - its ability to both shape and be shaped by natural light. The substance of light, as the Finnish critic Juhani Pallasmaa observed, "tends to be experientially and emotionally absent until it is contained by space, concretized by matter that it illuminates, or turned into a substance or colored air through a mediating matter, such as fog, mist, smoke, rain, or frost." Building alone can control light among the sister arts - heightening its presence, sculpting it, and framing it. But architecture is paradoxically also absolutely dependent upon light to reveal its own material form and presence. The palazzo Massimo comments on this symbiotic relationship between architecture and light. And by expressively handling light in his building, what Peruzzi demonstrates is an easy fluidity between *Structure* and *Ornament* - the binary categories that have historiographically riven architectural bodies in two largely since the nineteenth-century.

If Peruzzi understood light as a critical architectural device that shapes both structure and ornament alike, the source of this concept may be his experience with *chiaroscuro* (monochrome or relief) painting.<sup>5</sup> For three decades, Peruzzi pioneered Roman *chiaroscuro* painting with projects that sought the illusion of relief through careful manipulation of modulated shading on flat surfaces. *Chiaroscuro* pursues the ornamental, the descriptive, and the narrative just as any other type of period color painting would, but its distinction as a pictorial genre lies in its unique emphasis on

<sup>3</sup> Juhani Pallasmaa, "Matter, Hapticity, and Time: Material Imagination and the Language of Matter," *Encounters 2: Architectural Essays*, ed. Peter MacKeith (Helsinki, 2012), 49-59. Quotation from p. 58.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Anne Marie Sankovitch, "Structure/Ornament and the Modern Figuration of Architecture," *Art Bulletin* 80, no. 4 (Dec., 1998): 687-717.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Frommel, "Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne," 261.

plasticity - that is, the appearance of a solid material under illumination. And like pictorial perspective, its technical rules are grounded in optical principles. The very nature of *chiaroscuro* painting demands that the practitioner address characteristically architectural and real-spatial problems like volume, illumination, material texture, surface, and the viewer's movements, even as it restricts the artist's interventions to the realm of representation. The two arts approach one another through shared sets of practical problems concerned with the notion of relief. And when *chiaroscuro* painting saw direct application onto built fabric popularly as facade fresco in the hands of *Cinquecento* artists like Peruzzi, it irrefutably brought optics to the fore as an issue of pertinence to the art of building.

One of the unique characteristics of Peruzzi's approach to architecture was his enthusiastic appropriation of optics. We have already seen how he used perspective drawing as a design instrument for tectonic forms, and how he employed perspectival painting as a spatial device to alter the experience of real interior spaces such as the *sala delle prospettive*. This chapter further examines Peruzzi's interests in optics as a spatial design tool. His extensive engagements with the inter-medial concept of *rilievo* (modelling) and with the technique of *chiaroscuro* show that the pictorial procedure of manipulating volume and light meaningfully shaped his architectural thinking also. At the palazzo Massimo alle colonne, toward the end of his prolific artistic career, Peruzzi tackles modelling plastically rather than graphically, using abstract forms with masterful economy in place of monochrome painting. But even in such instances of purely tectonic expressions, at play are the painter-architect's syncretic thinking, and capacity to seek design solutions flexibly across media boundaries.

This chapter opens by considering *rilievo*'s cultural history as an intermedial artistic concept in the Renaissance period, before addressing the importance of modelling in Peruzzi's general pictorial practice. This background, and an understanding of Peruzzi's strong reputation in the genre, subsequently will help us analyze three *chiaroscuro* mural projects that exemplify Peruzzi's parallel pursuit of space and image - the salone Riario in the bishopric of Ostia Antica, the facade of the Villa Farnesina, and the facade of palazzo Buzio in Rome. Finally, the chapter considers the palazzo Massimo alle colonne in more detail as a tectonic project modeled in light.

## 5.2 Rilievo as Classical Decorum and Yardstick for Artistry

Peruzzi understood *rilievo* according to several of its underlying principles grounded in the culture of his time. The concept of *rilievo* had a whole host of meanings, and in practice, its deployment was often characterized by an acute artistic self-consciousness. The most literal and direct among them was perhaps the widely shared antiquarian assumption that important structures in antiquity involved *rilievo*. Exteriors of classical imperial buildings were thought to have been modeled heavily in relief sculpture, often with triumphal connotations. This assumption conditioned how early modern buildings were designed and discussed. For example, the dense relief work on the modern encasing around the Santa Casa di Loreto designed by Bramante and Andrea Sansovino (1467-1529) recalls this imperial and triumphal association in a sacred context. *Rilievo* adorned

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Luba Freedman, "*Rilievo* as an Artistic Term in Renaissance Art Theory," *Rinascimento: Rivista dell'Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento* 29 (1989): 243; Monika Schmitter, "Falling through the Cracks: the Fate of Painted Palace Facades in Sixteenth-Century Italy," in *The Built Surface: Architecture and the Pictorial Arts from Antiquity to the Enlightenment*, ed. Christy Anderson (Burlington, 2002), 137.

secular buildings from the period too. Paolo Palliolo da Fano described the temporary theater erected on the Capitoline hill in 1513 in celebration of conferral of Roman citizenship to Giuliano and Lorenzo de' Medici by explicitly mentioning how well the theater's *chiaroscuro* pictorial decor accorded with classical standards of architectural decorum.

Figures (...) [painted on the front of this theater] were composed in such form that to all they resembled that which we see incised in living stone. This is how the front of this theater is, appearing so superb and magnificent to all those who ascend the Capitoline. It represents the true likeness of ancient palaces of the emperors and leading citizens of Rome at the city's flourishing, erected with much art and with inestimable expense.<sup>7</sup>

This theater was considered to be in keeping with antiquarian standards precisely for its monochrome paintings imitating marble relief sculpture (fig. 105).<sup>8</sup> When Peruzzi helped produce designs for the exterior of this theater as mentioned in chapter 3, he must have done so with full awareness of such imperial connotations that *rilievo* possessed.

Renaissance commentators generally applied the term *rilievo* loosely to indicate the effects of modelling while leaving the medium of execution ambiguous. As long as the effects of *rilievo* were achieved, the discrepancy in media between the classical precedents and contemporary work was of relatively little matter. The origins of *rilievo*,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For Peruzzi's participation in this event, see chapter 2 of this dissertation. Paolo Palliolo da Fano, *Naratione delli spectacoli celebrati in Campidoglio da Romani nel ricevere lo Magnifico Juliano et Laurentio di Medici per suoi patritii*. BAV Barb.Lat.4793. Transcribed in Fabrizio Cruciani and Arnaldo Bruschi, *Il Teatro del Campidoglio e le feste Romane del 1513* (Milan, 1968), 21-67, excerpt from p. 27. "Le figure [...] in tal forma composte che al tutto assimigliano a quelle che in viva pietra intagliate se vedono. Così sta la fronte di questo theatro, la quale tanto superba et magnifica a quelli che al Campidoglio ascendeno se dimostra, che representa il vero simulacro degli antiqui palazzi che per gl'Imperatori et primati i Roma, quando era più florida, con molta arte et inestimabile spesa furono edificati."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Michael Bury, "Serlio on the Painted Decoration of Buildings," in *Some Degree of Happiness: studi di storia dell'architettura in onore di Howard Burns*, eds. Maria Beltramini and Caroline Elam (Pisa, 2010), 266.

on the other hand, were believed to reside strictly in the realm of architecture. Giorgio Vasari articulated this point clearly in the preface to the *Lives* when discussing the *mezzo-rilievo* sculptural technique:

Those works that the sculptors call half reliefs were invented by the ancients to make figure compositions with which to adorn flat walls, and they adopted this treatment in theaters and triumphal arches (...).

This is particularly significant. If modeled elements were considered so fundamental to the art of building as Vasari's account here implies, it suggests that even something as quintessentially "ornamental" like the five orders were actually considered innate rather than accessory to the architectural being. Vasari frames modelling here as a versatile notion that was freely applicable to more than one medium. In other words, the techniques to achieve *rilievo* in sculpture, painting, and architecture may be discrete, but the larger concept of modelling itself was understood to be universally applicable across the visual arts.

The general assumption that important buildings both private and public in ancient Rome concerned *rilievo* motivated moderns to build accordingly. Roman nobility found that the immuring of classical relief sculpture directly onto the fabric of their residential palaces offered convenient expressions of family lineage and cultural pedigree. At the mid fifteenth-century palazzo Porcari in Rome, for instance, relief-sculpture was displayed to fabricate a completely fictional family genealogy. <sup>10</sup> And at the

<sup>10</sup> Kathleen Wren Christian, *Empire Without End: Antiquities Collections in Renaissance Rome, c. 1350-1527* (London and New Haven, 2010), 63-89. Given the Porcari family's politics against the papacy which led to the revolt in 1453, stakes for their claim on *Romanitas* were high.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "Quelle figure che gli scultori chiamano mezzi rilievi furono trovate già dagli antichi per fare istorie da adornare le mura piane, e se ne servirono ne' teatri e negli archi per le vittorie." Giorgio Vasari, *Proemio di tutta l'opera*, ed. Gaetano Milanesi (Florence, 1906), 156. For the English translation here, I've consulted Baldwin Brown ed., Louisa Maclehose trans., *Vasari on Technique*. (London, 1907), 154.

palazzo Podocatari, ancient inscriptions and sarcophagi relief works lent authority to the Greek academy Cardinal Ludovico Podocatari (1429-1504) hosted there. <sup>11</sup> Pirro Ligorio sought a similar visual effect on a more monumental scale at the Vatican Casino Pio IV (1559-1562) using stucco instead of real classical reliefs, attesting to the enduring relevance of this architectural model (fig. 106). In this instance too, the look of *rilievo* conveyed the heroic ideals of ancient Rome and the patron's status as heirs to that legacy, independently of the iconography of the panels. At the turn of the seventeenth-century, this same tradition still inspired spectacular built examples such as the palazzo Mattei di Giove by Carlo Maderno (1556-1629) [fig. 107], and the Casino dell'Aurora by Jan van Santen (1550-1621) for Cardinal Scipione Borghese (1577-1633) [fig. 108]. In both cases, the masonry walls permanently embedded with classical relief panels clearly expressed Romanitas. Peruzzi too invested his buildings with rilievo's antiquarian decorum and dynastic rhetoric. He embedded two large relief sculptures on the eastern wall at the palazzo Massimo's courtyard above the doors on either side of the *nymphaeum* (see fig. 97).<sup>12</sup>

Such examples of immured relief sculpture quite literally appropriate what was described as exemplary in classical sources. *Rilievo* is achieved by applying found symbolic objects external to the architectural body. Architecture in this context is thus a frame to display prized antiques in a classical appropriation that veers sharply toward the representational. The "effects of modelling" endured as an essential and desirable value in early modern architectural projects. *Rilievo* as a concept lived on as a key aesthetic

<sup>11</sup> Christian, Empire Without End, 192-193 and 352-354.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> On the Massimo family's antique collection and its display, see Cafà, *Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne*, 50-54.

criterion tied to notions of nobility and merit. And these connotations were meaningful beyond what symbolic message the relief pieces themselves individually carried.

As *rilievo* influenced building as an antiquarian aesthetic value, the discourse and practice of painting came to regard the concept and technique concurrently as the noblest of professional goals. This was due less to classical decorum than to notions of pictorial rhetoric and artistry. For example, Leonardo da Vinci (1452-1519) claimed in his *Treatise on Painting* that, "the first task of painting is that the objects it presents should appear in relief (...)." For Leonardo, "light and shadow together with foreshortening, constitute the ultimate excellence in the science of painting." Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564) later similarly remarked that, "painting is considered excellent in proportion as it approaches the effect of relief, while relief is considered bad in proportion as it approaches the effect of painting." Writing as a self-identified sculptor in the context of a rhetorical exercise of a *paragone* debate in 1549, Michelangelo's high esteem for modeled projection in painting still speaks to a longstanding Florentine tradition. Over a century earlier, Leon Battista Alberti had argued in his treatise *On Painting* that *rilievo* was the most worthy goal for a painter to pursue.

12

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> "La prima parte della pittura è chelli corpi con quella figurati si dimostrino rilevati." After Leonardo da Vinci, *Libro della Pittura*. BAV Urb.Lat.1270, fol. 50v. English translation from Philip McMahon, *Treatise on Painting* [Codex Urbinas Latinus 1270] by Leonardo da Vinci (Princeton, 1956), vol. 1, 62.

<sup>&</sup>quot;Il chiaro et lo scuro insieme co'li scorti è la eccellenzia della scienzia della pittura." After Leonardo da Vinci, Libro della Pittura. BAV Urb.Lat.1270, fol. 196r. English translation from McMahon, Treatise on Painting, vol. 1, 282. See also, John Shearman, "Leonardo's Colour and Chiaroscuro," Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte 25 (1962): 13-47; Marcia Hall, Color and Meaning: Practice and Theory in Renaissance Painting (Cambridge and New York, 1992).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> From Michelangelo's Letter see, Benedetto Varchi, *Lezzione di Benedetto Varchi, nella quale si disputa della maggioranza delle arti* (Florence, 1549), 80-82. English translation from Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, *Italian Art 1500-1600: Sources and Documents* (Evanston IL, 1989), 13-14. "Io dico che la pittura mi par più tenuta buona quanto più va verso il rilievo, et il rilievo più tenuto cattivo quanto più va verso la pittura."

But I would prefer learned painters to believe that the greatest art and industry are concerned with the disposition of white and black (...). Just as the incidence of light and shade make it apparent where surfaces become convex or concave, or how much any part slopes and turns this way or that, so the combination of white and black achieves what the Athenian painter Nicias was praised for, and what the artist must above all desire: that the things he paints should appear in maximum relief.<sup>16</sup>

The painter needed to observe light and shade because the color of surfaces "receives all its variations from light." Alberti pragmatically advised painters to calibrate each of their pictorial work's tone systematically, using a scale ranging from black to white. *Rilievo* was based on the science of optics then, and lent painters the power of persuasion as they attempted the virtual. 18

*Chiaroscuro* was a pictorial technique directly associated with this ideal of pictorial *rilievo*, and like perspective, Peruzzi would have acquired the skill commonly through any workshop's didactic program as applied optics. Aspiring visual artists would devote much time studying natural and artificial light and their interactions with various material surfaces.<sup>19</sup> The representation of the effects of light, or modelling, was a quintessential skill for painters and sculptors alike, and apprentices in the representational

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Alberti, *De Pittura*, Book 2, chapter 46; Leon Battista Alberti, *On Painting*, translated by Cecil Grayson with introduction and notes by Martin Kemp (Harmondsworth, 1991), 82. "Ma io vorrei che i valenti pittori giudicassero che si debbe porre ogni industria ed ogni arte nel disporre e collocar bene il bianco ed il nero (...). Imperocchè siccome l'avvenimento de' lumi e dell' ombre fa che ei si vede in qual luogo le superficie si rilievino, ed in quali elle sfondino, e quanto ciascuna delle parti declini, o si pieghi; così l'accomodar bene del bianco e del nero fa quello che era attribuito a lode a Nizia Pittore Ateniese, e quel che la prima cosa ha da desiderare il maestro, che le sue Pitture apparischino di gran rilievo."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Alberti, *De Pittura*, Book 2, chapter 30.

David Summers, "*Chiaroscuro*, or the Rhetoric of Realism," in *Leonardo da Vinci and Optics: Theory and Pictorial Practice*, eds. Francesca Fiorani and Alessandro Nova (Venice, 2013), 41-50.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Martin Kemp, *The Science of Art: Optical Themes in Western Art from Brunelleschi to Seurat* (New Haven and London, 1990), 265-274.

arts learned to convey form in large measure through the study of light and shade.<sup>20</sup> The capacity to render form in artificial light was just as important. For example, in Agostino Musi's (c.1490-1537) engraving from 1531 that is nearly a caricature of an ideal workshop, the Florentine sculptor Baccio Bandinelli (1488-1560) engages in relief drawing of antique statuettes with apprentices around a candle-lit table at his so-called *Accademia di Belvedere* in the Vatican (fig. 109). Processes of graphic study such as these involved contemplating elements like surface texture, color, distances, proportion, contrast, and reflection, which are key concepts in architecture as well.<sup>21</sup>

Painters valued *rilievo* because it rendered their works more persuasive from a technical point of view. But they also knew that *rilievo* distinguished the best painters in antiquity like Apelles and Zeuxis. In his *Natural History*, Pliny the Elder not only framed relief painting as a true mark of pictorial excellence and a sign of the art's advancement, but a difficult skill that only the most accomplished of practitioners possessed.<sup>22</sup> Apelles seemed to particularly deserve praise for his command of relief painting, which he executed using subtle gradations of four basic colors (white, black, yellow, red).<sup>23</sup>

Four colors only were used by the illustrious painters Apelles, Aetion, Melanthius and Nicomachus to execute their immortal works - of whites, *Melinum*, of yellow

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Ernst Gombrich, *The Heritage of Apelles: Studies in the Art of the Renaissance* (New York, 1976); David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London and New York, 2003), 467-547.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> Gombrich, *The Heritage of Apelles*, especially chapter 2. See also David Summers, *Vision Reflection and Desire in Western Painting* (Chapel Hill, 2007), 18.

Pliny the Elder, *Natural History*, trans. John Bostock and H. T. Riley (London, 1857), 234-235. The section is from Book 35, Chapter 11. "The art of painting, at last became developed, in the invention of light and shade, the alternating contrast of the colors serving to heighten the effect of each. At a later period, again, luster was added, a thing altogether different from light. The gradation between luster and light on the one hand and shade on the other, was called 'tonos'; while the blending of the various tints, and their passing into one another, was known as 'harmoge' (attunement)."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Sarah Blake McHam, Pliny and the Artistic Culture of the Italian Renaissance: The Legacy of the Natural History (New Haven and London, 2013), 234-236. McHam also noted how Alberti later symbolically associated each of the four colors with the four natural elements and the four seasons.

ochers, Attic; of reds, *Pontic Sinopis*; of blacks, *atramentum* - although their pictures each sold for the wealth of a whole town. Nowadays (...) there is no such thing as high-class painting. The reason for this is that as we said before, it is values of material and not of genius that people are now on the lookout for.<sup>24</sup>

Cicero expressed a similar nostalgia for a by-gone golden age of painting when skill trumped the use of sumptuous materials. His list of the four masters who excelled in the four-palette relief painting varied from Pliny's slightly, <sup>25</sup> but for him too, Apelles' relief paintings particularly merited praise for their superb command of luminous phenomena.

He [Apelles] also painted Alexander the Great holding a Thunderbolt, in the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, for a fee of twenty talents in gold. The fingers have the appearance of projecting from the surface and the thunderbolt seems to stand out from the picture - readers must remember that all these effects were produced by four colors.<sup>26</sup>

Renaissance critics took such passages to mean that the limited palette of relief painting equaled pictorial virtuosity. "They say that Zeuxis, the most eminent ancient painter, was like a prince among the rest in understanding the principle of light and shade," wrote Alberti, "I would consider of little or no virtue the painter who did not properly understand the effect every kind of light and shade has on all surfaces." With Alberti's treatise, relief painting becomes an absolutely necessary skill to conquer in the

<sup>26</sup> Pliny, *Natural History*, Book 35, Chapter 36. "Pinxit et Alexandrum Magnum fulmen tenentem in templo Ephesiae Dianae viginti talentis auri. Digiti eminere videntur et fulmen extra tabulam esse - legentes meminerint omnia ea quattuor coloribus facta."

Pliny, Natural History, Book 35, Chapter 49. "Quattuor coloribus solis immortalia illa opera fecere - ex albis Melino, e silaciis Attico, ex rubris Sinopide Pontica, ex nigris atramento - Apelles, Aetion, Melanthius, Nicomachus, clarissimi pictores, cum tabulae eorum singulae oppidorum venirent opibus. (...) saniem nulla nobilis pictura est. Omnia ergo meliora tunc fuere, cum minor copia. Ita est, quoniam, ut supra diximus, rerum, non animi pretiis excubatur."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Cicero, *Brutus*, Chapter 70.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Alberti, *De Pittura*, Book 2, chapter 46. "Dicono che Zeusi nobilissimo ed antichissimo pittore, fu quasi il primo che seppe tener questa regola de' lumi e delle ombre." "Io certamente non penserò che nessuno sia, non che altro pittore mediocre, che non sappia molto bene che forza abbi ciascuna ombra e ciascun lume in tutte le superficie."

modern competition against the ancients. And painters such as Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506) and Leonardo who took up the challenge as a serious professional enterprise acquired monikers like "modern Apelles" or "modern Zeuxis."

Considering the wide range of superlative artistic meanings *rilievo* expressed allows us to understand how Peruzzi was culturally and professionally primed to pursue it as a mark of distinction in his own practice, in the pictorial as well as the architectural realm. As we shall see, Peruzzi will eloquently internalize these traditions and the cultural weight that *rilievo* carried. He will come to command the concept so deftly that he can model walls freely either in real or in virtual light, and gains fame as a modern Apelles among his peers. Peruzzi's facility with *rilievo* initially develops through his pictorial practice of *chiaroscuro*. But time and again, the painter-architect's *chiaroscuro* projects explored *rilievo*'s potential as a spatial device, and through this process, Peruzzi came to position optics centrally in his building activity. We shall examine more closely how these notions manifest in Peruzzi's representational art first, before moving onto *rilievo*'s more direct intersections with his architecture.

## 5.3 Mastery of *Chiaroscuro*

Peruzzi's engagement with *rilievo* was unusually conspicuous. His drawings and paintings often show great comfort and ease with the monochromatic *chiaroscuro* technique, or the representation of virtual light. For his skill and industry in *chiaroscuro*, Peruzzi quickly garnered admiration among friends, followers and collectors, and his expertise in this genre was remembered often in his early critical fortune. Peruzzi worked in *chiaroscuro* across a whole array of diverse media - including facade painting, prints,

interior murals, portable painting, and figurative as well as architectural drawings. Motivations for choosing *chiaroscuro* over color varied widely and depended on project goals, budget, and a commission's time frame for execution. But the use of the technique at times seems to simply indicate personal preference either on the part of the artist and/or the patron.

Peruzzi came to engage with *chiaroscuro* in the della Rovere family's circle of patronage in Rome, where, under the papacy of Julius II, large-scale monochromatic fresco painting had become fashionable. In the so-called Salone Riario at the bishop's palace of Ostia Antica commissioned by Cardinal Raffaele Riario (1461-1521), a team of artists that included Iacopo Ripanda (d. 1516), Cesare da Sesto (1477-1523), Michele del Becca da Imola (d. 1517), and Baldassarre Peruzzi, transformed the interior walls entirely with grisaille painting (fig. 110). Just a few years later, in 1508, the same team again would carry out a large-scale *chiaroscuro* fresco cycle in a hallway in the Vatican apostolic palace that led to Julius II's brand new aviary. These scenes, now fragments detached from the original setting, were described by Vasari as follows.

Vasari's attribution of this cycle to Peruzzi is problematic since it only appears in the second edition (1568) of the *Vite*, and described as in Ostia Antica's fortified castle, rather than the bishopric next door. These, and other stylistic reasons led Frommel to dismiss the attribution entirely. But since there exists a plan of the bishopric drawn by Peruzzi's hand (U458Ar.), Squarzina and others maintain Peruzzi's involvement. Silvia Danesi Squarzina, "Gli affreschi dell'appartamento Riario nell'Episcopio di Ostia Antica," in *Baldassare Peruzzi 1481-1536*, eds. Christoph Frommel et. al. (Venice, 2005), 169-180, and 526-532; Annalisa Perissa Torrini, "Considerazioni su Cesare da Sesto nel periodo Romano," *Bollettino d'Arte* 68 (1983): 75-96; Gabriele Borghini, "Baldassarre Peruzzi, Cesare da Sesto, e altre presenze nell'episcopio di Raffaelle Riario ad Ostia," *Il salone Riario nell'Episcopio di Ostia Antica: Quaderni di Palazzo Venezia* serie 1 (Rome, 1981): 11-50; Christoph Frommel, *Baldassarre Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner* (Vienna 1967-68), 60-61; Paolo Venturoli, "Amico Aspertini a Gradara - Nota su Iacopo Ripanda e la giovinezza di Baldassarre Peruzzi," *Storia dell'Arte* 1 no. 4 (1969): 432-438; David Frapiccini, "Una nuova interpretazione per gli affreschi dell'Episcopio Ostiense: il cardinale Raffaele Riario e la riabilitazione cristiana di Traiano," in *Principi di Santa Romana Chiesa: i cardinali e l'arte*, ed. Marco Gallo (Rome, 2013), 15-30.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Maria Vittoria Brugnoli, "Baldassarre Peruzzi nella chiesa di S. Maria della Pace e nella 'uccelliera' di Giulio II," *Bollettino d'arte* 58 (1973): 113-122; Tom Henry, "Cesare da Sesto and Baldino Baldini in the

Pope Julius II having meanwhile built a corridor in his Palace, with an aviary near the roof, Baldassarre painted there, in *chiaroscuro*, all the months of the year and the pursuits that are practiced in each of them. In this work may be seen an endless number of buildings, theatres, amphitheaters, palaces, and other edifices, all distributed with beautiful invention in that place.<sup>30</sup>

While this attribution is highly tenuous (since a payment record for this project addressed to Michele del Becca has been discovered) Vasari's testimony is still significant, if nothing else for the author's desire to fill Baldassarre's early career in Rome with as many major *chiaroscuro* painting commissions as possible.<sup>31</sup>

Relief painting in monochrome had gained great popularity in Rome by the late fifteenth-century, but the height of its vogue coincided with Peruzzi's early years in the eternal city. And Baldassarre was, by all accounts, a key figure in the artistic circle leading this trend. In addition to Vasari, Francisco de Hollanda, Sebastiano Serlio, Gian Paolo Lomazzo (1538-1592),<sup>32</sup> Giovanni Battista Armenini<sup>33</sup> (1530-1609), and Giulio Mancini (1559-1630)<sup>34</sup> all lavished praise on Peruzzi's prominence in this particular pictorial genre. The following two sample passages are typical examples of such laudatory remarks. The first is by Lomazzo, from his *Treatise on Painting, Sculpture and* 

Vatican Apartments of Julius II," *The Burlington Magazine* 142, no. 1162 (2000): 29-35. The detached fresco scenes are in storage at the Pinacoteca in the Vatican Museum (inventory numbers 42312-42322).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Vasari-Gaetano Milanesi, vol. 4, 592-593. "Avendo in tanto papa Giulio II fatto un corridore in palazzo, e vicino al tetto un uccelliera, vi dipinse Baldassarri tutti i mei di chiaroscuro e gli esercizi che si fanno per ciascun d'essi in tutto l'anno; nella quale opera si veggiono infiniti casamenti, teatri, anfiteatri, palazzo, ed altre fabbriche con bella invenzione in quel luogo accomodate."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Brugnoli, "Baldassarre Peruzzi nella chiesa di S. Maria della Pace," 116. A payment record to Michele del Becca from 4 December 1508 exists.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo, *Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura* (Milan, 1584); Roberto Ciardi ed., *Scritti sulle arti* 2 vols., (Florence, 1975), vol. 2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Giovanni Battista Armenini, De' veri precetti della pittura (Ravenna, 1587).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Giulio Mancini, *Viaggio di Roma per vedere le pitture*, Ludwig Schudt ed. (Leipzig, 1923). The original manuscript, compiled between 1617-1621, is held in the Biblioteca Marciana in Venice (MS. it. 5571).

*Architecture* of 1584, which compares Peruzzi to Apelles for his knowledge of *rilievo* with reference to the Plinian account cited earlier.

The same Apelles painted that marvelous Alexander with thunderbolt in hand, a work that showed much *rilievo*. In Rome, in our time, in Trastevere, we see painted by Baldassarre of Siena certain little children who appear to be in stucco, so much so that they have at times deceived even painters.<sup>35</sup>

Armenini too, in his treatise *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting* from 1587 commended Peruzzi for his virtuosity in relief painting.

But returning to the facades, I believe that it will not seem inadequate particularly to citizens of our times to imitate the aforementioned [ancient] relics simply with colors simulating either marble or bronze. We shall use examples to show you how to do this in the same way that the best painters once followed. Among the foremost were Baldassarre da Siena and Polidoro da Caravaggio. 36

In addition to practicing pictorial *rilievo* at a level that invited such accolades, Peruzzi also made innovative leaps in the genre by pushing boundaries from a technical standpoint. He worked, for instance, in a specialized fresco painting method called *terretta* (earth colors), which was a form of *chiaroscuro* mural painting based in the Tuscan tradition. *Terretta* painting employed a plaster ground mixed with fine potter's

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John Zzo, Trattato dell'arte della pittura, scoltura et architettura, Book 3 chapter 1. "L'istesso Apelle dipinse quel mirabile Alessandro col folgore in mano, il qual mostrava tanto rilievo. In Roma a giorni nostri in Trastevero si vedono dipinti da Baldasar da Siena certi fanciulletti che paiono di stucco, talché hanno gabbato talvolta gl'istessi pittori." The work in Trastevere is undoubtedly the loggia of Galatea's ceiling in the villa Farnesina, which fools Titian in an anecdote included in Vasari's Life of Peruzzi. Lomazzo elsewhere compared Peruzzi to Apelles too, for instance in his sonnet 102 titled Fatti d'Apelle e arte del Petrucci. The analogy is based on the calumny Peruzzi supposedly suffered, like Apelles, from his rivals. The final line reads: "no other lives a happier, more blissful life than he who does not value praise or fear scorn."

Armenini, *De' veri precetti*, Book 3, chapter 14; Giovanni Battista Armenini, *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*, trans. Edward J. Olszewski (New York, 1977), 271. "Ma ritornando alle facciate, io stimo che non ci parrà poco l'imitar con colori le predette semplicemente, o di marmo o di bronzo che si faccia, e massime a i cittadini de' tempi nostri; et usaremo gli esempi a dimostrarvi il modo vero per le medesime vie che i migliori pittori già tennero; e fra i primi fu Baldassare da Siena e Polidoro da Caravaggio (...)."

clay, colored in varying intensity by crushed charcoal for dark shadows and powdered travertine for white highlights.<sup>37</sup> The method produced monochromatic works that could be varied in tone to intimate marble, plaster, or bronze, and was said to possess "boldness, *disegno*, power, vivacity, and beautiful manner."<sup>38</sup> Its warm, earth-tone ground softened the harsh contrast of black and white, and recalled Apelles' and Zeuxis' highly praised four-palette painting. Peruzzi applied *terretta* extensively to the villa Farnesina's facade (1508-1511), and to the frescoed *Vision of Saint Bernard of Clairvaux* at San Silvestro al Quirinale circa 1515 (now destroyed).<sup>39</sup> He continued to favor this method of exterior painting well into the 1520s, and it is in no small part due to Peruzzi's practice that the *terretta* technique becomes mainstream among *Cinquecento* facade painters. He is thought to have perfected the technique, influencing the thriving workshop of Polidoro da Caravaggio (c. 1499-1543) and Maturino Fiorentino (1490-1528) entirely dedicated to *chiaroscuro* facade painting in this method.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Vasari-Milanesi, *Introduzione alle tre arti del disegno* (Florence, 1906), vol. 1, chapter 11. "Di questa sorte di terretta si fanno campi con la terra da fare vasi, mescolando quella con carbone macinato o altro nero per fare l'ombre più scure, e bianco di travertino, con più scuri e più chiari; e si lumeggiano col bianco schietto, e con ultimo nero a ultimi scuri finte. Vogliono avere tali specie fierezza, disegno, forza, vivacità e bella maniera; ed essere espresso con una gagliardezza che mostri arte e non stento, perché si hanno a vedere ed a conoscere di lontano."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Ibid. 191. My translation.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Cynthia Stollhans, "Fra Mariano, Peruzzi and Polidoro da Caravaggio: A New Look at Religious Landscapes in Renaissance Rome," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 23, no. 3 (1992): 506-525; Frommel, *Baldassarre Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, 129-132.

On Polidoro and Maturino's partnership and the influence of Peruzzi on their *chiaroscuro* facades in Rome, see Kristina Hermann-Fiore, "La retorica romana delle facciate dipinte de Polidoro," in Marcello Fagiolo ed., *Raffaello e l'Europa* (Rome, 1990), 267-295; Stefania Macioce, "In margine all'attività di Polidoro, pittore di facciate," in Fagiolo and Madonna eds., *Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena, e architettura* (Rome, 1987), 647-668; Pierluigi Leone de Castris, *Polidoro da Caravaggio, l'opera completa* (Naples, 2001), 108-172. Peruzzi seems to have instructed other artists in this medium as well. In Vasari's biography, A certain Baldassarre Virgilio Romano who had studied under Peruzzi is said to have painted a chiaroscuro facade for a palace in the Borgo Nuovo.

Peruzzi also showed provident interest in the enterprise of *chiaroscuro* printmaking. He was among a handful of artists active in early *Cinquecento* Rome who collaborated with Ugo da Carpi (c. 1480-1532) - the inventor of the multi-block *chiaroscuro* wood-block print that successfully synthesized line engraving and tonal printing. Immediately before moving to Rome and with an eye towards Northern wood-engravers, Ugo had obtained a privilege from the Venetian government in 1516 guaranteeing his monopoly on this printing technique, which he claimed was "useful to many who take pleasure in drawing." In Rome, his *chiaroscuro* prints were individually protected by privileges granted by Pope Leo X. They even carried an excommunication as penalty against forgery. 43

Peruzzi must have met Ugo in the circle of mutual friends - possibly through Raphael (1483-1520) and Marcantonio Raimondi (1480-1534), but equally likely through Alberto Pio III of Carpi, one of Peruzzi's most important patrons in those years with close ties to the Venetian printing industry. While he never formed a publishing enterprise anywhere near the scope of Raphael's large corporate venture, Peruzzi did entrust Ugo with original drawings to be converted into *chiaroscuro* prints and sold individually. His *Hercules Chasing Avarice from the Temple of the Muses* (figs. 111-112) from 1517 was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> For Peruzzi and print publishing generally, see Loránd Zentai, "On Baldassare Peruzzi's Compositions Engraved by the Master of the Die," *Acta historiae artium Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 29 (1983): 51-104; Frommel, *Baldassarre Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, 137-138, no. 100; Robert Eisler, "The Frontispiece to Sigismondo Fanti's Triompho di Fortuna," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 10 (1947): 155-159.

Evelyn Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker* (New Haven and London, 2000), 75-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> David Landau and Peter Parshall, *The Renaissance Print: 1470-1550* (New Haven and London, 1994), 150-159.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> On Alberto Pio and Peruzzi, see discussion in chapter 2. For Pio's ties to Venetian printing industry, see Angela Nuovo, "Appendice: Alberto Pio e Aldo Manuzio," Luisa Giordano ed., *Carpi: Una Sede Principesca del Rinascimento* (Pisa, 1999), 353-358; Elena Svalduz, *Da castello a 'città': Carpi e Alberto Pio 1472-1530* (Rome, 2001), 62-67.

one of the compositions Ugo returned to frequently to explore and perfect tonal processes. Peruzzi's compositional style may have naturally complemented Ugo's invention, although their collaboration did seem to collapse unexpectedly. Peruzzi may have revoked Ugo's access to the original blocks at a certain point, forcing Ugo to recarve the blocks line by line from sheets previously pulled. Ugo's prints did publicize Peruzzi's talent as a draftsman in *chiaroscuro* widely however. *Hercules chasing Avarice* would be reprinted popularly well into the late sixteenth-century, first by the so-called Master of the Die (d. 1562), and later still by Antonio Lafreri (c. 1512-1577).

The surviving corpus of his architectural drawings suggests that Peruzzi also frequently turned to *chiaroscuro* in the process of designing new structures. Aside from his *scaenographia* drawings that combined pictorial perspective and shading, Peruzzi habitually shaded his architectural renderings either for personal use in the design process, or for formal presentations. The tendency to use pen, ink and wash in representations of new architectural ideas becomes noticeable particularly in his works from the 1520s and later. For example, in Siena following his return to the city in 1527, Peruzzi composed a marvelous elevation drawing in orthography showing the church of San Domenico (fig. 113).<sup>48</sup> With remarkable control and dexterity, Peruzzi shows light

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Lincoln, *The Invention of the Italian Renaissance Printmaker*, 80-85.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, 153-154; Jan Johnson, "Ugo da Carpi's Chiaroscuro Woodcuts," *Print Collector* 57-58 (1982): 30; Raimondo Sassi, "Ugo incisore di chiaroscuri da Peruzzi, Raffaello e Parmigianino," in *Ugo da Carpi: l'opera incisa; xilografie e chiaroscuri da Tiziano, Raffello e Parmigianino*, ed. Manuela Kahn-Rossi (Carpi, 2009), 60-81.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Christopher Witcombe, *Print Publishing in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Growth and Expansion, Rivalry and Murder* (London, 2008), 217-221. Lafreri had inherited original plates from Master of the Die's estate in 1571. He re-printed many of them under his own name.

On this drawing, see Ann Huppert, "Roman Model and Sienese Methods: Baldassarre Peruzzi's Designs for San Domenico," in *L'ultimo secolo della repubblica di Siena: arti, cultura, e società,* eds. Mario Ascheri et. al. (Siena, 2008), 107-119, and in passing, Charles Davis, "Architecture and Light: Vincenzo Scamozzi's Statuary Installation in the Chiesetta of the Palazzo Ducale in Venice," *Annali di architettura* 14 (2002): 190.

falling in varying intensities on the splayed structure, paying close attention to the illumination's directionality and structural mass in a delicate touch, as if depicting a sculptural relief before him in *chiaroscuro*. The architectural design - its form, texture, and mass - comes alive through its description in virtual light. *Chiaroscuro* drawings such as these indicate how Peruzzi could visualize in concrete detail the imagined unbuilt project.

We must bear in mind that *chiaroscuro* was by no means an obscure drawing technique. Cennino Cennini (c.1370-1440) had discussed it in his *Libro del Arte* already in the early fifteenth-century as a common practice among Tuscan draftsmen. <sup>49</sup> Vasari later provided a concise description of its process in his *Introduction to the Three Arts of Design*.

Others [drawings] in *chiaro et scuro* are executed on tinted papers that make a middle tone, and the pen makes the marks which are the outlines or profiles, and then the ink with a little water makes a soft tone that veils and shades it, and then, with a soft little brush dipped in white tempered with gum, one adds lights to the drawing, and this style is very painterly and most shows the structure of the coloring.<sup>50</sup>

But eventually the technique did also acquire recognition as a Peruzzian signature.

Baldassarre drew very well in every manner, with great judgment and diligence, but more with the pen, in water-colors, and in *chiaroscuro* than in any other way,

Vasari- Milanesi, vol. 1, 175. "Altri [schizzi] di chiaro e scuro si conducono su fogli tinti che fanno un mezzo, e la penna fa il lineamento cioè il dintorno o profilo, e l'inchiostro poi con un poco d'acqua fa una tinta dolce che lo vela et ombra; dipoi con un pennello sottile intinto nella biacca stemperate con la gomma si lumeggia il disegno; e questo modo è molto alla pittoresca e mostra più l'ordine del colorito."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Cennino Cennini, *Il libro dell'artem* Book I, chapter 15. See also similar account in Benvenuto Cellini, *Discorso sopra l'arte del disegno* in *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento vol. 8 Disegno*, ed. Paola Barocchi (Turin, 1979), 1929.

as may be seen from many drawings by his hand that belong to different craftsmen, and particularly in our book in various papers.<sup>51</sup>

Vasari dispensed such praise most likely in response to Peruzzi's later drawings, including architectural works like the elevation for San Domenico, or figurative compositions such the satirical *Mercury Purged* that belonged to his own extensive drawing collection (fig. 114).<sup>52</sup> The mysterious allegory (possibly a commentary on artists who seek fortune like alchemists) is composed entirely in pen, ink and wash - almost as a display piece for his skill in *rilievo*. In just a few masterful strokes of shade, Peruzzi conveys the foreground figures in complex poses and gives them individual features. He manipulates distance, scale, material, atmosphere, and volume using a single hue of ink. The same ink is used to describe a whole array of classically inspired architectural monuments in the background too, reminiscent of Peruzzi's crowded theater sets. The simplicity of the monochrome subverts the composition's complexity and richness in symbolic content.

What purpose did such large-scale and conceptually complex *chiaroscuro* drawings serve? Could *Mercury Purged* have been a study drawing for a larger painting, or a concept drawing for a new, never executed print engraving? Similar questions arise with the large *chiaroscuro* drawing showing the *Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple* (fig. 115). The composition of the Louvre drawing is a variation on the mural Peruzzi depicted in color tempera on stucco for Filippo Sergardi between 1523 and 1524 in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Vasari-Milanesi, vol. 4, 610. "Disegnò Baldassarre eccellentemente in tutt'i modi, e con gran giudizio e diligenza, ma più di penna, d'acquerello e chiaroscuro, che d'altro; come si vede in molti disegni suoi che sono appresso gli artefici e particolarmente nel nostro libro in diverse carte."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Licia Ragghianti Collobi, *Il libro de' disegni del Vasari*, 2 vols., (Florence, 1974), vol. 1, 110-111; http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/satirical-allegory-mercury-purged (July 2014).

church of Santa Maria della Pace in Rome.<sup>53</sup> While the work is clearly not a preparatory cartoon, or a loose compositional sketch at an early stage in the project, it is not entirely clear why Peruzzi would have created a finished drawing of this particular work in *chiaroscuro*. One possibility is that it was meant as a gift drawing for collectors, as *Mercury Purged* might also have been - in which case the choice of *chiaroscuro* may have been dictated by the collector's preference.

Peruzzi showed interest and competence in *chiaroscuro* early, practiced it in a variety of media adventurously, pushed the technique to achieve new artistic effects, and received much critical acclaim for his expertise in it both during and after his lifetime. For Peruzzi, *chiaroscuro* was not merely a workshop study-aid, a conventional representational technique, or a response to the market's demands. The representation of virtual light was a signature of his personal practice.

## 5.4 Modelling with Virtual Light: Structural Presence and Viewership

Within the wide-ranging *chiaroscuro* projects in diverse media that Peruzzi carried out over the course of his career, it was the murals that best demonstrated his creative mind and original approach to the relationship between painting and architecture. Peruzzi took advantage of these *chiaroscuro* mural commissions to explore important intersections between building and optics - a theme he took a keen interest in also as a perspectivist.

According to some estimates, nearly four hundred buildings in the historic center of Rome were adorned with *chiaroscuro* fresco paintings on the exterior by the end of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> Brugnoli, "Baldassarre Peruzzi nella chiesa di S. Maria della Pace," 118-121.

sixteenth-century. 54 Their content varied widely from simple repetitive patterns of rusticated stonework, to the pictorially more taxing figurative compositions (figs. 116-117). But in all instances, the aim was generally to convey in pigment a building's lithic quality. Appreciation for these types of modeled pictorial decor on buildings eventually waned however, and the majority of these depictions has since disappeared without a trace - stripped, whitewashed, or plastered over into oblivion. Their generally poor state of conservation presents serious challenges to their study even in the few miraculous cases where the works have survived.<sup>55</sup> Scholarship on Roman sixteenth-century chiaroscuro facades has therefore necessarily focused its energy on recovery - on identifying, dating, and analyzing the iconography of each example and on mapping their locations topographically. It is admittedly easy to view *chiaroscuro* murals as popular convention or fashionable trend, but to do so is to trivialize their innovative character and serious artistic impact. The genre engaged with the most pressing issues in sixteenthcentury artistic discourse, and was pioneered by artists leading the period like Peruzzi, Daniele da Volterra, Polidoro da Caravaggio, Domenico Beccafumi, Giorgio Vasari, and Taddeo and Federico Zuccari.

Peruzzi provided monochromatic pictorial adornment for up to a dozen structures in Rome over his thirty-year career in the city.<sup>56</sup> As one among the flexible range of products that his workshop offered, he easily balanced this relatively inexpensive form of architectural decor with absolutely monumental building projects and with smaller scale

Massimo Caputo, "Le facciate graffite e dipinte degli edifici romani tra XV e XVI secolo," in *Le corti rinascimentali: committenti e artisti*, ed. Luciana Cassanelli (Rome, 2004), 147; Cecilia Pericoli-Ridolfini ed., *Le case romane con facciate graffite e dipinte*, exh. cat. Rome, Palazzo Braschi Nov.-Dec. 1960 (Rome, 1960).

<sup>55</sup> Monika Schmitter, "Falling through the Cracks," 130-161.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> See list of painted works by Peruzzi in the appendix of Frommel, *Baldassarre Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*.

interior or portable paintings. Even though details of his day-to-day practice are frustratingly scarce, Peruzzi's productivity in this genre does suggest a network of professional collaborators to whom he could turn in the execution stages.

Chiaroscuro facades also presented artist workshops with certain business advantages. For example, because they required relatively little time to complete, painter-architects would actually be able to witness their interventions come to fruition within their lifetimes. This would be unlikely with the more prestigious commissions for facades of basilicas (like that of San Petronio in Bologna) that would take decades or even centuries until completion. Chiaroscuro facades also advertised a workshop broadly to those passers by on the streets. These were private commissions that made visible its expectation of public recognition and engagement.

Commissions for *chiaroscuro* frescos shaped Peruzzi's architectural thinking strongly for a number of reasons. Here we will examine closely three of his *chiaroscuro* mural projects to better understand how pictorial *rilievo* encouraged an appropriation of optics as an architectural device.

The first extensive mural cycle in *chiaroscuro* that Peruzzi had a hand in designing was probably the Salone Riario in Ostia Antica. This is also one of the very few mural projects in the genre from Peruzzi's lifetime that still survives in relatively good condition (see fig. 110). Although it is not a facade painting but an interior work, it's scale places the mural in direct dialogue with architectural and spatial problems. The grisaille painting pictorially fills the monumental hall with classicizing relief panels largely inspired by the Column of Trajan. The idea of filling the real walls with fictive relief sculpture surely recalled the notion of classical decorum as discussed above, and

this room must have served as an important stylistic reference point for the Capitoline theater constructed just a few years later by Peruzzi and others. But the panels' scale here far exceeds that of any surviving classical relief sculpture known at the time, save, perhaps, the massive three-and-a-half-meters' tall marble reliefs depicting the triumphs of Marcus Aurelius in the church of Saints Luca and Martina (now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori). Such colossal specimens of ancient relief sculpture were rare and out of reach for most private collectors. Even for someone like cardinal Riario with a lucrative Vatican *camerlengo* post, actually filling an entire room with such massive classical pieces would have been nearly impossible. The alternative was to opt for a pictorial substitute.

The main figurative and narrative scenes in the salone Riario are composed using no more than three or four colors in varying intensity, imitating marble and its gradational tones under natural light. Primary colors are used only sparingly to highlight objects conceived as external to the relief panels, such as the della Rovere and Riario family *stemmae* hanging before the illusionistic wall. In the frieze above, deep reds and blues suggest painted relief work in wood. Shading on the main panels is calculated to accord with the behavior of the actual natural light present and moving on the real wall surfaces. And existing light sources (windows) in the *salone* determine the direction and intensity of shading in the painting. Shadows are much darker and pronounced in areas adjacent a window for example, which increases their legibility against the incoming light. Site-specific illumination would have been studied carefully while composing the

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> These relief panels were bequeathed to the Roman senate by Pope Leo X in 1515 as a show of the papacy's goodwill. They have been immured in the palazzo dei conservatori ever since. Phyllis Pray Bober and Ruth Rubenstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture, A Handbook of Sources* (London and Oxford, 1986), 199-200, number 167.

scaled cartoons, so that the wet plaster could be worked with relative speed.<sup>58</sup> This was a method observed not only for monochromatic works, but for fresco painting bound to a specific site in general. Cennini had advised his readers to "always follow the dominant lighting; and make it your careful duty to analyze it, and follow it through, because, if it failed in this respect, your work would be lacking in relief, and would come out a shallow thing, of little mastery."<sup>59</sup> Peruzzi will show superb command over site-specific illumination when painting the fictive high relief plaster decor on the ceiling of the loggia of Galatea around 1512, as Vasari and Lomazzo praised (fig. 118).

The painting in the salone Riario helps us understand the double mimesis that a *chiaroscuro* mural enacts. The pictorial genre of course attempts to persuade its viewers of its subject matter and content as any narrative painting in color would. But additionally, relief painting such as this seeks to convince us of its fictive material's tacit presence in real space. By forsaking color, *chiaroscuro* painting attempts a kind of realism primary concerned with material, and the existence of that material under real-spatial conditions. The mural participates in structure by representing the illusory material's reactions to the real illumination filling the real room. Through modelling, the pictorial project fulfills a structural and spatial role.

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<sup>59</sup> Cennini, *Il libro dell'arte*, Book I, chapter 9; Cennino Cennini, *Cennino d'Andrea Cennini: The Italian Craftsman's Handbook*, trans. Daniel Thompson Jr. (New York, 1933), 6.

Vasari- Milanesi, *Introduzione alle tre arti del disegno* vol. 1; Brown and Maclehose, *Vasari on Technique*, 214-215. "Many masters also before making the composition [for a fresco] on the cartoon, adopt the plan of fashioning a model in clay on a plane and of setting up all the figures in the round to see the projections, that is, the shadows caused by a light being thrown on to the figures, which projections correspond to the shadow cast by the sun, that more sharply than any artificial light defines the figures by shade on the ground. And so portraying the whole of the work, they have marked the shadows that strike across now one figure, now another, whence it comes that on account of the pains taken the cartoons as well as the work reach the most finished perfection and strength, and stand out from the paper in relief."

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Sebastiano Serlio was one sixteenth-century critic who understood how *chiaroscuro* painting worked in very close harmony with an edifice's plasticity. In discussing why a monochromatic mural was preferable to a colorful one, he stated:

I will not expand further upon the many other judicious Italian painters who in such places have never used any color other than monochrome *so as not to break up the order of the architecture.*<sup>60</sup>

Murals were understood to have the capacity to intervene spatially in an architectural work. And for this reason, Serlio preferred the monochromatic works, for he believed that *chiaroscuro* allowed a pictorial decor to honor the building's logic.

(...) there have been some painters whose technique was excellent, but who had such poor judgment in other respects that, in order to display the charm of the colors and having no regard for anything else, they spoiled and sometimes ruined some orders by not taking into consideration the placing of the pictures in their correct locations.<sup>61</sup>

Serlio wished to subordinate pictorial decor under the domain of the architect. <sup>62</sup> But the premise he used to argue the architect's superior position over the painter's is equally illuminating, for it essentially defines the first task of mural painting as conveyance of architectural presence. Along these lines, Serlio singled out Peruzzi's practice as exemplary.

<sup>62</sup> Schmitter, "Falling through the Cracks," 146-148; Bury, "Serlio on the Painted Decoration of Buildings," 259-261.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Sebastiano Serlio, *Regole generale d'architettura* [Book IV] (Venice, 1537) chapter 11; Sebastiano Serlio, *Sebastiano Serlio on Architecture*, trans. Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks (New Haven and London, 1996), 378. "Io non mi estenderò di molti altri pittori Italiani giudiciosi, i quali in tal luoghi non hanno mai adoperato altro colore che chiaro et scuro, per non rompere l'ordine dell'architettura."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Emphasis is mine. Serlio, *Regole generale*, chapt. 11. "Dico che l'architetto non solamente dee prender cura de gli ornamenti circa le pietre, e circa i marmi; ma de l'opera del pennello ancora, per ornare i muri, e convien ch'egli ne sia l'ordinatore, come padrone di tutti coloro, che ne la fabrica si adoperano: percioché sono stati alcuni pittori, valenti quanto a la pratica; nel rimanente di così poco giudicio, che per mostrare la vaghezza de i colori, e non havendo riguardo ad alcuna altra cosa, hanno disconciato, et talhor guasto alcuno ordine, per non haver considerato di collocare le pitture a i luoghi loro."

If, however, you are to decorate a facade with painting and do it with sound judgment, you could simulate marble or some other stone 'carving' whatever you wanted into it. You could also simulate niches containing bronze figures in high-relief, and even some *istoriette*, also simulating bronze, because making objects in this way will keep the work solid and worthy of praise by those who can tell real from false. In this respect, Baldassarre Peruzzi from Siena had superb judgment (as always in all his works). It was during the pontificate of Julius II that he was to adorn with painting some facades of palaces in Rome, and he painted them with his own hand some simulated marble objects, that is, sacrifices, battles, *istorie*, and buildings. These features not only keep the building solid and decorate them, but also confer on them great presence.<sup>63</sup>

*Chiaroscuro* painting partook in structure, because it enhanced and accentuated the presence of the edifice it adorned. Modelling was understood as something that situates the standing architectural body concretely in real time and in a real place.

Peruzzi sought to express architectural presence through pictorial modelling at the villa Farnesina (see fig. 37). This villa served in many respects as a laboratory for the painter-architect to take leadership in and experiment with multi-media ensembles, including building design, interior and exterior painting, scenography, and garden design. This model of practice naturally resulted from a close working relationship with a dedicated patron figure like Agostino Chigi. His pattern of patronage recalls a courtly setting, where a trusted resident artist would be summoned to respond to a patron's most immediate needs as they arose - as Francesco di Giorgio did for the Montefeltro in Urbino. Usually in such cases, broad competency in a whole range of media was a job requirement rather than a mark of artistic genius. The particular ambiance of the Chigi villa, however, probably did act as catalyst for Peruzzi to pursue a parallel practice of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Serlio, *Regole generale*, chapt. 11.

space and image. This was an environment conceived to precisely embody Agostino's carefully crafted self-promotional message with coherence and polish. <sup>64</sup> Meticulous attention to rhetoric, consistent message-crafting across every media platform, and insistence upon clarity of content created an artistic setting that fostered synthesis on both pragmatic and theoretical levels of expression. Such an environment demanded consistency from Peruzzi on every occasion.

The U-shaped villa building was entirely painted on the exterior in *terretta* between 1509-1511 according to Peruzzi's own compositions. As Christoph Frommel has noted, the sheer metric dimensions of this villa's exterior easily surpassed that of the Sistine chapel ceiling in terms of pictorial surface area (figs. 119-120). This was an absolutely monumental undertaking in scale as far as contemporary pictorial projects in Rome were concerned. In just under three years, Peruzzi and his team painted fifty-six scenes filled with over-life-size figures. While no expenses were likely spared, the speed of execution that *chiaroscuro* allowed must have been at least a partial factor in the choice of medium. And as Anka Ziefer has recently shown, Peruzzi energetically devised original compositions for these facade paintings in *chiaroscuro* from popular

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Ingrid Rowland, "Render Onto Caesar the Things which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39 (1986): 673-730.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> On the villa Farnesina's facade see, Christoph Frommel, *Die Farnesina* (Berlin, 1961), 38; Frommel, *Baldassarre Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, 64-65; Frommel, "La villa Farnesina," in *La Villa Farnesina a Roma* | *The Villa Farnesina in Rome* [*Mirabilia Italiae* series vol. 12], ed. Christoph Frommel et. al. (Modena, 2003), 29-30 and 79-81; Paolo Marconi, "Le facciate della Farnesina Chigi e del Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne: Osservazioni sulle tecniche esecutive e problemi di conservazione e restauro," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena, e architettura*, 699-718; Giovanni Belardi, *Villa Chigi alla Lungara: il restauro dei prospetti* (Rome, 2010).

<sup>66</sup> Frommel, "La villa Farnesina," in *La Villa Farnesina a Roma*, 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Ferry Carandolet, papal legate of the Habsburg court noted for his patronage of Sebastiano del Piombo and Fra Bartolomeo, wrote to Margaret of Austria from Rome in 1512 that Agostino Chigi had built the most beautiful pleasure house ever seen, and that he had already spent on it an enormous sum of 23,000 ducats. See Christoph Frommel, *Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance 3 vols.* (Tubingen, 1973), 151; Léon Leroy de la Brière, *Dépêches de Ferry Carondelet: procureur en cour de Rome 1510-1513* (Paris, 1896), 130.

mythological accounts, which influentially set new iconographical standards (fig. 121).<sup>68</sup> From a thematic standpoint too, the villa's *chiaroscuro* frescos were an important counterpoint to Michelangelo's universal history of Christianity frescoed in color in the Sistine chapel.

Most of the villa Farnesina's exterior paintings have been lost to the elements, and the few roughly contemporary drawings after them provide only limited information on content. By the mid-eighteenth century, it had become clear that the frescos were beyond repair, and their deterioration was a source of public lament. <sup>69</sup> Several original fragments are still visible *in situ* today though (figs. 122-124). In the spandrels of the ground-floor arches on the eastern wall, allegorical female figures present triumphal attributes in imitation of winged victories in classical triumphal arches. Against a warm dark background, the classicizing figures standout in cream highlighted in white and shaded in black. Their earth tones recall Vasari's description of the *terretta* technique that mixed clay into the plaster ground.

During the most recent conservation work on the villa's exterior carried out in the mid-2000s, a major decision was made to coat the entire villa structure uniformly in a soft plaster white (figs. 125-126). This controversial choice was based on a layer of whitewash that the conservators had discovered hidden beneath a layer of seventeenth-century plaster in one of the lunettes on the eastern wall.<sup>70</sup> The lunette was covered over when the Farnese family had permanently sealed off the openings that led the loggia of

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Anka Ziefer, "*Marte e Venere sorpresi da Vulcano*: la fortuna iconografica di un affresco perduto di Baldassarre Peruzzi per la villa Farnesina a Roma," in *Some Degree of Happiness*, 207-231, and 722-725.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Francesco Milizia, Le Vite de' più celebri architetti d'ogni nazione e d'ogni tempo, precedute da un Saggio sopra l'architettura (Rome, 1768), 194.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Belardi, *Villa Chigi alla Lungara*, pp. 62-77.

Galatea to the garden. The conservators therefore believed that the whitewash dated back even further, possibly to the earliest iteration of the villa under Agostino Chigi. The result of their analysis is what we see today; where the whitewash completely masks the building's constituent materials' variety - peperino stone around the windows, base, and balustrades, stucco relief below the cornice, and the elegant soft-yellow brick on the pilasters. It is unclear how extensively the original coat of whitewash would have covered the building. At least around 1540, Aristotele da Sangallo had recorded the facade's peperino stone and layered brick pilasters on the ground floor, as if these materials were plainly visible (fig. 127). The pristine and uniform, almost jewel like, current quality of the building also problematically betrays the original effects of the facade, which was completely covered in *chiaroscuro* painting with large sections receding into dark shadows. This dramatic juxtaposition of void and mass is now completely lost.

It seems entirely unclear whether the villa structure actually would have received such comprehensive coverage in white pigment during Agostino Chigi's lifetime. But the tonality of the surviving allegorical figures in *chiaroscuro* do suggest that Peruzzi had an off-white surface material, (possibly plaster or travertine), in mind while painting. The *terretta* he used matches the tone of the high-relief cast-plaster frieze of dancing putti that runs along the top of the building below the cornice. Peruzzi perhaps intended his *chiaroscuro* scenes to appear to be of consistent material with this frieze. Writing between 1614 and 1621, the Sienese commentator Giulio Mancini had noted that

Peruzzi's paintings on the villa Chigi facade were of "*chiaroscuro* that imitates relief in stucco."<sup>71</sup> Mancini's testimony may corroborate the conservators' deductions ultimately.

What is certain is that the *chiaroscuro* painting would have given this villa's relatively flat facade a much more pronounced molded appearance with volume and movement. The virtual light described by relief painting also would have brought attention to the real illumination through which the structure takes shape. With the *chiaroscuro* in *terretta*, Peruzzi did not mask the villa behind a pictorial veil but deliberately emphasized its presence in the empirical world by calling attention to its material existence. In a memorable passage in Peruzzi's *Life*, Vasari had described this villa's structure as "*Non murato ma veramente nato* (not built but truly born)," praising the painter-architect who conceptualized it by implicitly equating him to Nature herself. The artifice of the maker was of such virtue that his final product betrayed no sign of his hand. Vasari's passage may also be read to mean that the building, in its incessant emphasis on its own presence in the world, erased its designer. As Serlio too had earlier commended, the building had been endowed with real living presence.

There were precedents for architectural bodies drawing attention reflexively to its own state of illumination. Buildings with *chiaroscuro* facades like the villa Farnesina could be considered descendants of sorts to the medieval public structures faced with golden mosaics. For example, the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere from the midtwelfth century, and the church of Santa Maria Maggiore from the early-fourteenth century had glittering facades that distinguished them from the quotidian buildings in the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Giulio Mancini, *Considerazioni sulla pittura, Viaggio per Roma* 2 vols. (Rome, 1956, [written between 1614-1621]), 1.38, 1.270, and 1.311.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Vasari-Milanesi, vol. 4.

urban fabric. The mosaics were poised to catch and reflect the natural light, not unlike the way in which *chiaroscuro* facades simulated illumination. These buildings drew attention to the presence of light as a divine substance, but also openly acknowledged their status as objects of spectatorship. This awareness of an audience is what makes the *Cinquecento* palazzi with *chiaroscuro* facades most like these earlier buildings.

A *chiaroscuro* facade frames an edifice as an object of viewership because modelling is fundamentally an optical procedure. <sup>73</sup> Peruzzi exploited this fact in order to establish a direct rapport between building and beholder. And this effort becomes even more evident in the third and final example of his work in this genre to be analyzed in this chapter - the palazzo Buzio in Rome. Francesco Buzio's family residence is sadly now destroyed. But it once stood across the street from where the church of the Gesù now stands, in an area then known as the piazza degli Altieri. Its chiaroscuro facade was one of the most admired of such works by Peruzzi.

And for Messer Francesco Buzio he [Peruzzi] executed, near the piazza degli Altieri, a very beautiful façade, in the frieze of which he painted portraits from life of all the Roman Cardinals who were then alive, while on the facade he depicted the scenes of Caesar receiving tribute from all the world, and above he painted the twelve Emperors, who are standing upon certain corbels, being foreshortened with a view to being seen from below, and wrought with extraordinary art. For this whole work he rightly obtained vast commendation.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>73</sup> Summers, *Real Spaces*, 481.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Vasari- Milanesi, vol. 4, 596. "Ed a messer Francesco Buzio, vicino alla piazza degli Altieri, una molto bella facciata; e nel fregio di quella mise tutti i cardinali romani che allora vivevano, ritratti di naturale: e nella facciata figurò le storie di Cesare quando gli sono presentati i tributi da tutto il mondo; e sopra vi dipinse i dodici imperatori, i quali posano sopra certe mensole e scortano le vedute al di sotto in su, e sono con grandissima arte lavorati: per la quale tutta opera meritò commendazione infinita."

The imperial and ecclesiastical figures depicted were likely specified by the patron, who worked both in the curia and later on the Capitoline as *Conservatore Romano*. <sup>75</sup> In his description from 1584, Armenini added several details missing from the Vasarian account.

Near the piazza of the Altieri, Baldassarre painted a facade in *chiaroscuro* in which he represented the scene of Caesar receiving tribute from all the world. Higher up, he portrayed in round relief the twelve emperors posing on some small pedestals with the view *di sotto in su*. For this type of work I believe that it is not possible to do better. There is a frieze under the scene, where among some *tondi* are some life portraits of all the cardinals of those times. Below, Baldassare depicted two large rivers with some virtues, and other ornaments that are very well intended.<sup>76</sup>

In both descriptions, Peruzzi's use of perspectival foreshortening is noted alongside the monochromatic tone, indicating his recourse to optical representational techniques that seek to address the mural's viewers directly. One drawing for this project in Peruzzi's own hand fortuitously survives (fig. 128). The ink sketch now in Coburg shows Julius and Augustus Caesar in conversation, represented as if they were marble statues standing on projecting plinths in a *di sotto in su* perspective. Shadows behind Augustus' left shoulder and between his legs are most intense compared to other shaded areas, suggesting that illumination was an important subject for the scene. In several

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Georgia Clarke, "History, Politics, and Art on Palace Facades in Early 16th Century Rome," in *Some Degree of Happiness*, 237-238. Clarke dates the facade to 1510. Since Buzio does not become *Conservatore Romano* until 1523, however, the inclusion of the imperial imagery on the facade would suggest that Peruzzi's fresco perhaps dates to after 1523.

Armenini, *De' veri precetti*, Book 3, chapter 14; Olszewski, *On the True Precepts of the Art of Painting*, 271. "Fece Baldassare vicino alla piazza de gli Altieri una facciata di chiaro e scuro, nella quale ci figurò l'istorie di Cesare, quando li sono presentati i tributi da tutto l'mondo; e più ad alto vi finse di tondo rilievo li dodici imperatori, i quali, posando su certe mensole, mostrano le vedute da disotto in su, che per opra tale stimo che non si possi finger meglio; vi è un fregio sotto l'istorie, dove fra certi tondi sono del natural ritratti tutti i cardinali di quei tempi, e da basso vi fece due gran fiumi con alcune virtù, et altri ornamenti che sono molto bene intesi."

surviving partial copies of this work by other artists made either after the finished fresco or after other (now lost) drawings by Peruzzi, the emperors seem to all cast strong shadows onto the recessed wall behind (fig. 129).<sup>77</sup> Peruzzi calculates the virtual illumination that models the figures, and his depictions would have given an impression of full relief in their final effect, or "*tondo rilievo*" as Armenini described.

The fresco's contents similarly establish a physical rapport with the viewers, for the portraits of the living cardinals as well as those of the twelve emperors implicate the beholder's embodied presence. In comparison to the self-contained mythological narrative scenes on the facade of the villa Farnesina, the subjects depicted on the palazzo Buzio would have acknowledged its audience more openly. The mural's stratified composition also relates to this reflexive emphasis on the building's susceptibility to viewership. The thematically arranged friezes would have furthered this notion. The stratified composition of course would have made the interior elevation discernable from the outside. But the horizontal bands that fragmented the perspectival construction equally worked to accommodate a large number of beholders. Peruzzi accounted for multiple and shifting vantage points as his mural appealed to moving beholders positioned both near and far from the Buzio palace. The model of viewership that Peruzzi's *chiaroscuro* facade fostered resembles those of classical triumphal arches, where the *rilievo* of a built object is experienced by many, while in motion. The representations that adorned palazzo Buzio did not demand or impose stasis in the beholder as a simple image might have. Instead, through the mediation of rilievo, the

Rolf Kultzen, "La serie dei dodici Cesari dipinta da Baldassarre Peruzzi," *Bollettino d'arte* 48 (1963): 50-53; Pericoli-Ridolfini, *Le case romane con facciate graffite e dipinte*, 75.

architectural body acknowledged the beholders' moving corporeal vision, and drew attention to its own exposure to critiques and judgments.

Time and again, Peruzzi's *chiaroscuro* murals explored the potential of *rilievo* as a spatial device. Large-scale monochromatic representations were implemented as active agents of structure that claimed to share the same lighting conditions that engulfed the beholders. When depicted on facades, his *chiaroscuro* paintings articulated a building's material presence and took advantage of architecture's exposure to vision to condition its experience. The spatial ramifications of his pictorial practice resulted in Peruzzi positioning optics as a central theme in his tectonic projects.

## 5.5 Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne

Peruzzi received the commission for Palazzo Massimo alle colonne in 1532 when the three surviving male heirs of Domenico Massimo (d. 1528) conclusively finalized their inheritance that year. <sup>78</sup> It was the eldest living brother Pietro for whom Peruzzi worked, while Luca and Angelo Massimo hired Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484-1546) and Giovanni Mangone (d. 1543) respectively to build homes on the near-by pieces of real estate they each had received. <sup>79</sup> The Massimo had together secured for their private residences the three architects who were then heading the rebuilding of Saint Peter's basilica. Their private building initiatives thus demonstrated native Roman wealth and social standing that rivaled that of the papacy. The three neighboring properties together formed a family compound (or *Monte*) in the area of town near the Cancelleria where the

<sup>78</sup> For a detailed account of the Massimo family, see Cafà, *Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne*, 39-61, 92-100.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>79</sup> Frommel, *Der Römische Palastbau*, vol. 2, 233-250 and vol. 3, 92-104. Luca Massimo's *Domus Magna* by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger was across the street from Peruzzi's building. It was demolished in 1884 to make way for the corso Vittorio Emanuele.

via del Paradiso intersected with the via Papalis (fig. 130). Pietro Massimo's *Domus Antiqua*, as the family proudly called it, was given prominence as the head of the household's residence. It is important to remember how Peruzzi's *Domus Antiqua* was only a single constituent part within this larger family district. Its nestled position within the greater compound simultaneously undergoing construction undoubtedly conditioned the design. The incentive would have been to configure a structure that represented the family *monte*.

Conditions on the ground guided Peruzzi's ideas closely. For instance, in order to guarantee swift execution, the painter-architect utilized as much of the original foundation walls of the pre-existing family palace as possible. While the interior arrangements are almost completely reworked, the building's boundary walls stand on older foundations that Peruzzi strongly reinforced. The foundation walls of the pre-existing palace had survived the fire damage from the Sack, as marginal notes on the plan drawing UA368 from the Uffizi collection indicate (fig. 131). The pragmatic decision to utilize the original footprint suggests continuity and projects the idea of uninterrupted property ownership. This decision also demonstrates a desire on the patron's part for an architect skilled in historic remodeling to head the project. And by this point Peruzzi had proven his ability in this field at (among other sites) the Theater of Marcellus for the Savelli family.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>80</sup> The Massimo as well as the papacy wanted the palace completed by the time emperor Charles I returned to Rome in a ceremonial procession in 1536. Stefano Ray, "Peruzzi architetto e la coerenza di una ricerca," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena, e architettura,* 55-56; Cafà, *Palazzo Massimo,* 156-169

The palace's architectural *chiaroscuro* is evident on the curved *opus isodomum* facade, which was finished by the time Peruzzi had died in January 1536 (see fig. 90). <sup>81</sup> The juxtaposition of strongly contrasting values of illumination confronts us immediately as we face the main entrance, approaching the building from the via del Paradiso on axis. The six white travertine columns that hold up the continuous entablature on the ground floor seem to project out in full *rilievo* from this vantage point. The strong contrast between lit and shaded areas of the structure accentuates the modeled forms. Christoph Frommel once described the same columns as being consumed or "eaten" by shade, <sup>82</sup> but one might also say that their presence stands vividly against darkness in contrast. The device immediately captivates our attention from the street.

Peruzzi plays with such strong contrasts of luminous values throughout the palace's surfaces, as he forces solids and voids to compete with one another repeatedly. Pockets of deep shade perforate the counter facade in the main courtyard for example (see figs. 95-97). The elevation of this counter-facade conveys a carefully planned, complex organization of spaces on multiple floors. But the grid-like "surface" is a lattice structure that bears very little mass, carved out in light and shade. It vertically strings along, from the ground floor up, the corridors, the light-wells above, the tall loggia on the piano nobile, and the interior windows on the top floor. With dexterity, the architect Giovanni Antonio Dosio (1533-1611) later drew this elevation in a *chiaroscuro* sketch, reducing its intricately stacked masses to a simple study of light and dark (fig. 132). No graphic evidence of this counter-facade by Peruzzi's own hand survives. But one wonders

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>81</sup> Cafà, *Palazzo Massimo*, 263-272. On the temple of Mars Ultor as model for this facade's rustication and its connection to the Cancelleria, see pp. 186-193 in the same volume.

<sup>82</sup> Frommel, "Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne," 250.

if he too like Dosio might not have rendered the elevation in a similar study, paying attention to the variety of ways in which light could manipulate a building's surface and accentuate plasticity.

A handful of drawings by Peruzzi for the Palazzo Massimo project have come down to us. Besides the drawing of the alternate or intermediary plan of the palace just cited, of foremost interest among them for our purposes is U531Ar, also from the Uffizi collection, where Peruzzi configures the design of the ceremonial main entrance portal (figs. 133-134). The upper-right hand corner of the portal is drawn first in ink and wash in one corner of the sheet. Notes are then taken in a darker pen to indicate very precise measurements over the rendering of virtual light and shade. This sketch shows a considerably advanced design for the portal's sculptural details. Peruzzi had previously fussed over the curvature of the volutes, the framing of the corners, the proportions of the mutule and fascia, and the profile of the entire cornice separately on other sheets (UA531v, UA530r). In the drawing at hand, however, he considers the whole ensemble instead and its sculptural rilievo, imagining its concrete presence projected in space. The portal is represented in a strong raked light in an angle and intensity that would never naturally hit the actual doorway under the actual Doric portico. The drawing speaks not only of Peruzzi's absolute facility with *chiaroscuro* rendering, but also of his experience with the process of manipulating architectural surfaces with virtual light. The drawing emphasizes the importance of such relief projection in Peruzzi's method of design. His structure is conceived as an illuminated body, and modeled in light in the design phase so that measurements and proportions could be ironed out in detail. Light and calculations of its behavior assisted Peruzzi in determining form and formal relationships. The rendering

of shade gave body to the architectural mass, which is then conferred mathematical measure to achieve the intended visual effect.

Such optical thinking play out in spatial terms in other ways at the palazzo

Massimo as well. As we just saw, Peruzzi juxtaposed strongly contrasting luminous
values on surfaces to produce a *chiaroscuro* effect on planes. But he also contrasted
varying gradations of lighting, one after another three-dimensionally, in sequenced bodies
of spaces. As we stand in the street before the facade, we see how the illumination
transitions to a dark covered portico, to an even darker narrow corridor, which
unexpectedly opens to a light-filled courtyard, then to a shaded loggia to a second lit
courtyard. The sequence of light to dark to light to dark and to light again is laid out for
us even before we set foot into the palace's mysteriously dramatized depths. This
calculated variation of lighting stimulates the sensorial imagination and invites the
beholder to pursue the sequence firsthand. The device performatively solicits our visual
and somatic engagement.

Peruzzi relied on optical techniques to achieve spatial objectives and his pictorial practice of *chiaroscuro* was foundational for such an approach to architectural design. Peruzzi may also have been encouraged to embrace *rilievo* in the service of building through his experience as military engineer. Cammy Brothers has recently discussed the significant impact that fortification designs played in shaping Michelangelo's approach to architecture in the late 1520s.<sup>83</sup> Brothers saw military structures as projects that facilitated a designer's concentration on questions of geometry and movement. Precisely in those same years immediately following the sack of Rome when Michelangelo was

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>83</sup> Cammy Brothers, *Michelangelo, Drawing, and the Invention of Architecture* (New Haven and London, 2008), 182-185.

fortifying the Florentine Republic against the advancing papal and imperial armies, Peruzzi was architect to Siena allied with Florence's enemies.<sup>84</sup> He was not only requested to advise on the siege of Florence as a military engineer at the camps, but was also charged with overseeing Siena's own strategic defenses - strengthening the walls and building new forts like the bastions of San Viene and of the Camollia (fig. 135).

As the state's architect between 1527 and 1535, Peruzzi reflected upon defensive buildings in relation to the enemy-beholder's hostile movements. The geometrical forms of such structures were determined through calculations of topography and of possible assaults, where sight lines directly coincided with the directionality of aggressive forces and ballistics. He devised highly original structures this way. Nicholas Adams noted that Peruzzi's two-tiered bastion at porta Camollia in Siena had gun ports that pre-determined the aiming of artillery unlike any other military defense structure in existence at the time. This unique architectural form was precisely a product of defensive artillery and the science of optics. Peruzzi would continue to receive commissions for fortresses upon his return to Rome in 1531, as Cardinal Alessandro Cesarini entrusted him with the massive fortress called the Rocca Sinibalda near Rieti recently reintegrated into their family territories (fig. 136). This was a substantial dimension of Peruzzi's profession

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Nicholas Adams and Simon Pepper, *Firearms and Fortifications: Military Architecture and Siege Warfare in Sixteenth-Century Siena* (Chicago and London, 1986), 32-57; Nicholas Adams, "Baldassarre Peruzzi and a Tour of Inspection in the Valdichiana 1528-29," *Revue d'art canadienne* 5 (1978): 28-36; Nicholas Adams, "Baldassarre Peruzzi as Architect to the Republic of Siena, 1527-1535: Archival Notes," *Bollettino senese di storia patria* 88 (1981): 256-67; Nicholas Adams, "Le fortificazioni di Baldassarre Peruzzi a Siena: 'cosa veramente fortissima et bella da celebrarsi sempre,' in *Rilievi di fabbriche attribuite a Baldassarre Peruzzi*, ed. Marisa Forlani Conti (Siena, 1982), 21-52; Massimo Tiballi, "Il Bastione di S. Viene presso porta Pispini," "Il bastione di porta Laterina," and "Il baluardo di porta Camollia," in *Rilievi di fabbriche*, 185-231.

<sup>85</sup> Nicholas Adams, "Baldassare Peruzzi: Architect to the Republic of Siena 1527-1535," (PhD diss., New York University, 1977), 30, 90.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>86</sup> Marco Santini Muratori, "Baldassarre Peruzzi e Rocca Sinibalda: la ristrutturazione cinquecentesca della Rocca Sinibalda: notizie e nuovi documenti," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi 1481-1536, 297-302*; Rossella

that forced him to conceive of buildings in relation to enemies - or, to viewing subjects in motion. Through fortifications such as the Sienese bastion of San Viene and the Rocca Sinibalda, Peruzzi would have felt vindicated in his interests in optics. These commissions would have acted as catalysts that convinced Peruzzi of the validity, usefulness, and applicability of optics to architecture.

At the palazzo Massimo, however, optics was not tied to pragmatism alone. Here, *rilievo* produced a building that took full advantage of light's symbolic import as well. Peruzzi's final architectural project accentuates and is accentuated by the shifting natural light. By framing its mutable presence, the building draws attention to time itself. Natural illumination describes and visualizes time, making its passage possible to observe. This is the idea that is so magnificently expressed by the Pantheon in Rome - Peruzzi's final resting place - where the massive tectonic body essentially acts as a framing device for a single beam of light that shifts according to the time of day and cosmic moment.

Peruzzi may have invested the palazzo Massimo with similar transcendent notions of temporality by calling attention to the passage of light. The *Domus Antiqua* commission from Pietro Massimo required its designer to convey a sense of dignity befitting the ancient household that traced its lineage all the way back to the Roman general, Quintus Fabius Maximus, who protected the city against Hannibal's invasion during the second Punic War (218-208 BCE). <sup>87</sup> The family's main residence was to proudly suggest this heroic ancestry. And this push, on the one hand, for the palace to put

Ongaretto, "I disegni di Baldassarre Peruzzi per Rocca Sinibalda," *Quaderni dell'Istituto di storia dell'architettura* 32 (1998): 49-68; Giuseppe Zander, "Due disegni di Baldassarre Peruzzi per Rocca Sinibalda," *Palladio* 3 (1955): 124-134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>87</sup> Cafà, *Palazzo Massimo*, 36. This seems to have been an origin story that the family intentionally fabricated to demonstrate an anti-curial stance within the Roman political landscape.

the family's legendary past on display counteracted on the other hand an equally strong demand to implicate its promising future. The Massimo wanted a revived ruin as their seat of power to symbolically embody the family's resilience and aspirations for a prosperous future. Time, with its metaphor of Janus' double-sided head, was a significant theme for the whole commission. The emphasis Peruzzi placed on the palace's illumination fulfills this complex task.

Temporality is the idea that also defines Rome herself. The papal state, slowly recovering from the humiliating and violent Sack of its ancient capital, enthusiastically backed the palazzo Massimo's expedited construction in part to impress Charles V, the aggressor in 1527, upon his return to Rome in 1536 for a ceremonial triumph. <sup>88</sup> The newly rising palace was to be a showpiece for the imperial procession marching through the city whose center was still filled with rubble. With its symbiotic relationship with light, Peruzzi's building reclaimed the symbolic language of the classical past; grabbing hold of one of the most powerful self-images the eternal city has ever fashioned.

## 5.6 Architecture and Vision

Chiaroscuro facade paintings are hardly ever considered in relation to the architectural structures they adorn. In part this results from art history maintaining its parameters as a medium-based discipline that still marginalizes the role of practice to a large extent.

Aspects of practice are vitally important components in the cultural history of the built environment, and approaching Peruzzi's flexible attitude towards artistic media from the perspective of practice permits us to better understand how he developed as an original

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>88</sup> Ibid. 261-283. See also in passim, Wurm, *Der Palazzo Massimo*.

thinker and designer. An expertise in a pictorial technique like *chiaroscuro* specifically concerned with the notion of *rilievo* led Peruzzi to actively incorporate optics as a critical spatial design instrument.

By modelling structures in virtual light and with real light, Peruzzi the painterarchitect ambitiously attempted to invest his buildings with the communicative capacities of an image. But his buildings strongly resist quick consumption. Peruzzi applied optics to structures like the palazzo Buzio or the palazzo Massimo but insists upon space as something that is always embodied and comprehended through corporeal experience.

To be sure, Peruzzi was well informed of advanced building technology of his day and had expert knowledge in construction processes as well as structural engineering. His command of these skill-sets and comfort with managing a chaotic building site ultimately won him the highly coveted post as manager of Saint Peter's, alongside Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. The mathematical principles behind Peruzzi's buildings show an advanced understanding of geometry, ratios, and proportions based on highly selective (written and built) classical sources. <sup>89</sup> At the palazzo Massimo too, as Mark Wilson Jones and others have demonstrated, a rigorous system of measure governed each individual element's design. <sup>90</sup> And by no means did Peruzzi ever compromise a work's construction for an impractical artistic concept. But spatial design is a procedure that involves more than mere measure. The painter-architect supplemented his considerable expertise in mathematics, construction and fabrication with a clear, even radical, definition of architecture as a fundamentally visual discipline.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>89</sup> Ann Huppert, "Practical Mathematics in the Drawings of Baldassarre Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger," in *Geometrical Objects: Architecture and the Mathematical Sciences 1400-1800*, ed. Anthony Gebrino (New York, 2014), 79-106.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>90</sup> Jones, "Palazzo Massimo," 67-73.

Rilievo, like perspective, is a method of vision that tied the eye to the space of architecture. Calculations of virtual light stems from the same disciplinary tradition that engendered pictorial perspective. But if perspective enjoyed a long life among art theorists for its easy connection to science, rilievo remained an applied artistic technique. It was never fully incorporated into a didactic program of an architectural academy. And despite its popularity among sixteenth-century practitioners, architectural treatise writers hardly ever discussed chiaroscuro as a design tool. But as Peruzzi well knew, rilievo possessed the capacity to compensate for the limits of perspective, which at times fails palpably in its attempt to coincide vision with real space. Perspective's forced schematic construction was a liability in this pursuit. This is why, while Peruzzi was of course not unique in his optical practice of architecture, his attention to rilievo distinguishes his work from those of others.

I do not wish to suggest that *chiaroscuro* painting should replace classical monuments as Peruzzi's primary source of architectural knowledge. *Chiaroscuro* could never teach what the ruins could. And it is undoubtedly through hands-on antiquarian and archaeological study conducted on site that Peruzzi acquired much of his understanding of built form, scale, proportions, construction, structural geometry and engineering as Howard Burns, Ann Huppert, and Cristiano Tessari among others have expertly examined. But in the architectural design process, pictorial techniques such as *chiaroscuro* greatly complemented this knowledge of building. While this particular skill-set has been marginalized so far as a complete irrelevance to Peruzzi's building

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>91</sup> On the limitations of single point perspective in its application to architecture, see Wolfgang Jung and Paola Poggi, "La prospettiva in pittura, architettura, e scenographia (1500-1550)," in *Storia dell'architettura Italiana: Il primo Cinquecento*, 562-572.

activity, the detrimental result of such scholarly neglect of a whole body of evidence is a lacuna in our understanding of Peruzzi's most characteristic approach to architecture - his belief that buildings are subject to beholding.

Optical techniques such as *chiaroscur*o and perspective were far from contaminant influences that threatened the purity and autonomy of architecture. <sup>92</sup> They guided early modern designers like Peruzzi to contemplate buildings as objects of corporeal vision, and to intentionally structure specific relationships between the viewers and the built environment - ultimately refining and amplifying architecture's capacity and impact as an art form.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>92</sup> Erwin Panofsky, "Excursus: Two Facade Designs by Domenico Beccafumi and the Problem of Mannerism in Architecture," in *Meaning in the Visual Arts: Papers in and on Art History* (New York, 1955), 226-241.

Baldassarre Peruzzi designed buildings and interior spaces within the technical and conceptual parameters of a pittore-architetto who approached the creation of architecture with a painter's *modus operandi*. This pictorialism has long cast a dark shadow over his legacy; barring him from the pantheon of Renaissance artists who were thought to (if problematically) prefigure the modern professional architect. Instead of contesting or defending Peruzzi's pictorialism, this dissertation has aimed to advance our conversations about early-modern disciplinarity and creativity in new directions by framing the painterarchitect as a unique career trajectory in its own right, distinct from our contemporary definition of architect. Our inherited belief is that professionalism is normatively manifested through narrow specialization. Moderns have sought validation for this belief in many historical contexts. For example, we have looked at the *Paragone* debates as events that confirm how media specificity determined artistic competence in the sixteenth-century setting. 1 These public discussions over the merits and particularities of media, however, were formulaic exercises fundamentally of a rhetorical nature. Their arguments, for this reason, must not be studied in isolation. The painter-architect's day-today inter-medial practice challenges our understanding of artistic professionalism in this period, and provides fresh perspectives on the traditional, medium-specific, compartmentalized critical enterprise.

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David Cast, "On the Unity/Disunity of the Arts: Vasari (and Others) on Architecture," in *Rethinking the High Renaissance: the Culture of the Visual Arts in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome*, ed. Jill Burke (Surrey and Burlington VT, 2012), 129-146; Alina Payne, "Alberti and the Origins of the *Paragone* between Architecture and the Figural Arts," in *Leon Battista Alberti: teorico delle arti egli impegni civili del De Re Aedificatoria*, eds. Arturo Calzona et al. (Mantua, 2007), volume 1, 347-368; Stephen Parcell, *Four Historical Definitions of Architecture* (Montreal, 2012), 105-120.

Resistance against medial exchanges by Renaissance visual artists is particularly surprising in a scholarly terrain where inter-disciplinarity between the arts and the sciences is readily embraced. That Peruzzi's built works were meaningfully shaped by his significant engagements with the representational arts should be seen as equally suggestive of *Cinquecento* culture's richness and complexity. Architecture in Peruzzi's time was a rapidly changing, lively public discipline that flourished through collaborative exchanges between those with varying technical expertise, ideas, and objectives. In addition to masons and carpenters who traditionally dominated the building industry, figures with backgrounds in writing, sculpting, goldsmithing, painting, engineering, and mathematics each enriched the field. This new reality on the job-site also reflected emerging standards in architectural pedagogy based on Vitruvius' recommendations for a broad knowledge that included letters, geometry, drawing, history, logic, philosophy, music, medicine, law, optics, and astronomy. Most Renaissance writers on architecture concurred with Vitruvius. Alberti thought that architects should be educated "in all the highest and most noble disciplines," while placing particular emphasis on mathematics, painting, and letters in his own treatise on the subject.<sup>3</sup> Daniele Barbaro, in the mid sixteenth-century, further specified the importance of rhetoric as an appendix to this already long list. <sup>4</sup> This is the culture in which someone like Bramante could be praised

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, book 1 chapt. 1.3-11; Vitruvius, *Ten Books on Architecture*, trans. Ingrid Rowland (Cambridge, 1999), 23-24.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Leon Battista Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, in *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert (Cambridge MA, 1987), 3 and 315-319.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Vitruvius, *I dieci libri dell'architettura*, translated and commented by Daniele Barbaro, (Venice, 1567), book 1 chapt. 1.

for his excellence as an architect and simultaneously as "cosmographer, vernacular poet, talented painter (...) and a great perspectivist."<sup>5</sup>

In the minds of its critics and practitioners then, architecture had made a palpable transition in this period from a mechanical art that chiefly tended to the needs of everyday life to a liberal art that dealt with knowledge of the world more broadly. This opinion circulated popularly. The Venetian humanist Giulio Camillo Delminio (1480-1544), for instance, who devised an original taxonomy for all branches of human knowledge, paralleled architecture not only to the other visual arts like painting and sculpture, but also to grammar and rhetoric. He called this virtual system of information management the *Theater of Memory*, which might best be compared today to a digital database.<sup>6</sup>

I shall depict for you the universal idea, not only of rhetoric (*eloquentia*) and of grammar, but also of architecture, of sculpture, of painting, and of the military arts. And the same will enable you to judge the ideas of all the other faculties.<sup>7</sup>

By the 1530s when Camillo had outlined his mnemonic system, architecture was integrated with disciplines that were thought to constitute universal knowledge essential to all human society.

<sup>6</sup> Camillo was only a year older than Peruzzi, and was a very close associate of Sebastiano Serlio. On his Theater of Memory, See Mario Carpo, *Metodo ed ordini nella teoria architettonica dei primi moderni: Alberti, Raffaello, Serlio e Camillo* (Geneva, 1993); Lina Bolzoni, "l'idea dell'eloquenza e dell'architettura: Giulio Camillo e Sebastiano Serlio," in *Il teatro della memoria: studi su Giulio Camillo* ed. Lina Bolzoni (Padova, 1984), 13-26.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Sabba da Castiglione, *Ricordi overo ammaestramenti* (Venice, 1549), chapter 111. "Onde avviene, che F. Bramante delle penne di San Marino, huomo di grand'ingegno, cosmografo poeta volgare, et pittore valente, come discepolo del Mantegna, et gran prospettivo, come creato di Pietro del Borgo, ma nell'architettura tanto eccellente (...)."

Oiulio Camillo Delminio, L'idea dell'eloquenza, transcribed in, Lina Bolzoni, "L'idea dell'eloquenza: un orazione inedita di Giulio Camillo," Rinascimento 23 (1983), 125-166, especially p. 132, and p. 160. "Io vi dipingerò l'idea universale non pur de la eloquentia, e de la grammatica, ma de l'architettura, de la scultura, de la pittura e de la militia, ed il medesimo giudicar potrete esser ne le idee di tutte l'altre facoltà."

Painter-architects came forth within this dynamic and plural milieu as pivotal shapers of both theory and practice. It is of course problematic to group together personalities as distinct as Francesco di Giorgio, Giovanni Maria Falconetto (1468-1534), Bramante, Leonardo da Vinci, Raphael, Peruzzi, Gerolamo Genga, Giulio Romano, Pirro Ligorio, Vasari, or Vignola. Yet leading painter-architects like these men did collectively transform the way buildings were designed, experienced and discussed over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, specifically in relation to representation. They engaged in activities that were similar in typology, range, and goals, and often received comparable types of critiques. To take one familiar example, they integrated drawing to architecture as a regular step in the design process with salient implications for all future practice. With even greater results, they also endowed buildings with the communicative capacities of images. Early modern painter-architects introduced new questions, forms, and themes that have since become absolutely indispensible to the field of architecture. And their participation in building could be said to have propelled architecture definitively toward a visual art.

Baldassarre Peruzzi played a pivotal role in these events, and his specific artistic biography mirrors the broader historical narrative of painter-architects to a significant extent. Peruzzi was someone who explored the intersections of space, image, and text with considerable intellectual curiosity and sophistication. The fluidity in his medial thinking was notable even among his peers. The portrait that emerges from this study in particular is of someone who succeeded in forging strong new ties between building, the representational arts, and the verbal arts - both in his personal manner of practice, as well

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Cammy Brothers, *Michelangelo, Drawing, and the Invention of Architecture* (New Haven and London, 2008).

as in the works that he produced. Peruzzi's role as an innovator of artistic practice has never been given sufficient emphasis, even though this syncretic endeavor was absolutely central to Peruzzi's artistic outlook and constituted the primary source for his great fame in the immediate wake of his death. Peruzzi's own writings on architecture were considered capable of closing the wide gap between theory and practice - between manual skill and elevated discourse. Around 1546, for example, the Paduan architect Gianfrancesco Fortuna lamented the incompletion of these publication projects.

If only that modern pioneer in disciplines of mathematics and of architecture, the late Baldassarre of Siena, had brought to light his books on architecture, a great part of which he had already produced, I have no doubt they would have been the last words on [Vitruvian] terminology, as on drawing as well as on perspective.<sup>9</sup>

Reactions to Peruzzi like this, especially among members of newly founded arts academies in central Italy writing about him posthumously, insightfully comment on the syncretic character of his work. They almost unanimously describe Peruzzi as someone who significantly broadened the scope of the art of building.

This dissertation has attempted first of all to give equal weight within a single study to Peruzzi's drawings, scenography, paintings and buildings, which have tended to

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> "(...) se qual moderno speculatore in le discipline mathematiche, et architettoniche, di Baldasara da Sciena defonto, havesse in luce posto gli soi libri de architettura, li quali lui havia gia gran parte forniti, non ho dubio che quelli non fosse statti l'ultime dechiarationi, si de vochaboli, come di graphida over disegno, et prospettiva." Gianfrancesco Fortuna, *Regole generali di architettura* (1546), Biblioteca Laurenziana, Cod. Med.Palat.51, fol. 4r. Almost nothing is known about this author - not even his dates. He seems to have spent quite some time in Rome in Peruzzi's circle, and calls himself '*Architectus*.' His text is a commentary on Vitruvius dedicated to Duke Cosimo I de' Medici. Only the dedication and the section treating book one has survived, although other parts may never have been written judging from the fact that Fortuna solicits Cosimo's backing for completing his translation and commentary. *Howard Burns*, "Baldassare *Peruzzi* and Sixteenth-Century *Architectural Theory*," in *Les traités d'architecture de la Renaissance*, ed. Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1988), 211; Lionello Puppi, "L'inedito Vitruvio di Gianfrancesco Fortuna (med. palat. 51) e un'ipotesi sui commentari di Baldassarre Peruzzi," in ibid, 255-262; Idem, "Maestro J. Francesco Fortuna Padoano ditto el Sole, Architetto," *Bollettino del Museo Civico di Padova* 67 (1978): 43-60.

receive scholarly attention only discretely until now. This broad-spectrum approach has made it possible to highlight important points of contact between Peruzzi's various activities that were difficult to note in previous studies that segmented the oeuvre according to medium. Dialogue between the arts in the early *Cinquecento* took shape mainly on two fronts; on practical aspects of technique, and in the realm of ideas. Peruzzi made original and influential contributions in both arenas.

He pioneered in adapting to architecture specialized pictorial practices such as the use of optical techniques like perspective rendering and modelling. Combining the Vitruvian *scaenographia* drawing method with projections in plan and elevation views allowed Peruzzi better articulation of design questions on volume, proportion, illumination, and material texture. In addition, his talent in modelling through *chiaroscuro* honed his sense of tectonic mass, and made subtle manipulations of plastic form in building possible. These pictorial techniques account for a great deal of originality we find in Peruzzi's built works. The artist shared with younger practitioners the techniques that he cultivated over long years of study. His teachings exerted great influence. For instance, Serlio and Vignola both disseminated in publications a specific method that Peruzzi "invented" for depicting foreshortened planes. <sup>10</sup> They both seem to have learned the method directly from Peruzzi. Serlio called this the *regola ordinaria*, while Vignola (and Egnazio Danti who commented on his text) called it the *metodo di Baldassarre* - a classical method that "he [Peruzzi] reduced and reformed to its current

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Pietro Roccasecca, "Sebastiano Serlio: Placing Perspective at the Service of Architects," in *Perspective, Projections and Design: Technologies of Architectural Representation*, eds. Mario Carpo and Frédérique Lemerle (London, 2007), 98-100. The method, also known as the "distance-point perspective method" was known in the *Quattrocento*. It is possible that both Serlio and Vignola learned it directly from Peruzzi though. The illustrations in Serlio's treatise are often noted for their incorrectness.

excellence and efficiency."<sup>11</sup> These Peruzzian lessons were prized because they were considered approachable and concise. Serlio had intriguingly remarked along these lines that he consciously decided not to follow the techniques of another learned perspectivist and painter-architect, Leonardo da Vinci, because Leonardo (unlike Peruzzi, presumably) "was never satisfied with anything he made."<sup>12</sup>

Beyond techniques, Peruzzi's inter-medial artistic practice also generated important theoretical discussions in the mid to late sixteenth century. His pictorial definition of spatial invention as a poetic process was a touchstone in the controversy surrounding the role of the architect. In the post-Serlian moment where architectural treatises disseminated easy rules that could be acquired by anyone, and supplied cut-and-paste modules of *all'antica* forms that eliminated the need to study the ruins, it is understandable that earlier painter-architects like Peruzzi and Raphael would garner admiration for their creativity (or *ingegno*). What was at stake was the practice of architecture as a qualitative enterprise. The profusion of praise for these figures in texts from the latter part of the century ironically suggests a reality of architectural practice that was rapidly changing from the one Peruzzi knew and maintained.

Passage quoted in chapter one, note 42 of this dissertation. Jacopo Barozzi da Vignola, Le due regole della prospettiva pratica, ed. Egnazio Danti (Florence, 1583), 72.

Sebastiano Serlio, *Della Prospettiva* (Paris, 1545), 18. "(...) la teorica stà nell'intelletto, ma la pratica consiste nelle mani. Et perciò lo intendentissimo Leonardo Vinci non si contentava mai di cosa ch'ei facesse, et pochissime opere condusse a perfettione, et diceva sovente la causa esser questa, che la sua mano non poteva giungere all'intelletto. Et in quanto à me, se io facessi come lui, non havrei già mai mandato fuori cosa alcuna delle mie, né manderei per l'avvenire."

In his *Discorso* from 1565, Benvenuto Cellini said that he had once lent Serlio his prized manuscript that contained a compilation of notes taken from Leonardo's notebooks, "the most beautiful discourse on perspective ever composed by any man (...)." Apparently Serlio never returned the manuscript to Cellini, claiming to have lost it. Angered, Cellini scathed that Serlio still plagiarized Leonardo's text, "(bringing) to light as much of it as his intellect was able to understand." Benvenuto Cellini, "Discorso dell'architettura," in *I trattati dell'oreficeria e della scultura*, ed. Carlo Milanesi (Florence, 1857 [1776]), 224-225. See also chapter one, note 23 of this dissertation.

Spatial designers with backgrounds in painting and in sculpture strongly resisted architecture's cultural alienation. Peruzzi looked to the rhetorical tradition for strategies of spatial communication, and set a new agenda for architectural practice by grounding his works in the discourses of the representational arts (both visual and verbal). He was particularly successful in aligning our lived experiences of space with manners of reading and listening. His training in painting of course prepared him in this endeavor, but an equally strong motivation must have come from his frequent collaborations with contemporary playwrights, actors, and poets. He invested architectural projects like his perspectival theater sets with a performative eloquence that resembled that of literary models, creating structures that could truly be said "to speak." Peruzzi also introduced into his spatial settings thematic content common to pictures, orations, and poems. At the Villa Farnesina, we saw how classical and contemporary exphrastic texts were made to be enacted spatially. These types of conceptual appropriations enabled architecture to participate in a cultural dialogue rooted in the classical tradition, and to establish new criteria of its criticism beyond utility and structure. Painter-architects like Peruzzi insisted upon architecture's affinity with speech, poetry, and painting in its agency, which enabled the discipline to be positioned securely for the first time within a familiar historical continuum

Peruzzi's antiquarianism is characterized by inventive action rather than passive nostalgia. There is vitality and ambition in the way he carved out a place for himself in history by competing with major authors like Ovid, Statius, Philostratus, Cicero and Vitruvius. This was an artist who recognized his own contemporaneity and who plotted his own place in time. Scholarship on Peruzzi's antiquarianism has tended to ignore these

dynamic characters in favor of his ardent study of classical form. Much ground has been covered in this regard to be sure, and we have learned a great deal about Peruzzi's interests in the ruins and his familiarity with classical sculpture, inscriptions and so on. While Peruzzi was certainly interested in negotiating with formal precedent, this dissertation has brought to light also how he energetically sought new systems of invention and competed in the arena of ideas. The heightened awareness on his own manner of practice reveals an artistic desire to "hitch-hike" to posterity. This reading of his artistic personality strongly counters Vasari's influential characterization of Peruzzi as an honorable and skilled but timid, tired, poor and humble artist with very little self-confidence, suffering from a feeling of *dappocaggine* (worthlessness). 14

The image of the Sienese artist that his practice reveals is rather of an effective communicator who surrounded himself with strong patrons, learned friends, collegial and skilled partners, a tight-knit family, and devoted students. It is even harder to imagine a personality suffering from *dappocaggine* behind works that are united so remarkably by an intent to communicate directly and meaningfully with an audience. This was a common theme in both two and three-dimensional projects that we examined in this dissertation. Using direct modes of address, Peruzzi's spaces draw strong emotional responses from viewers. Works like the *sala delle prospettive*, the scenography for *La* 

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Pier Nicola Pagliara, "Raffaello e la rinascita delle tecniche antiche," in Les Chantiers de la Renaissance, eds. Andre Chastel and Jean Guillaume (Paris, 1991), 51-69; Cristiano Tessari, Baldassare Peruzzi: Il progetto dell'antico (Milan, 1995); Ann Huppert, "The Archaeology of Baldassare Peruzzi's Architectural Drawings," (PhD diss., University of Virginia, 2001); Christoph Frommel, "'Ala maniera e uso delj boni antiquj:' Baldassarre Peruzzi e la sua quarantennale ricerca dell'antico," in Baldassarre Peruzzi 1481-1536, eds. Christoph Frommel et. al. (Venice, 2005), 3-83; Vitale Zanchettin, "Costruire nell'antico. Roma, Campo Marzio 1508-1523: Peruzzi, la confraternita di San Rocco e i cantieri intorno al mausoleo di Augusto," in Baldassarre Peruzzi 1481-1536, 123-153 and 511-522.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Riccardo Pacciani, "La 'dappocaggine' di Peruzzi: Fortuna di un giudizio di Vasari," in *Baldassarre Peruzzi: pittura, scena e architettura nel Cinquecento*, eds. Marcello Fagiolo and Maria Luisa Madonna (Rome, 1987), 539-549.

Calandria, relief paintings on facades, architectural details of Carpi cathedral, or even the starkly contrasting levels of illumination at the Palazzo Massimo surprise, provoke, and delight in order to heighten quotidian spatial experiences to the realm of the memorable. The viewer's lived experience often formed an important starting point in Peruzzi's architectural imagination. Like orations, poems, dramatic plays, sculptures, or paintings, buildings and spaces in his *oeuvre* possess performative agency. Later, in the seventeenth century in Rome, artists like Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1598-1680) and Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709) would experiment with this agency in their own works with poignant counter-reformation rhetoric.

Pressing further on the issue of architectural agency, Peruzzi's artistic products examined in this dissertation have illustrated how this painter-architect conceived of space not as an infinite void but rather as an entity that is always grasped corporeally. His buildings are seldom if ever, abstract, perfect geometric forms that exist self-sufficiently in the mind. Far more often, like the Villa Farnesina, the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, or the house on via dei Fusari near the cathedral of Siena, they take the structure's visual effects on the viewer into consideration, and demand a beholder in motion in order to come into being. This slow unfolding is an experience closely akin to a theatrical performance taking shape through the presence of moving, speaking actors, or a theater that is energized and completed by the audience and performers.

Strategies to generate immersive experiences were foundational within this framework of event-driven architecture. In Peruzzi's architectural constructs that use pictorial perspective, optical naturalism is primary because the objective was to transport viewers to a virtual dimension. This is a radically different strategy, for instance, from the

Lorenzo in Florence, Brunelleschi turned to linear perspective to endow architecture with a rational structural composition based on a strict modular system that symbolized the divinely ordered universe (fig. 137). Our lived experience of the building thus becomes a microcosmic substitute that recalls our experience of the harmonic cosmic world.

Perspective did serve a mimetic purpose here, if only through abstract mathematical values rather than through optical naturalism. Peruzzi in contrast veered toward the illusionistic in a manner akin to Bramante, who exploited the painterly skill to stage the reception of his finished work in the fictive apse of Santa Maria presso San Satiro in Milan (fig. 138). Of principal interest to both Bramante and to Peruzzi was pictorial perspective's power to suggest the virtual. And we might even say that this ambition to spatially incite "that which is not as if it were" was the ultimate prerogative of a painterarchitect.

The results they achieved were literally fantastic. In Peruzzi's case, even without the use of pictorial techniques, we saw how his buildings like the Savelli residence at the Theater of Marcellus and the Palazzo Orsini at the Baths of Domitian blurred the boundaries between the phenomenal world and the spaces of memory and imagination in an emblematic simultaneity. They gather, archive, and trigger memory and fantasy as a text by an author might. An analogy between writing and building hold true in this sense. Such structures were produced by a mind prone to allegorical thinking, and remind us poignantly how our lived experiences of space always take place on two planes - in the material world, but equally in our interior worlds where imagination, memory, and

fantasy collide.<sup>15</sup> The capacity to reveal this profound depth, and, as a consequence, to offer societies an understanding of its place in the world is the mark of successful architecture.

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Juhani Pallasmaa, "Lived Space: Embodied Experience and Sensory Thought," Wolkenkuckucksheim 6 (2001). Accessed 10 Jan. 2015. http://www.cloud-cuckoo.net/openarchive/wolke/eng /Subjects/011/Pallasmaa/1Pallas.htm. Alberto Perez-Gomez, "Architecture and the Body," in Art and the Senses, eds. Francesca Bacci and David Melcher (Oxford and New York, 2009), 577; Idem, "Question of Representation: the Poetic Origin of Architecture," in From Models to Drawings: Imagination and Representation in Architecture, eds. Marco Frascari, Jonathan Hale and Bradley Starkey (London and New York, 2007), 11-22.

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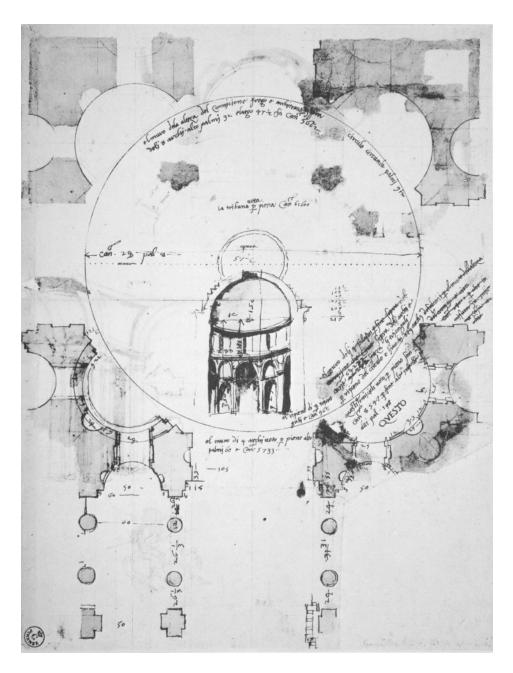
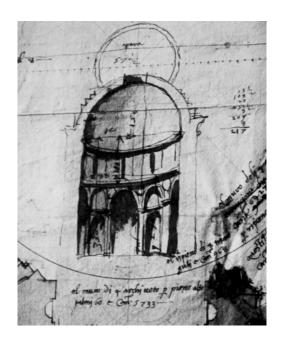


Figure 1. Baldassarre Peruzzi, Study for Saint Peter's Basilica, c. 1532 Florence, GDSU UA107r.



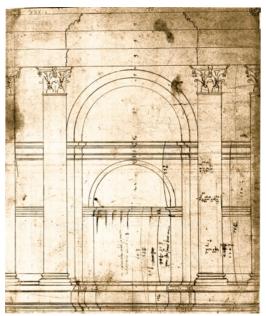


Figure 2. (left) detail of Figure 1.

Figure 3. (right) Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Study for Saint Peter's in orthography, c. 1520. 338 x 285 mm. Florence, GDSU, UA60r.

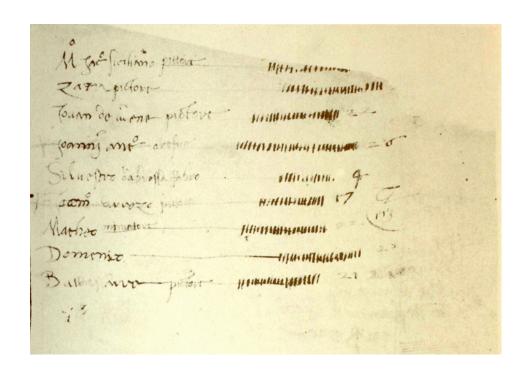


Figure 4. Baldassarre Peruzzi, List of artists and their *giornate* (detail) Florence, GDSU UA410v.



Figure 5. Baldassarre Peruzzi, Church Interior (Cathedral of Carpi).

80 x 112 mm [3.14 x 4.4 inches] 1514 - 1515. Florence, GDSU, UA25r.



Figure 6. Maerten van Heemskerck (Flemish, 1498-1574), Saint Peter's in Rome under construction, 1534. (13.5 x 20.8 cm) Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen, Berlin (inv. 79D 2a fol. 13r)

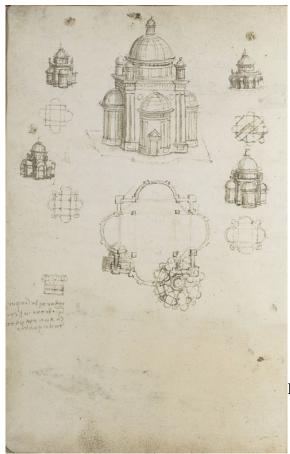


Figure 7. Leonardo da Vinci (1452 -1519), Designs for a centralized church, c.1492.

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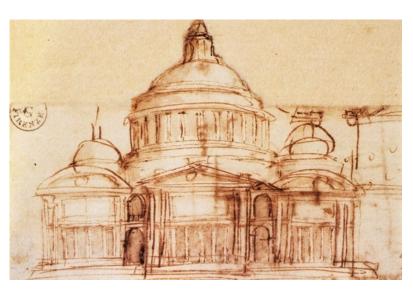


Figure 8. Baldassarre Peruzzi, Saint Peter's facade, c. 1520. [9.4 x 12.9 cm]. Galleria degli Uffizi, GDSU A26r.



Figure 9. Baldassarre Peruzzi, Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple, 1523 Santa Maria della Pace, Rome

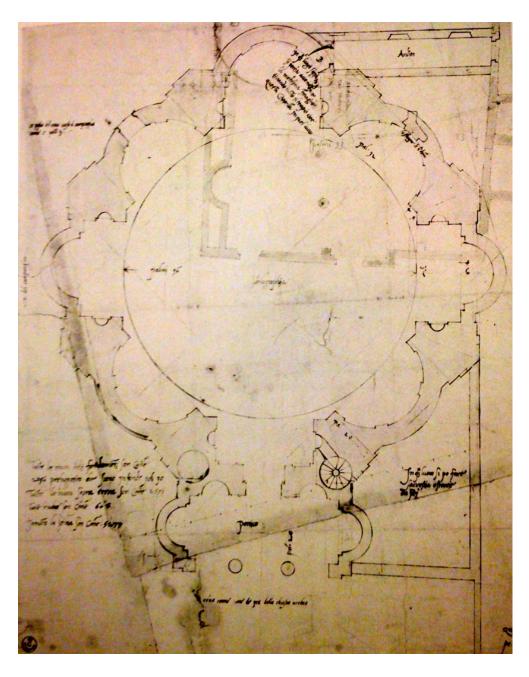


Figure 10. Baldassarre Peruzzi, Madonna della via del Campidoglio, c. 1534. [22.2 x 42.2 cm]. Galleria degli Uffizi, GDSU 513Ar.

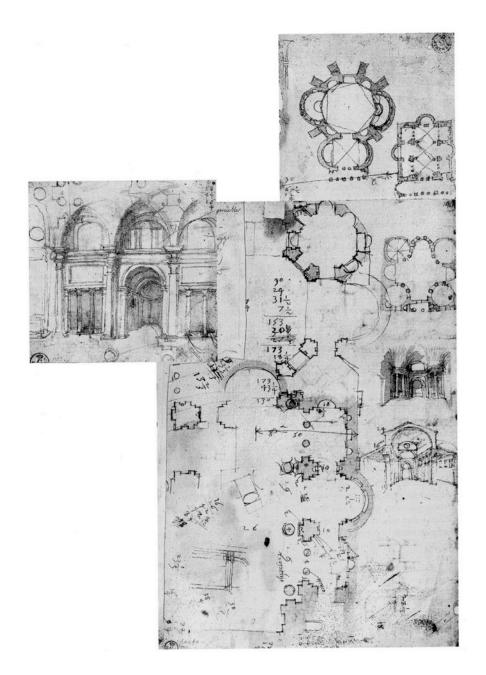


Figure 11. Peruzzi, Studies for the Cathedral of Carpi, 1514-1515. (top)156Ar [10.6 x 11.2 cm], (left) 161Ar [11.8 x 12.3 cm], and (bottom) 529Ar [29.8 x 19.8 cm]. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi GDSU.

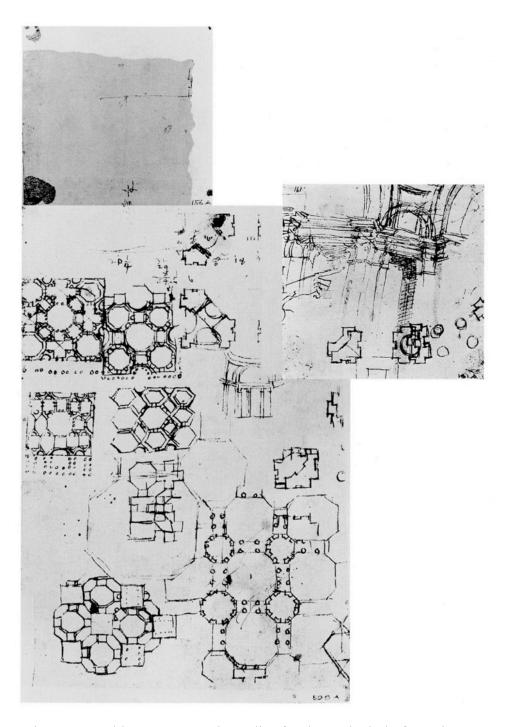


Figure 12. Baldassarre Peruzzi, Studies for the Cathedral of Carpi, 1514-1515. (top) 156Av [10.6 x 11.2 cm], (right) 161Av [11.8 x 12.3 cm], and (bottom) 529Av [29.8 x 19.8 cm]. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi GDSU

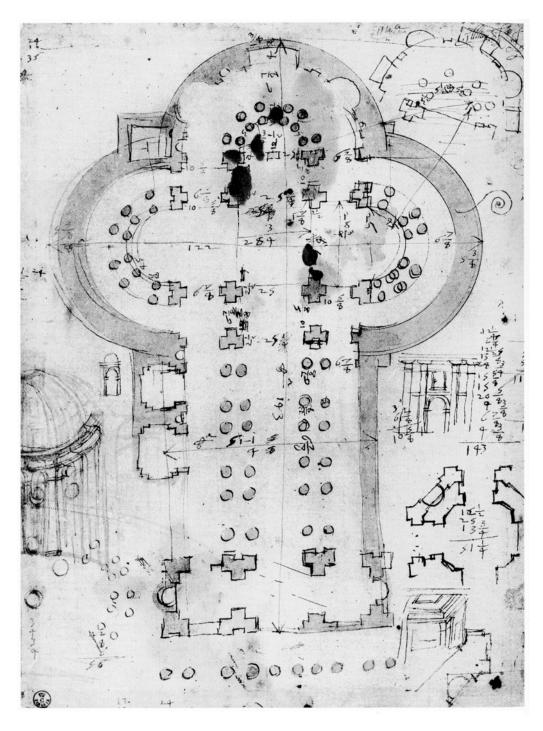


Figure 13. Peruzzi, Studies for the Cathedral of Carpi, 1514-1515. 34.2 x 24.6 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi GDSU, A451r.

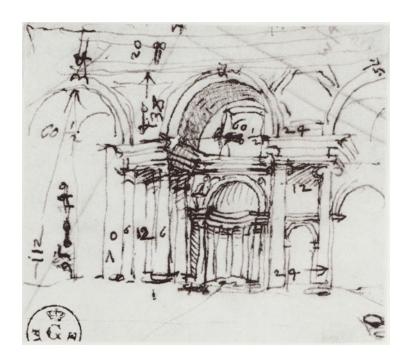
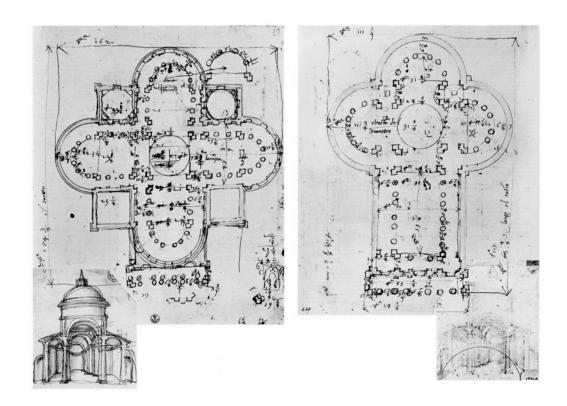


Figure 14. Baldassarre Peruzzi, 17.1 x 19.5 cm. Florence Uffizi Gallery, Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe UA143r



Figure 15. Peruzzi, Proposal for San Petronio Bologna, 1523. 171 x 195 cm. Bologna, Museo di San Petronio cat. Nr. 50.



Figures 16 and 17. Peruzzi, Studies for the Cathedral of Carpi, 1514-1515. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, GDSU A449 [29.5 x 25.1cm], and A150 [12.1 x 10.4cm], recto (left) and verso (right)

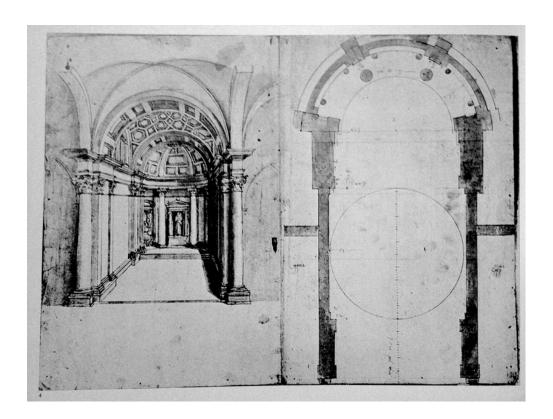


Figure 18. Peruzzi, Study for the Medici Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. c. 1534. Private collection (location unknown)

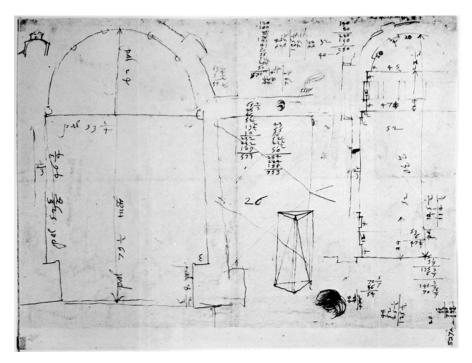


Figure 19. Peruzzi, Study for the Medici Chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva. c. 1534. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi GDSU A527v.

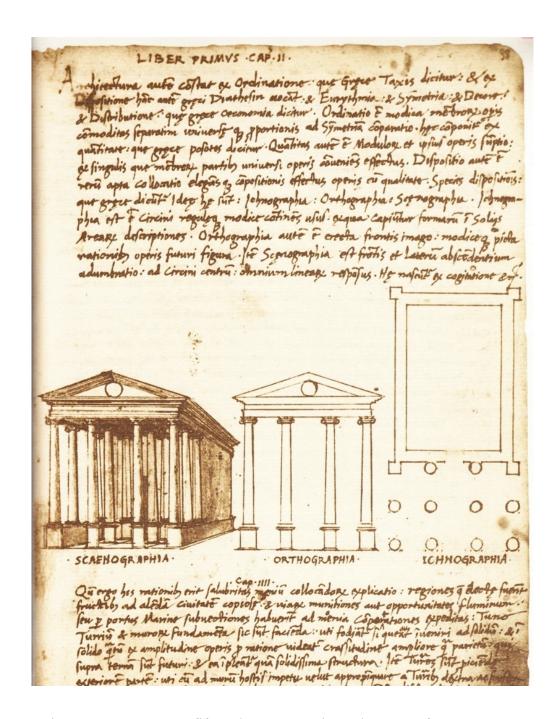
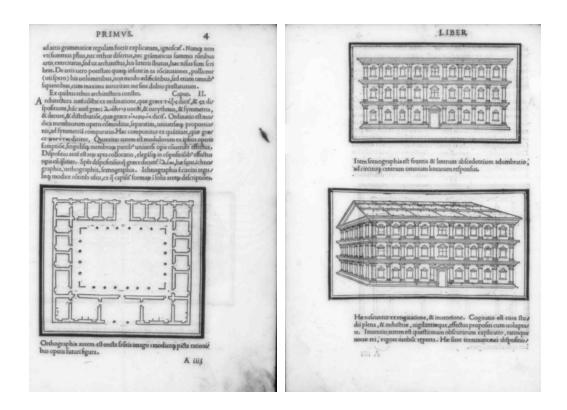


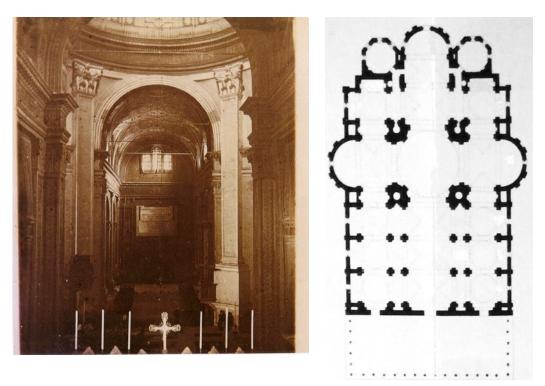
Figure 20. Anonymous fifteenth-century artist at the court of Ferrara Illustrated copy of Vitruvius' *Ten Books*, c. 1490. Ferrara, Biblioteca Ariostea, cart. Sec. xvi, fol. figurato, classe II, n. 176



Figures 21 and 22. Fra Giovanni Giocondo, Illustrations of Ichnographia, *Orthographia* and *Scaenographia*, 1511. *Ten Books on Architecture* 



Figure 23. Interior of Carpi Cathedral



Figures 24 and 25. Original Crossing of Carpi cathedral, view toward the entrance (photo before 1883), and plan of Carpi cathedral.

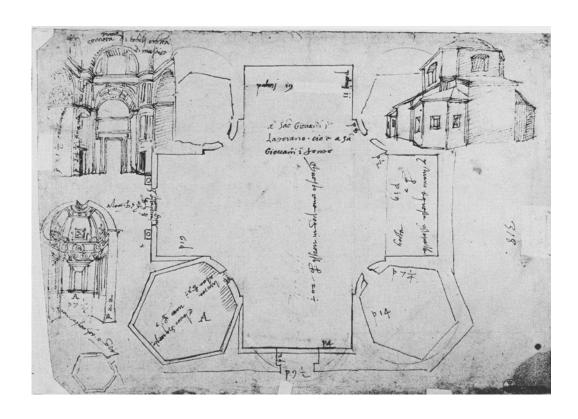


Figure 26. Peruzzi. Lateran Oratory of the Holy Cross, c. 1514. 23 x 32.8 cm. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi GDSU, A438r.





Figure 27. (left) Anonymous draftsman after Peruzzi, Studies of the Lateran oratory and of the crossing of Carpi Cathedral Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi GDSU

Figure 28. (right) Octagonal dome of Carpi cathedral, exterior,

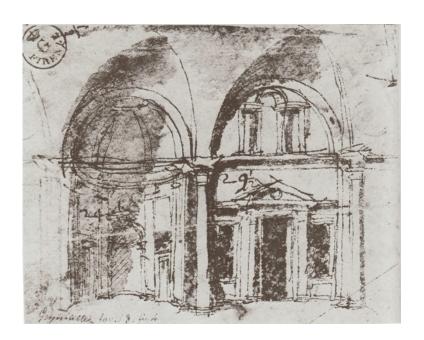
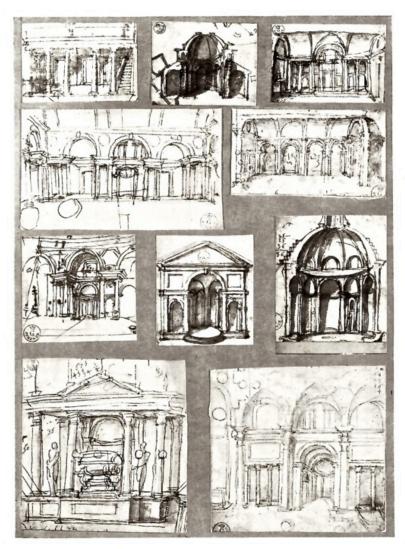


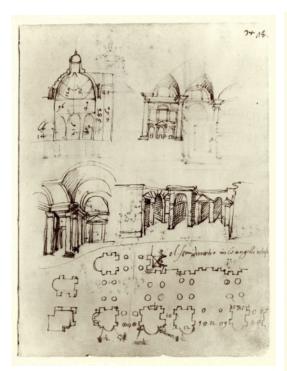
Figure 29. Baldassarre Peruzzi, Study for San Domenico in Siena (?), 8.0 x 10.2 cm. Florence, Uffizi Gallery, Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe UA117r

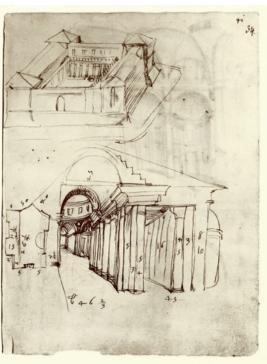
PLATE 40



Various Studies by Peruzzi for St. Peter's, etc.—(Uffizi)

Figure 30. Scaenographia drawings by Peruzzi, as they were mounted in the Galleria degli Uffizi, c. 1920. (From Kent, plate 40)





Figures 31 (Left), 32 (Right). Studies after Peruzzi, c. 1530. So-called Taccuino di Baldassarre Peruzzi, Biblioteca Comunale di Siena S. IV. 7. fol. 28r and 34r.



Figure 33, Sebastiano Serlio, Section of a theater stage, Book II On Perspective (1545)

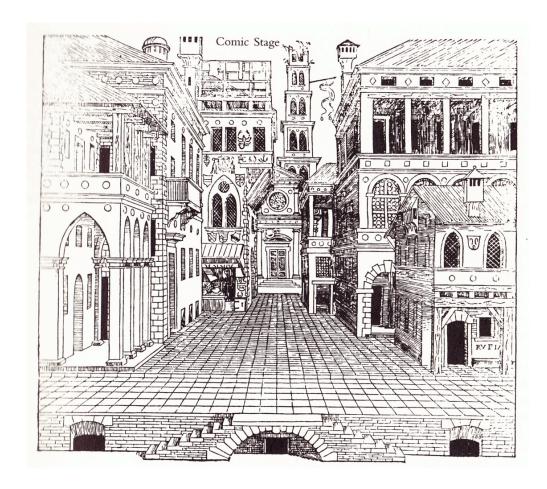


Figure 34, Sebastiano Serlio, Comic Stage, Book II On Perspective (1545)

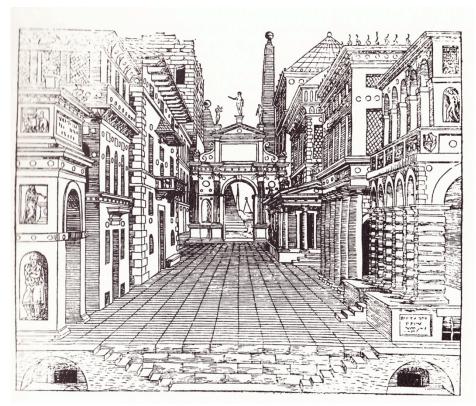


Figure 35, Sebastiano Serlio, Tragic Stage, Book II On Perspective (1545)



Figure 36, Sebastiano Serlio, Satiric Stage, Book II On Perspective (1545)



Figure 37, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Villa Chigi [Farnesina] 1508-11, Rome



Figure 38, Tabularium on the Capitoline Hill, overlooking the Roman Forum

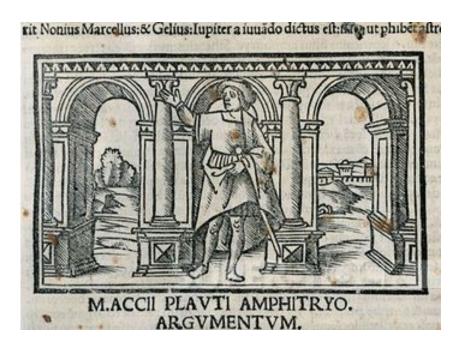


Figure 39, Woodblock print illustration to *Mostellaria* (*The Haunted House*) by Plautus, In *Comoediae vigiti* (Venice, 1518)



Figure 40, Villa Belvedere of Innocent VIII, Vatican City



Figure 41, Tournament held by Pius IV in the Cortile del Belvedere 5 March 1565, Etching. The British Museum, [1871.0812.775] (c) The Trustees of the British Museum



Figure 42, Viri Illustri on the Colosseum, Reconstructed model



Figure 43 Antonio Lafreri, *Benediction at Piazza San Pietro*, engraving in Speculum Romane Magnificentiae, c. 1570.



Figure 44, Benediction loggia on the facade of San Marco, Rome. c. 1470.



Figure 45, Andrea Palladio and Vincenzo Scamozzi, Perspective set for *Sofonisba*, Teatro Olimpico, Vicenza. Begun 1580.



Figure 46, Salone del Trone where *La Calandria* premiered in 1513, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino. (Photo by author)



Figure 47, Unknown Italian Draftsman (Formerly attributed to Baldassarre Peruzzi), Perspective set with Roman buildings, possibly for the production of *La Calandria*, c. 1515? (588 x 715 mm). Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery (U291Ar.)

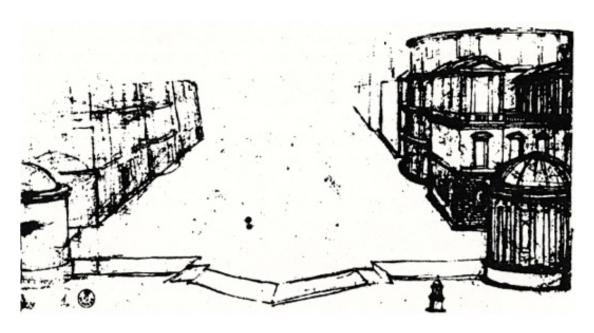


Figure 48, Girolamo Genga? Drawing after the set for *La Calandria*? Florence, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery (U30Ar.)

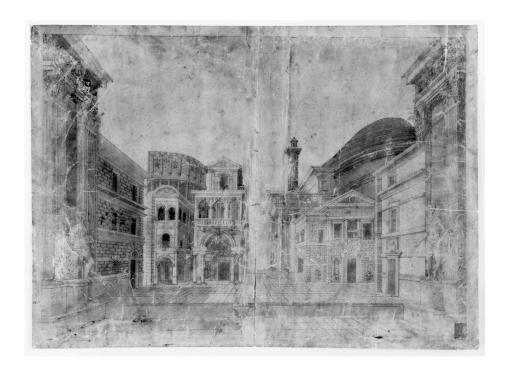


Figure 49, [attributed to] Bartolomeo Neroni called Riccio (c. 1505-71), Perspective set showing the city of Rome. National Museum of Stockholm

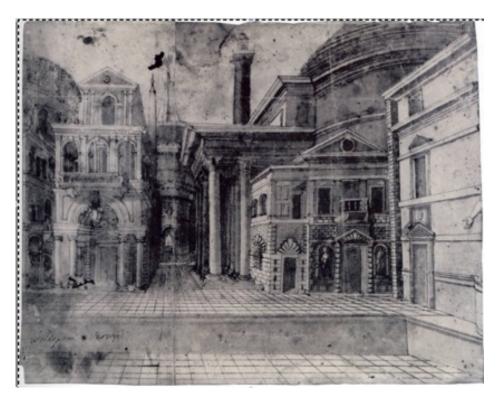


Figure 50, [attributed to] Bartolomeo Neroni called Riccio (c. 1505-71), Perspective set showing the city of Rome - copy after Figure 49. Pinacoteca Nazionale di Siena [dis. 121a.].



Figure 51, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Comedic stage set, 1515. Pen on paper (38 x 24.6 cm). Biblioteca Reale, Turin [inv. 15728.IT.45]



Figure 52, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Set design for *Bacchides*, 1531. Pen on paper, (55.5 x 78.5 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery [268Ar].

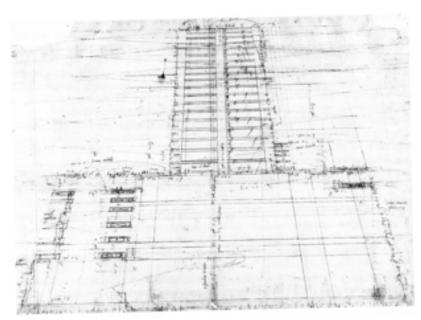


Figure 53, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Plan view for the set of *Bacchides*, 1531. Pen on paper, (62.2 x 83.8 cm). Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery [269Ar].

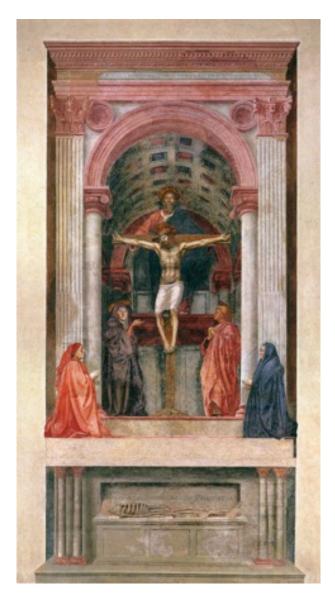


Figure 54, Masaccio, Trinity, 1425-28. Santa Maria Novella, Florence

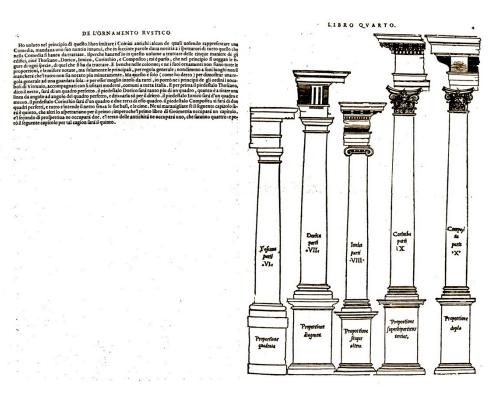


Figure 55, Sebastiano Serlio, The five orders illustrated in his *Regole Generale d'Architettura* (Venice, 1537) 126v-127r.



Figure 56, Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Sala delle Prospettive* (Hall of Perspective) 1517-19. Villa Farnesina, Rome.





Figures 57, 58, Details with spolia in *Africano* and *Verde Antico* marble, *Sala delle prospettive* 



Figure 59, Giovan Battista Castello (1525-1569), Sala grande, Villa Pallavicino alle Peschiere, c. 1560, Genoa.



Figure 60, Pintoricchio and workshop, *Sala dei Mesi*, c. 1480.

Palazzo di Domenico della Rovere (dei Penitenzieri), Rome.

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Figure 61, Gerino Gerini da Pistoia (1480-1529), Sala delle Muse, c. 1515. Castello di Magliana, Rome.



Figure 62, Giovanni del Sega (attributed to), Sala dei Mori, c. 1515. Castello Pio, Carpi.



Figure 63, Pietro Orioli (1458-96), Detail, fictive architecture, 1492. Sala del governo, Palazzo Pubblico, Siena





Figures 64, 65, Arch of the Argentarii © Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom



Figure 66, Pantheon, Rome



Figure 67, Giuliano da Sangallo (attributed) Belvedere loggia for Julius II, Castel Sant'Angelo, Rome

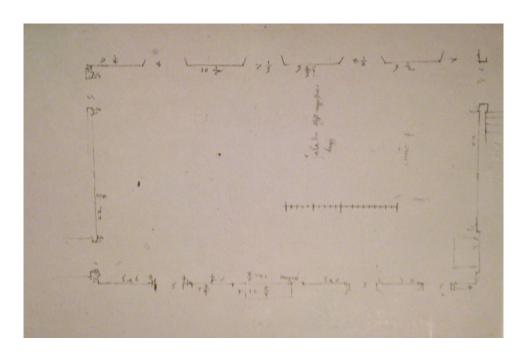


Figure 68, Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Sala delle Prospettive*, 1517. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence [UA565r].

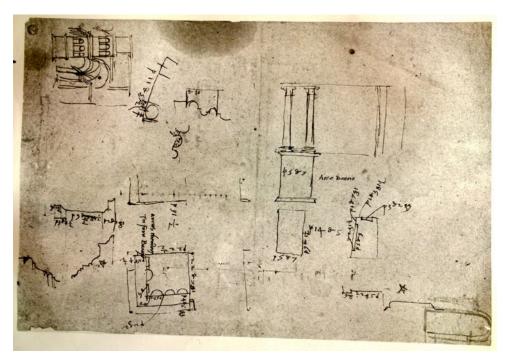


Figure 69, Baldassarre Peruzzi, study of the Arch of the Argentarii and of the Arch of Janus, 1517?

Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence [UA565v].

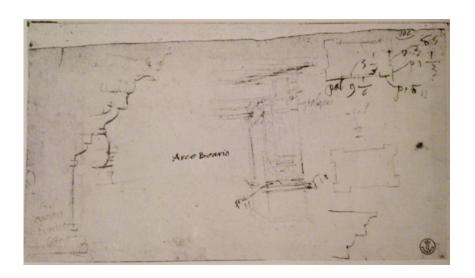


Figure 70, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Perspective study of the Arch of the Argentarii, 1517? Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence [UA442r.]



Figure 71, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Triumphal arch for Leo X, 1513. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence [Orn.72r].



Figure 72, Sala delle Prospettive, viewers lining the main visual axis







Figures 73, 74, 75, Detail views, Sala delle prospettive



Figures 76, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Ceiling of the *Loggia of Galatea*, 1511. Villa Farnesina, Rome



Figure 77, *The Scythian Knife Sharpener (Arrotino*), marble, late-third-century BCE. Uffizi Gallery, Florence © Bibliotheca Hertziana, Max-Planck-Institut für Kunstgeschichte, Rom



Figure 78, Detail from the northern frieze, Sala delle Prospettive



Figure 79, Detail from the northern frieze, Sala delle Prospettive





Figure 80 (left), *Seated Muse*, marble, early first century. Skulpturensammlung, Dresden [inv. HM241] ©Staatliche Kunstsammlungen Dresden

Figure 81 (right), Baldassarre Peruzzi, study of a seated woman after an antique, c. 1517? The Walker Art Gallery, Liverpool [inv. 1995.244]







Figures 82-84, Details of Landscapes, Sala delle Prospettive



Figure 85, Theater of Marcellus, Rome.

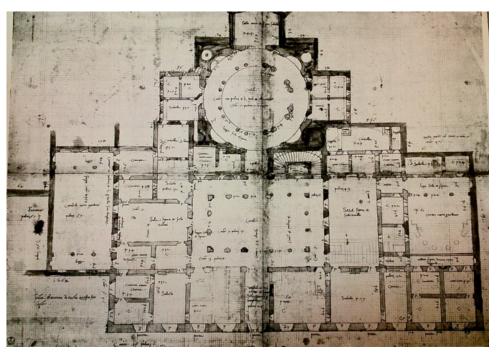


Figure 86, Baldassarre Peruzzi
Design for the Palazzo Orsini at the Baths of Agrippa
Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence [UA456r].



Figure 87, Raphael and Workshop, Villa Madama, begun 1517.

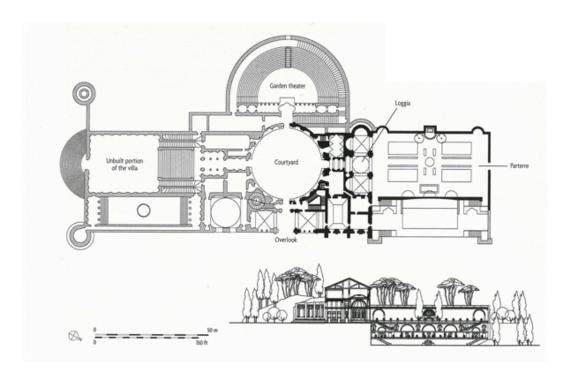


Figure 88, Hypothetical reconstruction of Raphael's designs for the Villa Madama

scope il more de galo, opposito scoper Marpo et alle spalle del monte
sopre il more di galo, opposito scoper Marpo et alle spalle del monte
sopre il more di galo, opposito scoper Marpo et alle spalle del monte
so de la techana e son of paiore Hosto sayso de commente to
co de transcortana et marpo acte so pro asiderare (ome airo
il sita Man porore la milla amenta pin sany so acton la sua lon
a syroccio so umosano finale et a marpo a open ad untenni, d

anno divisoro del catao et sa offen villa mer retrant princi
pale luma puna min ti mismine da palazo et pli por et
larest. S. Canno et resta urramentare ponto malla

Figure 89, Detail, Raphael's letter on the villa Madama, A.S.F. Archivio Mediceo, fil.94, n.162, c.295 From Foster.



Figure 90, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, 1533-36. Rome

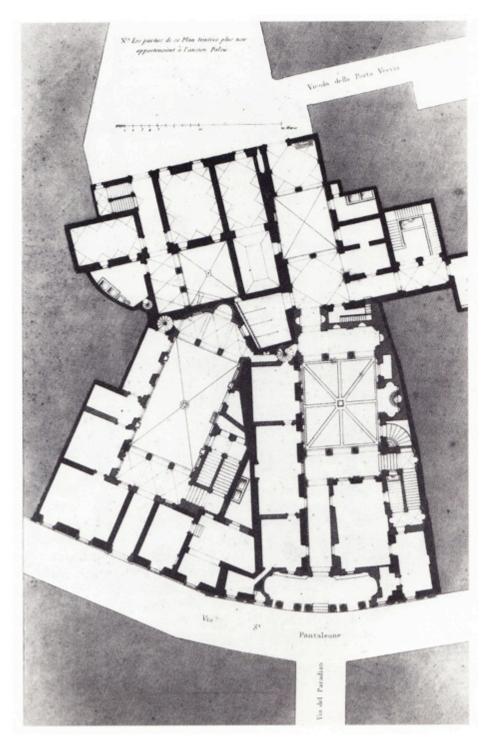


Figure 91, Plan of Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne and of adjoining Massimo family properties

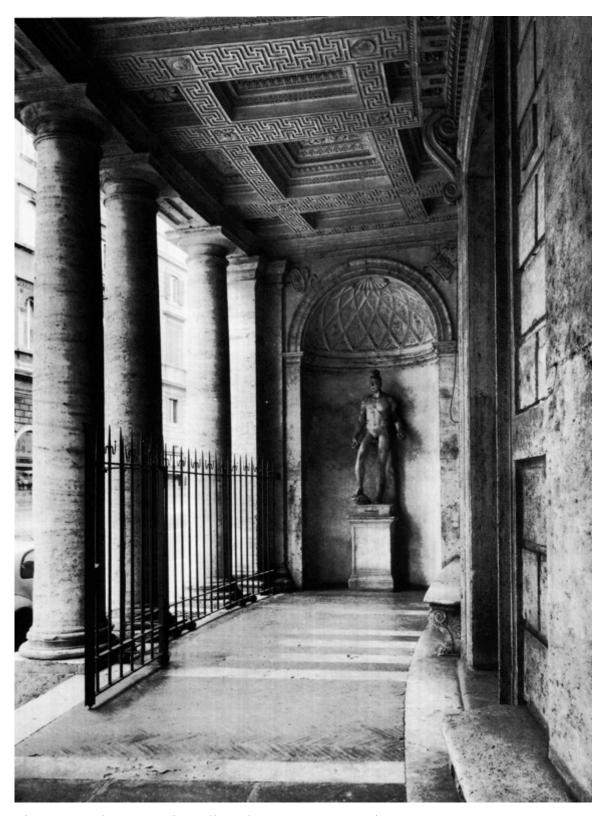


Figure 92, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, entrance portico



Figure 93, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, entrance corridor, looking in from entrance



Figure 94, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, elevation of the north wall, main courtyard

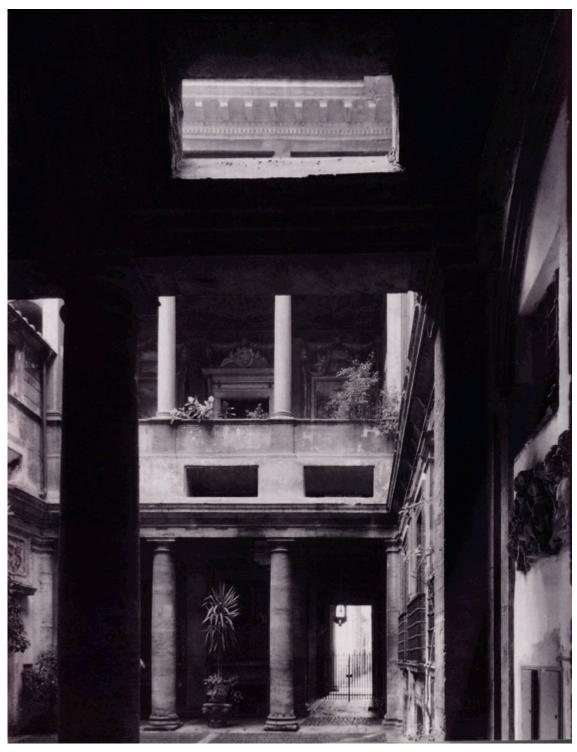


Figure 95, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, Looking towards the counter facade of the main courtyard (south wall) from second courtyard



Figure 96, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, counter (south) facade, main courtyard

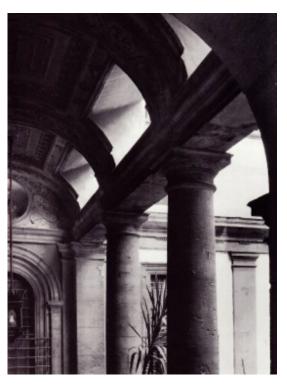


Figure 97, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, view through to the second courtyard, and nymphaeum to the east.



Figure 98, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, west wall of the main courtyard





Figures 99 (left) - 100 (right), Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, Light wells





Figure 101 (left), Cryptoporticus, Domus Aurea , Rome Figure 102 (right), Giorgio Vasari, entrance corridor to the Uffizi Gallery, Florence Begun 1560.



Figures 103-104, Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, second courtyard and detail of embedded classical relief sculpture

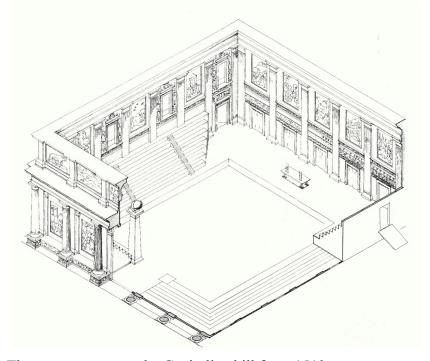


Figure 105, Theater structure on the Capitoline hill from 1513 Reconstruction by Bruschi.



Figure 106, Pirro Ligorio, Casino Pio IV, 1559-62. Vatican City



Figure 107, Carlo Maderno, Palazzo Mattei di Giove, 1598-1618. Rome



Figure 108, Jan van Santen, Casino dell'Aurora, 1612-13. Rome



Figure 109, Agostino dei Musi (c. 1490-1536) after Baccio Bandinelli (1493-1560), Baccio Bandinelli and his students sketching in the Academia del Belvedere, 1531. Engraving (27.4 x 30 cm). The Metropolitan Museum of Art [49.97.144]



Figure 110, Baldassarre Peruzzi with Cesare da Sesto, Michele da Imola, and Jacopo Ripanda, Salone Riario, c. 1508. Bishop's palace, Ostia Antica





Figure 111 (left), Ugo da Carpi (c. 1480-1532), *Hercules Chasing Avarice from the Temple of the Muses*, after Baldassarre Peruzzi. Woodblock print from two blocks, ca. 1516-17. Metropolitan Museum of Art, Rogers Fund, 1920 (20.24.76)

Figure 112 (right), Ugo da Carpi, *Hercules Chasing Avarice from the Temple of the Muses*, after Baldassarre Peruzzi. Woodblock print from two blocks, ca. 1516-17. Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Bequest of Horace M. Swope, Class of 1905, M9815

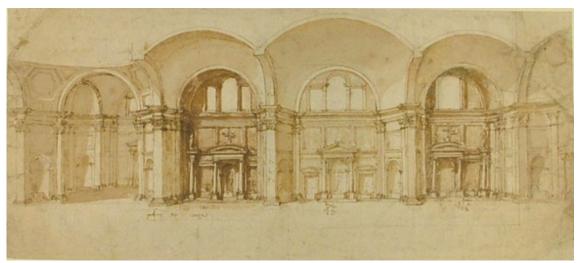


Figure 113, Baldassarre Peruzzi, San Domenico in Siena, 1530. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford [NR 40, BL 51 D].



Figure 114, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Mercury Purged, c. 1532. Ink and wash on paper, (28 x 21 mm.) Musée du Louvre, Paris [Inv. 1419].



Figure 115, Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Presentation of the Virgin at the Temple*, 1523-24. Ink, wash and chalk on paper, (55.6 x 89.1 cm.)

Musée du Louvre, Paris (Inv. 1410)



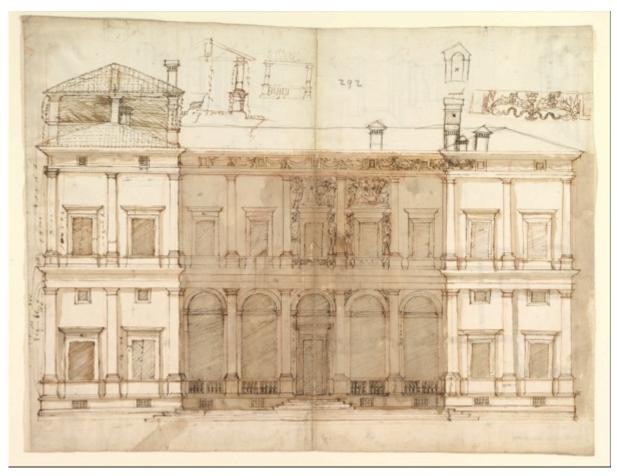
Figure 116. Palazzetto Amedei, via della Fossa no. 14-17, Late fifteenth-century, Rome

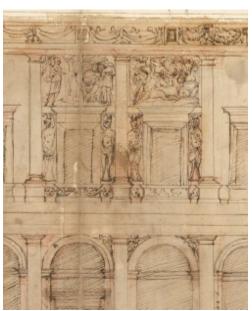


Figure 117, Raffaellino da Reggio or Daniele da Volterra, residence painted in *chiaroscuro* on via del Pellegrino no. 66 in Rome, mid-sixteenth-century.



Figure 118, Baldassarre Peruzzi, ceiling of the loggia di Galatea with imitated stucco painted in *chiaroscuro* on blue background, c. 1511. Villa Farnesina, Rome.





Figures 119-120, Anonymous French Artist, Villa Farnesina, north facade, early-to-mid-sixteenth-century. 17 1/8 x 22 7/16 in. (43.5 x 57 cm) Metropolitan Museum of Art [inv. 49.92.53], and detail.



Figure 121, Baldassarre Peruzzi (attributed), Design for a chiaroscuro scene on the Villa Farnesina's Facade, 1509. Musée du Louvre, Paris [Inv. 7105].







Figures 122-124, Villa Farnesina, details on east facade with surviving original *chiaroscuro* painting fragments





Figures 125-126, details of the villa Farnesina, during and after the recent conservation work on the facade



Figure 127, Aristotele da Sangallo (attributed to), drawing of the villa Farnesina's northern facade, c. 1540. pen on paper. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence [UA336r].



Figure 128, Baldassarre Peruzzi, preparatory drawing for the Palazzo Buzio showing Julius and Augustus Caesar, c. 1523? Pen and ink on paper, (21 x 27.8 cm), Coburg Kunstsammlung [Inv. Z.2424].



Figure 129, After Baldassarre Peruzzi, Emperors Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius. Mid sixteenth-century. ink on paper, Turin, Biblioteca Reale

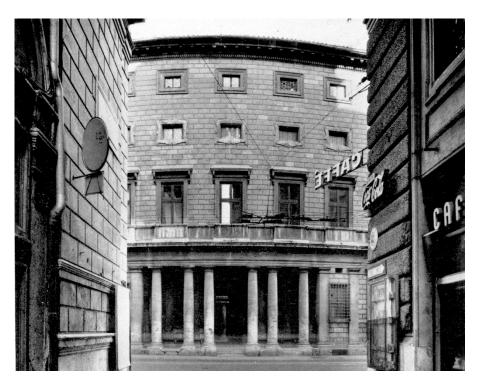


Figure 130, Palazzo Massimo alle colonne, seen from via del Paradiso across the corso Vittorio Emanuele.

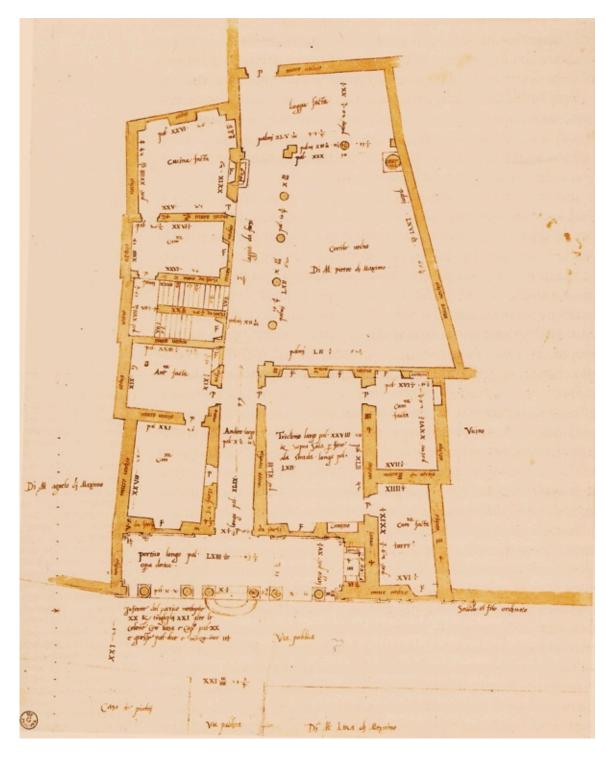


Figure 131, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Alternate ground plan for palazzo Massimo alle Colonne, 1532. Pen and Ink on paper, Uffizi Gallery, Florence (U368Ar)

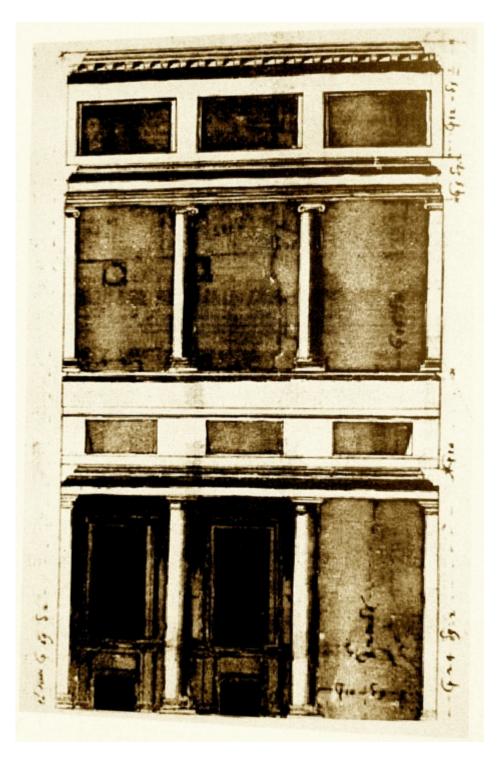


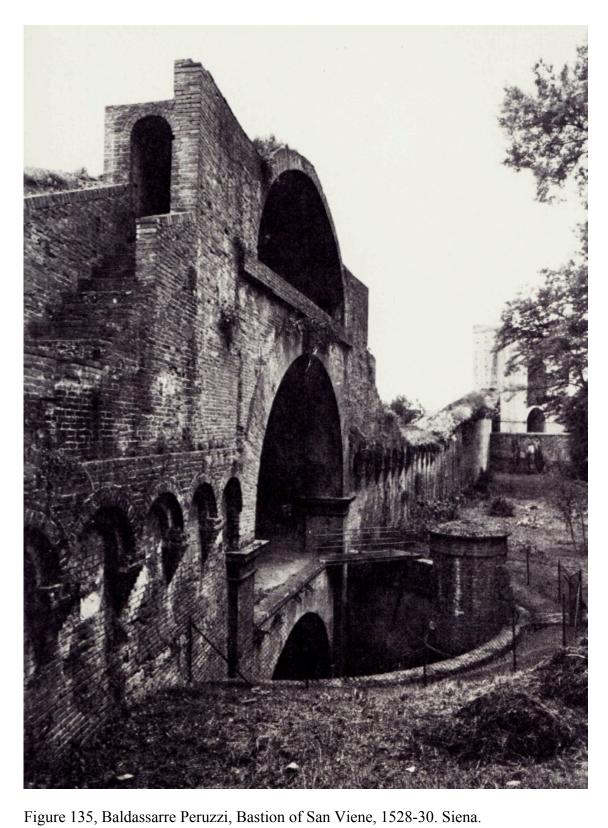
Figure 132, Giovanni Antonio Dosio, study of the palazzo Massimo, elevation of the counter facade, main courtyard. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence [UA371v].





Figures 133 (left), Baldassarre Peruzzi, drawing for entrance portal to palazzo Massimo alle Colonne (left), ink and wash on paper, 1532-33. Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence [UA531r].

Figure 134 (right), Entrance portal to palazzo Massimo alle Colonne.



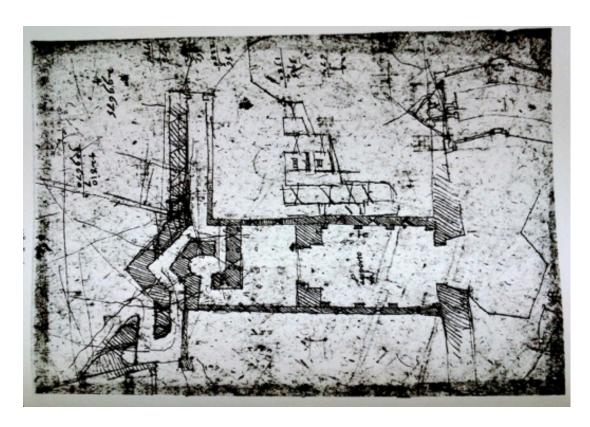


Figure 136, Baldassarre Peruzzi, study for the Rocca Sinibalda, 1531. Ink on paper, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uffizi Gallery, Florence [UA555r].

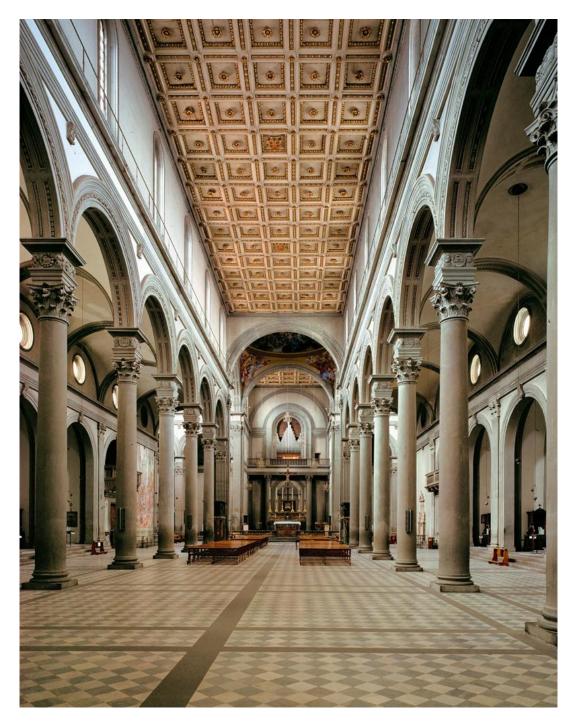


Figure 137, Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446), Basilica of San Lorenzo, Florence 1422-1470.



Figure 138, Donato Bramante, choir of Santa Maria presso San Satiro, Milan 1482-86.