Bramante and the Origins of the "High Renaissance"

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Art history first became familiar with the terms "Renaissance," "High Renaissance," and "Baroque" through Jacob Burckhardt.[1] However, Brunelleschi had already been celebrated by his biographer Manetti and by Alberti as the father of the rebirth of the arts; and Vasari, amongst many others, had seen in the works of Bramante, Leonardo, Michelangelo, and Raphael a high-point, the climax of the *rinascità*: for them they had not only surpassed the Quattrocento but also antiquity.[2]

In the preface to the third part of his *Lives*, Vasari lists four aspects in which these masters and their followers had succeeded in surpassing their masters: "whence was born that truly excellent style which, surpassing the ancient world, has made the modern age so glorious."[3] Vasari starts, not by chance, the third age with the architects who had made better use of the rules, the proportions and the disposition of antique buildings than their predecessors: "Rule in architecture is the measurement of antiques, following the plans of ancient buildings in making modern ones." Then they had improved their *disegno* in choosing and imitating the best prototypes. They had a more gracious *maniera* and – the last but not less important of his four points – they had more creative freedom in their relation to the rule: Quattrocento artists "still lacked a freedom [*licenzia*] within the rule which, though being outside the rule was guided by them [High Renaissance artists], and which could exist without confusing or spoiling the order. This required copious invention in everything, and a certain beauty in even the smallest thing, which fully demonstrated the sense of order with more ornament."

Burckhardt and his successors based the terms "Renaissance" and "Hochrenaissance" (High Renaissance) therefore on the self-perception of the period itself, and this is not true of other stylistic terms such as Romanesque, Gothic, Mannerist, or Baroque. As Erwin Panofsky showed, there is a fundamental difference between the medieval "renascences," when the visual and the textual tradition of antiquity had been split, and

the Renaissance of the early sixteenth century when they merged again.[4] But even then artists did not understand rebirth as a mere repetition of antiquity, but rebirth of the arts.

The art historians from the early twentieth century onwards, and in particular during the post-war boom of "Mannerism," who insisted again and again on the "anti-classical" tendencies of the early sixteenth century, did no justice to the ideas of the artists themselves. They opposed a normative Bramante to anti-normative tendencies in Giulio Romano, Michelangelo, and even in Raphael.[5] Giulio and Michelangelo were no lesser admirers of antiquity and studied Vitruvius as thoroughly as Bramante. Using the *licenzia* within the rule even Bramante interpreted antiquity in a much freer way, than neo-classicists of the eighteenth or nineteenth century would: "nella regola una licenzia, che, non essendo di regola, fusse ordinata nella regola." In the history of architecture the term "Mannerism" makes sense only if understood as a movement within and not against the Renaissance. In order to find out what distinguishes "High Renaissance" from antique architecture, we have to find out more about the roots of its founding fathers, and to see how far they are similar to those of the leading painters and sculptors in the same period.

Since Serlio, Vasari, and Palladio there was general agreement that the architecture of the "third age," as Vasari called it, started with Bramante's Roman works.[6] He designed these when he had reached his late fifties and after having started a series of highly important buildings in Lombardy.[7] The relationship of the latter with his Roman architecture is, however, not yet sufficiently clear. Vasari, who knew so much about Brunelleschi, Alberti, and Giuliano da Sangallo, said little about Bramante's early paintings and not a word about his Lombard buildings. This essay tries to show how High Renaissance architecture grew organically from Bramante's years in Lombardy; how he succeeded in his Lombard buildings in merging the innovations of Brunelleschi and Alberti with a tradition that reached back through Gothic and Byzantine models to late antiquity; how Leonardo da Vinci and Giuliano da Sangallo had an essential influence on his evolution; and how his intimate understanding with Pope Julius II was decisive for assembling a small group of artists who created the inner circle of High Renaissance art.

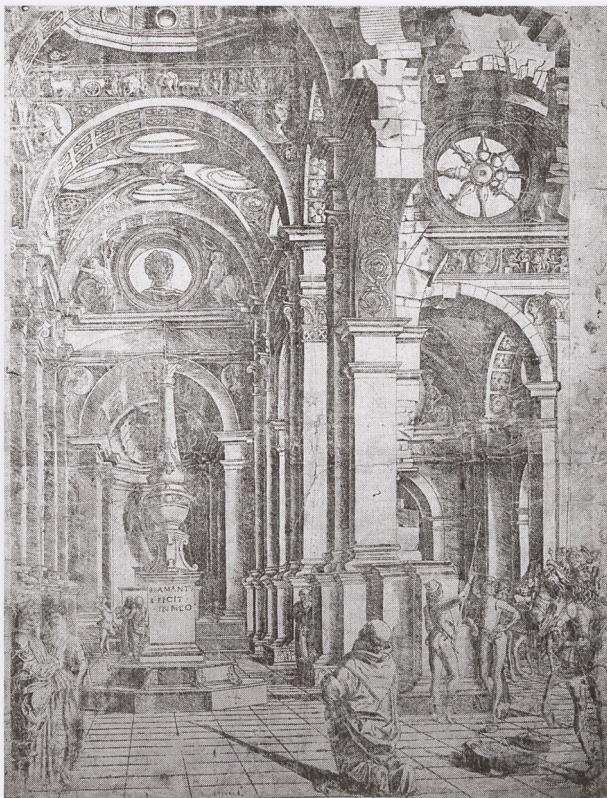## Bramante's Milanese Period

THE PREVEDARI ENGRAVING AND S. MARIA PRESSO S. SATIRO

Bramante was born around 1444 near Urbino where he must have met Fra Carnevale,[8] Piero della Francesca, and Francesco di Giorgio, Federico da Montefeltro's architect since around 1476. And while Piero taught him the relation of the human figure to perspective space, Francesco may have told him about the buildings of Brunelleschi, Alberti, Bernardo Rossellino and
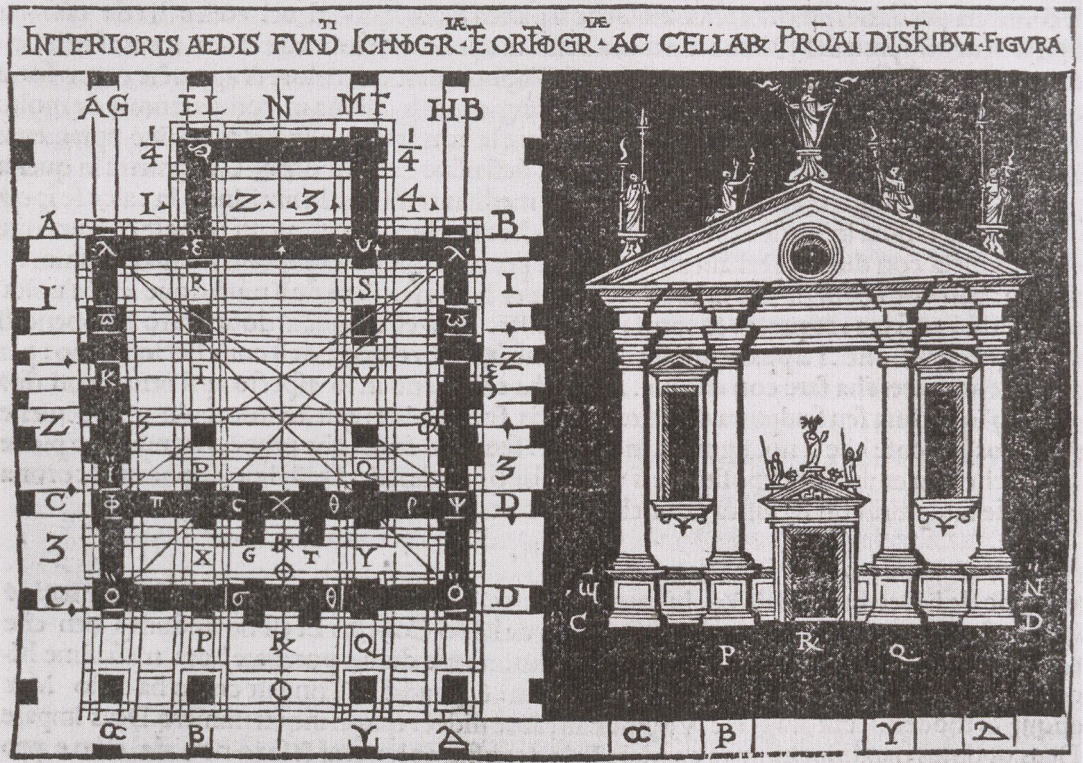
Giuliano da Sangallo, Francesco's most important teachers, but also about the cathedrals of Siena, Florence, and Pienza, which had been so influential on the formation of his style. Bramante must have seen some of these buildings and probably also the most impressive new Florentine building, the suburban palace which Giuliano had begun in about 1473 for Bartolommeo Scala, the friend and future secretary of Lorenzo il Magnifico.[9] Francesco may even have told him about the spectacular marble cathedral of Milan. According to Vasari, Bramante went to Milan because he had been attracted by its cathedral, and only after having known it and its designers became an architect.[10] On his way he must have stopped in Mantua and seen Alberti's churches. He must have met Mantegna and learnt from him, besides many other secrets, how to present ideas through the new art of engraving.

6.1   Bernardo Prevedari after Bramante, *Architectural Fantasy*, 1481. Raccolte Civiche, Milan

By 1481, when S. Maria presso S. Satiro in Milan, presumably his first building, was under way, he was already conscious of his architectural mission and published an engraving with a programmatic architectural fantasy and the proud inscription "BRAMANTUS FECIT IN M(I)L(AN)O" (fig. 6.1).[11] Here he follows the Byzantine system of the quincunx – a Greek cross with a central cupola and four corner chapels – which he knew from the Marche and Venice, and in particular from the little Carolingian church of S. Satiro which he was integrating into S. Maria (figs 6.3 and 8.5).[12] He must have also known Alberti's Louvre plaquette where the Hebrew temple follows the quincunx.[13] Bramante was to use this also in his later Roman churches and must have understood it as antique temple, as did his pupil Cesariano later in the illustrated Vitruvius of 1521 (fig. 6.2).[14]

Busts, centaurs, nudes, and figural friezes decorate the ruin of the engraving as richly as the courtyard of Giuliano's Palazzo Scala (fig. 8.1) and characterize it as a pagan temple. The candelabrum is, however, crowned by a cross and adored by a monk, and thus intended as some kind of Christian memorial. As in Alberti's Louvre plaquette, most figures follow the orthogonals of the central perspective. The candelabrum, which is not situated under the cupola, but in the ruined bay in front of it, hides the vanishing point situated on the two-storied altar of the apse. This is reminiscent both of Alberti's plaquette and

6.2   Cesare Cesariano, *Plan of Ancient Temple*, from Vitruvius, *Di Lucio Vitruuio Pollione de architectura libri dece traducti de latino in vulgare affigurati*, trans. and ed. Cesare Cesariano, Como, 1521, fol. 47

Piero's Brera Altarpiece of c.1470, which Bramante had seen in Urbino, where the vanishing point is hidden behind the head of the holy protagonist. Elegant pages in modern dress with lances and riders accompany a distinguished personality on horseback – who, judging by his beret, seems characterized as a prince. He is directed towards the candelabrum, thus contributing to its enigmatic significance. Faith seems to be housed in this pagan temple, as in so many antique buildings in Rome and elsewhere. Like the Roman Pantheon, the engraved temple is transformed into a modern place of worship, and the duke may hopefully save it from complete decay. The engraving, in this way, can be read as a metaphor for Bramante's architectural utopias.

When looking at Bramante's temple our sense of three-dimensionality is stimulated with greater virtuosity than ever before.[15] As in Piero's Brera Altarpiece, which also inspired the polygonal apse, its shell and the coffered arches, the viewer is asked to reconstruct imaginatively the missing parts of the building; though by showing the ruin asymmetrically with only one of its four corner chapels, Bramante is even more demanding. While Piero lines his figures in a single row, those of Bramante are integrated in the deep foreground.[16] Both his painted and constructed spaces are conceived as a framework to elevate the human figure. This passionate interest in the exploration of the architectural space and its relation with the human figure remained a prime topic of his Milanese paintings.

Thanks to the dynamism of the central perspective, the room looks at first sight similar to a three-naved basilica. The sharp contrast of shadow and light, which enters mainly from above as in the Pantheon and other antique temples, helps to increase the three-dimensional effect. The ascending pillars that continue in the projections of the entablature and in the arches of the vaults remind the viewer of constructions such as Milan Cathedral and are without parallel in preceding Renaissance architecture. Round windows are cut in the thin webs of the vaults. Bramante not only transformed a pagan to a Christian temple, but combined the Byzantine quincunx and a classicizing language with a structure strongly influenced by Gothic architecture.

As in ancient examples, the acanthus leaves of the capitals of the crossing ascend from a frieze, and its basket-like ornament is reminiscent of the genesis of the Corinthian capital as related by Vitruvius. But their particular form, the attic bases without plinths, which continue around the entire pillar, testify that Bramante, at this stage of his career, was not yet primarily interested in the Vitruvian norm. He took inspiration and motives from everywhere: the cupola without pendentives is from the early Christian chapel of S. Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, and the wheels in the windows from a rose window in the cathedral of Bergamo. If compared with the refined classicism of Alberti's Sant'Andrea, the Louvre plaquette, or the Brera Altarpiece, Bramante's interpretation of what he considered "Renaissance" looks as naive and wild as his Greek philosophers in the contemporary frescoes of the Casa Panigaroli. At the same time, his unique sense for centralized hierarchy, ramified space, and a structural coherence is already displayed – an amalgamation of antique, Byzantine, Gothic, and contemporary elements that we do not find in any other Renaissance architect, but which go on to characterize his mature projects.

Though S. Maria presso S. Satiro is as complex, it looks more classicizing, more similar to Alberti's Sant'Andrea, and Bramante may have completed its design only after the engraving (figs 6.3 and 6.4).[17] The pillars are again isolated and the pilasters continue in the projections of the entablature and in the arches. The crossing looks like a monumental baldachin and is prolonged in a feigned choir-arm which is directly inspired by Piero's Brera Altarpiece, but seems three-aisled too.[18] Its perspective does not only extend the shallow choir, but converges above the altar, where the holy sacrament would be placed during mass. As in the plaquette and in the engraving, it directs the faithful to the point where the infinite and the finite coincide. The systematic coherence of central perspective went beyond antique perspective and had its roots in the same intellectual climate as Gothic architecture. In the Louvre plaquette and in the Brera Altarpiece it had already been given a similar religious interpretation, but Bramante was the first to combine this interpretation through merging real and fictive architecture.
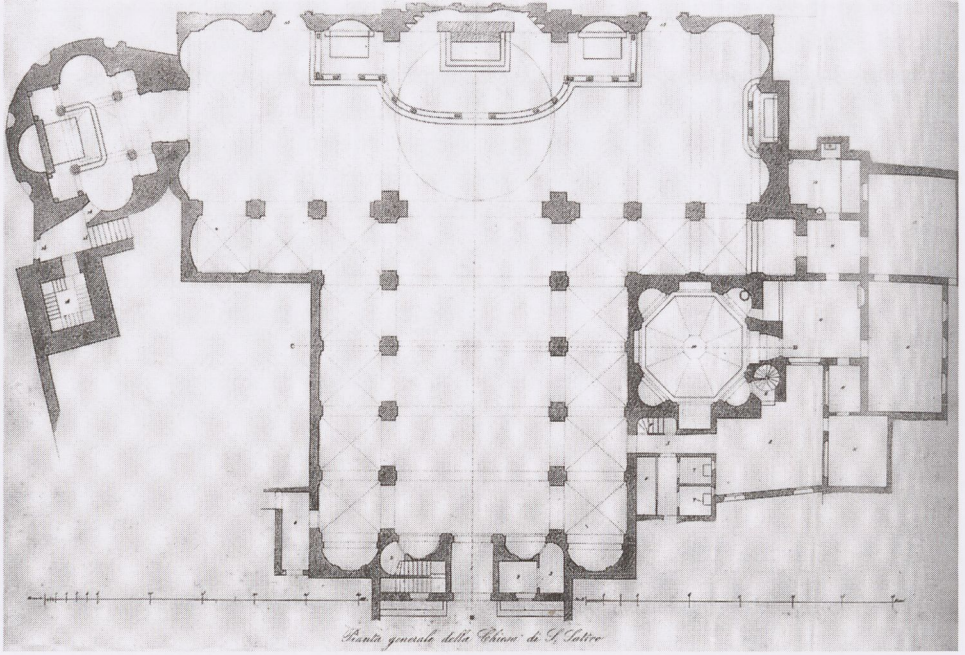
6.3   Milan, S. Maria presso S. Satiro, plan, from F. Cassina,
Le fabbriche più cospicue di Milano, Milan, 1840

6.4   Milan, S. Maria presso S. Satiro, interior

The three orders of the rear façade correspond to the two orders of the nave and to the pillars of the crossing. For the first time in the Renaissance, Bramante is here following the principle of correspondence of interior and exterior. It had been the consequence of the reduction of the wall to a transparent skeleton visible from inside as well as from outside in Gothic architecture admired by Bramante in Milan Cathedral.[19] He understood that the technique of construction, the lighting and the systematic rationality of Gothic architecture were superior to those of antiquity and that his buildings would profit, if the two traditions were combined. When ten years previously Alberti had repeated the system of the interior of Sant'Andrea on the independent façade of its *pronaos*, he had not yet aimed for a comparable transparency.

In the adjacent sacristy, which Bramante may have designed a little later, he followed the steep octagon of S. Aquilino, an early Christian chapel attached to S. Lorenzo in Milan. He made the alternating niches much deeper and continued the pilasters of the Corinthian order between them not only in the projections of the entablature, but also in the dwarf order of the triforium and in the ribs of the vault. The light enters through the triforium and the round windows which perforate the webs of the vault. As in the engraving, heroic heads and a figural frieze animate the interior with human life, but in its proportions, vertical continuity and lighting, Gothic architecture is even more influential.

Bramante's and Leonardo's Milanese Collaboration

In the summer of 1482, when Bramante was still busy with S. Maria presso S. Satiro, Leonardo da Vinci arrived in Milan and soon seems to have become his main intellectual and artistic partner. Leonardo's early Milanese drawings show that he had grown up under the shadow of Florence Cathedral, and knew its hierarchically ascending system by heart, that Brunelleschi had taught him the beauty of the column, and how to hollow out the wall by niches on all sides.[20] But even more than Brunelleschi and Alberti, Leonardo was interested in the corporeal plasticity of the exterior and in the autonomy of the secondary rooms.[21] At the same time, he was already playing with Bramante's quincunx and hierarchically ascending orders. He was, however, too imbued with Florentine spirit to accept Bramante's ramified expanding spaces unconditionally.

Bramante profited from this contact too, when he was commissioned around 1487 to plan Pavia Cathedral (fig. 6.5).[22] By 1486 the canons had expressed their desire to add a huge choir to the old nave. In August 1487 the *fabbricieri* submitted a project in the "modern" Renaissance style – probably Bramante's – to Cardinal Ascanio Sforza, their bishop and Lodovico's brother, then in Rome, who may have hoped to be buried in the choir. They asked him to compare it with Roman churches and most of all with the Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, which in their eyes was an antique
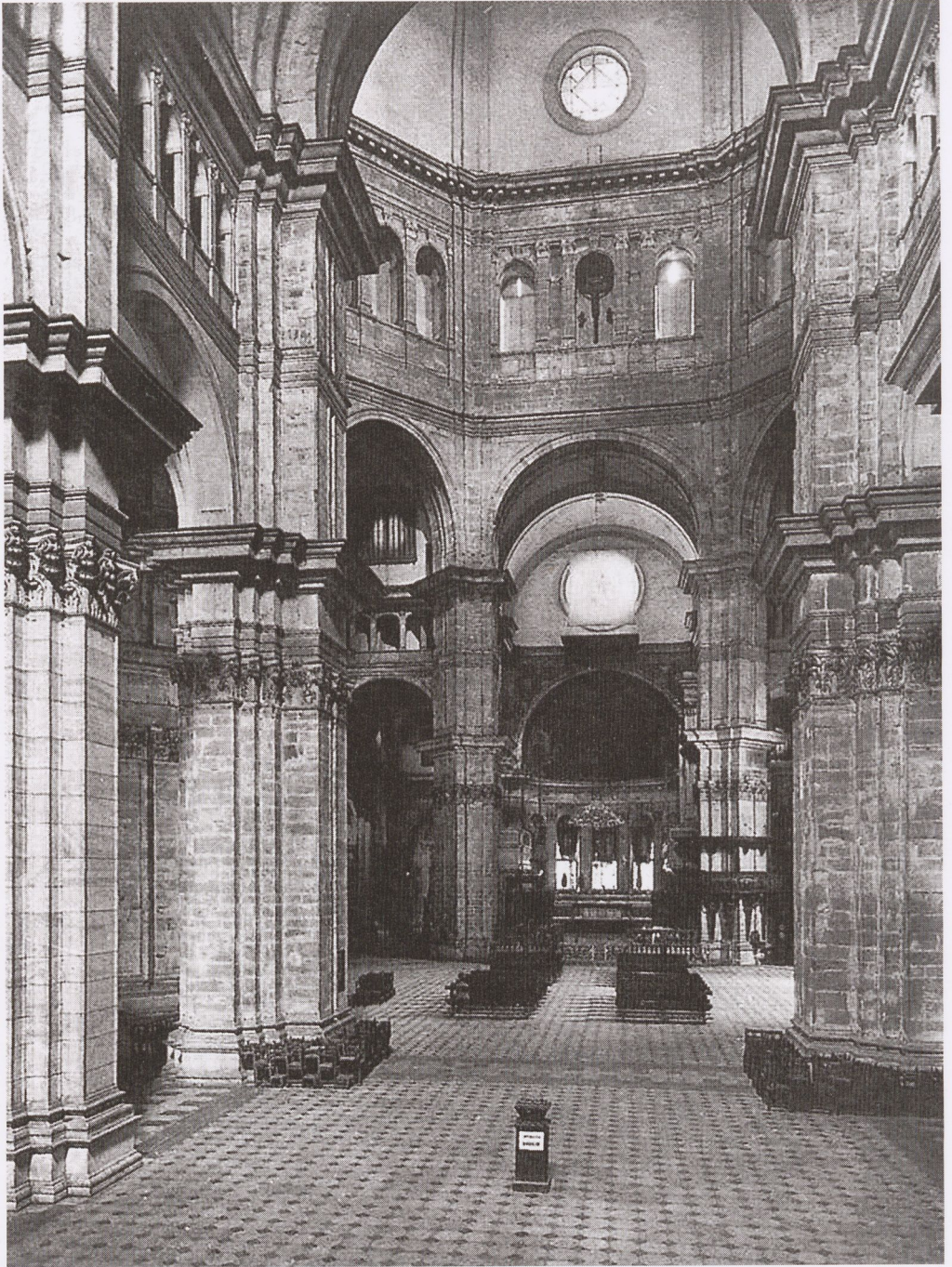
6.5   Pavia Cathedral, interior

building – "that most celebrated of all temples in whose likeness we hope to be able to have [the cathedral] fashioned."[23]

The extension of the octagon to the width of the three-aisled cross-arms, the hierarchically ascending structure of the corporeal exterior and even the pillars with pedestals which continue in projections and in a second storey are clearly inspired by the Florentine Duomo. Bramante certainly discussed all formal and structural problems with Leonardo who had paraphrased Florence Cathedral in so many of his early drawings, and this clearly influenced the corporeal plasticity of the exterior of his project. In 1490, Leonardo was called as consultant to Pavia and two plans for churches in smaller scale testify again how intensely he exchanged ideas with Bramante and varied his ideas, limiting hierarchy and expansive space and tending to a more stereometrical simplicity of the exterior.

Through surrounding the crossing of Pavia Cathedral with a sort of ambulatory, Bramante however was influenced by the pilgrimage church in Loreto, in his native Marche.[24] Initiated around 1469 by Pope Paul II, this church was directly influenced by Florence Cathedral, and may have been designed by a Florentine, such as Giuliano da Maiano (1431–90), who is documented there from the late 1470s until 1487. Though four years previously Paul II had started his new Roman residence in classicizing forms, he now chose a project with Gothic pillars, corner colonettes, pointed arches, rib vaults, and window tracery. Like his predecessor Pius II in Pienza, he may still have considered Gothic forms more adequate to Christian faith and to the foremost pilgrimage church in Italy. The transparency of the radiating octagon of Loreto must have been particularly attractive to Bramante. Its eight pillars were originally much more slender so that the pilgrims could see and approach the high altar and the Holy House from all sides and reach the chapels in the cross-arms without entering the octagon.

Though no single form of Bramante's project for Pavia Cathedral is Gothic, it corresponds more closely to the slender and filigree cathedral of Milan than to the massive, squat, and relatively dark naves of Florence Cathedral or the basilica of Loreto. As in Bramante's later description of Milan cathedral – one of the many occasions where he and Leonardo must have discussed the same problem – the interior of Pavia Cathedral ascends from the chapels to the aisles, from the aisles to the nave and from the nave to the crossing and its cupola – a hierarchy directly comparable to that of the admired Byzantine quincunx.[25] He was thus fascinated by a typology despised by many of his contemporaries as barbarian. This is even more remarkable as Milan Cathedral was much more genuinely Gothic than the late medieval churches of Florence or Siena. Bramante sketched its plan still in 1505/06 on one of his projects for St Peter's in order to convince Julius II of the desirability of transparent ambulatories.[26]

Bramante's admiration for certain aspects of Gothic architecture is also reflected in the letter of his pupil Raphael to Leo X, the introduction to the planned survey of ancient Rome. According to Raphael, the rebirth of

architecture started with the Gothic, though its pointed arches were neither as solid nor as beautiful as the semicircular arches of antiquity and its ornament was ugly.[27] Nevertheless, this type of architecture has "some reason," because it is derived from the tree, as was the Vitruvian temple – that is to say, from nature. However, while Gothic architecture descended from uncut trees, the wooden beams of the first temples were regular: "Pur questa architettura hebbe qualche ragione, peró che nacque dalli albori non anchor tagliati, delle quali piegati li rami et rilegati insieme fanno di lor terzi acuti."

Bramante's project for the cupola of Pavia Cathedral may have been similar to that of the crypt, which is not as much influenced by the Canopus of the Villa Adriana than by the Hagia Sophia and Gothic rib vaults.[28] The direct influence of the two-storied pillars of the Hagia Sophia or the similar ones in S. Vitale in Ravenna is evident.[29] He had probably seen S. Vitale, the only Justinian building in the Italian peninsular, on his way from and to the Marche. Brunelleschi's S. Spirito inspired him again for the surrounding semicircular chapels and in particular for their intersection at the corners of the cross-arms. The buttresses between them were probably only added by Amadeo, since 1497 responsible for the planning. Amadeo also introduced the typically Lombard triforium and probably also the octagonal drum.

In this way, an intense dialogue with Milan Cathedral and the Hagia Sophia helped Bramante to transform the somewhat incoherent agglomeration of spaces and forms of Loreto basilica into a unified organism. While Brunelleschi had chosen mainly prototypes of early Christianity and Tuscan Proto-Renaissance, and Alberti of Roman antiquity, Bramante enlarged his repertoire in a much less evident manner with Byzantine and Gothic prototypes and motifs.

The most important shared project of Bramante and Leonardo was the embellishment of S. Maria delle Grazie.[30] In 1492 Lodovico il Moro commissioned Bramante to provide the late-Gothic church with a more monumental mausoleum-choir where the duke and his wife Beatrice d'Este were to be buried (fig. 6.6). After his dialogue with Gothic and Byzantine architecture, Bramante returned now to Brunelleschi's Old Sacristy, the funerary chapel of Giovanni de' Medici and his wife. Already around 1460 it had served as prototype for the mausoleum of the Florentine banker Pigello di Folco Portinari in S. Eustorgio in Milan and in 1470 for the tomb chapel of Bartolommeo Colleoni in Bergamo; thus il Moro may have insisted on a similar typology.[31] As in Pavia, Bramante extended the altar room to the width of the entire nave and thus made it much more spacious then the chapels by Brunelleschi, Filarete, and Amadeo. As in the Pazzi Chapel he continued the articulation of the altar wall on all four sides. The arches open on the lateral sides into huge semicircular exedras and on the rear side into the deep choir of the monks. The exedras and the large round cupola are reminiscent of S. Lorenzo, the most important late-antique monument of Milan, which only now, after his intense dialogue with the Hagia Sofia and S. Vitale, gained immediate influence on Bramante – another influence that lasted throughout his years in Rome.

6.6   Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie, Milan, interior facing altar

As in Leonardo's drawings, the interior is defined by a continuous wall. Even here, vertical continuity is, however, more important than the Vitruvian norm: the corner pilasters are as large as the archivolts in top of them, considerably larger than the pilasters of the four inner arches that continue in smaller archivolts. The effect is overwhelming and one remembers it, as always with truly monumental architecture, as being larger than it really is. Space expands in every direction and in particular in the cupola above our heads. Beams of light penetrate it from all sides and at every level, even through the lower part of the shell of the cupola, and give it a nearly tangible and, at the same time, metaphysical, quality. The cupola is decorated with cherubim and saints and represents, as in Byzantine churches, heaven and eternity, the goal of the dukes' souls buried beneath. Again the interior is not conceived as an empty space but as triumphal shell for the tombs, the dukes, their entourage, and dozens of priests and monks. Compared with its light-flooded spaciousness, the Prevedari engraving and S. Maria presso S. Satiro look dark, narrow and cramped. This conquest of space and splendour cannot be explained by the influence of Leonardo or any other contemporary artist and marks the beginning of a new period in Bramante's creative process.

For unknown reasons, around 1497 the responsibility of the planning was again transferred to Amadeo, who modified the exterior to echo the decorative Lombard manner of buildings, as he did in his project for Pavia Cathedral. In this way, Bramante lost his two most monumental projects without having the chance to design equally important ones before leaving Milan in 1499. Though even the lower part of the interior lacks the precision and beauty of Bramante's earlier buildings, the wheel-windows painted in the arches or the ribs of the cupola composed of circles, seem to be still his.

In 1495 when still busy with the choir, Bramante may have had a hand in the decoration of the refectory of S. Maria delle Grazie he had built shortly before. He must have discussed with Leonardo the *Last Supper* (fig. 1.1) and the *Crucifixion* on the opposite wall; the representation of Jerusalem in the latter speaks his language.[32] Bramante had a much longer experience in the metaphorical interpretation of central perspective, and architecture and central perspective play a similar role in no other of Leonardo's paintings; no others are similarly austere and "architectural." Both the *Crucifixion* and the *Last Supper* increase the depth of the refectory through the means of central perspective. As in earlier representations of the Last Supper, Christ and his disciples are integrated in the foreground. Leonardo articulates the room only by the coffering of the ceiling, the rectangles of the tapestries on both lateral walls, and the three openings in the rear wall. Each of the eight tapestries, a traditional decoration of elegant saloons, corresponds to a disciple and places him within the perspective dynamic. These dark tapestries contrast with the three illuminated openings in the back wall through which one sees a distant landscape. The round gable on brackets characterizes the door as *porta ionica* which seems to give access to the rear garden of a palace. Each of the two

lateral windows corresponds to two disciples, between them St John who, as if afraid of this privileged position, leans sideways. Perspective directs our eye to the hierarchically dominating Christ whose head hides the vanishing point, as in Alberti's plaquette. The light penetrates through the central door and substitutes the halo of Christ. Thanks to perspective, he is tangibly near and at the same time far away. This representation of space in the *Last Supper* is only comparable to Bramante's illusionistic choir of S. Maria presso S. Satiro; and its unique combination of realism and metaphysical transcendence, of spatial unity and theological hierarchy, of light and shadow, to the choir of S. Maria delle Grazie.

The *Last Supper* is the first work generally and convincingly accepted as "High Renaissance" – not because Leonardo came nearer to antiquity here than in his earlier paintings, but because he comprised and surpassed all earlier achievements of painters in subtle psychology, human dignity, and religious depth, in dramatic tension and balanced grandeur.[33] Leonardo tried to evoke the secrets of Christian transcendence through architectural means, and filled the perspective space for the first time with autonomous human beings who breathe and whose physiognomies, gestures, and movements reflect the emotions of their souls. No earlier painting suggests the spirit of a loving community so eloquently; Leonardo perhaps had some experience of this kind, as Raphael had later when conceiving the "School of Athens."[34]

The theory about the origins of Gothic architecture may have inspired Leonardo when he transformed in 1498 – perhaps with Bramante's help – the Sala delle Asse in the Castello Sforzesco, a tower room in the Sforza Castle, in the regular little grove of a princely garden.[35] Its ten laurel trees form a shadowy baldachin with narrowly interwoven branches. Like the tree columns of Bramante's Canonica, discussed below, they allude to the Sforza, whose court of arms covers the centre of the vault. Particularly near to Bramante is Leonardo's attempt to eliminate the corners and to emphasize the diagonal forces. In sum, the seventeen years Bramante and Leonardo spent together at the ducal court in Milan were decisive for the formation of the High Renaissance.

Giuliano da Sangallo's Influence on Bramante's Last Milanese Years

Bramante's interest in the free-standing column seems to have been awakened only by Giuliano da Sangallo, who visited Milan in 1492. During the preceding years Giuliano had been the only architect who realized colonnades with tripartite entablature. When, in 1492, Bramante designed the Canonica, a four-winged atrium which never proceeded beyond the rear wing, his prototype was probably Giuliano's atrium of S. Maria Maddalena dei Pazzi.[36] Providing the columnar arcades with an entablature and accompanying them with a giant order of pilasters he again followed, however, the older Brunelleschi. The giant order distinguishes the centre of

the wing hierarchically and frames the triumphal arch through which the canons entered the basilica. Even more triumphal and nearer to Giuliano is the atrium of S. Maria Nascente in Abbiategrasso, started in around 1496/97 where Bramante used paired columns for the first time.[37] A print of a stage setting, complete with the proud inscription "BRAMANTI. ARCHITECTI OPUS," which he may have designed for a performance of a comedy at Lodovico's court, is similar in style.[38] It is not only the first known stage setting strictly based on central perspective, but also shows Bramante's first real colonnade – *columnatio* understood in the Albertian sense as the combination of columns and a tripartite entablature. The palace to the right opens in a vestibule with three rows of five columns with straight entablature. Both the triumphal arch and the basilica in the background are ennobled by columnar orders. The analogies to the Urbino and Baltimore panels (fig. 8.2) are striking and extend to details such as the volutes above the windows. In the more slender proportions and in the projections of the entablature Bramante insisted again on a vertical continuity and was not yet interested in a Vitruvian accuracy of detail. In contrast to the panels in Berlin and Urbino, he once again designed his stage setting as the framework of human beings and dramatic action.

With its unbroken entablature, the portico which protects the little bridge of the Castel Sforzesco, the "ponticella di Lodovico il Moro," testifies to a further response to Giuliano's colonnades.[39] However, it was only in the two cloisters of S. Ambrogio, designed around 1497, that Bramante started to distinguish different orders, as Giuliano had done much earlier.[40] He articulated the upper storey with a theatre motif and a flat Doric order and distinguished the columnar arcades of the lower storey by providing them not only with fragments of an entablature but one of them also with Doric and the other with Ionic capitals. Thus, shortly before leaving Milan, he had accepted the colonnade and the orders of Vitruvius which were to become basic elements of the Roman High Renaissance.

Bramante's Roman Years

BRAMANTE'S ROMAN BEGINNINGS

Though Bramante had become increasingly closer to Vitruvius and antiquity, neither he nor Leonardo may ever have left Lodovico's generous court, had Milan not been occupied by the French.[41] For Bramante at least, this occurred at a propitious moment, and after having arrived in Rome on the eve of the Holy Year, he was immediately inspired by the ancient monuments he saw, and became their foremost propagator.[42] During the preceding decades in Rome the orders and the column had been rediscovered, but no colonnade of free-standing columns with a continuous entablature had been constructed. Though dominated by the morally dubious Borgia family, Rome was at that time one of the most
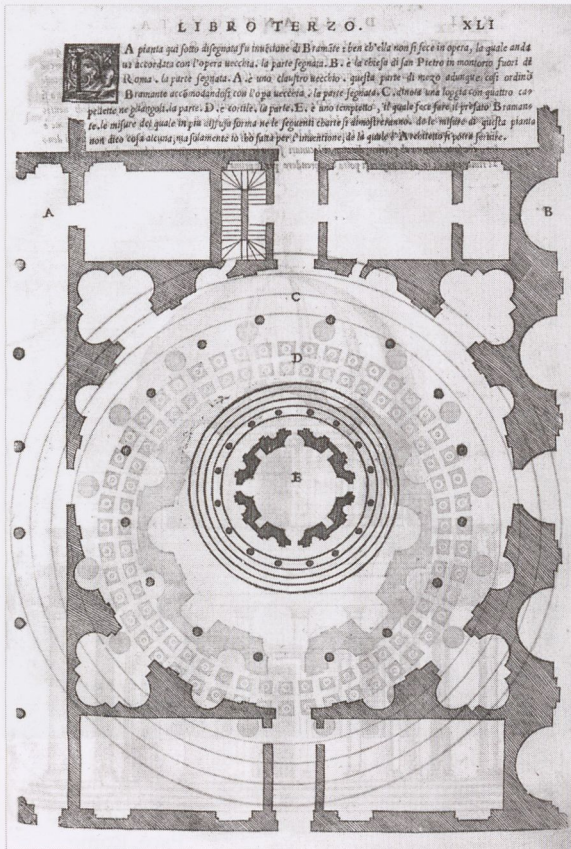
promising places for a prominent architect. And while Alexander VI was not particularly interested in classicyzing architecture, some cardinals and rich prelates immediately gave Bramante a series of highly satisfying commissions.

His first Roman building, the cloister of S. Maria della Pace, begun in 1500, already testifies to Bramante's intense study of antique and contemporary Roman architecture (fig. 6.7). Reversing the system of his cloisters at S. Ambrogio he used a free-standing colonnade in front of the monks' cells on the upper floor and made it part of a composition which may have been inspired by the cosmatesque cloister of S. Giovanni in Laterano. It is much more complex than anything from antiquity or by Giuliano da Sangallo: round columns on bases with Corinthian capitals alternate with a combination of columns and pillars without bases. These continue the pillars of the theatre motifs of the ground floor and pilasters projected on their outside continue the Ionic order. This vertical continuity culminates in the projections of the architrave and the twin brackets of its frieze. Thus horizontal and vertical forces meet in the pillar-columns whose capitals are, in fact, composed of Ionic and Corinthian elements. Again the wall is reduced to a supporting skeleton, a transparent screen open to space.

A year later Bramante started work on the Palazzo Caprini and in its façade translated the scheme of the slightly earlier Palazzo Castellesi into his own language. Under the influence of Roman antiquity, Brunelleschi's architecture

became increasingly corporeal and classicizing in every detail. The rusticated arcades of the ground floor which opened into *botteghe* supported pairs of engaged columns in the *piano nobile* which continued in the triglyphs of the Doric entablature. In its emphasis on the supporting skeleton, on the encounter of its vertical and horizontal forces and on the virtual opening of the wall the facade is still comparable to the cloister of S. Maria della Pace.

At the same time, the monarchs of Spain wanted to distinguish with a chapel the presumed site of St Peter's martyrdom, situated in the first cloister of S. Pietro in Montorio on Ianiculum hill (figs 6.8 and 6.9).[43] Their Roman representative, Cardinal Bernardo Carvajal, commissioned Bramante, who articulated its ground floor like a Doric *tholos*. For this building, he followed Vitruvius and Alberti for the first time in its proportions, intercolumnations, the detail of the three Doric orders, the *porta ionica*, and the "flower" – *flos* – on top of the cupola. The Doric order and its triglyphed frieze allude to the male heroism of the saint and the metopes to the religious cult and perhasp also the papal office that Carvajal aspired to. The four triumphal arches of the interior, similar to those of the interior of S. Andrea in Mantua, and the first in series in Bramante's oeuvre, symbolize victory over death and contribute to the triumphal splendour of the chapel. The main storey was the first near-textual revival of an antique temple and it was thus no accident that the Tempietto was included by Serlio and Palladio as the first building of equal rank in their selection of antique monuments.

However, in order to memorize the place where the founder of the Christian Church, the first pope, and prince of the apostles had suffered martyrdom, it was not sufficient to build a classicizing temple. It was to be a chapel with a well-lit interior and steep proportions, which would elevate the spirits of the faithful in a similar way as the sacristy of S. Maria presso S. Satiro. Bramante thus inserted a high-windowed drum between the ground floor and the cupola, and articulated its exterior with wall strips, a reduced order that already in Bramante's design continued in the ribs of the hemispherical cupola and the "flower." He balanced this vertical continuity by the strong horizontal emphasis of the three surrounding steps, the two entablatures, the balustrade, and the surrounding cloister.

6.9   Bramante, Tempietto, church of S. Pietro in Montorio, Rome

Strengthening and contrasting these forces, as in his earlier buildings, he essentially distinguished the Tempietto from all antique prototypes.

However, the project would only have been complete with the concentric and probably two-storied colonnade of the surrounding cloister shown in Serlio's plan (fig. 6.8). Inspired by the "Teatro Marittimo" of Villa Adriana and other antique prototypes, and as he had done before only in his figural compositions, Bramante was now attempting to balance the relationship between the "body" and its surrounding space.[44] The temple provided the hub of a centralized system whose main axes crossed above the holy site and whose four entrances would have facilitated the circulation of the thousands of pilgrims who, as in the Holy Year of 1500, would have visited the site. He probably wanted to put the altar on four legs over the place of Peter's martyrdom in the centre of the pavement, but his patrons must have asked him to make the crypt accessible. He succeeded only by hiding the steep stair under an altar put in front of the rear exedra.

In carving out the supporting wall, both exterior and interior of the Tempietto, with niches in slightly over-human size, and in reducing its wall to the static minimum, Bramante went much further than Brunelleschi in S. Maria degli Angeli and he himself in his Milanese buildings, and developed this method to unheard-of virtuosity. Evidently his knowledge of Gothic architecture enabled him to understand the construction methods of the imperial baths more precisely than any earlier Renaissance architect.

None of his three early Roman projects could compete in size with his Lombard churches, but everything changed when, in Fall 1503, Giuliano della Rovere became pope, the most forceful and charismatic pontiff of the Renaissance, who soon succeeded in filling the papal treasury and becoming the foremost patron of his time. With him security, justice, and prosperity returned to Rome and his immensely rich banker Agostino Chigi could dare to build his luxurious palace outside the city walls. Julius immediately made Bramante his first architect and put Giuliano da Sangallo, who had served him when still cardinal for many years, in second place.[45]

Julius longed for imperial splendour and ordered Bramante to transform the whole ascending and c.300 metres deep area between the old Vatican Palace and the Villa Belvedere into a new *Domus Transitoria*, a tripartite space with a huge courtyard and two terraced gardens which connected the two buildings on one level (fig. 6.10). Exhibiting more grandeur than any other prince of his day, the pope could there manifest his power and glory in all sorts of shows and feasts, and enjoy in his private room a view which corresponded metaphorically to the far reaching vision of his early reign.[46] The longitudinal axis ended in a little Odeion, an exedra, to which the eye was guided by the rhythm of the flanking architecture.

Bramante could now realize his earlier ideas in a single prospect and on a much more monumental scale. In the wall system of the huge courtyard he connected the horizontal and vertical forces in a similarly complex way as in the cloister of S. Maria della Pace and looked in the following years
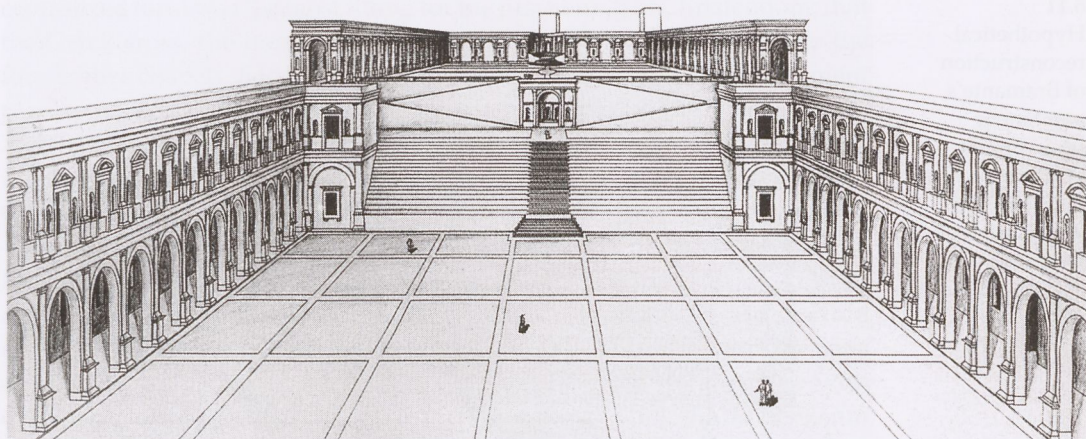
for young sculptors which would fill the niches of the upper storey with life-sized statues. When coming from the old palace to the upper garden the pope entered a *via triumphalis* articulated by similar triumphal arches as in the Tempietto. Though every single form now was inspired by antiquity, the whole composition is unthinkable without Bramante's twenty-five-year-long dialogue with the post-antique tradition.

6.10
Hypothetical reconstruction of Bramante's second project for the Cortile del Belvedere (drawing by G. Diller with Christoph Frommel)

St Peter's

About sixteen months after the foundation of the Cortile del Belvedere, Julius felt powerful and rich enough to rebuild St Peter's and make it a temple of the glory of the prince of the apostles and himself.[47] As had been achieved with his uncle Sixtus IV's tomb chapel, which was attached to the left aisle of the old basilica, he wanted to combine the choir of the chapter with his mausoleum but now dedicate the entire western cross arm to it. In his initial plan of March 1505, Bramante proposed to enlarge the crossing of Rossellino's choir to a quincunx and to continue it with a Latin cross. Only some weeks later did he present a perfectly centralized plan that was so convincing that the pope ordered a foundation medal with its elevation stamped on it (figs 2.3 and 6.11). It had little to do with the old basilica, the new choir Nicholas V had started or most of the other religious buildings of the fifteenth century in Rome and Florence, but was the result of Bramante's Milanese experiences and his recent Roman inspirations. He merged the quincunx of the Prevedari engraving with the radiating cross-arms and the ascending hierarchy of Pavia Cathedral (figs 6.1 and 6.5) and the dominating cupola of Florence Cathedral – a plan so near to his Milanese ideas that many of its characteristics had been anticipated in an early sketch of Leonardo.[48] As in Roman baths and in the Tempietto, the walls would have been reduced as much as possible by niches and exedras. Even from far away, the gigantic exterior would have appeared as an image of eternity and would have represented the triumph

6.11
Hypothetical
reconstruction
of Bramante's
parchment
project for St
Peter's (drawing
by P. Föllbach
with Christoph
Frommel)
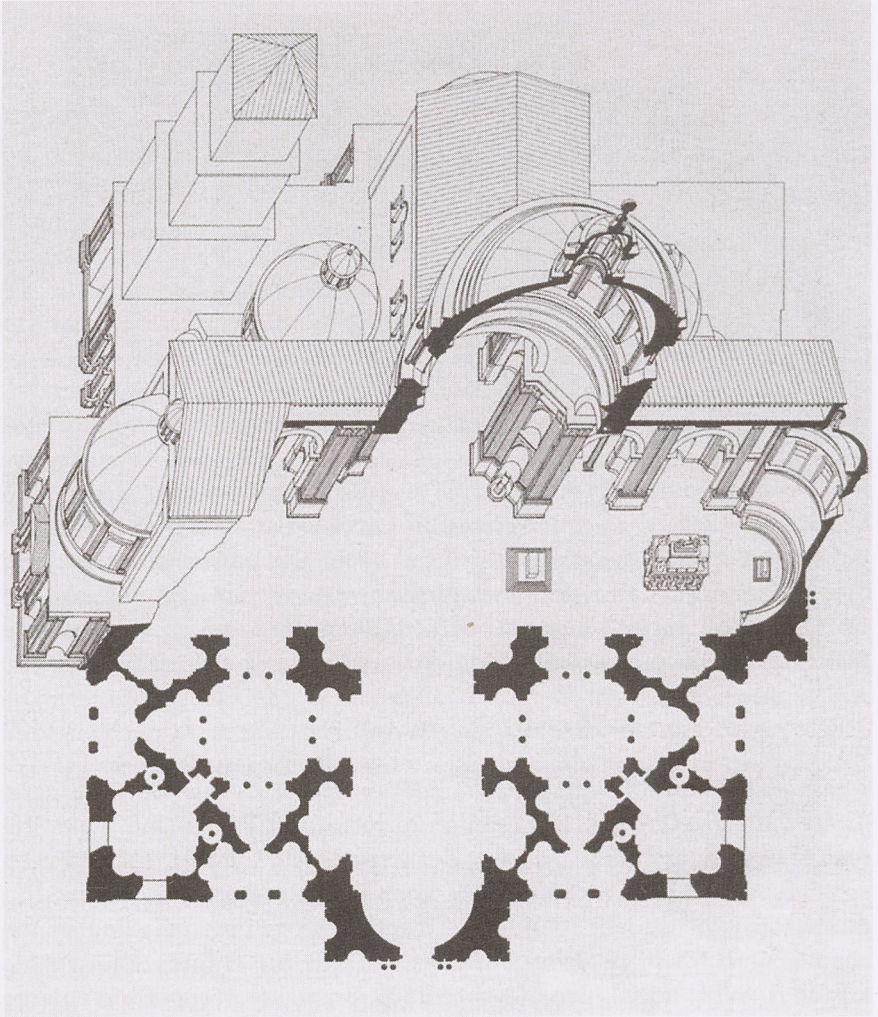
of the Church. The drum was inspired by Hadrian's mausoleum and the cupola by the Pantheon. The interior would have been even better lit than that of S. Maria delle Grazie, while the octagonal corner chapels followed those of the baths of Diocletian. Pairs of slender giant pilasters would have continued in the projections of the entablature and the arches of the vault. Expanding in every direction it would have even exceeded the effect of grandeur and freedom of the executed project (fig. 6.11). It was to be the sacred theatre where tens of thousands would admire the splendour of the pope and his court displayed under the cupola and adore the glory of his holy predecessor.

Bramante could never have arrived at such an effect solely through the revival of antiquity. His Byzantine, Gothic, and Florentine roots are evident, and all were essential. He must have explained the symbolism of the quincunx to the pope and must have convinced him that its hierarchical and

centralized form was the most fitting for the first church of Christendom; that the Greek cross, the immense dome, its radiance and dominance over the four corner chapels, had a cosmic and theological meaning. The parchment plan represents, in fact, the apex and quintessence of High Renaissance architecture – as Michelangelo's contemporary project for Julius' tomb did in sculpture and, a few years later, the Stanza della Segnatura and the Sistine Chapel would do in painting.

Bramante and Giuliano must have convinced the pope to commission Michelangelo for his tomb. The young Florentine had, in his *David*, arrived at a perfection of sculpture similar to Bramante in architecture and Leonardo in painting.[49] In a few weeks Michelangelo's project developed from a wall tomb with few statues to a free-standing one with over forty over-life-size statues, which competed with the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. The oval tomb chamber on the ground floor was to be surrounded by female victories and naked slaves of seducing sensuality. Statues of Moses and Paul and of the active and contemplative life on the four corners of the lower platform would have represented the two sides of Julius' mission. On top of the pyramidal composition the pope was to be carried to heaven[50] – a unique anticipation of the salvation of his soul which Michelangelo after 1530 changed into his more modest awakening on the Last Day. Julius wanted to be recorded as triumphant during and after life, as pope and emperor, as successor of Peter and Julius Caesar.

Some months later a counter-proposal by Giuliano da Sangallo, in which he translated Bramante's ideas in his more massive Florentine idiom, called Julius' attention to the structural weakness of the project. But the pope must have felt how incomparably more complex and ingenious Bramante's project was and that Giuliano never would arrive to a comparable spatial vision.[51] Bramante had to return to the Latin cross and to enlarge the pillars and these led him to introduce the ambulatories of the three cross-arms which would have worsened their illumination and further increased costs. Before construction begun, Julius forced him to return to the dimensions of the project of his admired predecessor Nicholas V,[52] to renounce the quincunx, and to isolate and better illuminate the cross-arms (fig. 6.12). Julius wanted an architecture which glorified the Church, the prince of the apostles and his person, and which conferred imperial splendour to his residence, his capital and his state, but he wanted to see it finished. Bramante tried to merge the functional, theological, political, and personal requirements of the pope with his own complex ideas, but the result was much simpler than the ramified parchment plan, more similar to Alberti's S. Andrea and to St Peter's present form.

Shortly before his death, Julius ordered that the choir arm should be dedicated to the birth of the Virgin, that it should be decorated with a precious pavement, mosaics, and splendid garments, that a newly founded choir of singers should embellish the masses and that it should be called

6.12
Hypothetical
reconstruction
of Bramante's
project of 1507
for St Peter's
(drawing by
P. Föllbach
with Christoph
Frommel)
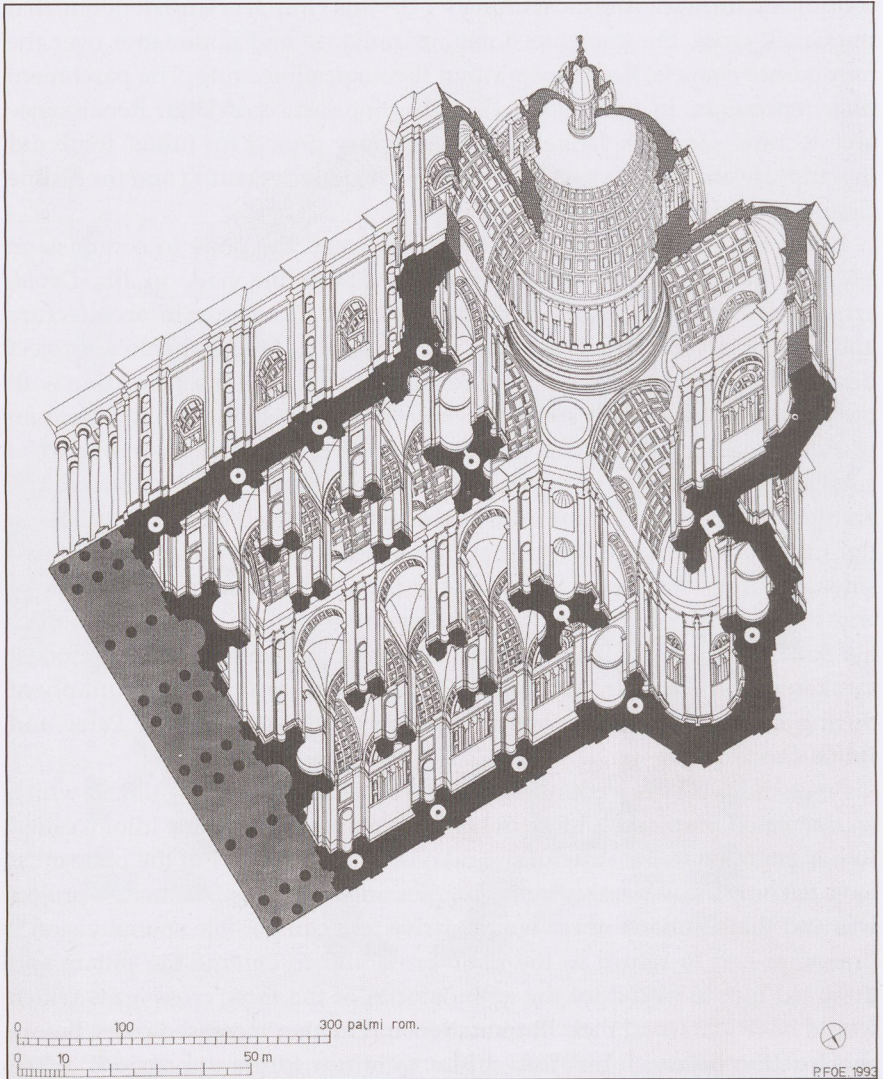
Capella Iulia. This *Gesamtkunstwerk*, where the visual arts and even music were brought together, was never finished, but was absolutely characteristic of the spirit of the High Renaissance and had its immediate successor in Agostino Chigi's tomb chapel in S. Maria del Popolo.

BRAMANTE, MICHELANGELO, AND RAPHAEL

If Bramante during his last Milanese years had slowly approached Giuliano da Sangallo's Vitruvianism, he now penetrated much deeper in the secrets of antique architecture and became its unrivalled expert. Politics and economics had developed so positively, that from about 1505 onward he could start to transform late medieval Rome into a capital worthy of the new Julius Caesar.

He was the pope's most powerful consultant and manager of all artistic enterprises.

For financial and other reasons Julius postponed the execution of his tomb and commissioned Michelangelo for the frescoes of the Sistine Chapel (fig. 11.1). As the great expert of perspective, Bramante had doubts about Michelangelo's capacity to decorate a ceiling with figures. Thus the pope first asked Michelangelo to decorate its spandrels with monumental apostles and the centre with more ornamental panels.[53] Michelangelo declined and, though known as extremely authoritarian, Julius gave him the chance to change subject and to interpret the origins of mankind in his own way. Michelangelo substituted the apostles with prophets and their antique counterpart, the sibyls, and added the ancestors of Christ, establishing a continuity which spanned the Creation to St Peter and the popes. His architectural framework was evidently inspired by Bramante's Milanese fresco of *Argus* (fig. 11.7), and its triumphal character was emphasized by huge festoons of heraldic oak leaves with acorns.[54] Pairs of *ignudi*, the most beautiful youths represented since antiquity, substituted the slaves of the unrealized tomb. Michelangelo thus decorated the chapel as for an ephemeral feast – the feast of life, which was not sacrificed to faith but elevated and eternalized by it. He started the second half of the ceiling only after Julius' defeat in northern Italy and now showed God in his terrifying omnipotence.

Bramante looked also for other talents in Italy and directed them toward antiquity. Soon teams of architects, sculptors, and painters were in dynamic activity in Julius' service – be it in the Vatican palace and the Belvedere, the choir of S. Maria del Popolo, his castle in Ostia, his hunting lodge at La Magliana or the basilica of Loreto. Other patrons like the rich banker Agostino Chigi imitated him.[55] Not even in antiquity had Rome seen the production of such a wealth of masterworks in such a short time.

Bramante must have also tried to bring Leonardo to Rome. After the French invasion of Milan, he had served Julius' deadly enemy Cesare Borgia and then returned to his native Florence where he concentrated much more on painting than previously.[56] In the unfinished *Battle of Anghiari* he succeeded in liberating his figures even more than previously from their imprisonment in the picture plane and let them move more freely and dynamically than ever before in the surrounding space. He inspired Michelangelo, who competed with him in the *Battle of Cascina* on the other wall of the Great Council Hall. Leonardo was, however, hardly a suitable artist for the impatient and demanding Julius and seems to have been much less interested in ancient art than Bramante. After returning for some years to Milan he came briefly to Rome, after Julius had died, and then ended his days at the French court.

Nevertheless he had a decisive influence on the Roman High Renaissance and in particular on Raphael, who had spent four years in Florence, before coming to Rome in summer 1508. Julius, who had just reconquered Bologna and reached the apex of his power, ordered him to decorate his private library, the Stanza della Segnatura, and Raphael made it the most eloquent manifesto

of the High Renaissance.[57] The *School of Athens* and the *Parnassus* reflect this particular moment when the most ingenious poets and artists received the most attractive commissions and could hope for a new Golden Age. Raphael proved himself there to be Leonardo's only true follower, the only one able to endow his figures with a similar life and freedom, the sense of facility of movement within pictorial space.[58] But, thanks to Michelangelo and ancient sculpture, he also knew anatomy so profoundly that he could invent figures in ancient poses and decorate the hall of the *School of Athens* (fig. 10.2) with statues and reliefs in the ancient manner.

In the Stanza della Segnatura Raphael assembled all the major occidental writers then known, from the Old Testament and Homer to the time of Julius II. Antiquity and its modern revival dominate, but as in Bramante's architecture there are also great thinkers of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventura, Dante, Petrarch and Bocaccio are present as part of the great Mediterranean tradition. The sciences culminate in Plato, whom Raphael probably identified with the omniscient Leonardo, the greatest genius he had ever met. Euclid has the face of Bramante[59] and is shown as the teacher of a group of youths. It is no coincidence that this forms the most spacious part of the fresco and looks even freer than the riders of the *Battle of Anghiari*. Raphael himself, and possibly Giuliano da Sangallo, flank the scene at the right corner, counterweighted on the left corner by Raphael's friend Tommaso Inghirami, the great humanist, papal librarian, and reviver of the Roman theatre, who may have helped him to work out the erudite programme. When, in summer 1511, Michelangelo had unveiled the first half of the Sistine Ceiling, Raphael added him sitting in front of a marble block. Thus all major founders of the Roman High Renaissance were assembled – and hardly just in order to represent scholars of the past! They considered themselves worthy to be part of the community of the greatest spirits of mankind, and Bramante had a leading role in this constellation – a role even more important than that of Brunelleschi in the 1420s Florence.

The architecture of the fresco is so near to Bramante's projects for St Peter's that it has been attributed to him. It is completely different from the columned *stoa* of Athens where Greek philosophers met, and there is no antique prototype for such a crossing which expands beyond the four barrel-vaulted cross-arms and continues in pendentives, an illuminated drum, and a round cupola. The walls are articulated by twin pilasters of a Doric order which alternate with niches filled with statues of ancient gods. The deep perspective ends, as in the choir of S. Maria presso S. Satiro, in the infinite.[60] The perspective sequence of barrel vaults and a distant and isolated triumphal arch frame, as with halos, Plato and Aristotle. They are near and, at the same time, distant, like Christ in Leonardo's *Last Supper*. They seem to have come through the triumphal arch into the hall and to have surmounted the nearly 2,000 years which separated classical Greece from the Rome of Julius II. Depth of perspective corresponds to depth of time. With no other architecture could Raphael have visualized the hierarchical structure, the enlightened grandeur and the unlimited

"knowledge of causes" – *causarum cognitio*, as the inscription explains on the ceiling below the personification of philosophy – more convincingly than by imitating Bramante's centralized and expansive space. Even more than the *Disputa* and the *Parnassus*, the *School of Athens* shows a community of great masters and disciples and is reminiscent, particularly in its uppermost level, of Leonardo's *Last Supper*. When coming to Rome in 1508, Raphael had entered this kind of intellectual and artistic community, and Bramante and Leonardo must have had already a similar experience when living with their disciples in Milan.

The atmosphere changed rapidly, when Julius in 1510/11 failed to free Emilia from French occupation and a group of cardinals tried to replace him. It was no coincidence then, that he became at this point the dominating figure of Raphael's frescoes. On the fourth wall of the Stanza della Segnatura he painted him *in cathedra* under the protection of Fortitudo, Prudentia and Temperantia with the beard he declared he would bear as long as the French occupied northern Italy. In the Stanza d'Eliodoro Julius is shown as saved by divine intervention three times, but, surrounded by his splendid court, participates at the same time in the miracles of earlier centuries – a high-handed self-confidence dared by no earlier pope and reminiscent of Michelangelo's tomb project. When in summer 1512 foreign troops suddenly left, he ordered Raphael to paint the Liberation of Peter and when in October he had annexed Piacenza he ordered him to paint the Sistine Madonna as a sign of gratitude.[61] There Julius is in the guise of the papal St Sixtus, kneeling under the Virgin who is graciously walking on clouds, as in Michelangelo's first project for his tomb. Julius must have known that Raphael gave her the idealized features of the venerated *Donna Velata* (Palazzo Pitti, Florence). Thus both patron and artist identified personally with their saints. Probably no other works of art embody more directly the essence of High Renaissance than the last works Raphael did for Julius II.

High Renaissance

Even after the defeat in northern Italy, not only Raphael and Bramante, but also Michelangelo, identified with Julius more wholeheartedly than most artists did with their patrons. The many projects testify to his creative dialogue with these artists, his capacity to make them visualize his religiosity, his ideas, and utopias and to give of their best. He personally followed the progress and quality of their work and drove them to finish it in time and without much help from collaborators. Without this unique human and artistic constellation the High Renaissance would hardly have reached its Roman climax, and Julius certainly felt that his posthumous fame depended also on the genius of this little group. Julius and his artists must have been conscious that the beginning of the "third" and most perfect age, as Vasari would call it, was an extraordinary event in human culture. The pope had assembled these artists and made them collaborate, inspire each other, and rival each other. They measured themselves against their

ancestors, their contemporaries and each other and learned continuously from each other. With a loving view on the world they believed in the divine beauty they had learned from the ancients. Their particular empathy with antique art and their continuous inspiration by it which was possible only in Rome, contributed decisively to their success. They were conscious of the extraordinary *kairos* (supreme moment) of their own days, which surpassed all earlier periods in scientific and technological progress but also of their Christian and medieval roots. Their idea of the human being was different from that of antiquity, more individual, more dynamic and illuminated by the learning of their time. When they tried to create for the human being a space to move in, they mirrored one of the essential tendencies of their time, the longing for exterior and inner freedom, the liberation of mankind from the last relics of the Middle Ages and the conquest of the universe far beyond the boundaries of the old world. This small group of ingenious artists assembled for a short period around an extraordinary patron under a particularly favourable constellation. They tried to reach a purer, deeper and more comprehensive insight into the human condition than before or since and like the Greece of Pericles represented the climax of an *Achsenzeit* ("axial age"), around which other periods rotate.[62]

The beginning and end of High Renaissance cannot be determined with precision. It had been prepared in different artistic centres in Italy and first of all by Bramante's and Leonardo's conquest of space and inner freedom and probably no earlier work than the *Last Supper* can claim to represent the beginning of High Renaissance. However, it reached its climax only between 1505 and 1513, when three of the four leading artists created their greatest works. Even Venetian colour arrived in summer 1511 in Rome with Sebastiano del Piombo and had an immediate influence on Raphael and Michelangelo.[63] In this way, all the major developments from the main artistic centres of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century Italy were confluent in Julius' Rome.

With the deaths of Julius in February 1513 and of Bramante in March 1514 died the unique constellation of the High Renaissance in the narrow sense of the word, its inner circle. The planning of St Peter's reached a stalemate. Leonardo, who had come to Rome in 1514, left after a year, Giuliano did so in 1515, and Michelangelo in 1516 after having hardly finished two of the forty figures of the tomb.

But there is an outer circle of High Renaissance which starts with the *Last Supper* and Leonardo's subsequent paintings, with Bramante's Tempietto and Michelangelo's *David*, and which ends with Raphael's death in 1520. It was only when Leo X succeeded Julius in 1513 that Raphael became the dominating *uomo universale* responsible for all major artistic enterprises in Rome. In his insight into antique art and his capacity to revive it without imitating he excelled all earlier artists. In the Farnesina he made the antique gods return to life, in the Sala di Costantino he evoked the antique hero, and in the theatre, baths, hippodrome, *dietae*, and *cenationes* of Villa Madama he tried to create the conditions for a life in ancient style. He tried to preserve antique

monuments from destruction and began to measure them systematically in order to build the new Rome on the fragments of the old. Under Leo X, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Baldassarre Peruzzi, and Jacopo Sansovino joined the small group of High Renaissance architects and Raphael formed a school which would change the artistic scene of Europe.

There were, however, also the first symptoms of crisis and decay. Leo X was less charismatic than Julius, more worldly, courtly and hedonistic. He tolerated execution by assistants and the seismographic Raphael reflected this change in mentality immediately. In the Stanza dell'Incendio the pope is not as present as in Raphael's preceding frescoes and they are less animated by human empathy and religious spirituality.[64] In the *Transfiguration* begun in 1516/17 Christ is moving away from mankind, and a little later Luther would protest against the corruption of the old Church.[65] However, in his architecture Raphael continued, developed, and enriched Bramante's great manner and it was only after his death that his pupil Giulio Romano, Peruzzi, Michelangelo, and others experimented with a more licentious and anti-normative architectural language.

So one has to distinguish the short period under Julius from the outer circle of High Renaissance art which reaches from about 1495 to 1520. During the following decades the approach to antique prototypes and Vitruvius continued. Though Peruzzi's palazzo Massimo, Giulio Romano's cathedral of Mantua, Michelangelo's Palazzo dei Conservatori or Palladio's villas are even more classicizing than any of Bramante's or Raphael's buildings, they lack the particular spirit of High Renaissance. Artsts and patrons imitated ancient forms more perfectly than ever but did not try any more to live in the ancient way. Even Palazzo Te is more Vitruvian than the Tempietto or Villa Madama, and when Giulio made its courtyard look unfinished, he did not rebel against antiquity, but against eternal rule and harmony. They had become monotonous to sophisticated artists as well as patrons, did not reflect their tensions and their traumas, and artists were justified by the many eccentric monuments of antiquity which did not follow Vitruvius. Thus some classicizing buildings paradoxically can be called "anti-classical" because they do not correspond any more to the momentary equilibrium of the High Renaissance, its human depth and its inner state of freedom – qualities which hardly can be objectified with purely stylistic or theoretical terms.

Notes

1   Burckhardt (1855); Wölfflin (1899); about Burckhardt's *Hochrenaissance*, Philippi (1912), 148ff; Zimmermann (1976).

2   Philippi (1912), 23–35; Vasari (1878–85), vol. 3, 7–15.

3   Ibid., vol. 3, 9: "donde sia nato quel vero buono che, superato il secolo antico, fa il moderno sì glorioso."

4   Panofsky (1960).

5   This point is also discussed in Angeliki Pollali's contribution to this volume. In his early book Shearman (1967), 70–79, sees Mannerist tendencies in Raphael's criticism of the poor materials of Bramante's buildings: according to Raphael Bramante's architecture fell short of the best antique style in its decorative richness of materials. Equally problematic is Shearman's description of the Chigi Chapel as "proto-Baroque," because it inspired Bernini, and of the façade of Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila as "proto-Mannerist," because its articulation does not correspond to the principle of load and support. But Raphael rather tried there to neutralize the verticalistic axiality of Bramante's structures without diminishing their complexity and was apparently inspired by the interior of the Pantheon. W. Lotz in Heydenreich and Lotz (1974) avoids the term "Mannerism."

6   Serlio (2001), vol. 1, 41–44; Palladio (1570).

7   Bruschi (1969); Borsi (1989); Di Teodoro (2001); Bruschi (2001), 7–18; Bruschi (2002a).

8   Fiorio and Montebello (2004).

9   Belluzzi (1998); also see below.

10   Vasari (1878–85), vol. 3, 146–52.

11   Bruschi (1969), 150–70; Dal Mas (1979); Mulazzani (1972); Tomei (1993); Jung (1998); Camerota (2001); Schofield (2001), 76.

12   Bruschi (1969), 160, figs 96–99.

13   C.L. Frommel (2008b). This scene had already influenced a window in Milan Cathedral by the 1470s.

14   Bruschi (1969), 160, figs 96–99.

15   He may have known the perspectival painting of an ideal piazza (now in Berlin), which was probably designed by Giuliano da Sangallo shortly before; C.L. Frommel (2006a).

16   Perugino's *Christ Giving the Keys to Peter*, painted some months later in the Sistine Chapel, was perhaps already influenced by the engraving; Nesselrath (2004b) with bibliography.

17   He probably knew Francesco di Giorgio's project for the cathedral of Urbino of c.1480; see Schofield (2001), 54–62.

18   Camerota (2001), 25–31.

19   This can already be seen in Villard de Honnecourt's drawings; C.L. Frommel (2006b).

20   Guillaume (1987); Schofield (1991); Pedretti (1978), 9–123.

21   Thus in his paraphrase of S. Maria degli Angeli he narrows the entrances of the chapels much more than Brunelleschi had done; Guillaume (1987) fig. 234.

22   Schofield (2001), 62ff; Visioli (2002), with bibl.

23   "celeberrimo omnium templo cuius instar illud figuratum invenire posse speramus"; Cadei (1972–73).

24   Bruschi, "Introduzione" to Fiore (1998), 18–27.

25   Bruschi (1978), 367–74; C.L. Frommel (2003), 193–213.

26   C.L. Frommel (1994a), 605; Thoenes (1998), 202–25 with bibl.

27   Di Teodoro (2003), 84.

28   C.L. Frommel (2002b), 13–18.

29   Bramante seems to have made Tthe surveys of S. Vitale of in 1507 when he
      accompanied Julius II in 1506/07 to Bologna. Giuliano da Sangallo may also
      have been in the pope's company and have made his survey then: C.L. Frommel
      (2010).

30   F. Borsi (1989), 211–18; Pedretti (1978), 85–94; C.L. Frommel (2002b), 20ff;
      Schofield (2002), 64–67.

31   C.L. Frommel (2002b), 22.

32   For the architecture of the *Last Supper* Pedretti (1978), 92ff., 286–89; Zöllner
      (2004), vol. 1; for the architecture of the *Crucifixion*, a fresco painted in 1495 by
      the Milanese painter Giovanni Donato da Montorfano, ibid., 215.

33   See the discussions of the *Last Supper* by Hartt and Freedberg discussed by Brian
      Curran earlier in this volume.

34   See 170–71.

35   Kemp (1981), 185ff; Marani (1982), 103ff; Chastel (1987), 198f f; Pedretti (1978),
      95, with the citation of Lomazzo: "Negli arbori altresì si è trovato una bella
      invenzione da Leonardo di far che tutti i rami si faccino in diversi gruppi
      bizzarri, la qual foggia usò canestrandoli tutti Bramante ancora"; Günther
      (2002).

36   Schofield (1996); Schofield and Sironi (1997).

37   F. Borsi (1989), 209.

38   Pochat (1990), 280; Petrioli Tofani (1994), 530ff; Camerota (2001), 29–31.

39   F. Borsi (1989), 207.

40   Werdehausen (1986), n. 4, 19–48; Denker-Nesselrath (1987); Schofield (2002),
      173.

41   For the political dislocations of this period and its effects on artistic
      development, see the Introduction to this volume (also for further bibl.).

42   Bruschi (2002b), 50–67; C.L. Frommel (2002c).

43   Günther (2001a); C.L. Frommel and Cantatore (2013/forthcoming).

44   C.L. Frommel (1994a), 601ff. with bibl; C.L. Frommel (2010). Bramante does
      it again some years later in a project which may have been destined for the
      Palazzo dei Tribunali, Julius' II palace of justice: C.L. Frommel (1989).

45   For a discussion of Giuliano da Sangallo's fortunes during this period, see
      Sabine Frommel's contribution to this volume.

46   C.L. Frommel (2003), 89–155.

47   C.L. Frommel (2007a), with bibl.; C.L. Frommel (2012a).

48   Schofield (1991) with bibl.

49   Echinger-Maurach (1984) with bibl.; Frommel and Forcellino (forthcoming).

50   This is already the case in the New York project for the wall tomb and confirmed by Condivi's description; C.L. Frommel (2008b).

51   C.L. Frommel (2007a); C.L. Frommel (2012a).

52   C.L. Frommel (2005a); C.L. Frommel (2012a).

53   Robertson (1986), 91–105; Weil-Garris Brandt (1992); C.L. Frommel (1994b); see also David Hemsoll's chapter in this volume, who considers the extent of Bramante's involvement in the design of the ceiling.

54   Robertson (1986), 91ff.; C.L. Frommel (2002a).

55   For Chigi, see C.L. Frommel (2003b).

56   Zöllner (2004).

57   C.L. Frommel (2002a, 2012b/forthcoming).

58   Oberhuber (1999), 85–123; C.L. Frommel (2012b/forthcoming).

59   C.L. Frommel (2006e), 60 f. with bibl.

60   Oberhuber and Vitali (1972); C.L. Frommel (1984b), 18.

61   Oberhuber (1999), 132–33 with bibl.; C.L. Frommel (2012b/forthcoming).

62   Jaspers (1949). For a recent discussion of Jaspers's concept, Bellah (2005).

63   Oberhuber (1999), 107ff.

64   Ibid., 145–67.

65   Ibid., 224–29 with bibl.