



Fig. 1. Florence, *Baptistry*.

# Ornament and Architecture. A Survey from Donatello to Michelangelo

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In 1910 the Viennese architect Adolf Loos (1870-1933) published a short article on *Ornament und Verbrechen* (ornament and crime).<sup>1</sup> Loos fought not only against the predominance of ornament in *Art Nouveau* architecture, such as Guimard's famous *entourages* of the Parisian metro stations, or in Viennese contemporary buildings, but also against architectural ornament in general. In his so called Loos-Haus in Vienna he proposed, as did other contemporary fellow architects, a return to material, structure and proportion as fundamental principles of Architecture.<sup>2</sup> Some years later, in Italy, Loos's demands were reflected in buildings of the 1930s, such as the Palazzo della Civiltà Romana in Rome where the architects of Benito Mussolini followed the example of the Coliseum, but avoided the Orders and reduced their proportions and structural arches.

Five hundred years earlier, the Florentine Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) had already expressed similar ideas in his *De Re Aedificatoria* (1443-1452) where he stated that architectural beauty depends first of all on its proportions. He had learnt this from Filippo Brunelleschi (1377-1446) and from his own studies of such unornamented antique buildings as the Roman Curia or the Aqueducts, constructions whose monumental magnificence lay in the simplicity of their proportions. This architectural style was fundamentally very different from the fragile, immaterial and highly ornamental late Gothic buildings such as the Choir of the Duomo in Milan, or the façades of Venetian palaces. Differently from Loos, Leon Battista Alberti considered the Doric, Ionic and Corinthian Orders as being the *primum ornamentum* of architecture and regarded certainly also the rustication of his early Palazzo Rucellai (1446-1451) as ornament. In the Palazzo Rucellai, Alberti covered the façade with rusticated blocks, as Michelozzo (1396-1472) had already done in the exterior of Palazzo Medici (1444); Alberti adorned the façade with the *primum ornamentum* of the three Vitruvian Orders, in a similar way as Michelangelo or Raphael will later dress the nude bodies they had previously drawn.<sup>3</sup>

When around 1460, Leon Battista Alberti began at the request of Ludovico III Gonzaga (1414-1478) Marquis of Mantua, to build the never accomplished church of San Sebastiano, he left the exterior unadorned and reduced the Corinthian Order of the façade.

The following survey shall highlight the ways in which Renaissance ornament is more narrowly connected with architecture than it was in antiquity, even when invented by painters or sculptors. From the late XIV<sup>th</sup> century to the middle of the XVI<sup>th</sup>, ornament of all media followed, with a few exceptions, the main tendencies of architecture.

## Brunelleschi, Donatello, Michelozzo and Alberti

The birth of the Renaissance is closely connected with Florence. Already Baptistery (XI<sup>th</sup> century), the complete and corporeal Orders of late antiquity have been so convincingly revived that in the XV<sup>th</sup> century it was believed to be the ancient Temple of Mars (*fig. 1*). Giotto (1267-1337) combined Gothic and classical language (*fig. 2*), and the XIV<sup>th</sup> century architects emphasized the tridimensional power of the exterior of the Florentine cathedral but avoided the ancient Orders. This is still evident in the *Porta della Mandorla* started in 1391 and influenced by acanthus garlands and figural elements of ancient reliefs (*fig. 3*).

Only Filippo Brunelleschi rediscovered the Orders. He had started as a late gothic goldsmith and

\* This text is the result of three lectures held in 2014 and 2015 at the Collège de France in Paris, to the invitation of Francesco Solinas and Pierre Caye. It is not an exhaustive monograph, but a series of impressions and observations which I have collected in the years. The notes and the bibliography are just indicative.

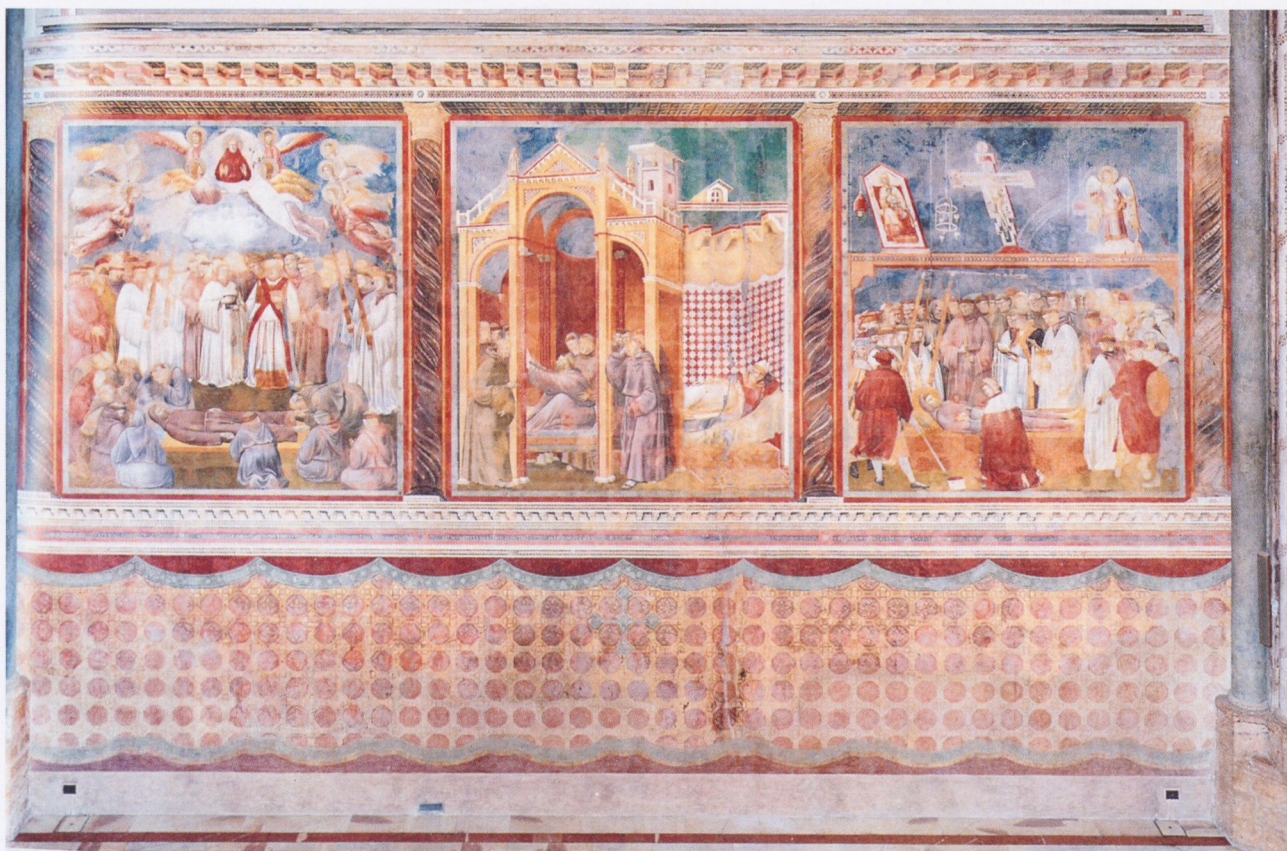


Fig. 2. Giotto, *Stories of Saint Francis*, Fresco decoration, Assisi, Basilica of San Francesco.

sculptor and competing for the commission of the Baptistery's northern portal, in 1401, he had produced a gilded bronze relief, which was much more directly inspired by ancient sculpture, than the winning creation of the competition realized by Lorenzo Ghiberti (1378-1455).<sup>4</sup> After his rejection, Filippo travelled to Rome to study ancient architecture and sculpture; from time to time he went back to Florence, where,

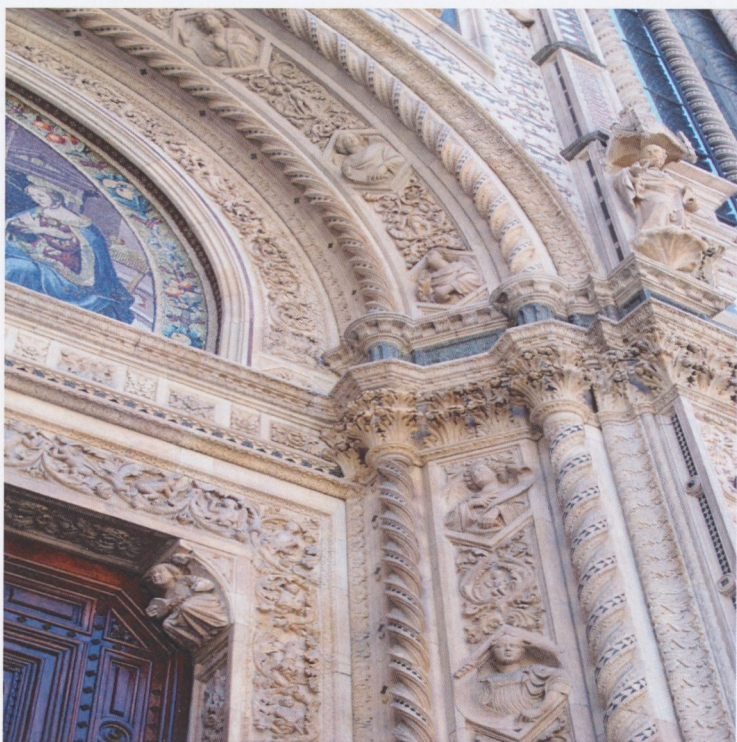


Fig. 3. Donatello and others, *Porta della Mandorla*, Florence, Cathedral.

in 1411, a powerful Confraternity asked him and his pupil Donatello (1386-1466) to sculpt a life size statue of *Saint Peter* for one of the niches of the Oratory of Orsanmichele (fig. 5).<sup>5</sup> The *Tabernacle* is still Gothic, but the perspective marble incrustation of its interior is an important feature for its attribution to Brunelleschi; shortly after, the *Tabernacle* was imitated by Donatello for the statue of *Saint George*.

In 1418, Brunelleschi changed artistic language, when designing the vast and challenging project of the *Ospedale degli Innocenti* with the giant Order of its corner blocks. As a true citizen of the Florentine Republic, the artist wanted to re-establish the traditional purity of the city's architectural identity and returned to the classicising column Orders and arcades of the Baptistery. He decorated late medieval typology with this ornament, restricted, however, the purely decorative elements of the *Loggia* to the frieze of cherubs.

Donatello had accompanied his master



Fig. 4. *Fragments of marble ornaments from the Antique Roman altar in the Grottos of the Basilica of Saint Peter, the Vatican.*



Fig. 5. Filippo Brunelleschi, *Tabernacle with the statue of Saint Peter*, Florence, Orsanmichele.



Fig. 6. Donatello, *Tabernacle with the statue of Saint Louis* from Florence, Orsanmichele, now Basilica of Santa Croce.

Brunelleschi to Rome and had assisted him in drawing and measuring ancient monuments. After less than two years, he returned to Florence where he entered the workshop of Lorenzo Ghiberti for a short time and collaborated to the decoration of the *Porta della Mandorla* (fig. 3). Only in 1423, in his *Tabernacle of Saint Louis* for the Orsanmichele, he began to follow Brunelleschi's classical language, interpreting it, however, with innovative richness (fig. 6). He dressed every centimetre of his *Tabernacle* with decorative elements and even adorned the columns. Classicising winged *puttos* were then becoming a dominant element in Donatello's decorations.

Between 1423 and 1434, the already famous Donatello worked in collaboration with Michelozzo Di Bartolomeo (1396-1472), a younger talent, with whom he shared the taste for the rich and decorative architectural language of Late antiquity. In the *Monument to Cardinal Rinaldo Brancaccio* († 1427) in the Neapolitan church of Sant'Angelo a Nilo (1426-1428), Donatello and Michelozzo combined a composite Order with a gothic gable (fig. 7), and the same combination appears in the slightly earlier *Tomb of Antipope John XXIII* (1370-1419) in the Florentine Baptistry (1422-1428).

Ornament is relatively rare in Masaccio's (1401-1428) early fresco paintings.<sup>6</sup> Only in the fresco of the *Trinità* in Santa Maria Novella (1426-1428) he evokes Donatello's *Tabernacle of Saint Louis* and follows Brunelleschi's more sober and purist surfaces. The *Tabernacle* makes Masaccio's *Trinity* look like a vision seen through a window in Alberti's sense, and from this monument onwards, most Florentine painters and sculptors framed their frescoes and funeral monuments with a brunelleschian Order. Like in Gothic times, at the beginning of the XV<sup>th</sup> century, figurative arts and architecture had become again an inseparable unity.

During his second Roman stay of 1432-1433, Donatello thoroughly studied late antique ornament with Michelozzo. It was then that he definitively emancipated from Brunelleschi, remaining a sculptor-architect. In the *Tabernacle of the Eucharist* in the Sacristy of Saint Peter's in Rome (fig. 8), Donatello is evidently inspired by the *aediculae* of the Pantheon. The Order frames the gabled inner door with the Madonna's

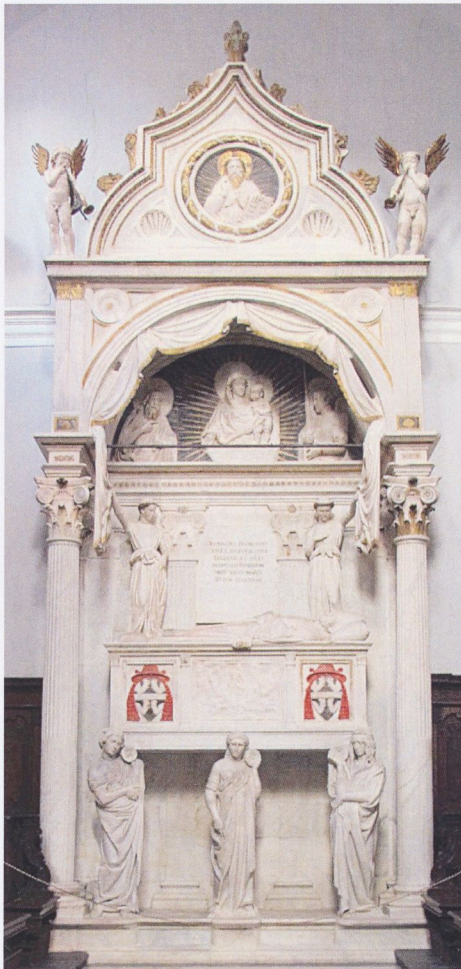


Fig. 7. Michelozzo and Donatello, *Tomb of Cardinal Rinaldo Brancacci*, Naples, Church of Sant'Angelo a Nilo.



Fig. 8. Donatello, *Tabernacle of the Eucharist*, the Vatican, Sacristy of the Basilica of Saint Peter.

image, but the entablature of the little door looks as if Donatello was not yet completely familiar with the grammar of the Vitruvian Orders; however, when decorating the convex frieze with a festoon, Donatello is inspired by the ancient *porta ionica*. In a non-Vitruvian context, brackets are placed between the pilasters and the fragmentary architrave of the framing main Order, as in Jacopo della Quercia's (1371-1438) relief of the Baptistery in Siena. The fragments of the architrave of the main Order support the high frieze, the naked little angels who are revealing the *Entombement of Christ* remind us of an Attic bas-relief. The concluding cornice projecting above them is decorated with egg and dart, dentils and shells; the same system is repeated on both lateral sides of the *Tabernacle*, as if it were a three-dimensional structure on a Greek cross plan. A similar three-dimensional emphasis will become famous with Michelangelo's *Porta Pia* (1561) (figs. 101, 102) and is increased by the angels stepping from the outer to the inner pedestals.

For the first time after antiquity, in Donatello's Vatican *aedicula* appears a *candelabra* with flowers, which along with festoons made of fruits and laurel and the garlands of acanthus leaves were soon to become the most successful *Quattrocento* ornamental motifs; also the naked angels reclining on the gable remind us of antique monuments.

On their return to Florence, Donatello and Michelozzo finished the *Pulpit* of the Prato Duomo where the huge frieze is part of an Order; architrave and cornice are divided in an unorthodox manner by small twin pilasters behind which little angels with instruments are dancing as in Roman sarcophagi and praise God, as in the *Psalms* 148-150. They are not monotonously lined up, as in Jacopo della Quercia's *Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto* (1406-1408) in Lucca, or in Brunelleschi's friezes: these *puttos* seem to have flown directly from Heaven to sanctify the place where the Virgin's girdle was to be presented. The huge Corinthian capital was cast in bronze by Donatello in 1434 and is inspired by those of Hadrian's mausoleum. The aisles of the angels support the inner ends of the Corinthian volutes in an irrational form, as if Donatello had already known the antique *grotesques*.

In the design of the *Chancel* of the Florentine Cathedral, begun in 1431, Luca della Robbia (ca. 1400-1482) followed the system of the *Prato Pulpit* without showing as much interest as Donatello in architecture and ornament, as can also be seen in his later works.<sup>7</sup> Two years later, Donatello worked on his own *Chancel* for the Florentine Cathedral: the system is also similar to that of the *Prato Pulpit*, but its syntax is still much less Vitruvian (fig. 9). The twin pilasters have become tiny glittering columns which sustain a cornice decorated with vases and leaves; they stand on the projections of another cornice, which is decorated with *palmettes*, radiant heads, leaves and shells. Shells return also in the lower cornices and become Do-



Fig. 9. Donatello, *Chancel of the Cathedral*, Florence, Museo dell'Opera del Duomo.

natello's hallmark for many decades: in the Florentine Chancel, the vertical continuity of the supporting elements creates a coherent and eminently architectural context.

Back in Florence in 1434, after a year's exile in the Venetian *terraferma*, Cosimo il Vecchio de' Medici (1389-1464) commissioned Donatello with the decoration of the *Old Sacristy* in the Church of San Lorenzo, which was also the tomb chapel of his parents Giovanni di Bicci de' Medici and Piccarda Bueri (*fig. 10*). Donatello added the bronze doors, their Ionic *aediculae*, the marble screen before the altar, the sculpted *tondos* with the *Evangelists* and *Scenes from the Life of Saint John the Baptist*; he might have also been responsible for the gilded Medici arms in the spandrels. This abundance of precious and multi-coloured ornament destroyed the purity of Brunelleschi's architecture, as well as his friendship with Donatello. Strangely enough, the architectural structures modelled in the stucco *tondos* representing the *Life of Saint John* are bare of ornament, even more than Brunelleschi's buildings – another example of Donatello's unorthodox creativity (*fig. 11*).



Fig. 10. *The Old Sacristy*, Florence, Basilica of San Lorenzo.



Fig. 11. Donatello, *Ascension of Saint John*, stucco tondo, Florence, Basilica of San Lorenzo, Old Sacristy.

As in late antique prototypes, the marble parapets before the altar are perforated and decorated with lily-filled vases; in contrast with the decorative *Chancel* of the Cathedral, the two unadorned Ionic portals are more classicising than any of Brunelleschi's portals. Cushions mediate between the capitals of the slender columns and the tripartite entablature, white *candelabras* on red ground are rising from the edges of the triangular gable and divide the exterior arcade of the bay from the inner one and from the terracotta reliefs of *Saints Cosma and Damiano*, patrons and protectors of the Medici.

Donatello's approach to antiquity reaches a first climax in the *Annunciation* of 1435. In the altar relief situated above the *Cavalcanti Tomb* in Santa Croce (fig. 12), the Order of the aedicule, the composition, as well as the Virgin's head and clothes are inspired by Greek funerary sculpture. Everything is, however, more ornate than in the doors of the *Old Sacristy* and the ornaments are highlighted in gold. Double S-volutes replace the bases and bearded satyr masks substitute the acanthus leaves of the Corinthian capitals. The tapering square columns are covered with laurel leaves and the frieze between the two brackets is concave, just as in the windows designed more than two centuries later by Francesco Borromini (1599-1667), master of the Roman Baroque. The architrave is decorated with dentils and eggs, the frieze with giant eggs and darts and the cornice with shells. *Putto* angels are reclining on the segmental gable and two of them accompany the volutes. The *tympanum* is filled with a giant shell and festoons. Donatello does not care more for Vitruvian rules than before, but he enriches his decorative repertoire: the Order of the *Cavalcanti Tomb* becomes more regular than the one used in the *Prato Pulpit* and in the *Chancel* of Santa Maria del Fiore. Without ever building anything monumental, Donatello became a leading architect.





Fig. 12. Donatello, *Funerary Monument of the Cavalcanti Family*, with the *Annunciation*, Florence, Basilica of Santa Croce.

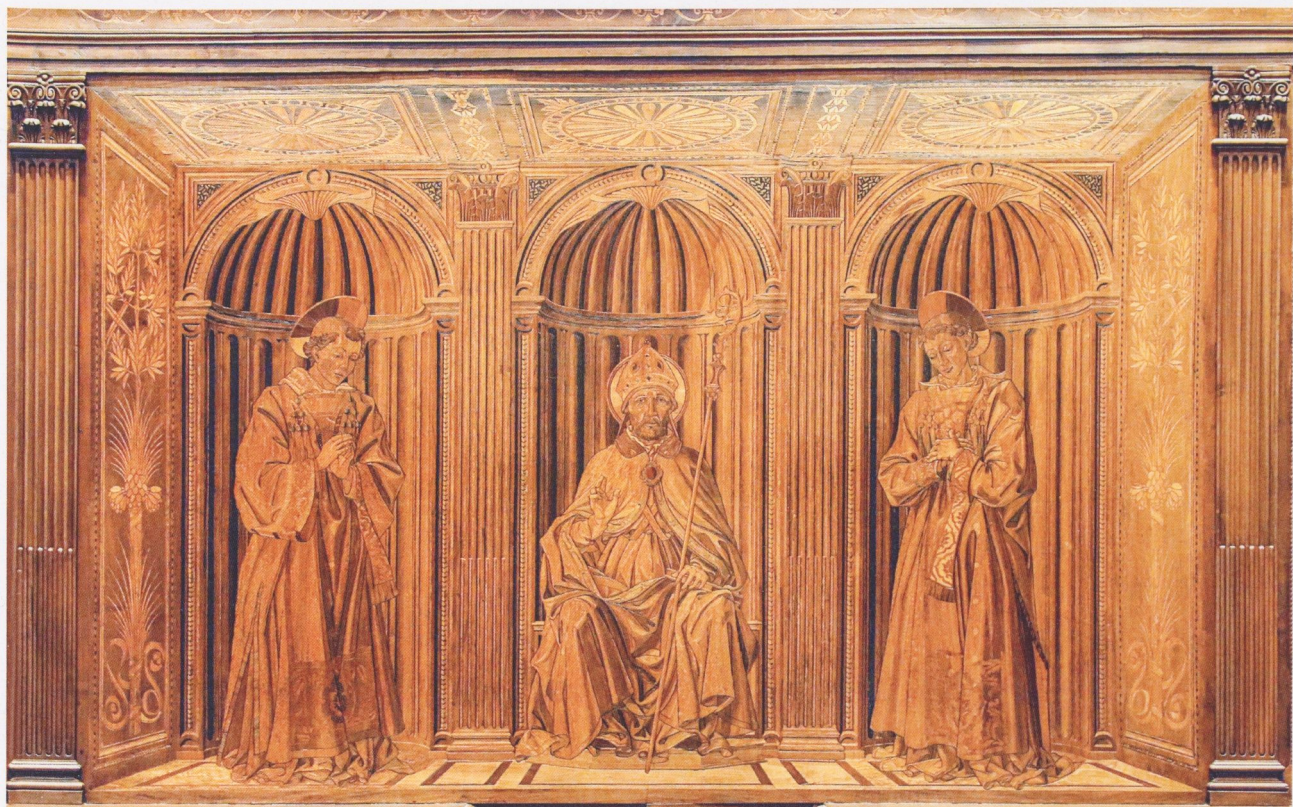


Fig. 13. Antonio Manetti Ciaccherj, *Wooden Intarsias*, Florence, Cathedral, Sacrestia delle Messe, Northern wall.

Another pupil of Filippo Brunelleschi and one of his closest collaborators, an excellent draughtsman and skilled craftsman of wooden *tarsia* was Antonio Manetti Ciaccherj (circa 1404-1460). Around 1436, he started designing the wood inlaid panels of the right half of the northern wall of the Sacrestia delle Messe in the Florentine Cathedral, the first known *tarsias* showing Brunelleschi's central perspective (fig. 13).<sup>8</sup> In the 1450s, Manetti became the *Capomastro* of the Opera del Duomo and may have continued the work on the Sacristy's *tarsias* until his death. Manetti Ciaccherj adopted the antique Roman decorative systems Giotto had already used in the *trompe-l'oeil* Order of his Assisi cycle (fig. 2), he followed, however, the language of his master Brunelleschi also in the square corner columns of the Order of the huge rectangular niche. The classicising frieze and the *candelabras* are repeated in the capitals, and evidently inspired by Donatello. Entire areas between the pilasters are devoted to wreaths of laurel.

An exemplary event in Florentine art was also Ghiberti's *Porta del Paradiso* with its lively episodes of the Old Testament and its fantastically rich borders of little Saints in niches and vases filled with fruit (fig. 14): in the frame, however, Ghiberti avoided elements of the Orders.

In 1447, the Florentine sculptor and architect Filarete (1400-1469) created the classicising *bronze portal* of Saint Peter's in Rome, evidently influenced by Brunelleschi's most learned and universally gifted pupil Leon Battista Alberti. Filarete also profited of Donatello's extraordinary ornamental legacy.



Fig. 14. Lorenzo Ghiberti, *Porta del Paradiso*, Florence, Baptistery.

As a highly talented humanist, scholar of Aristotle, Alberti tried to revive antiquity with theoretical accuracy. Already in the early 1440s, Leon Battista Alberti had evoked the triumphal splendour of Roman antiquity in the bronze equestrian monument of Niccolò III d'Este Marquis of Ferrara (1383-1441). Soon after 1450, Alberti combined the late Gothic nave of the *Church of San Francesco* in Rimini, Sigismondo Malatesta's funerary church, with a façade inspired by the nearby triumphal *Arch of Augustus* (fig. 15). This extraordinary invention found immediate resonance and attracted new powerful patrons to the architect, while imposing the triumphal arch as one of the main motifs of post-medieval architecture. Though the façade of the *Tempio Malatestiano* is still influenced by Donatello, Alberti never questioned or lost the tectonic syntax of the Orders.

Alberti may also have contributed to the first post-medieval triumphal arch which was erected for *King Alfonso of Aragon* on the main portal of the Castelnuovo in Naples (fig. 16). Donatello designed the King's *Bronze equestrian monument* for the upper arcade, cast by two of his pupils.<sup>9</sup> The Order of the ground floor of the arch, the background architectures of the huge relief, and the abundant decorations of the basement and the attic, are nearer to antique models than any of Donatello's works, the musicians instead remind us of those sculpted by Luca della Robbia in his *Chancel*, today in the Museo dell'Opera del Duomo in Florence.

In the late 1450s, Alberti completed the XIV<sup>th</sup> century white and green marble incrustation in the ground floor of the façade of the Florentine church of Santa Maria Novella; he added the Pantheon-like portal and the slender engaged columns of a Corinthian Order, whose classicising frieze is decorated with the Rucellai's heraldic sails. Above the frieze, the artist designed an attic, the first real one in Renaissance architecture. In this structure the architect escapes from the narrow intercolumniations of the ground floor and is able to create a triumphal temple-front in the upper storey (fig. 17). The inscription of the upper frieze is dedicated to his patron, the patrician Giovanni di Paolo Rucellai (1403-1481). The divine sun of San Bernardino da Siena in the *tympanum* imposes the religious character of the building more clearly than in the *Tempio Malatestiano* in Rimini. For the first time huge S-volutes cover the roofs of the side naves whose



Fig. 15. Leon Battista Alberti, *Façade of the Church of San Francesco (Tempio Malatestiano)*, Rimini.



Fig. 16. *Arch of the King Alfonso of Aragon, Naples, Castelnuovo.*



Fig. 17. Leon Battista Alberti, *Façade of the Basilica of Santa Maria Novella, Florence.*

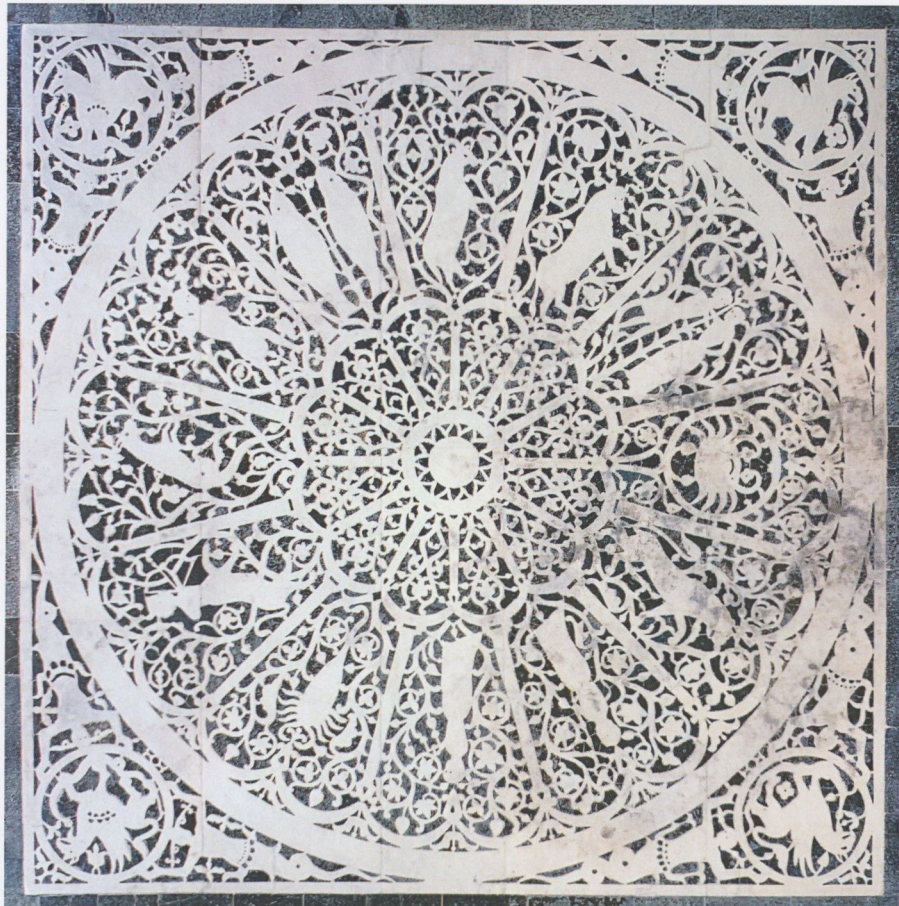


Fig. 18. *Marble intarsia in the floor of the Basilica of San Miniato al Monte, Florence.*

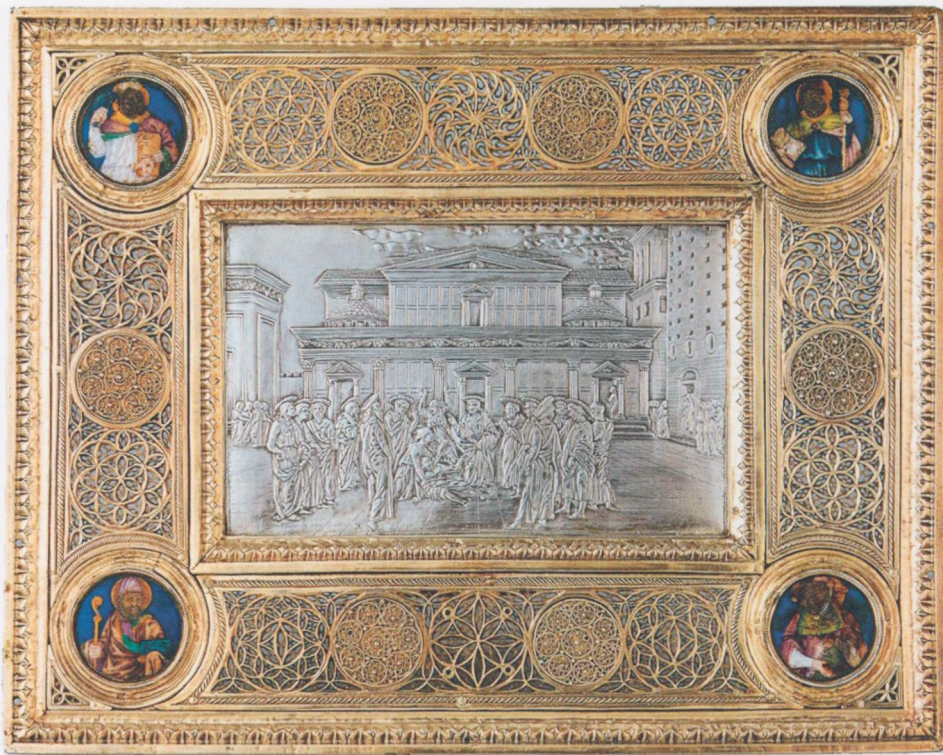


Fig. 19. Leon Battista Alberti and collaborators, *Cassette with Christ healing the possessed man*, Paris, Musée du Louvre.



Fig. 20. Michelozzo and Benozzo Gozzoli, *The Magi Chapel*, Florence, Palazzo Medici Riccardi.

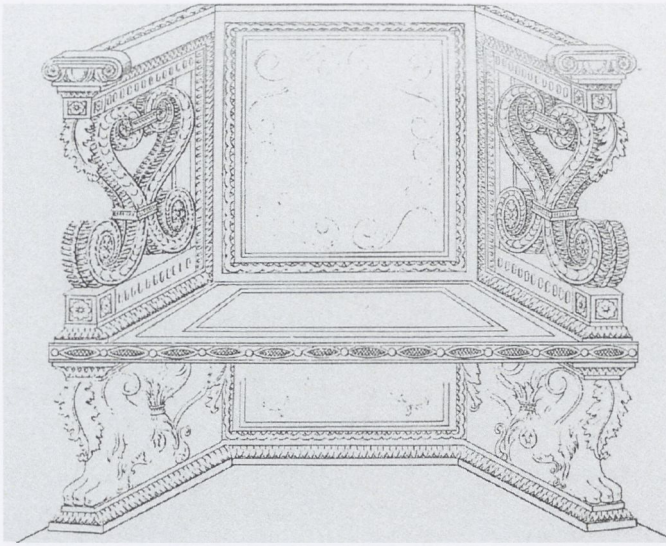


Fig. 21. After Giuliano da Sangallo, *Project for the stalls of the Magi chapel in Palazzo Medici*, the Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, *Codex Barberinus*.

palace into one of the jewels of early Renaissance (fig. 20). His painter was Benozzo Gozzoli (c. 1420-1497), his architect probably Antonio Manetti Ciaccheri, who had also built for him the lateral chapels of his family church of San Lorenzo, the Badia Fiesolana with a private apartment and, most probably, the villa of his son Giovanni near Fiesole.<sup>11</sup> The wooden ceiling and the marble floor of the palace chapel show Manetti's training with Brunelleschi and Alberti. The magnificent design for the stalls which the young Giuliano da Sangallo drew before 1465 in a donatellian style with Ionic capitals, twin S-volutes and lion's paws, was never realized (fig. 21). Possibly after Cosimo's death the actual Gothic stalls were added to the chapel. Started in 1468, in the language of the Tuscan Renaissance, the *Sanctuary of Loreto* was decorated by a giant exterior Order (1471).<sup>12</sup> During the same years, with greater evidence than in Santa Maria Novella, Leon Battista Alberti combined the motif of the temple front with that of the triumphal arch in the *pronaos* of Sant'Andrea in Mantua; it was completed only after his death and the brunelleschian cherubs in the main frieze may not be his invention.

### From Andrea del Castagno to Melozzo da Forlì

In 1448-1450, the painter Andrea del Castagno (1421-1457) transformed the bare entrance loggia of Villa Carducci near Florence with illusionistic perspective in a classicising, and many times imitated, hall (fig. 22). An Order of square columns stands on a high basement articulated by a little Order and incrustated with feint marble panels. Behind the colonnade and the foreshortened coffers of the ceiling, open the shadowy niches which host the highly realistic life-size portraits of *Famous men and women*. The isolated columns and its rich decoration recall Donatello, while the puttos with garlands in the attic, remind of Manetti's *intarsia*. Thus Castagno opens the long series of painter-architects, who extend entire rooms with the means of central perspective although the visitor doesn't look through a window, he feels standing in the centre of an architecturally expanding space.

Clearly inspired by Castagno's classicising Orders and ornaments, Beato Angelico (1395-1455) used a rather more archaic system when he decorated the private chapel of Pope Nicholas V in the Vatican. Likewise, Piero della Francesca (1415-1492) was unquestionably aware of the frescoes in Villa Carducci when he painted *Sigismondo Malatesta kneeling before the Emperor* in the Church of San Francesco in Rimini (1451),<sup>13</sup> the fluted Order in Piero's fresco is less vitruvian than those sculpted and painted by Donatello, Manetti and Castagno; the acanthus garlands of the framing cornice are interwoven with *cornucopias* and noticeably open on to the space of the painted landscape.

Only in 1461, Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506) began to compete with Andrea del Castagno's illusionism, though he had started fresco painting already in the late 1440s in the *Ovetari chapel* of the Church of the Eremitani in Padua. There, he continued the religious scenes and feint marble framework of his late gothic

ornament is evidently inspired by the Gothic marble pattern of the zodiac inlaid in the floor of San Miniato al Monte (fig. 18). In contrast with Brunelleschi, Alberti uses Gothic ornament still in the 1450s, as long as it does not interfere with the Orders, just like in the *Holy Tomb* of Giovanni Rucellai's funerary chapel, or in the ornamental border of *Christ healing the possessed man* in the Louvre *Cassette* (fig. 19).<sup>10</sup>

Strongly influenced by Alberti, the sculptor and architect Bernardo Rossellino (1409-1464) combined, in the early 1460s, in the Cathedral of Pienza, a classicising façade and various motifs of the Baths of Diocletian with the pre-existing huge Gothic windows of the nave. This love for Gothic ornament was evidently linked to the religiosity of the patron, pope Pius II Piccolomini (reg. 1458-1464).

Already in 1458, the aging Cosimo il Vecchio de' Medici began to transform the chapel of his



Fig. 22. Andrea del Castagno, *Frescoes of the Illustrious Men and Women*, Florence, Villa Carducci.

predecessors, but enriched them with large festoons and flying putto angels, who hold the coat of arms of the donor (fig. 23).<sup>14</sup> In the last scene of the cycle, the stage-like *Martyrdom of Saint Christopher*, finished in the mid 1450s, Mantegna seems to be inspired not only by Castagno's square columns, but also by the central perspective of the large square engraved in the plaque of Leon Battista Alberti's *Cassette* (fig. 19): similar are the acanthus garlands on the pilasters of the royal palace just as those sculpted in the famous ancient Roman relief of Saint Peter's grottos (fig. 4).

In the decorative system of the *Camera Picta* in the Ducal Palace at Mantua, Mantegna represents the patron and his family and courtiers in life size portraits (figs. 24, 25), seen through the arcades of his villa. There is no real Order, but above capital-like stone brackets of earlier date, braided ribs seem to continue the thin pillars: for the first time in a Renaissance painted decoration, the vault is part of the structural system, the crossing of the ribs in the centre of the vault opens onto the sky, to angel *puttos* and curious female servants. In the feint marble reliefs of the small caps which remain between the ribs, donatellian *puttos* hold busts of Roman



Fig. 23. Andrea Mantegna, *Frescoes with the Stories of Saint James*, Padua, Church of the Eremitani, Ovetari Chapel.





Fig. 24. Andrea Mantegna, Frescoes of the *Camera Picta*, Mantua, Ducal Palace.



Fig. 25. Andrea Mantegna, Frescoes of the *Camera Picta*, Mantua, Ducal Palace.



Fig. 26. Melozzo da Forlì, Fresco decoration with Pope Sixtus IV, with members of his family and his Librarian Bartolomeo Platina, The Vatican. The Old Vatican Library.

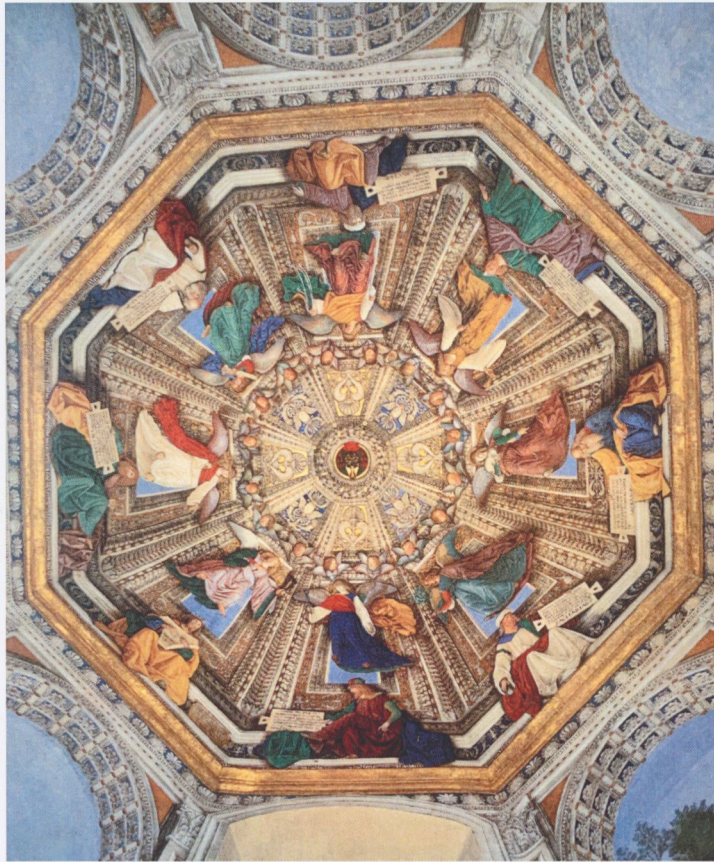


Fig. 27. Melozzo da Forlì, Fresco decoration of the *Cupola of the Sacristy of Saint Mark*, Loreto, Sanctuary.

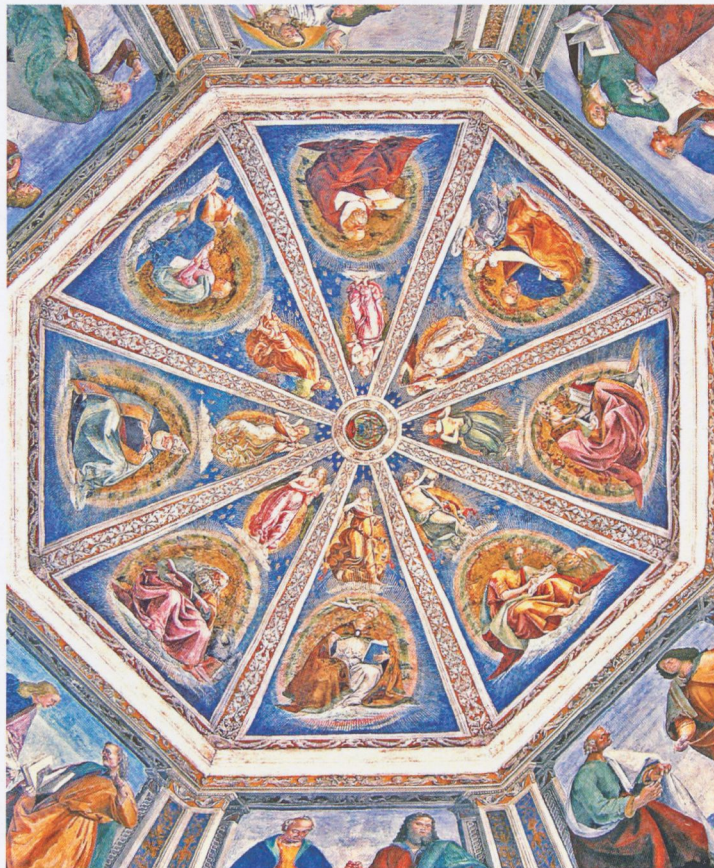


Fig. 28. Luca Signorelli, Fresco decoration of the *Cupola of the Sacristy of Saint John*, Loreto, Sanctuary.

emperors: Mantegna becomes a painter architect, more effectively than Andrea del Castagno, he opens the walls and vault to an expanding space. This revolutionary system had immediate and long lasting consequences.

Mantegna's first great follower as a painter-architect was Melozzo da Forlì (1438-1494). In 1477, in the old Vatican Library, Melozzo portrayed the reigning Pope Sixtus IV (reg. 1471-1484) with his most intimate parents and his librarian Bartolomeo Platina (fig. 26).<sup>15</sup> Square columns, approximately four meters tall, are adorned with garlands made of oak branches, the Pope's heraldic *rovere*, these sustain an abbreviated entablature and bear a coffered ceiling. The central hall is only about 3,50 meters wide and the arcades open onto small aisles, but the space does not look like a church, a library or a saloon. Rather, it reminds one of the narrow Vitruvian *atrium* with lateral aisles. The only source of light is the entrance arch and the transversal rear room. The entire architecture accompanies the prominent assembly, and its single visible round column sustains the arcades and underlines the presence of Giuliano della Rovere, the Pope's nephew and future Pope Julius II.

The Corinthian Order painted shortly after by Melozzo da Forlì in the octagonal dome of the Sacristy in the Loreto Sanctuary is decorated with flowers, while the massive arcades are supporting the equally massive ribs of the vault (fig. 27). This skeleton looks nearly as thick as the Sacristy's wall seen through the window.

Some time later, in another Sacristy at Loreto, Luca Signorelli (circa 1445-1523) reduces the wall and enlarges the area of the figures (fig. 28). There are no arcades and each of the eight bent pillars is composed of two square columns of Corinthian Order. They support the entablature, while the ribs are characterized as mainly decorative. The glance through the structural skeleton suggests the unity of space in a more rational, though less seducing way than in Mantegna and Melozzo.

In those years, the decoration of most churches and palaces was still not systematic, as is evident in Federico da Montefeltro's princely residence in Urbino. From about 1464 to 1472, Luciano Laurana (1420-1479) created for the *Condottiere* the most original and sumptuous residence of the time, although the courtyard as well as the irregular and rather unadorned entrance façade were left unfinished. Different sculptors were commissioned with the great frames of the fireplaces and doors, such as the magnificent *Porta della Guerra* in the *piano nobile* (fig. 29) decorated with Federico's war *insignias* and trophies, an antique triumphal motif already revived by Donatello in the basement of the *Gattamelata* equestrian monument (1453).

The *Porta della Guerra* may have been inspired by Giovanni Antonio Amadeo (1447-1522), a talented Lombard follower of Donatello who sculpted in 1474 the right portal of the façade of the Certosa of Pavia, the most decorated religious building of XV<sup>th</sup> century Italy. Amadeo's contact with the sculptors and the stone cutters active in Urbino is already apparent in his slightly earlier façade of the Colleoni Chapel in Bergamo where the lower windows show a uniquely capricious sequence of differently shaped baluster-like elements (fig. 30).

In 1474, in the occasion of his investiture to the titles of Duke of Urbino and *Gonfaloniere* of the Church by Pope Sixtus IV, Federico da Montefeltro asked the architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1502) to confer to his palace a more coherent and classicising character. Francesco designed the



Fig. 29. Urbino, Ducal Palace, *Porta della Guerra*.



Fig. 30. Giovanni Antonio Amadeo and assistants, *Façade of the Colleoni Chapel, Bergamo.*



Fig. 31. Francesco di Giorgio Martini, *Entrance front and a detail of the Entrance Portal*, Urbino, Ducal Palace.



Fig. 32. Donato Bramante and Bernardo Prevedari, *Ruin of a Christianized Temple*, engraving.



Fig. 33. Donato Bramante, *Decoration of the Cupola of the Sacristy*, Milan, Church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro.

three magnificent portals of the entrance front, two of them blind (*fig. 31*); these sustain the marble frieze created by Laurana and alternate symmetrically with small windows. Above these are the huge *aediculae* of the main floor in a sincopical relation to the three portals. Francesco Martini's project was to cover the brick wall with smooth marble incrustations, one of the most effective "structural" ornaments, and thus create the first façade of a princely residence without defensive elements; an "urban" palace, as previously described and recommended by Leon Battista Alberti. Francesco decorated the pilasters of the portals with the ancient motif of the braids, already used by Mantegna in Mantua. The columnar arcades of the main courtyard and the upper loggia of the valley-front are also the work of Francesco di Giorgio. Clearly under Alberti's influence and more evidently than in Mantegna's and Melozzo's frescos, every detail of Francesco di Giorgio's work in Urbino is legitimized by antiquity, much studied and imitated after Alberti's death. Francesco was Sieneese and had started as a painter and sculptor, but soon became one of Italy's leading architects, his changes and additions to the Urbino Ducal palace can be regarded as the most innovative ones in those years.

Slightly younger, Donato Bramante (1444-1514) was born and raised near Urbino, the capital of Federico da Montefeltro's Duchy, where he has certainly followed the artistic progresses of the palace, being principally interested in Francesco di Giorgio Martini's inventions. Bramante's architectural career started much later, in Lombardy, in the late 1470s.<sup>16</sup> In the classicising Order of his first known church, Santa Maria presso San Satiro in Milan (circa 1480), he was inspired by Leon Battista Alberti's Sant'Andrea in Mantua, more than by Francesco di Giorgio's recent projects. Since the site did not allow a deep choir, he recurred to painterly and illusionistic means, and it was not by chance if, in the 1490s, Bramante himself would invent the perspective stage setting. The exterior of the choir wall corresponds to the interior and reflects the system of the construction, this would become one of the principles of his Roman works and of those of his followers in the Eternal City. In 1481, the engraver Bernardo Prevedari published Bramante's evocation of a ruined pagan building, a Christianized temple (*fig. 32*): the image combines the Byzantine quincunx with the pillars and the arcades of the Milanese Church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro. Some elements of the engraving's abundant decoration return in the slightly later Sacristy of the same Church (*fig. 33*): the terracotta busts of its high frieze are flanked by donatellian singing *puttos* and the parapet of the gallery recalls that of Donatello in the Old Sacristy of San Lorenzo. The floreal decorations of the Corinthian pilasters are similar to those of an antique prototype redesigned by the young Baldassarre Peruzzi and are the most refined sculpted in that century.

Filippo Brunelleschi was an architect as well as figurative artist, like Michelozzo and Alberti, the brothers Da Maiano and Da Sangallo, though the first real painter-architect, who planned the interior of a religious building with figurative decoration, was Donato Bramante.

Bramante demonstrated the richness of his decorative virtuosity also with the naturalistic tree-trunk columns and inventive capitals of the *Canonica* of San Ambrogio, as well as in the celebrated *Argo* he painted on a wall of the Sala del Tesoro of the Castello Sforzesco in Milan (*fig. 34*). The naked demigod does not reach a third of the entire height of the fresco, and is flanked by clusters of pilasters of a Corinthian Order, whose lower half is cut; its decorations are traditional, but white on dark background and as flat and incorporeal as in the antique Roman prototypes. Two storeys of cubic pedestals supported by giant vo-

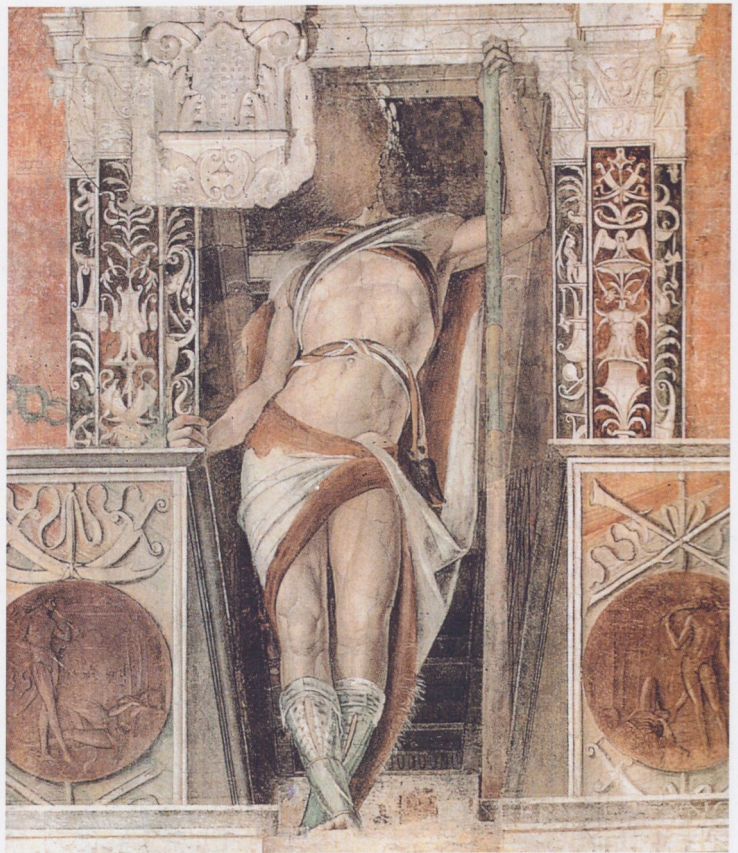


Fig. 34. Donato Bramante, *Argo*, Fresco decoration, Milan, Castello Sforzesco.





Fig. 35. Giuliano da Sangallo, *Drawings of the Antique fresco decorations of the Domus Aurea*, Siena, Biblioteca Comunale.

he discovered the extraordinary painted vaults of the *Domus Aurea*. In the pilasters of the lateral wall of the Bufalini chapel, Pinturicchio used for the first time the *grotesques*, the fantastic ornament composed of figures, masks, plants and animals, inspired by the antique painted decorations of the vaults, or “grottos” of the imperial palace.<sup>17</sup> Other artists began regularly to creep under the vault of the “grottos” with torches, to carefully copy the ancient decorations, amongst them was the Florentine Filippino Lippi (1457-1504), who imitated and varied their fragile and irrational characters in the *grotesques* painted in Cardinal Oliviero Carafa’s chapel in Santa Maria sopra Minerva (1488-1493), where he also introduced new motifs from the antique, such as the Roman altar in the Vatican Museum (fig. 36). Filippino was so proud of his inventions, that he repeated them almost identically in the chapel of Filippo Strozzi in Santa Maria Novella (1487-1502).

In the vault of the Collegio del Cambio in Perugia (1496-1500), Pietro Perugino combined the system of Mantegna’s *Camera Picta* with the much less architectural one of the *Domus Aurea*’s *Volta dorata* (figs. 37, 38). He filled the caps around the central square and the lateral *tondos* with *grotesques* of his own invention. Nearly seventy years after the discovery of the ancient Order and of its principle of load and support, artists had opened ornament to the irrational and a tectonic inventions of late antiquity, which had been so harshly criticized by Vitruvius (VII, c. 5):

“... How can it be possible that a reed should really support a roof, or a *candelabrum* a pediment with its ornaments, or that such a slender, flexible thing as a stalk should support a figure perched upon it, or that roots and stalks should produce now flowers and now half-length figures? Yet when people see these frauds, they find no fault with them but on the contrary are delighted, and do not care whether any of them can exist or not. Their understanding is obscured by decadent critical principles ...”.

Vitruvius was not criticizing the subjects of the *grotesques*, but their lack of architectural realism attributing their success to the “decadent critical principles” of late antiquity.

In 1499-1502, for the first time, Luca Signorelli extends the *grotesque* decoration to large areas of a religious cycle in the ground floor wall of the San Brizio chapel in the Cathedral of Orvieto; again those fantastic

lutes and golden disks with little scenes emphasize the tridimensional and structural character of the invention and dominate the shadowed figure.

In the interior of the choir of Santa Maria delle Grazie, unfortunately finished by his rival Amadeo, Bramante plays with the *tondo* motif in different sizes and contexts using it even in the painted ribs of the cupola.

In the late 1490s, possibly after a stay in Rome, Bramante distinguished for the first time the Doric from the Ionic capitals in his design of the two cloisters of Sant’Ambrogio in Milan. In the upper storey of the cloisters, he renovates the wall system of antique theatres and abandons the rich decoration of his earlier works. Thanks to antiquity and to Brunelleschi, but also to Bramante, the column becomes again the first and most important ornament.

### The discovery of the Domus Aurea

When in 1481 Pietro Vannucci (1446-1523), called il Perugino, designed the decorative system of the Sistine Chapel with feint tapestries and three subsequent Orders, he varied an ancient prototype which had been in use since the times of Giotto (fig. 2) and adorned the pilasters of the Orders with donatellian candelabras and foliage. Perugino’s pupil, Bernardino di Betto (1454-1513), called il Pinturicchio, was then painting the Bufalini chapel in Santa Maria in Aracoeli (1485-1486). At the same time the artist was exploring Emperor Nero’s sumptuous palace buried underground for over ten centuries where

ornaments are structured in a much more rational way than in the *Domus Aurea* (fig. 39). In those years Signorelli was the most fertile inventor of ornament and seems even to have inspired the relief of the first pedestal of Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II (fig. 40).

When in 1502 Pinturicchio received the prestigious commission to decorate the *Libreria Piccolomini* in the Siena Cathedral, he asked Raphael (1483-1520) to help him with the invention.<sup>18</sup> In the preceding years, Raphael might have also assisted Perugino in the cycle of the Collegio del Cambio. The twenty-year old Raphael arrived in Siena in the spring of 1503 and prepared the drawings for the first five stories of Enea Silvio Piccolomini's life (Pope Pius II) to be painted on the right wall of the Library; strong evidence proves that he also collaborated with Pinturicchio in planning the decorative system of the entire room (fig. 41). In contrast with Pinturicchio's earlier fresco on the exterior wall of the Library, the illusionistic arcades of the interior are as massive and architectural as the ones in Melozzo da Forlì's frescoes in Loreto. In the interior of the Siense *Libreria*, only the central pilasters of the pillars are emphasized by a golden background and *grotesques*, while more traditional white *candelabra*, enriched with human figures, are painted on the dark blue background of the fragmentary lateral pilasters.

There is no comparable ceiling in Pinturicchio's oeuvre, the influence of the *Volta dorata* is more evident than in Perugino's *Cambio* and the quality of the painted decoration is superior. The division in squares and rectangles looks more rational, and the ribs fixed with golden nails are decorated by a meander. The *grotesques* of the spandrels, on blue and golden ground, evoke those by Luca Signorelli in Orvieto. The decorative system of the *Libreria* is also far more refined than that of the ceiling of the main hall of Palazzo Petrucci in Siena invented by Pinturicchio himself between 1508 and 1510. Here, the heavy beams and coffers are perfectly opposed to the transparency and immateriality of the ceiling of the Library.

The pilaster decorations of the many late Quattrocento funerary monuments, and in particular of those sculpted by Andrea Bregno (1418-1506) in Rome, do not reach the perfection of those of the Sacristy of Santa Maria presso San Satiro in Milan and are only slightly influenced by the discovery of the *grotesques*. That is also true of the early *ediculae* in the main floor of the Palazzo della Cancelleria in Rome started in 1489 by Baccio Pontelli (1450 - after 1492), a former assistant to Francesco di Giorgio in Urbino. Pontelli's design is evident in the plan, the main façade, the courtyard and staircase. The main façade is clad with *opus pseudo isodomum*, and the two upper storeys are distinguished by Corinthian Orders and *aediculae* which follow the typology of those of the Porta dei Borsari in Verona. The ornament of the Cancelleria is the most purely structural and classicising of these years and is only comparable to Baccio Pontelli's Church of Sant'Aurea in Ostia. The decoration on the pilasters of most of the *aediculae* of the Cancelleria were designed long after Pontelli's sudden departure in 1492, some of them are decorated with *candelabra*, some with military trophies, used by Pontelli in the pedestals of Sant'Aurea.

Giuliano da Sangallo's coffered ceiling of Santa Maria Maggiore in Rome, started in about 1492, seems to have been inspired by the acanthus garlands of the relief in the grottos of Saint Peter's (fig. 4). Perhaps only after 1500, Giuliano copied the ancient *grotesques* in his *Taccuino Senese* and made, as far as we know, never use of it (fig. 35).<sup>19</sup>



Fig. 36. Filippino Lippi, *Stories of Saint Thomas Aquinas*, Fresco decoration of the Carafa Chapel, Rome. Basilica of Santa Maria sopra Minerva.



Fig. 37. Pietro Perugino, *Fresco decoration of the vault of the saloon of the Collegio del Cambio, Perugia.*



Fig. 38. Francisco de Hollanda, *Drawn copy of the Volta Dorata of the Domus Aurea, El Escorial, Library.*



Fig. 39. Luca Signorelli, *Fresco decoration of the San Brizio Chapel, Orvieto, Cathedral, detail.*

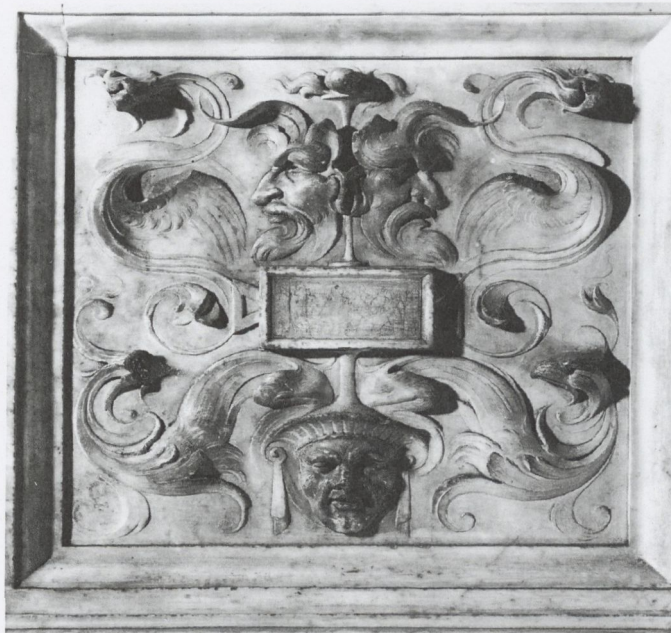


Fig. 40. Michelangelo, *Tomb of Pope Julius II, detail of the first pedestal, Rome, San Pietro in Vincoli.*



Fig. 41. Pinturicchio and Raphael, the *Libreria Piccolomini*, and detail (p. 45), Siena, Cathedral.



As we have seen, some basic elements of ancient ornament had survived in Medieval art and particularly in that of the Tuscan Proto-Renaissance (figs. 1-4). If Brunelleschi was the father of the purely architectural, or structural post-antique ornament, the most creative inventor of decoration in general was Donatello with his unique affinity to certain aspects of late Antique art. Donatello succeeded in transforming Antique ornament in something completely new and appropriate to his sculptural and architectural creations.

**Baldassarre Peruzzi and Raphael. From the reign of Julius II Della Rovere to the first years of Leo X de' Medici**

Impossible to say, how Art History would have developed if Donato Bramante had not come to Rome from Milan on the eve of 1499 and if Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had not become Pope Julius II in November 1503. In Rome, Bramante dedicated himself much more intensively and accurately to the study of antiquity and immediately changed his style<sup>20</sup>; it is not easy, in fact, to

recognize in his grandiose Roman buildings the architectural language elaborated in his Milanese creations. In the Eternal City, he followed the ancient prototypes and the rules of Vitruvius and Alberti more directly and strictly: for the first time he used the severe Doric Order with triglyphs. As he had already started to do in the cloisters of Sant'Ambrogio, Bramante reduced the decorative ornament even in Ionic and Corinthian friezes. In his Roman works he preferred – as Brunelleschi had done and Michelangelo would do – to build plain walls articulated by the Orders.

Bramante had always followed Alberti's interpretation of the column as both part of the wall and as its *primum ornamentum* for its decorative surface. He divides, however, the wall in several layers, making one overlap the other, changing the Order's rhythm and combining the giant with the smaller Orders, thus varying the Order itself and its decoration.

In 1510, Bramante reduced the giant Order of the valley front of the Palazzo Apostolico in Loreto to mere wall-strips, without bases and capitals and to blind panels (fig. 42). At about the same time, always in Loreto, but in the interior of the Sanctuary, he used



Fig. 42. Donato Bramante, Valley front façade of the Palazzo Apostolico, Loreto.

all the wealth of ancient ornament in the marble incrustations of the *Santa Casa* (fig. 43). After his death, this decoration was overloaded by Andrea Sansovino (1467-1529) and the succeeding sculptors. Neither there, nor in any other of Bramante's Roman works, are traces of *grotesques* or similar figural ornaments. Andrea Sansovino had collaborated with Bramante in 1505 at *Cardinal Ascanio Sforza's mausoleum* in Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome.

One of Bramante's first followers in Rome was the extremely versatile and talented Baldassarre Peruzzi (1483-1536), who arrived from Siena after the death of his teacher Francesco di Giorgio Martini, in November 1502.<sup>21</sup> Encouraged by Bramante, the young artist studied – already in his first preserved drawings – antique ornament more thoroughly than anyone before him and soon became its outstanding interpreter (fig. 44). Collaborator of the older and well known Jacopo Ripanda († 1516) to the frescoes of the apse of the church of Sant'Onofrio in Rome, Peruzzi was probably responsible of the design of its architectural system, as well as of the three frescoes of the lower register (fig. 45). More complex than Luca Signorelli's system in the Loreto frescoes, Peruzzi frames the monumental apse with an arcade sustained by quadrangular corner columns, the arcade frames the catino which raises above the late gothic pointed windows. To the giant Order he attaches a basement decorated with *grisailles*; above the basement is a smaller second Order adorned with quickly painted reddish *grotesques*, very similar to late antique models, close to the ones in Bramante's *Argo*. Both Orders support the same entablature and the smaller one continues in the braided ribs of the vault. The three episodes of the *Life of Mary* in the lower register are represented as seen through a window; while the figures and the gold mosaic of the vault belong to the metaphysical world.

Peruzzi designed the apse around 1505, a few years later the Pope commissioned him the decoration of the vault of the *Chapel of Santa Elena* in the Roman Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme (fig. 46). Inspired by early Byzantine mosaics and perhaps also by those of the chapel's former decoration, Peruzzi adorned the cupola with the mosaics of *Christ and the Evangelists* on golden ground. The framing textile-like ribbons are sustained by winged angels emerging from the peacocks in the corners, they cross each other as do the ones painted by Pinturicchio in the *Sala del Santo* of the Borgia Apartment in the Vatican.



Fig. 43. Donato Bramante and Andrea Sansovino, *Marble incrustation of the Santa Casa*, Loreto, Sanctuary.

Peruzzi explains thus the abolition of weight and support, with the laws of the metaphysical world – and not with the “irrational absurdity” of the *grotesques*. The small intermediate triangles with the *Stories of the Holy Cross* are framed by more solid braids and by lion’s heads and stand on lion’s paws. The *tondos* in the centre of these vaults show the Holy Lamb and the instruments of the *Passion of Christ*, the intervals are animated by *grotesques* with birds and flowers, thus the more immanent and historical space of the stories and the Saints is distinguished from the undefined metaphysical space of *Christ and the Evangelists*. There is no earlier mosaic vault of the Roman Renaissance and none equally rich in classicising ornament.

Most likely, Pope Julius II was following Bramante’s advice, when in 1508 he commissioned Pietro Perugino, Baldassarre Peruzzi and Giovanni Antonio Bazzi (1477-1549), called il Sodoma, to paint three other vaults in his new Vatican apartment. Each of the three artists used similar broad and richly decorated

ribbons in an other way. In the *Stanza dell’Incendio*, where the papal law court assembled, Perugino’s marble ribs are adorned with gold mosaics and follow the diagonals of the groin vault leaving large caps

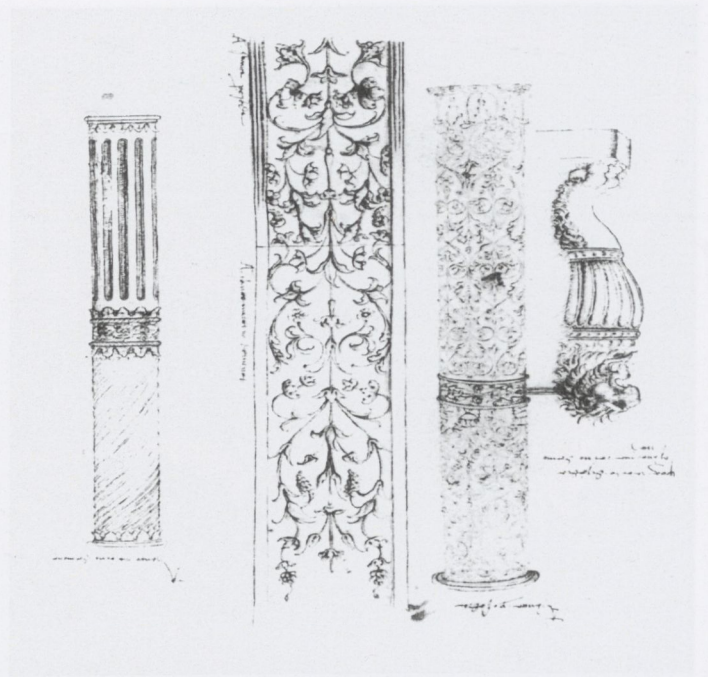


Fig. 44. Baldassarre Peruzzi, Drawing of *Antique ornaments*. Florence, GdSU, Uffizi.



Fig. 45. Baldassarre Peruzzi and Jacopo Ripanda, *Decoration of the Apse of the Church of Sant’Onofrio*, Rome.





Fig. 46. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Mosaics of the Chapel of Saint Helen*, Rome, Basilica of Santa Croce in Gerusalemme.



Fig. 47. Baldassarre Peruzzi and Raphael, *Fresco Decoration of the vault of the Stanza d'Elidoro*, Palazzi Vaticani.

for *tondos* with the representation of Christ. The originally eight radial ribbons of Peruzzi's ceiling of the *Stanza d'Eliodoro*, the audience room of the papal private apartment, look again extremely textile and, being interconnected by two concentric circles, underline the centrality of the room (fig. 47). The histories painted in the coffer-like panels of the flanking barrel-vaults, the foliage of the ornament and the huge golden nails still remind of the apse of Sant'Onofrio, but the little *chiaroscuro* stories have now become painted reliefs imitating those of the *Arch of Titus* and the acanthus garlands with dolphins are also classicising.

For the overall disposition of the slightly later ceiling of the *Stanza della Segnatura*, the Pope's study and private library (fig. 48), Sodoma was clearly inspired by the vault of Mantegna's *Camera Picta*; he followed the symbolical Greek Cross formed by Perugino's four *tondos* and was clearly inspired by Peruzzi's little *trompe-l'oeil* reliefs.

When in 1509 Raphael received the commission to decorate the entire *Stanza della Segnatura*, he enlarged the central opening, made it octagonal and filled it with putto angels, who hinder the papal coat of arms to crash on the floor. While respecting Sodoma's decorative system and small scenes, Raphael made the four large *tondos* and the four diagonal fields part of his coherent program. He enlarged, varied and enriched the ornament of the supporting corner pillars which are adorned with the traditional white *candelabras* and masks on golden and blue ground. The intermediate pillars, which support the southern arch are instead adorned with trophies and are, for the first time since antiquity, painted on white ground. As in Andrea Mantegna's *Camera Picta*, Raphael opens the vast arcades of his narrative cycle to the blue sky of the ceiling, thus suggesting its continuation above the thin vault. The female allegories posed on feint golden mosaic belong to a more symbolic sphere, just as in Baldassarre Peruzzi's *Chapel of Saint Helen*.<sup>22</sup> Slightly later, in a less illusionistic manner, Pinturicchio varied this highly structural system in the ceiling of the choir of Santa Maria del Popolo.

When Peruzzi designed the decoration of the staircase of Julius II's little castle at Ostia (circa 1509) with an architectural framework, he evidently remembered the structural system of Signorelli's Orvieto fres-



Fig. 48. Sodoma and Raphael, *Fresco Decoration of vault of the Stanza della Segnatura*, Palazzi Vaticani.



Fig. 49. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Decoration of the vault of the staircase*. Ostia Antica, Castle.

coes (fig. 49). The hastily painted red silhouetted figurines are more similar to the antique Roman *grotesques* than those of Sant'Onofrio.

None of these prestigious commissions can match that of the Villa Farnesina, the suburban palace of Agostino Chigi (1466-1520), the richest banker in Rome and Peruzzi's compatriote. The artist began the project around 1505<sup>23</sup> and between 1507 and 1508, when the ground floor was ready, he painted the mythological frieze of Chigi's audience room. Then started the decoration of the *intercolumnia* of the exterior. In contrast to earlier façade painting, Peruzzi invented a strictly architectural system where *panischi*, similar to the *Satyrs* of the Palazzo Della Valle, are flanking the windows and sustaining their prolonged cornice and the painted huge feint reliefs with mythological subjects above them.

Probably not before 1511, Peruzzi began to paint in fresco the *Loggia di Galatea*, where Chigi enjoyed the morning sun and the view of the Tiber valley and organized banquets (fig. 50). In the general disposition of the ceiling, Peruzzi remembered, of course, the *Piccolomini Library*, transforming its primarily decorative panels in openings of an illusionistic architecture which seem to continue the real walls more convincingly than in Melozzo's *Loreto Sacristy*, or in the *Stanze*. Peruzzi did not foreshorten the figures, but presented them as picture-like constellations of stars (fig. 51).

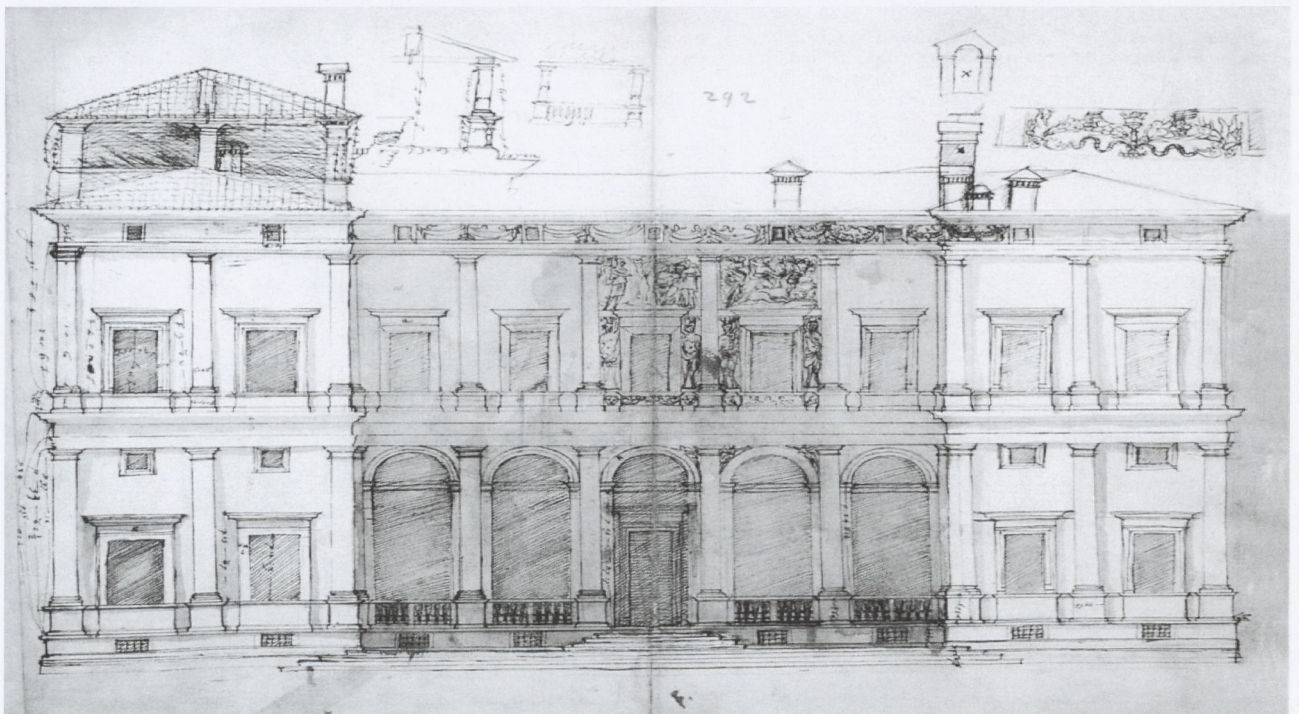


Fig. 50. Flemish Draughtsman, circa 1560, the *Villa Farnesina*, the main front with decorations, New York, the Metropolitan Museum.



Fig. 51. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Vault Decoration of the Loggia di Galatea*. Rome, Villa Farnesina.

The classicising entablature of the ceiling is sustained by the fragile ribs of spheric triangles and open hexagons, which in turn are supported by the archivolts of the lunettes. Only these archivolts are supported by bundles of real pilasters which are adorned with white *grotesques* on blue ground; the central pilaster bears a *candelabra* and the fragmentary lateral ones only foliage and *amorini*. No earlier artist had reached such unity between real and painted architecture, between architecture and the feigned space.

Agostino Chigi commissioned Raphael and Sebastiano del Piombo to paint the lunettes and one fresco on the long wall where Raphael painted the *Galatea*. Perhaps Peruzzi had prepared a different project for the decoration of the walls not known today.

When Peruzzi designed the relief-like episodes of *Emperor Trajan's life* for the reception hall of Cardinal Raffaele Riario's little Bishopric in Ostia Antica, he was inspired by the reliefs of the *Column of Trajan* and by the marbles of the triumphal arches. The frescoes are divided by an Order of single pilasters probably similar to those he had just finished in Cardinal Fabrizio Santoro's *salone* on the Roman Corso.<sup>24</sup> But Raphael's ideas flew much higher. From about 1511 onwards, he designed Agostino Chigi's tomb chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. After having built the Villa Farnesina with relatively modest materials, now Chigi did not hesitate any longer to show his enormous wealth, and Raphael could finally attain the same splendour of the precious coloured marbles used by the ancients in the Pantheon, facility which he still missed in 1519-1520 when writing his letter on Roman antiquities to Pope Leo X. In the Chapel, on that relatively small site, Raphael succeeded in varying Bramante's crossing of Saint Peter's. Three arcades had to be closed, the two lateral ones frame the pyramids of the tomb and the third one the altar; the entablature, the drum and the cupola follow Bramante's scheme, while in the pendentives and in the cupola Raphael's predilection for a rich and not necessarily structural decoration is more than evident such as, for example, in the temple painted in the *School of Athens*. Raphael designed the mosaics of the cupola in 1512-1513 (fig. 52). Above the windows of the drum he opened eight similar squares with feigned skies, with the seven planetary, the astrological divinities and the fixed stars. In no earlier religious building these pagan gods had shared the same infinite space with the Christian God, who appears foreshortened in the upper opening of the cupola. The gilded and lavishly decorated, but fragile, supporting skeleton ends in a cornice with brackets, and the smaller panels beneath are decorated with *candelabras*, masks and other ornaments similar to those of the *Stanza della Segnatura*.

Late in 1511, Raphael started the frescoes of the *Stanza d'Eliodoro* where he did not adorn the corner



Fig. 52. Raphael, *God the Father and the planetary Gods*, mosaic, stucco and fresco decoration of the cupola of the Chigi chapel, Rome, Santa Maria del Popolo.

pillars with real *grotesques*, but with braids and garlands, while again, the intermediate pillars with trophies on white ground. In 1514, Pope Leo asked him to embellish the frescoes of the vault and to decorate the basement and the window recesses of the *Vatican Stanze*. In the vault of the *Stanza di Eliodoro*, Raphael eliminated every second ribbon of Peruzzi's vault and painted *trompe-l'oeil* tapestries in the enlarged caps; in the window recess he painted his first grotesques, which are still white on blue ground, but larger and better visible than those of earlier painters. As did Michelangelo in the *grotesques* sculpted on the first pedestal of Pope Julius' tomb (*fig. 40*), Raphael grouped them around a *tabula ansata* sustained by a *labarum* or caryatids and angels; puttos and youths with torches defend it against demonic monsters. A religious scene is painted on the black grounds of the tablet; thus Raphael is emphasising the dangers of the irrational world and opposing it to that of faith, as he does also in his later pictures of *Saint Michael*, *Saint George* and *Saint Margaret*. While avoiding the irrational instability, condemned by Vitruvius, he integrates the *grotesques* in his entire program.

### Raphael's last years and antiquity

In 1514, Pope Leo X appointed Raphael as Papal architect and successor of Donato Bramante, the artist was also incharged of the conservation of the antiquities of the Eternal City. With the help of humanists and of his numerous assistants, Raphael studied the architectural, sculptural and pictorial remains of antique Rome as well as the related literary sources, the artist hoped that Rome could rise again above its ruins and regain the splendour of the Imperial capital.

Between 1515 and 1516, the learned and witty Cardinal Bernardo Dovizi da Bibbiena (1470-1520), Pope Leo's intimate friend and Vice-Chancellor, commissioned Raphael to arrange and decorate his apartment situated above the Papal living quarters in the Vatican Palace. In the decoration of the bathroom – or *Stufetta* – and the westward oriented *Loggetta*, Raphael freed himself from the ornament's ever stricter imprisonment in an architectural framework.

If Pinturicchio, Perugino, Signorelli and the young Baldassarre Peruzzi had extended the presence of *grotesques* to walls and even staircases, only the mature Raphael uses them to adorn an entire room.<sup>25</sup> This was not yet completely the case in the *Stufetta*, at which he worked in the spring of 1516 leaving the complete execution of the frescoes to his assistant Giovanni da Udine (1487-1564) whom had become his special collaborator for decorations after the antique and for botanical and zoological subjects. Giovanni had learned from his Venetian master Giorgione (1477-1510) to create brilliant colours; once in Rome he also rediscovered the recipe of Ancient marble stucco. Under Raphael's guidance, Giovanni must have visited the *Domus Aurea* and may have also discovered the decorations of other antique ruins; he succeeded in imitating the technique and the colours of Roman painting so exactly, that it is sometimes difficult to distinguish his decorations from the antique models<sup>26</sup> (*fig. 57*).

The square room of Cardinal Dovizi's *Stufetta* is covered by a vault without groins (*figs. 53-54*); the wall opposite the central door opens in a niche which once hosted a statue, perhaps of Venus, the arches of both the door and the niche are placed concentrically with the lunettes of the walls, while the light enters through square windows opened in the lateral walls. The marble relief placed under the niche is adorned with the mask of a satyr who spouted cold and warm water on the marble floor and which is flanked by *cornucopias* with the heraldic ears of Cardinal Bibbiena's coat of arms. Continuing his decoration, Raphael proceeds to the tripartite system of the walls, as was the common practice since Giotto's times, though realizing it in a more rational and architectural way than in the ancient prototypes. The *amorini* of the basement are painted on black ground and carried on tub-like cars drawn by galloping mythic animals; the panels in the higher part of the niche illustrate erotic scenes taken from Servius' (IV century AD) *Comment of Virgil*<sup>27</sup>, these were designed by Raphael but, as we have seen, painted by his pupils and though badly preserved, they are well documented by his drawings and by engravings. The system of the vault is stylistically and technically nearer to the *volta dorata* of the *Domus Aurea* than any other earlier Renaissance ceiling; the now barely readable panels are filled with fighting animals and erotic scenes. Only the lunettes are adorned with real *grotesques*, these are carried out on the red ground of ancient Roman painting, later known as *Pompeian red*, which Raphael and Giovanni da Udine had recreated. For the first time since antiquity, the pagan and irrational world of the fragile *grotesques* extends into an unlimited space. Bibbiena's *stufetta* is the ideal counterpart of the universal space which Raphael had created in the *Stanze* and in the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. The tiny baldachins supported by thin straw columns form



Fig. 53. Raphael and Giovanni da Udine, *Cardinal Dovizi da Bibbiena's Stufetta*, Vatican Palaces.

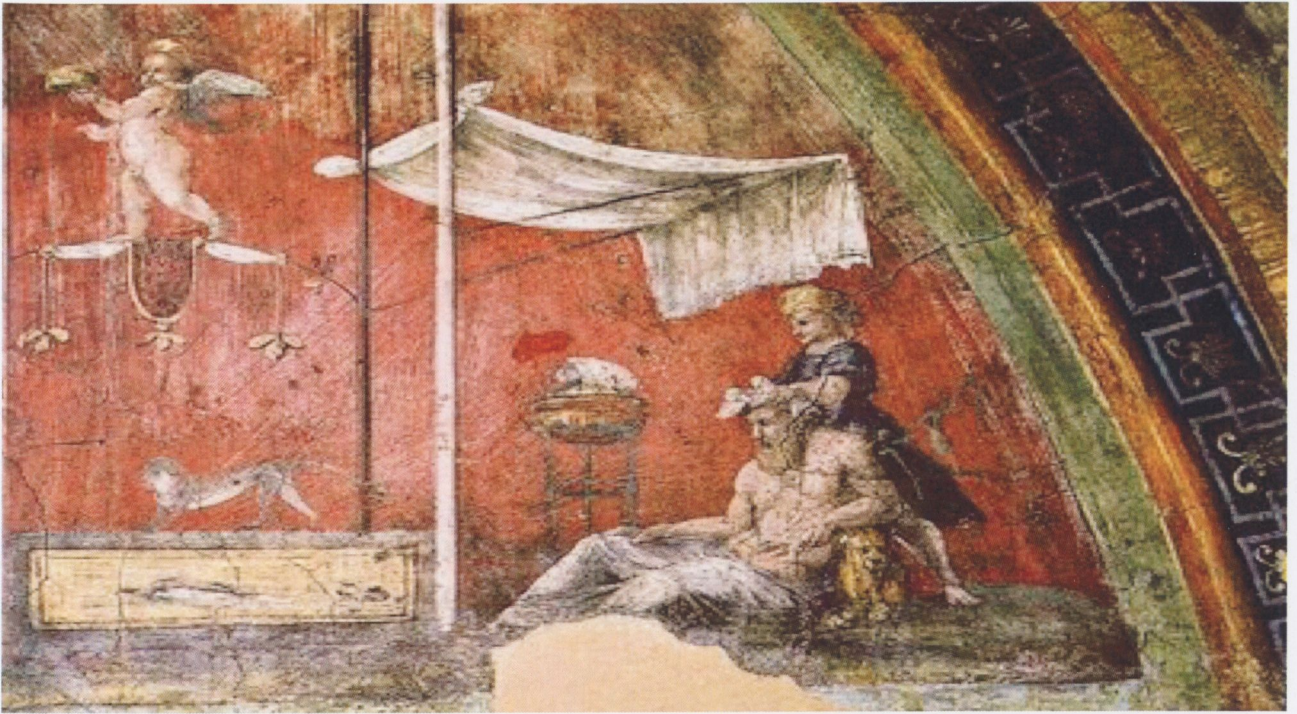


Fig. 54. Raphael and Giovanni da Udine, Fresco decoration of Cardinal Dovizi da Bibbiena's *Stufetta*, Vatican Palaces, detail.

minuscule Sanctuaries for the *Amorini*, who are balancing like rope-walkers and are accompanied by River Gods with *cornucopias* and similar reclining deities.

Having always obeyed to the structural thought of Vitruvius, Raphael was the first artist to understand the secrets and wonders of late antique decoration. In contrast to his earlier *grotesques*, the ones painted in Cardinal Bibbiena's *Stufetta* are neither subject to physical laws, nor demonic and menacing: *Amor* dominates the entire room, he is harmonious, but not always charming and playful, as shown in the panel of *Venus mourning the death of Adonis*.

Some months later, Raphael decorated the nearby *Loggetta* (figs. 55, 56, 58), articulating the exterior with a Doric Order without triglyphs. The twin pilasters are divided by niche-like windows in a triumphal rhythm. This system is mirrored in the *grotesques* of the rear wall: for the first time since antiquity, these cover both walls and the vault, and are painted on white ground. Just as in the *Domus Aurea*, the *Loggetta* has no architectural framework (fig. 57), but only a large cornice in *peperino* stone above which rises the barrel vault. The marble caryatids of the painted basement sustain the upper area and alternate with panels of coloured marble. The shadowy niches with female statues of the rear wall correspond to the *Loggetta*'s arcaded windows, and not by chance the *grotesques* opposite to the pillars show structural elements. The *peperino* cornice is prospectively prolonged to a roof and this is sustained by two groups of twin columns in front and two at the rear side. The baldachin protects the niche and its pagan divinity, it is merely as broad as the pillar and in contrast to these its fragility is particularly striking, the more so given that the entablature is loaded with a structure of similarly thin columns which reach the ceiling. Such a sophisticated interpretation of the *grotesques* would have been hardly possible in antiquity. The animals framed in rectangles and the garlands of the ceiling look more schematic than the *grotesques* of the wall and might be Giovanni da Udine's invention. In the bays opposite the *Loggetta*'s arcades, the baldachins and the columns are missing and weightless *grotesques* are painted around a tablet. Even in the *sfumato* and in their delicate colours, these mythological scenes look like ancient paintings. This purely pagan world questions the laws of reality playfully. The many *amorini* who in the southern lunette assist Vulcan producing Amor's arrows, reveal this last one to be the Lord of the *Loggetta*.

Neither Raphael, nor Giulio Romano would ever again fill an entire room with *grotesques*, and Giovanni da Udine's imitation of the *Loggetta* in the vault of a room in Palazzo Baldassini is less inventive and more schematic: a further argument for attributing the project for the decoration of the *Loggetta* to Raphael himself.

The papal *Logge* had been part of Bramante's renewal of the papal palace. He began in 1508 and con-





Fig. 55. Raphael and Giovanni da Udine, *Loggetta of Cardinal Dovizi da Bibbiena*, Vatican Palaces.



Fig. 56. Raphael and Giovanni da Udine, *Loggetta of Cardinal Dovizi da Bibbiena*, Vatican Palaces, detail.



Fig. 57. Roman Painters of the First century AD, *Grottoes of the Domus Area* in Rome.



Fig. 58. Raphael and Giovanni da Udine, *Loggetta of Cardinal Dovizi da Bibbiena*, Vatican Palaces, detail.



Fig. 59. Raphael, Giovanni da Udine and assistants, the *Seconda Loggia*, Vatican Palaces.

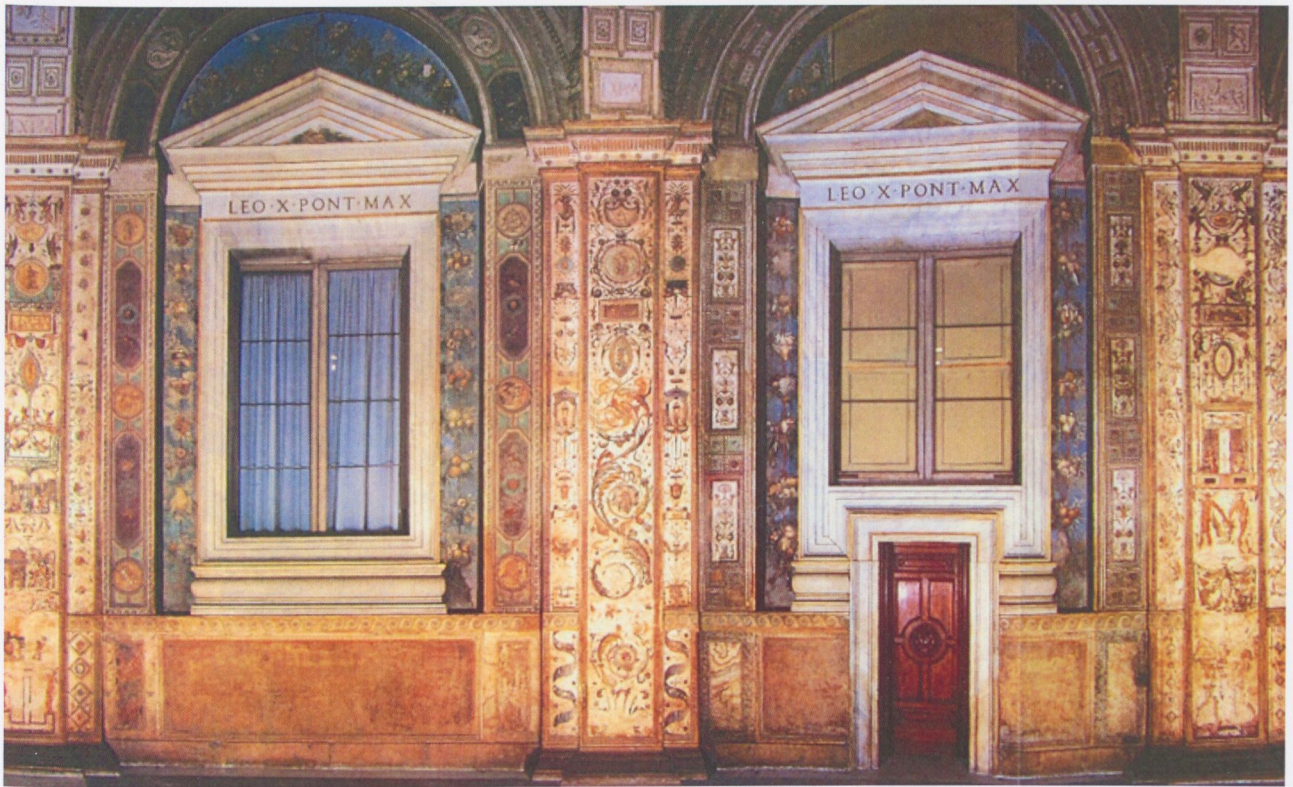


Fig. 60. Raphael, Giovanni da Udine and assistants, *Rear wall of the Seconda Loggia*, Vatican Palaces.

tinued after Pope Leo's election. Raphael had accomplished the construction of the first two Logge in 1516, when Pope Leo X commissioned him to decorate the *Loggia* on the second floor, where he lived (fig. 59-63). As in the Farnesina's *Loggia di Galatea*, in the Vatican *Loggia*, the exterior Order is reduced to pilasters from which rise the transversal arches. The four lateral walls of each vault are evidently prepared for painting. The richly decorated pillars and arches bear the vaults and form a sequence of coherent baldachins where once more the architectural framework of the Order has gained its dominating role.

Reviving the tradition of antique Roman galleries of statues, Raphael created large niches framed by marble *aediculae* to host the Papal's collection of precious antique statues. On the other hand, in each of the thirteen vaults he envisaged four framed painted pictures with episodes from the Bible, from the *Creation* to the *Last Supper*, with the scope of reviving the tradition of the ancient *pinakoteka*.

In Pope Leo's apartment, Raphael was not as free as in Bibbiena's private quarters. In contrast with his predecessor Julius II, who had been glorified by the artist in his decoration of the *Stanze*, Pope Leo must have insisted, for the decoration of his private premises, on the celebration of himself and of the Medici dynasty. The vault of the *Second Loggia's* central bay is dominated by Leo's coat of arms, and in the other vaults we see *Fame* with the bow of Leo's *impresa* announcing his glory, while the religious scenes painted in each bay are dedicated to one of Leo's most important predecessors: the leaders of the People of God, from Adam and Moses, to Joseph, David, Salomon and Christ. In these forty two fresco scenes, Raphael proves once more his unrivalled capacity as an erudite interpreter and narrative poet. In each bay he describes four key events of an exemplary figure of the Bible, many of them represented for the first time in the Renaissance. In this more secular area dedicated to meditation, reflexion, *otium* and diplomacy, Leo X evidently abhorred the representation of violent scenes preferring episodes from the *Old Testament*, rich in drama, poetry and even in erotic atmosphere. Only the thirteenth bay is dedicated to Christ, but none of the four stories represented depicts moments of the *Passion*. Raphael represented the Hebrew world as a part of antiquity in such an evocative and convincing way, that centuries later these images still affected great painters like Domenichino and Nicolas Poussin and later the Nazarenes and Schnorr von Carolsfeld.

From his apartment, the Pope could step out on to the *Loggia*, read his breviary and meditate on Raphael's exemplary heroes. In those premises, he could receive cardinals and ambassadors, admire the vast panorama stretching out to the distant mountains of the Apennines, beyond Tivoli, and enjoy the view and perfumes of the secret gardens.

Only in the first bay the chromatic splendour of the pilasters has been preserved from climatic damage.

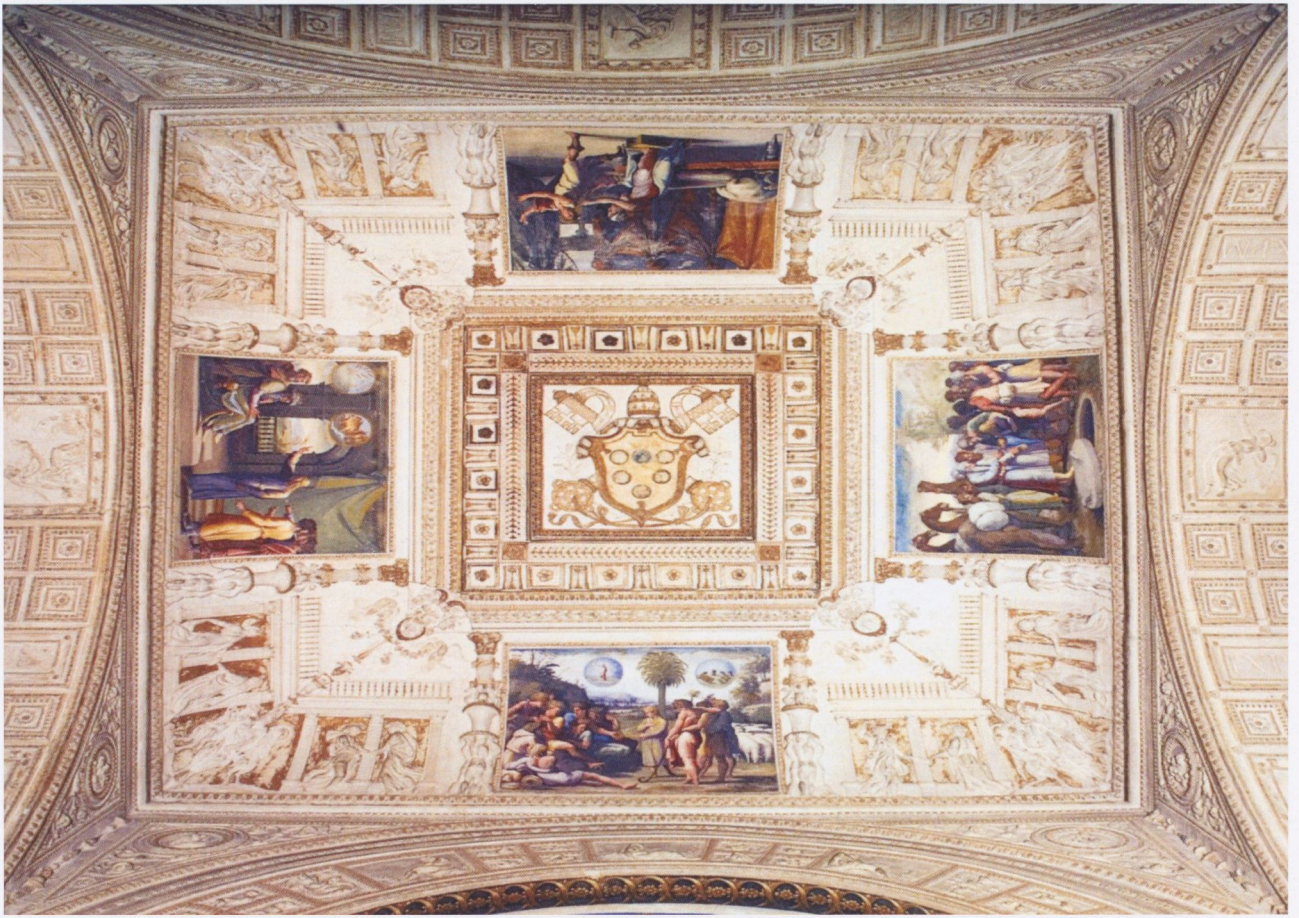


Fig. 61. Raphael, Giovanni da Udine and assistants, *Central vault of the Seconda Loggia*, Vatican Palaces.

The celestial blue of the rear blind arcades continues in some of the vaults and suggests that all sides of the *Loggia* are open to the universal space, as they do in the *Stanze* and in the Chigi Chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. The blue is so exceptionally transparent, that the *aediculae* of the niches, of the windows and of the doors look as if standing in the open air. Thanks to the garlands of fruits and flowers, the rear wall seems prepared for a summer feast; some of the landscapes painted in the *aediculae* were added later.

The central vault of the thirteenth bay is the only one decorated with white and gilded stuccoes (fig. 61), its four stories represent the *Life of Joseph*, one of Leo's most human and peaceful predecessors. Each story is flanked by columns which sustain an entablature and brackets, they form a sort of small baldachin within the big one; the lower part of the columns looks like a *candelabrum* and is carried by *telamons*, which interrupt the maidens dancing before the golden background, perhaps an allusion to the Golden Age of the Medici pontificate. In the corners, four satyrs hold slender *candelabras* which culminate in satyr's masks bearing the emblem of the Medici ring, these cover part of the entablature. Some visitors may have wondered whether this intrusion of an element of demoniac sensuality in the sphere of the *History of Joseph* and of papal glory could allude to the sensual tendencies of Leo's reign.

The diagonal ribs of the first and last vaults open on the hexagonal scenes dedicated to the *Creation* and to the *Life of Christ*, the blue sky above them gradually transforms into a divine golden light. In two scenes of the first bay, God is flying through the infinite universe and perhaps, for the first time in art history, the earth he is looking at, is a perfect sphere. The alternating decoration systems at each side of the central bay correspond symmetrically to each other: the first bay to the last, the second to the twelfth and so on. In two corresponding vaults, the square corners are closed with ornamented veils; in two other vaults they are only partly covered by an immaterial decoration and populated by a variety of pagan demons. Four vaults are part of a fragile baldachin-like rib structure and make look the isolated pictures as if exhibited in a gallery. In two of them we can observe the blue sky through its open corners and a Doric colonnade without ceiling or roof (fig. 62); in the two other vaults the sustaining elements of the baldachin are reduced to the painted panels and above them a colonnade of Corinthian Order articulates a massive wall with windows. Thus illusionistic architecture is going on without clear meaning but extending itself

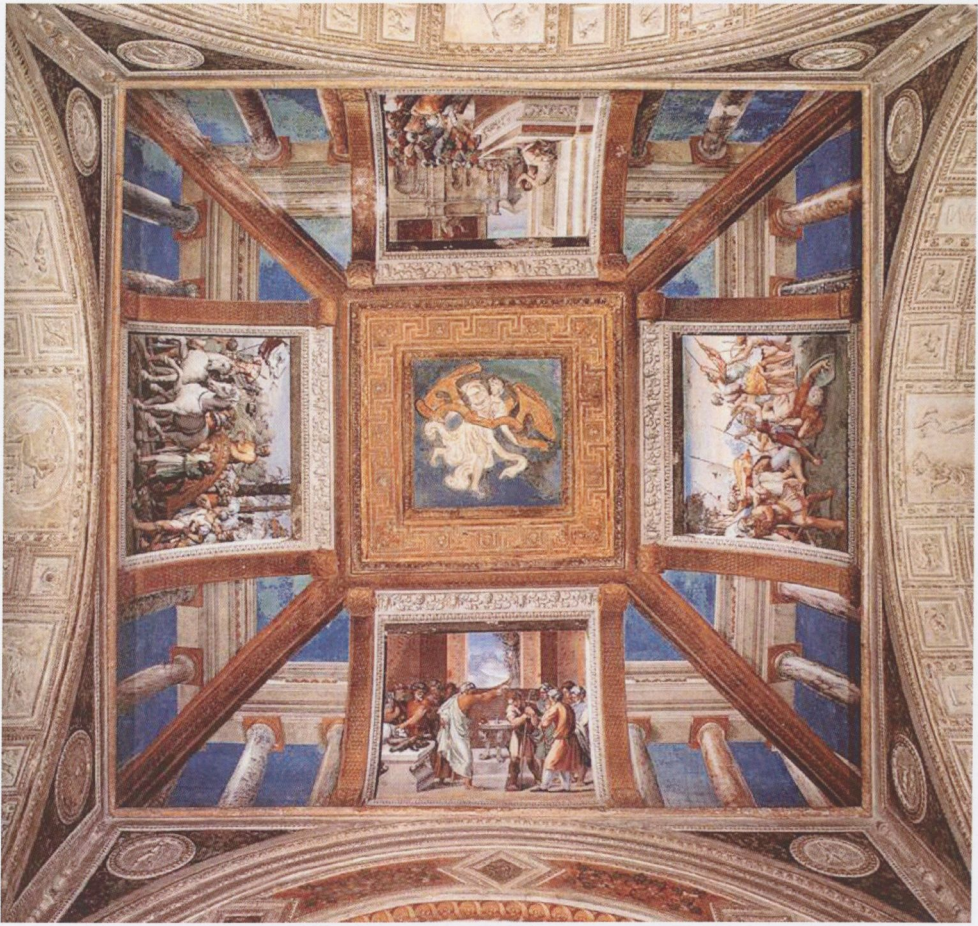


Fig. 62. Raphael, Giovanni da Udine and assistants, *Intermediate vault of the Seconda Loggia*, Vatican Palaces.



Fig. 63. Giovanni da Udine, *Stucco decoration on a pillar of the Second Loggia*, Vatican Palaces.

still further in the infinite sky, which in two of the four bays is animated by birds.

Inspired by antiquity, Giovanni da Udine helped Raphael also in the decoration of the second *Loggia* in drafting the single decorative elements and painting the garlands of fruit as well as the *grotesques* of the pilasters. Evidently Raphael left the artist from Friuli a large margin of freedom. Giovanni modelled the central parts of each pillar with exquisite stucco reliefs in which he imitated antique gems and medals, he was also inspired by drawings and sketches made by his master for other works. The stucco might have been prepared by Giovanni himself (fig. 63). The white stuccos and the coloured *grotesques* and garlands make the pillars look as transparent as the walls of the *Loggetta*, the spandrels above the arcades open on little scenes with perspectives which suggest a further diminution of the solid wall.

If Giovanni worked by himself with few assistants, the rest of the complex decoration planned by Raphael was directed by his master

pupils: Giulio Romano and Giovan Francesco Penni, who controlled and intervened on the work of the younger assistants, such as Perino del Vaga, Polidoro da Caravaggio and others. It was probably the most sophisticated and best organized team of the entire Renaissance; no other master, and not even Raphael himself, succeeded again in unifying architecture, sculpture, painting and decoration with equal perfection.

In 1518, Raphael started the decoration of the *First Vatican Loggia*, which connected the ceremonial rooms, where Cardinals assembled before and after a meeting and which the Pope passed through when going to the Sistine chapel, to the *Loggia of Benedictions* or to the Basilica of Saint Peter. The proximity of the *First Loggia* to the secret gardens inspired Raphael to transform its vaults into a highly illusionistic and emblematic *pergola* with the plants, fruits and birds, painted exquisitely by Giovanni da Udine, with brilliant use of colours. *Pergolas* had already appeared in Mantegna's and Francesco del Cossa's frescoes; more recently Leonardo da Vinci had decorated an immense state room in the Castello Sforzesco in Milan, the *Sala delle Asse*, with the heraldic trees of Lodovico il Moro (1498). But the main source of Raphael's *pergolas* were the gardens painted in some rooms of ancient Roman palaces and villas, such as that of the then not yet discovered *House of Livia* on the Palatine.

In that same year 1518, Raphael transformed the entrance *loggia* of Agostino Chigi's suburban palace in Trastevere into a *pergola* (fig. 64). The banker was then preparing his marriage with a young lady from Venice and the story of *Amor and Psyche* seemed to be the perfect theme to celebrate such an event. Raphael, and probably also Chigi, adhered to Neo-Platonism and planned a much more profound programme for the painted decoration of the villa than just the illustration of the funny tale told by Apuleius in the *Golden Ass*. Raphael filled the spandrels of the palace's vestibule with over life size divinities and painted on the two faint tapestries of the ceiling *Psyche's introduction to the Olympus* and the *Banquet of the Gods*. In the original program, the terrestrial scenes of the myth should have been painted in the lunettes and on the walls, thus the entire room would have been animated with a somehow coherent architecture with the open rooms of a three winged villa-like palace such as the Farnesina.



Fig. 64. Raphael and Giovanni da Udine, *Loggia of Amore and Psyche*, Rome, Villa Farnesina.



The divinities in the spandrels seem to have flown down from the clouds and are the most powerful evocation of the Olympic gods in Renaissance art. Raphael was deeply inspired by poetry, and had a profound understanding of Virgil's *Aeneid*, he was also interested in the more dramatic epic by Homer, which contributed to confer passion and weight to his gods. In the variety of expressive gestures and physiognomies he competed with Leonardo, Michelangelo and with ancient sculpture, as well as with the time's flourishing theatre.<sup>28</sup>

His decorative system was evidently inspired by Peruzzi's adjacent *Loggia di Galatea*, but again he avoided a rigid architectural framework and transformed Peruzzi's heavy entablature into the ephemeral festoons of a *pergola* which prepare the forthcoming scene of the marriage. Once again, the ceiling is freed from heavy architecture and Giovanni da Udine's innumerable and partly exotic fruits and flowers become living ornament.

In the same years, Raphael designed a palace for his friend Giovan Battista Branconio dell'Aquila, a prominent member of the Roman Curia, the building was later destroyed to build Gian Lorenzo Bernini's square of Saint Peter's (fig. 65). Of the five arcades of the building's façade, four of them opened to rented shops and were adorned with a Doric Order of engaged columns. The windows of the *piano nobile* were framed by Pantheon like *aediculae*, with alternating gables the windows are connected by a continuous entablature divided by niches with statues. The central bay was distinguished by the papal coat of arms, while the small mezzanine windows shed light in the reception hall and were connected by festoons with classicising medallions; the windows of the subordinate upper

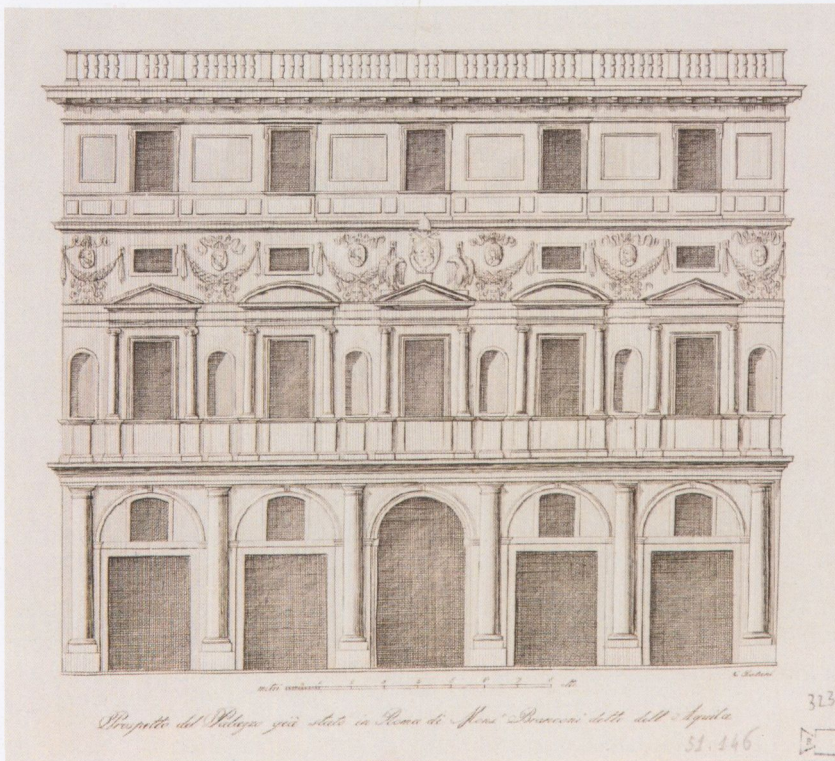


Fig. 65. Raphael, *Façade of Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila*, Rome, Illustration from Pietro Ferrerio, *Palazzi di Roma* (1665).



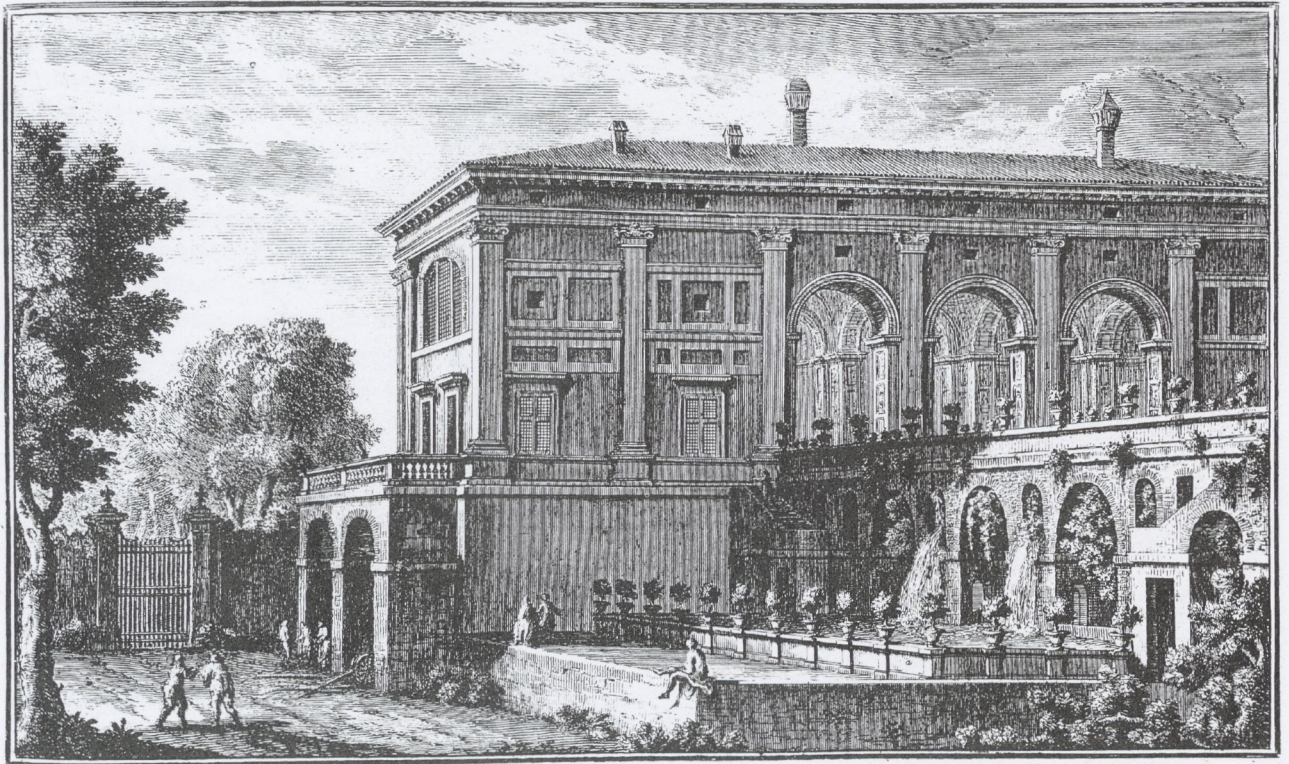


Fig. 66. Giuseppe Vasi, *A view of the Façade of Villa Madama*.

floor alternated with huge painted panels. The dominance of the *piano nobile* and the rich figural decoration are characteristic of Raphael's late style, but the language of the facade's ground floor and of the *aediculae* seem already influenced by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1485-1546), the architect of Palazzo Farnese. In the fall of 1516, Pope Leo had nominated Sangallo assistant to Raphael as papal architect, in 1518 Sangallo started to compete with Raphael in the planning of the new Basilica of Saint Peter and the *Villa Madama* destined to the Pope's cousin, Cardinal Giulio de' Medici. (1478-1534) Antonio da Sangallo's drawings and studies after the antique are amongst the most accurate and impressive of the entire Renaissance. In 1519, Sangallo's influence on those projects was increasing, and visibly reduced Raphael's decorative style, as is evident in the exterior of the southern transept of the Basilica started in that year; in 1518, Raphael had redesigned Sangallo's project for Villa Madama destined to Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, future Pope Clement VII (1513). The estate is situated on the slopes of Monte Mario, north of Rome, and its refined splendours *all'antica* were endowed with the most luxurious facilities of late antiquity. No earlier Pope, Prince, Cardinal or banker had ever enjoyed those levels of luxury and only very few would benefit in the three succeeding centuries.<sup>29</sup> The terraces of the vast gardens were to start down below, at the level of the Tiber and involved major movements of tons of soil and rock; a sophisticated system of irrigation and water pipes would have permitted the planting of hundreds of trees and plants. Though subject to the architecture's levels and axis, the Villa with its gradual gardens down to the Tiber would have been a major ornament in itself and would have changed the entire topography of the area (*fig. 66*).

The complex system of the fragmentary valley front is the result of its correspondence with the unexecuted left part of the facade wing, whose vast saloon would have been illuminated by an immense thermal window, repeated in the right half with a blind one. The thermal window originates from the same pillars as the arcades of the garden *loggia* and its walls arrive to the entablature of the giant Ionic Order, which seems to be supported by it (*fig. 67*). The wall above the thermal window would have, in fact, sustained the cupola of the unexecuted saloon, while the thermal window would have been flanked by rectangular windows, which are blind in the right part. There would not have been much space left for decoration, it would have been a much purer architecture than the facade of Palazzo Branconio, its correspondence with the interior would have been more evident and its rhythm more complex than in Bramante's choir of Saint Peter's; the dynamic rhythm would have culminated hierarchically in the central arch of the valley *loggia*, yet the Order was losing its structural strength.

After the deaths of Raphael, in April 1520, and Pope Leo, in December 1521, Cardinal Giulio continued



Fig. 67. Giovanni da Udine and Giulio Romano, *Fresco and Stucco Decoration of the North-eastern exedra of the Garden Loggia, Rome, Villa Madama.*



Fig. 68. Giovanni da Udine and Giulio Romano, *Fresco and Stucco Decoration of the Southern vault of the Garden Loggia, Rome, Villa Madama.*

the construction of his Villa on the slopes of Monte Mario under the direction of Giulio Romano and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, who had already collaborated with Raphael on the projects of the villa. In November 1523, after the Cardinal was elected Pope, the work slowed down. In 1534, after the Pope's death, the Villa went to his natural son Alessandro de' Medici, Duke of Florence, who married Margaret (1522-1586), the natural daughter of Emperor Charles V. Margaret inherited the *Villa* from Alessandro, and since then it is called *Madama*.

After Raphael, Giulio Romano was by far the most inventive and innovative artist in painting and ornament, as well as in architecture. In 1520, he and Giovanni da Udine started to decorate the vast garden *Loggia* at Villa Madama (fig. 68). Giulio knew that ornament could not easily be separated from architecture: in the eastern exedra of the *Villa*, situated next to the lunette with his *Polyphemus*, Giulio continued the Order in the coffers of the half cupola in a reduced form as in the Vatican *Logge* (fig. 67). He adorned the alternating white and dark blue ground of the coffers with stucco figures, coming much nearer to Raphael's intentions and projects than Giovanni da Udine. The latter was in fact more of a decorator than an architect, he must be the author of the decoration of the three main vaults of the *Loggia* for which he had won the competition with Giulio (figs. 69-70), though not being a narrative talent. Still a cardinal Giulio de' Medici



Fig. 69. Giovanni da Udine and others, *Fresco and Stucco Decoration of the vault of the Reception hall, Rome, Villa Madama.*



Fig. 70. Giovanni da Udine and others, *Fresco and Stucco Decoration of the vault of the Entrance bay of the Garden Loggia, Rome, Villa Madama.*



Fig. 71. Rome, *Villa Turini Lante*, View of the valley front.

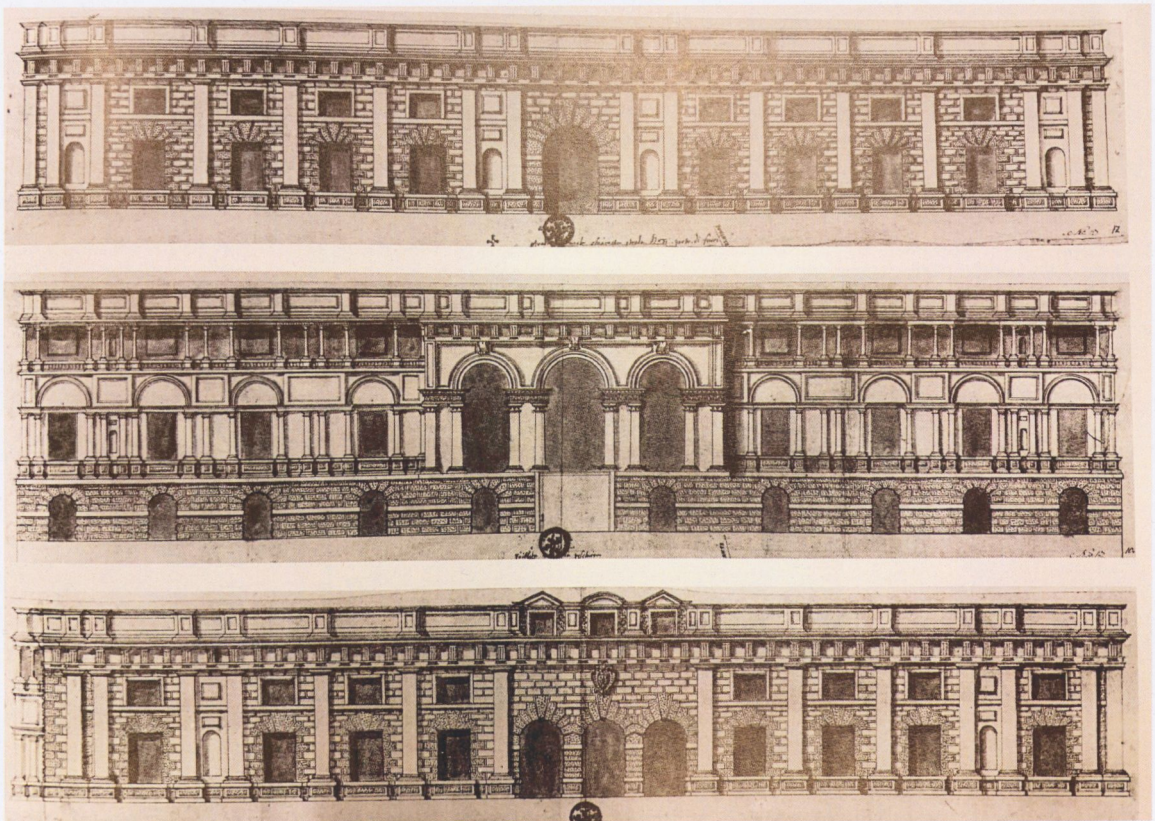


Fig. 72. Ippolito Andreasi, *Exterior elevations of Palazzo Te*, Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum.

had asked Baldassarre Peruzzi to design the divinities of the central cupola and the four oval scenes of the northern vault.

The different shapes and sizes of the coffers of the central cupola are similar to those of the southern exedras and form a cross which can hardly be attributed to Giulio or to Peruzzi. The same is true of the immaterial cross in the decoration of the lateral vaults, their beautiful colours and elegant curves make them more convincing than the heavy coffers of the central cupola and of the exedras. The connection of the central square with the ovals can hardly be designed by architects like Giulio or Peruzzi. Giovanni da Udine's lack of structural thought and narrative inventiveness is also evident in the ceiling of the *Villa's* reception hall (fig. 69). Following Raphael's enlargement of the *grotesques* in the Vatican *Stanze*, Giovanni monumentalizes the *tondos* of the Cardinal's *impresa* as well as the sacrifices and figures of animals of the former *grotesques* within a relatively simple grid; monumentalized decorations are also the images of *Apollo with the sun* and *Diana with the moon* in the centre of the ceiling. Only in 1525, when Giulio de' Medici had already ascended to Papacy, Giovanni da



Fig. 73. Giulio Romano, *Fresco decoration of the Sala dei Cavalli*, Mantua, Palazzo Te.

Udine returned to the *Villa* and decorated the western entrance bay in white stucco (fig. 70). In a lesser architectural manner, Giovanni pierced and weakened the transversal arch with prospects of a *nymphaeum* perhaps inspired by one of Raphael drawing which he may have found on one of Raphael's drawings.

Already in his first autonomous architectural projects, Giulio showed to be an innovative living architect introducing, for the first time, a conscious dissonance in the syntax of the Orders. In the *Villa Turini Lante*, built on the slopes of the Janiculum shortly after Raphael's death, Giulio uses the *guttæ* of the abbreviated Doric Order as a nearly autonomous motif (fig. 71); the Ionic pilasters do not stand in axis above the columns of the rear *Loggia*, and he designs the Ionic capitals above the entire windows, as he also did above the chimney of *Villa Madama*. Also in those early years, Giulio drew the asymmetrical garden front of the *Palazzo Adimari Salviati*.

The artist, however, reached his first climax in 1524, when he became the court artist of Marquis Federico Gonzaga in Mantua and designed, and built for him the *Palazzo Te* (fig. 72). The rhythm of the rusticated exterior of that Mantuan palace is more complex than at *Villa Turini Lante*, though it does not correspond to the interior exactly, as it does in *Villa Madama*. Started in 1526, the reception hall of the *Sala dei Cavalli* in *Palazzo Te* presents an Order which continues perfectly in the beams of the ceiling as in no earlier secular room. Here, the Corinthian Order follows the triumphal rhythm and its twin pilasters are alternated with the life-size portraits of Federico's horses and niches with pagan statues (fig. 73). The coffered ceiling is, on the other hand, even less structural than the valley front of *Villa Turini Lante*. In the rather large Mantuan hall, there are no real transversal beams, but only extremely long ones above the six pilasters of the short sides; being interrupted, they look unable to carry any load. The twin pilasters of the long sides, and those of the corners of the short sides, continue in thinner twin beams. In each bay they are

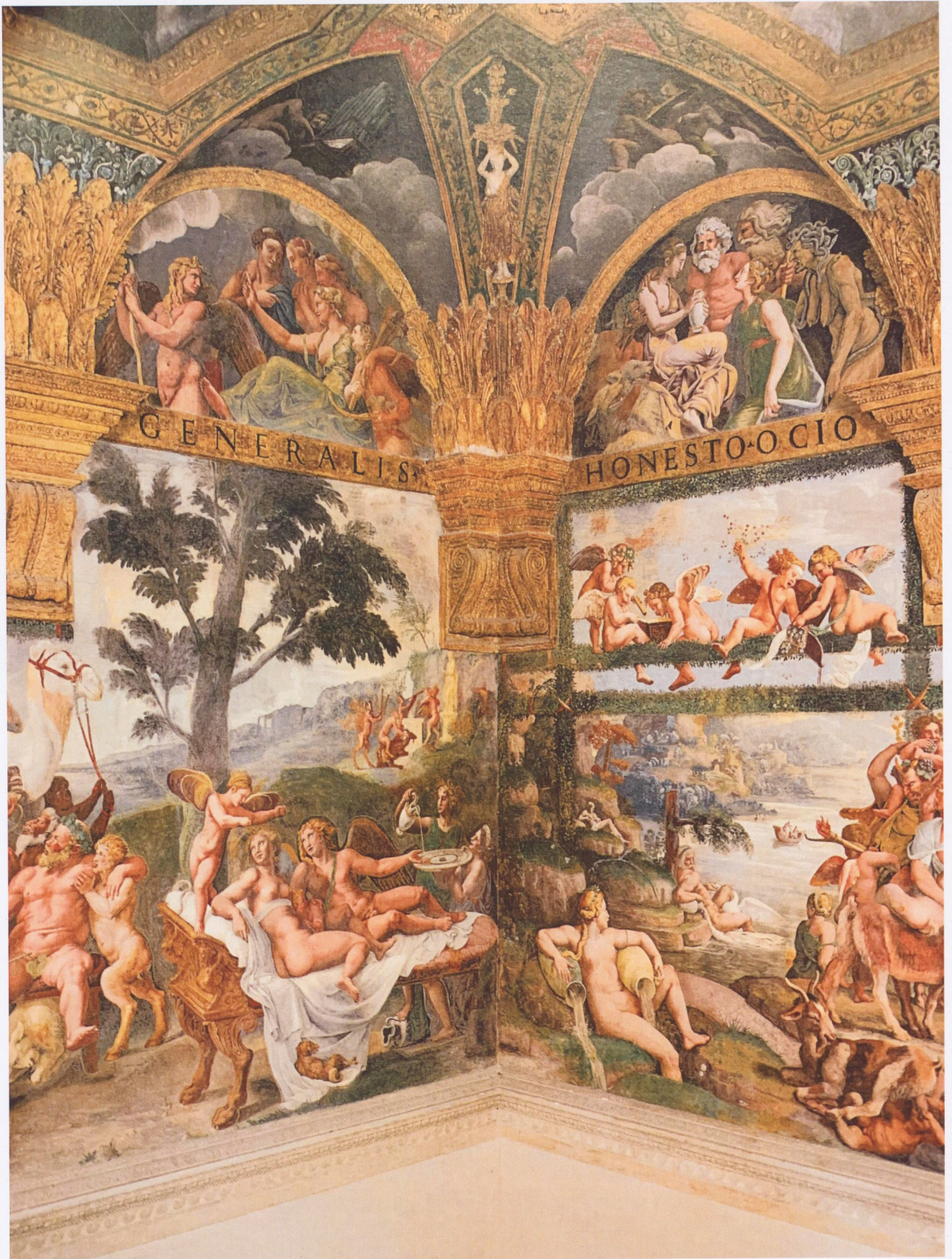


Fig. 74. Giulio Romano, *Fresco decoration of the Sala di Amor e Psiche*, Mantua, Palazzo Te.

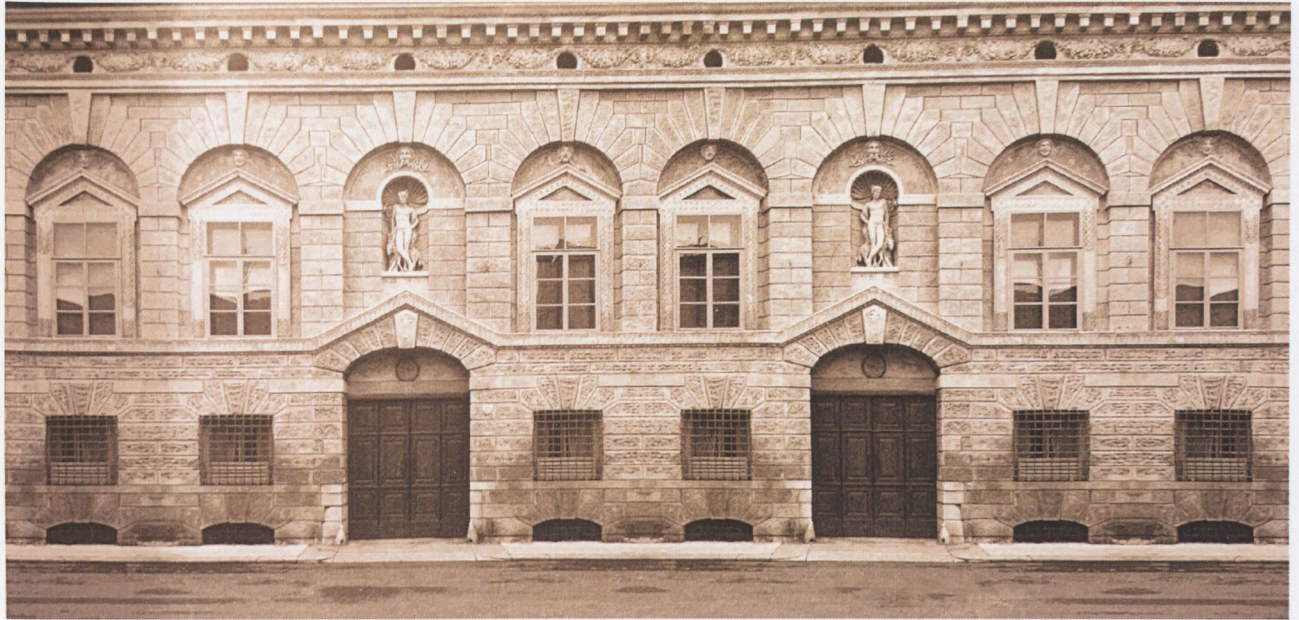


Fig. 75. Giulio Romano, *Façade of his house in Mantua.*

bent and cross each other, thus the transversal as well as the longitudinal beams lose their tridimensional quality. They become purely ornamental and weaken the stability of the building, likewise, in a similar way, are the falling pieces of entablature in the courtyard of the palace. In the adjoining room, where Giulio illustrated the story of *Amor and Psyche*, the final feast of the gods adorns the walls, while the preceding events appear behind the small coffers of the vault (fig. 74). Their ribs are sustained by huge brackets and pointed arches and form a coherent skeleton, as if Giulio Romano was inspired by the decoration of a Lombard Gothic church. At first glance the dark atmosphere and the many clouds behind the coffers look as the sky at night, but then one discovers that even in the upper part of the vault scenes are taking place in a room. Thus the different coffers resemble a kaleidoscope which changes subject at every turn. Other rooms of *Palazzo Te* offer similar brilliant *capricci* and one feels that Giulio Romano, as much as Raphael did, evoked the ancient gods as does a courtier to amuse his patron.

In his later Mantuan buildings, such as the *Cavallerizza* of the Ducal Palace, Giulio enriched his vast repertoire of different Orders inspired by the iconostasis of Old Saint Peter's columns cut in the amorphic wall. In his last years, with the modesty of the elegant courtier, he returned to a more balanced and regular language: in the brick façade of his own Mantuan house, Giulio renounces to use the Orders and lets the blind arcades of the dominant *piano nobile* correspond to its structure and opening the reduced intermediate walls in large windows (fig. 75), their decorated flat frames are more substantial than the portals in Michelangelo's *Biblioteca Laurenziana*; part of purely structural ornaments is also the rusticated ground floor. The interior of the Cathedral of Mantua is one of Giulio's last, but by far most classicising architectures.

Baldassarre Peruzzi was a vic-



Fig. 76. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Volta Dorata* in Cardinal Raffaele Riario's bedroom, Rome, Palazzo della Cancelleria.





Fig. 77. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Fresco decoration of the Sala delle Prospettive*, Villa Farnesina, first floor, Rome.

tim of both Raphael's and Giulio's success and after the projects realized for Alberto Pio da Carpi, in 1514-1516, he did not have equally important commissions for some years. More and more he became Raphael's follower and in 1516, when the Master designed the *grotesques* for Cardinal Bibbiena, Peruzzi was in the framework of the *Ponzetti Chapel* of Santa Maria della Pace, directly inspired by Raphael's architecture of the Chigi chapel in Santa Maria del Popolo. Around 1517-1519, Baldassarre Peruzzi adorned several rooms of Cardinal Raffaele Riario's *Palazzo della Cancelleria* (fig. 76) where he tried to keep step with Raphael's approach to antiquity. In the vault of Riario's living room, he follows the system and colours of the *Domus Aurea's Volta Dorata* more directly than Raphael had done in Bibbiena's *Stufetta*. Peruzzi used the Pompeian red, as well as the scenes of the *Creation* in Pope Leo's *Second Loggia*. Again, under Raphael's influence, he abandoned the dominant architectural framework of his earlier frescoes, but the subdivision of Cardinal Riario's vault in many relatively small panels of different shapes and colours is not satisfying and the figural parts, painted with the help of collaborators, look eclectic. Inspired by Raphael's *First Loggia*, Peruzzi transformed Riario's small bathroom into a *pergola*; on the other hand, the decoration of the ceiling of the Cardinal's dining room is painted on white ground and as that of Bibbiena's *Loggetta*, it is mainly composed of garlands, flowers and foliage, without real *grotesques*, while the framework is again reduced to thin lines and looking rather textile. The fragile baldachins and narrative scenes return in Peruzzi's later decorations, such as the vault of the *Casina Vagnuzzi*, and the decorations of the *Loggia Stati* on the Palatine, all works which are datable shortly before or after 1520.

In 1518, when preparing his suburban palace for marriage, Agostino Chigi called Peruzzi again, after a long interval, as one of his three best artists active in Rome. Peruzzi was one of the most successful pioneers of perspective scenery and stage design, and Chigi asked him to decorate the saloon of the upper floor where part of the papal ceremony would have taken place (fig. 77).<sup>30</sup> Peruzzi prolonged the flat roofed room as much as possible and transformed it in a classicising *belvedere*: through the painted colonnade one admires a realistic portrayal of the city of Rome. Peruzzi was inspired by the feint colonnade of the *Sala del Papagallo*, the papal state room in the Vatican which was then being painted in fresco by Raphael himself. Peruzzi however inserted in his decoration the rhythm and the precious materials saw in the interior colonnades of the Pantheon and the ambulatories of Saint Peter's. In portraying the Olympic gods above the doors and windows, he created the room like a sort of secular Pantheon. He filled the high frieze of the colonnade's entablature with scenes taken from Ovid and other poets. Chigi had already commissioned his best artists to represent the Olympic gods in his residences; he wanted them in the palace's audience hall,

as well as in the two loggias, in the ceiling of his bedroom and even in his funerary chapel, so that some of the deities appear six or more times in the banker's premises. Chigi believed in astrology and the representations of the deities and of the planets must have meant to him much more than just a pleasant decoration. Feint sculptures and niches where alternated with real niches surrounding actual busts of emperors and just like in Raphael's frescoes, completed the unity of architecture, painting and sculpture. It was not by chance that Peruzzi's *Sala delle Colonne* was soon to be imitated and varied in other aristocratic residences of the time.

In those years, Peruzzi was contemporarily planning and designing the Orsini palace in Bomarzo, in a style clearly inspired by Antonio da Sangallo, and the Villa Trivulzi in Salone di Roma in the stylistic language of Giulio Romano. Peruzzi had not yet found his own distinctive architectural lexicon although, after Raphael's death, he was appointed second architect of Saint Peter's and soon after, given the title of first architect of the Bolognese Basilica of San Petronio. Commands for both architectural and sculptural work increased, while those for painted decorations diminished, perhaps because his time was becoming more precious. During the tragic sack of the Eternal City, in 1527, Peruzzi fled to his native Siena where he was made architect of the Republic. There, he restructured and decorated the nearby *Villa Belcaro*, and in the frescoes of its garden loggia, entirely painted by his collaborators, he designed the caps of the cross vault with *trompe-l'œil* tapestries, as Raphael had done in the *Stanza d'Eliodoro* and in the *Loggia of Amor and Psyche*.

During his Siennese years, Peruzzi was greatly fascinated by antiquity and by the structure of the colonnade in particular; later when he returned to Rome, in 1532, he designed the *Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne*, in a new, completely different language (fig. 78). The ground floor colonnade sustains the three rusticated upper floors and opens in a *vestibulum* adorned in a purely classicising language, more than in any earlier Renaissance building and similarly to the later ones by Andrea Palladio (1508-1580). The same preference for the structure of the colonnade and for mainly structural ornaments is characteristic of Peruzzi's last projects for Saint Peter's. The artist created his two masterpieces, the *Farnesina* and *Palazzo Massimo*, at the beginning and at the end of his career. He would have not been able to design *Palazzo Massimo* without having followed and studied Raphael's approach to antiquity, but as long as Raphael and Giulio Romano had dominated the Roman scene, Baldassarre's creativity seemed to have been reduced and partly even paralysed.



Fig. 78. Baldassarre Peruzzi, *Vestibule of the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne and detail*, Rome.



Fig. 79. Perino del Vaga and Giovanni da Udine, *Decoration of the Vault of the Sala dei Pontefici*, Palazzi Vaticani, detail.



Fig. 80. Perino del Vaga, *Tapestry of the series of the Gods*, Genua, Palazzo Doria, Detail.

The Florentine Perino Bonacorsi (1501-1547), called del Vaga, had also been a pupil of Raphael and had assisted him on the Vatican *Second Loggia*, though the young artist was not nearly as creative and innovative as Giulio Romano.<sup>31</sup> In 1523, Clement VII had ordered to his young compatriot to realize the decoration of the vault of the Vatican *Sala dei Pontefici*, probably also asking Giovanni da Udine to provide for its execution and for the invention of some minor elements (fig. 79). In the vault, Perino imitated both the composition and the colours of the *Domus Aurea's Volta Dorata*, in a more convincing way than Peruzzi had done at the *Cancelleria*: the fifteen compartments are larger and the central tondo is framed by a square and extended to a cross, likewise, the corners are also filled with little squares, the Pompeian red and the sky blue are as well the dominating colours. In the *Sala dei Pontefici*, images of divinities, of the signs of the zodiac and of huge animals substitute, as in the reception hall of *Villa Madama*, the real *grotesques*; the dense composition lacks, however, the elegance and charm of Giovanni da Udine's vaults in the garden loggia of the Villa.



Fig. 81. Perino del Vaga, *Fresco decoration of the Sala Paolina*, Rome, Castel Sant'Angelo.

During the sack of Rome, Perino fled to Genua where he worked for a decade (1528-1538) becoming the town's leading painter and architect. In Genoa, Perino continued and varied with success his master's inventions thus becoming an excellent interpreter of decorations *all'antica*. In one of the tapestries of the series of the *Gods* which he designed for the Palazzo Doria, Perino enlarged a tabernacle of Raphael's *Loggetta* in the manner of Giovanni da Udine: on a dark blue ground, flanked by smaller *grotesques* and enriched by single motifs of the *grotesques* of the Vatican (fig. 80).

During the next decade, the last of his life, Perino went back to Rome having grown, by then, to be Raphael's last and most important follower. With Michelangelo he received the city's most important assignments. He prepared the original decoration of the Massimo family chapel in Santa Trinità dei Monti; in his exquisite raphaellesque manner he added and gracefully blended, powerful elements inspired by Michelangelo's *Tomb of Julius II*. In those years, together with Perino's herm pilasters, festoons and volutes anticipate the ornaments later created by Galeazzo Alessi (1512-1572) and his Milanese followers. In his last masterpiece, the *Sala degli Angeli* in Castel Sant'Angelo, Perino followed the artistic tradition of Raphael and Giulio more than that of the *Domus Aurea* (fig. 81): the Corinthian Order reminds the one created by Giulio in the *Sala dei Cavalli* in Mantua, and the braided ribbons of the vault continue their triumphal rhythm. Though in the *Sala degli Angeli*, Perino uses full columns, deepens the niches, opens illusionistic doors and adorns the walls with a wealth of sculptural and corporeal decor, while the rectangular panels of the vault are filled with historical episodes. There is neither classicising rigor nor mannerist caprice, but an overwhelming abundance of invention, which anticipates, in some respects, the Farnese Gallery of the Carracci brothers.

With the decorations of the *Palazzo Capodiferro Spada*, *Villa Giulia* and the *Casino di Pio IV* in the

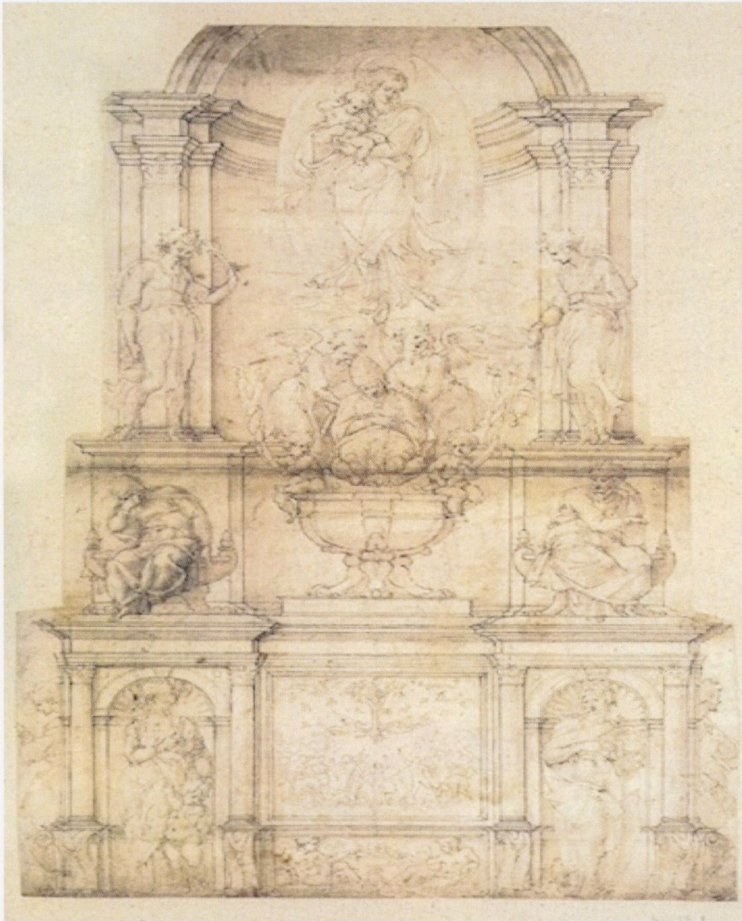


Fig. 82. Michelangelo, *First project for the Tomb of Julius II*, drawing, New York, the Metropolitan Museum.

Vatican, Perin del Vaga's Roman assistants and followers reached a last climax of Renaissance ornament which ended rather abruptly in 1566, with the election of the Dominican Pope Pius V Ghislieri.

### Michelangelo (1475-1564)

But what about Michelangelo? He was a pupil of Domenico Ghirlandaio (1449-1494) and Bertoldo di Giovanni (1420-1491), in his early years he concentrated on sculpting single statues and reliefs without any architectural framework. When at the beginning of 1505, Pope Julius II commissioned Michelangelo to design his marble tomb, the artist travelled to Rome where he met Donato Bramante who deeply influenced his work until the end of his life. From Bramante, he learnt Leon Battista Alberti's interpretation of the column as *primum ornamentum* and part of the wall, and followed this rule more consequentially than most earlier artists.<sup>32</sup>

Michelangelo's first project for Pope Julius' wall tomb (fig. 82) was less decorative than Andrea Sansovino's contemporary *Tomb of Ascanio Sforza*: Michelangelo's

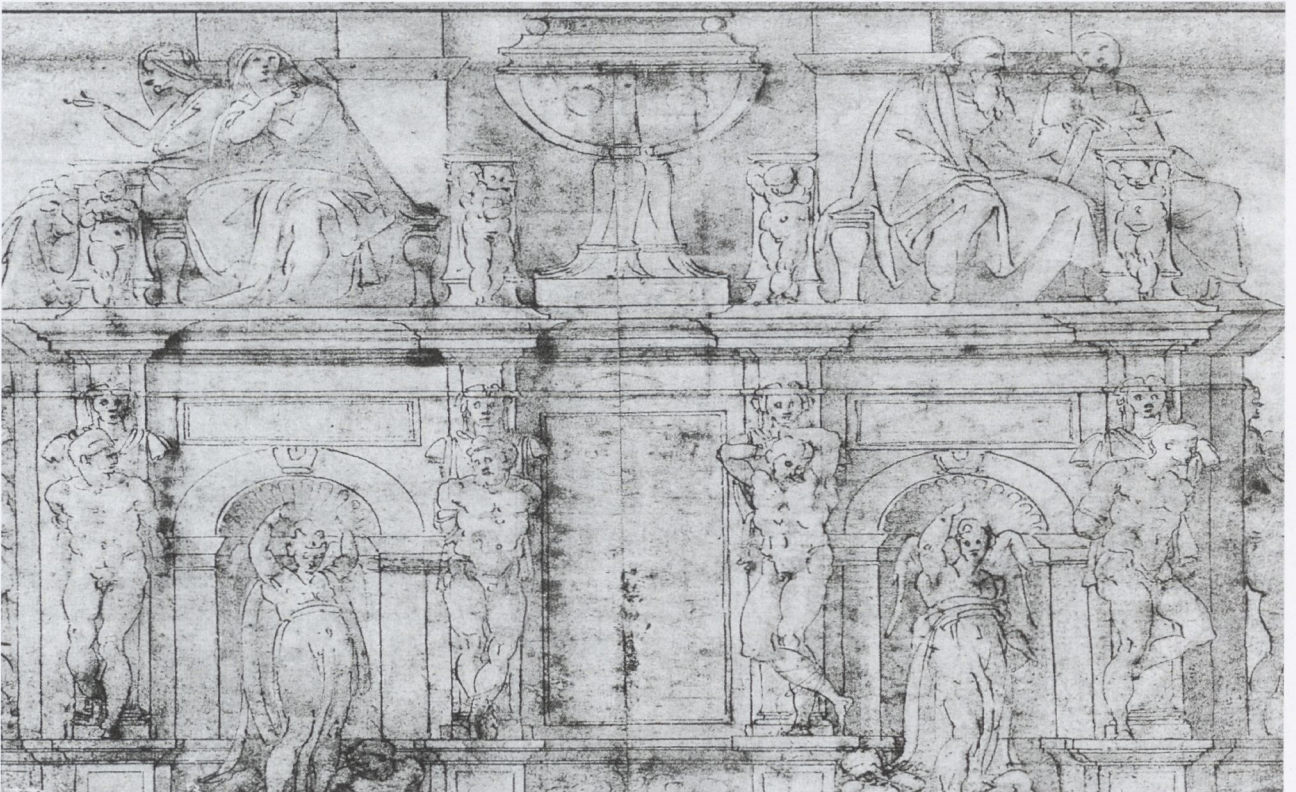


Fig. 83. Michelangelo, *Project for the Tomb of Julius II*, drawing, Florence, Uffizi, detail.

sober and monumental language was then influenced by both Bramante and Giuliano da Sangallo. The Pope must have insisted on more grand and splendid forms. The artist then designed the free-standing monument, and when in the first months of 1506 he started the so called *Dying Slave*, today in the Louvre, he adorned its pedestal with grotesques inspired by the much admired Luca Signorelli (figs. 39-40).

In 1508, he began the frescoes of the Sistine ceiling, these are more architectural and less decorative than his first sketches which seem inspired by the *Volta Dorata* of the *Domus Aurea*<sup>33</sup> (fig. 84). In Michelangelo's later paintings, architectural ornament is completely absent. After Pope Julius' death in 1513, Michelangelo had to return to work on the tomb, then destined to be placed on the wall of Bramante's new Choir of Saint Peter's. The monument had to integrate the blocks of marble ordered for the earlier

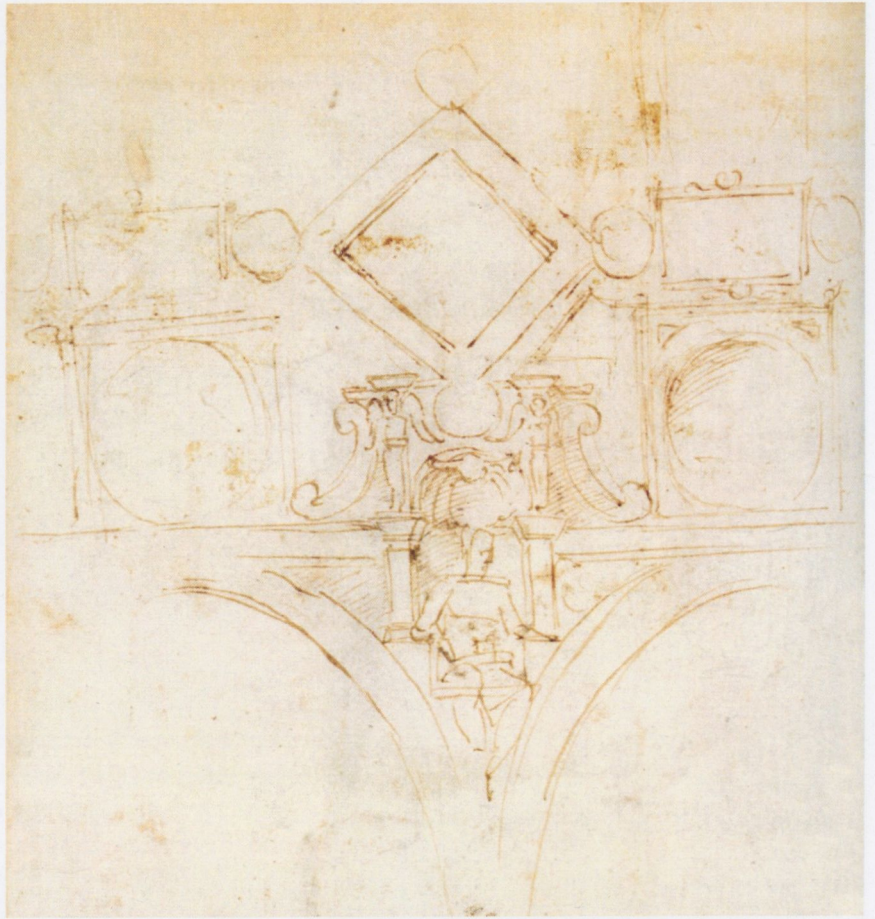


Fig. 84. Michelangelo, *Sketch for the Ceiling of the Sistine Chapel*, London, the British Museum.

project, in part already prepared to be sculpted. Michelangelo thus continued the decorative architecture of the ground floor of the monument, though its *grotesques* do not reach the level and symbolical character of the first pedestal (fig. 85). At the time, in Bramante's and Raphael's circles this kind of ornament was superseded, but evidently, Michelangelo had to continue what he had started seven or eight years before: he still used the same ornamented blocks after 1532 for the definitive version of the *Tomb* (fig. 83). Between 1513 and 1514 he might have left the invention of the pilaster's decoration to an executing assistant.

In July 1516, Michelangelo returned to live in Florence for eighteen years, where he had good chances of receiving the commission for the façade of San Lorenzo and presented a model of its *pronaos* in 1518. In this *modello*, the triumphal system articulates the naked block which is independent from the church.<sup>34</sup> If compared with Giuliano da Sangallo's earlier projects for the same façade, the influence of Bramante is only slightly increased. The overall effect of Michelangelo's project is, however, more Florentine than his older projects for the *Tomb of Julius II*. The Orders are the *primum ornamentum*, not part of the wall; he carved niches for the columns in the ground floor and made no structural distinction between load and support. The stylistic language is similar to that of the Orders in *pietra serena* and of the windows of the *Sagrestia Nuova* (*New Sacristy*), the tomb chapel of Pope Leo's parents, of his uncle, brother and nephew, on which Michelangelo started working between 1519 and 1520 (fig. 86).

Michelangelo changed his stylistic language only in the winter of 1523-1524, after the election to the Papacy of Cardinal Giulio de' Medici, Pope Leo's cousin. Pope Clement VII immediately ordered the artist to design and realize the marble tombs and the doors of the family funerary chapel in San Lorenzo. Michelangelo knew the Pope's artistic tastes and preferences, and might have brought drawings with him, when already in December 1523 he visited the Pope in Rome. These drawings must have been similar to the two sheets today preserved in the Louvre, where the Orders, the tombs and the niches are different from the final solution and execution, and which are the result of preceding studies: the two projects do not seem autograph (fig. 87), and the figures and trophies of the attic emphasize their triumphal character.

The *Ducal Tombs* were started after Michelangelo's return to Florence, the architectural language of



Fig. 85. Michelangelo, *Pilaster of the ground floor of the Tomb of Julius II*, Rome, Basilica of San Pietro in Vincoli, detail.

the project is similar to that of the *Model for San Lorenzo* and to the *pietra serena* elements of the *Sacristy*, but it does not yet show any reflex of the artist's last Roman sejour. The decorations remind of Donatello whom he had admired since his youth as the founder of Renaissance sculpture. The twin pilasters and flanking niches of the *Ducal Tombs* are nearly as slender as in Donatello's *Niche of San Louis* (fig. 6), whereas the masks and shells of the capitals, the richly decorated architrave of the abbreviated entablature and the vast volutes of the tombs remind closely of Donatello's *Cavalcanti Annunciation* (fig. 12). Fish scales, instead of Donatello's laurel leaves, adorn the brackets under the gables of the niches, masks instead of shells in the lower cornice. The egg and dart below the leaves of the capitals follow, as in the capitals of Donatello's *Prato Pulpit*, those of *Hadrian's Mausoleum*. Probably the Pope had discussed the project with Michelangelo and asked him to introduce some changes in the design of the tomb. Order and attic form a vertical unity which reminds of earlier funerary monuments, only in the final version of the execution, the area between the *pietra serena* pilasters becomes a coherent and balanced system. After the Pope had approved the project, Michelangelo would have been obliged to realize it, he must have designed the marble doors and niches of the lateral bays some time later in Florence, when he was more and more inspired by his recent Roman impressions. In the Eternal City, Michelangelo had observed how the young Giulio Romano in his architectural projects was taking the liberty to violate the Vitruvian rules and syntax. The doors and niches of the *Sacristy* form a vertical unity – as do the doors and the windows in the *Logge* and elsewhere – as high as the Tombs, and occupy the entire width of the angular bays; they differ fundamentally from those above the Tombs, the *aediculae* of the niches are crowned by segmen-

tal gables, their interior is too high for the statues, Michelangelo must have planned for them too, as is suggested by the protruding plinth which could not be larger than those in the niches of the Tombs. To diminish the height of the niches, the artist inserted a second, smaller, *aedicula*, as Donatello had done in the *Tabernacle of the Sacristy* of Saint Peter's (fig. 8). The small *aediculae* are provided with four ears, as were some doors and windows he could have seen in Rome, the upper ears are hanging on the fragmentary cornice of the big *aedicula*. The inner *aediculae* are also crowned by a segmental gable, projecting from the big gable and occupying its tympanum, both merge in a consubstantial unity. A festoon marks the point to which the statues could arrive. In the fragmented entablature of the big *aediculae*, Michelangelo follows the typology of those of the *Bath of Diocletian* substituting, however, the Corinthian columns with a reduced and flat Doric Order.

Some time later, the great artist may have designed the *pietra serena* windows of the lunettes under the cupola, only there the conflicting forces of the lower stories are losing power; the *aediculae* and their segmental gables crown the triad of the upper three windows of each wall, but are tapered and their style contrasts dramatically from that of the two lower windows made in 1520-1521. The thin regular inner frame is accompanied by a large outer one, whose upper angles are sustained by block-like brackets with *guttae*, the first case of an isolated element of the Doric entablature in Michelangelo's work, these can bear the richly decorated cornice. The prolongations of the lateral parts of the exterior frame under the *aediculae* can be understood as an abstraction of the brackets of the two earlier windows of the triad.

Giovanni da Udine's painted decoration of the *Sagrestia's* cupola, was ordered directly by Pope Clement in 1532-1533 and sprung from the Pope's love for rich decoration. Giovanni's work must have been so different in spirit from Michelangelo's, that it was removed and whitewashed as soon as 1556 by Giorgio Vasari.



Fig. 86. Michelangelo, *Tomb of Giuliano di Lorenzo de' Medici*, Medici Chapel, Florence, San Lorenzo.

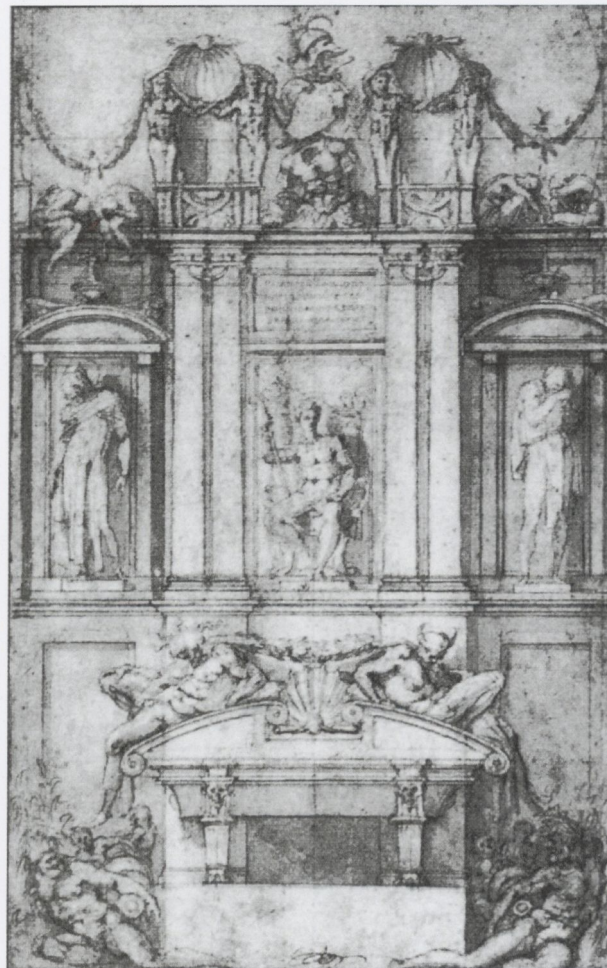


Fig. 87. Michelangelo and workshop, *Project for the Ducal Tombs*, drawing, Paris, Musée du Louvre.





Fig. 88. Michelangelo, *Vestibule of the Biblioteca Laurenziana*, Florence.

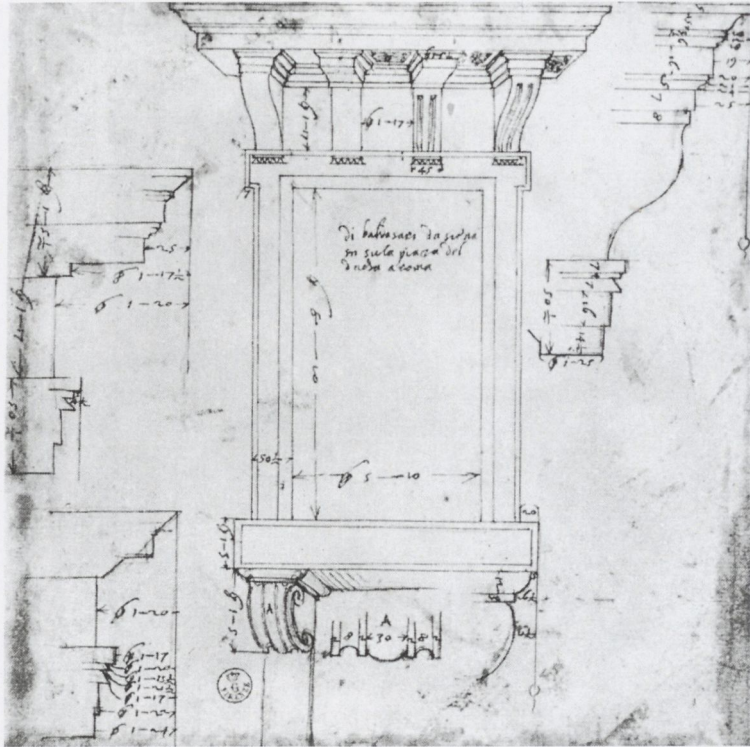


Fig. 89. Italian Draughtsman of the mid XVI<sup>th</sup> century, *Window of the ground-floor of Palazzo Fusconi, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum.*



Fig. 90. Michelangelo, *Portal of the Reading Room, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.*

On his side, Michelangelo was interested in new invention and did not care about the perfect formal unity of the *Chapel*. While the abolition of large parts of the traditional decoration and the abstraction and fragmentation of the ancient architectural syntax in the angular bays, and in the windows of the lunettes, seem inspired by Giulio, the insertion of one *aedicula* into the other and their merging in an inseparable body, are Michelangelo's original inventions and precise consequences of the "liberation" of architecture from the "catene" and "lacci" started by Giulio Romano, and not by Michelangelo, as Giorgio Vasari pretends. This is still more evident in the adjacent *Biblioteca Laurenziana*, started by Michelangelo in 1524 (fig. 88). The pre-existing cloister of San Lorenzo allowed an unusually large and high vestibule worthy of the Pope and his family living nearby. In the elevation of its lateral walls, Michelangelo varies that of the *Ducal Tombs* of the *Chapel*. The *piano nobile* dominates above the subordinated ground floor, as in a princely palace, the wide staircase rises to the portal in its centre, and the guests and users must have felt they were ascending to a higher sphere. The colonnade divides each wall in massive blocks, which are articulated, just as in Raphael's *Palazzo Branconio dell'Aquila*, by large niches, windows, and by smaller ones, mezzanine-like (fig. 65). Here, more obviously than in Bramante's and Raphael's buildings, the columns are the *primum ornamentum*, thus the pairs of huge volutes are not supporting the columns, but hanging in front of them. In placing pairs of twin columns between the mural blocks, Michelangelo demonstrates, more clearly than any artists before him, that these are also part of the wall. Their composite capitals are spoiled of the acanthus leaves and egg and dart, but the bases and the abbreviated entablature remind us of the Pantheon; the corner column join those of the adjacent walls in a similar triade as in Sangallo's courtyard of Palazzo Farnese.

In the *Biblioteca*, just as in the *Chapel*, Michelangelo varies the ancient *aediculae*: the fluted herm pilasters are supported by triglyphed brackets with *guttae* and end in other brackets which support smaller elements identified by their *guttae*. In his growing predilection for the bracket, the master shows how intensely he is reflecting about the relation of load and support. The triglyphed brackets were inspired by the slightly earlier ground floor windows of Peruzzi's *Palazzo Fusconi* (fig. 89). In their Doric frieze, the first and last triglyphs are replaced by a S-volutes with triglyphed surface, Serlio calls it *mescolanza*, the mixture of two Orders, Peruzzi must have tried to substitute the Ionic S-volute with a clearly Doric bracket, which did not exist in antiquity. The triglyphs did not change the decorative, fragile and not really structural character of the S-volutes and cannot have convinced Michelangelo who substituted it with a more solid and functional element, following Vitruvius's and his forerunners' derivation of the Doric temple from wooden archetypes. Michelangelo too must have interpreted the triglyph as the protruding end of a wooden beam, sustaining part of the entablature of the roof; he might have felt legitimized to use also isolated brackets, however, his triglyphed brackets cannot be understood as arbitrary fragmentation of the Doric syntax. Leading to the *Biblioteca*, the relatively small opening of the portal above the stairs is monumentalized by its *aediculae*, the slender Doric pilasters are overlapped by the cornice of the actual door; the entablature is reduced to angular fragments, but has no frieze and continues in the projections of the triangular gable whose tympanum is penetrated by the marble inscription. In the corresponding interior portal of the *Reading Room*, the overlapping of two *aediculae* is more complex (fig. 90). Here Michelangelo goes a step beyond the marble niche of the *Chapel* and its Donatellian prototype: the large segmental gable is supported by a Composite Order, which is formed by engaged columns and an architrave posed on the thin layer of an empty wall. Thus Michelangelo makes clear not only that the portal is ornamental, but also that with its gables it could never be part of the wall. It is overlapped by a smaller *aedicula* equally projected on a neutral wall, into which opens a door. This is tamed by a thin cornice separated from the architrave by an empty frieze-like interval. Michelangelo insists again on the fact that the *aedicula* without Order is not sufficiently solid to carry the heavy gable, which needs the support of autonomous brackets anchored directly the wall. Thus the suspended architrave looks like the projection of the bigger *aedicula*, which would have penetrated the intermediate neutral layer. In the end, a rational analysis cannot satisfy and the effect of Michelangelo's inventions depends entirely on his masterly design. In the *Reading Room* (fig. 91), single pilasters of a simplified Doric Order alternate with Ionic windows, framed by ledges, just as in the upper storey of Raphael's *Palazzo Alberini*, and is again accompanied by blind mezzanine windows. The completely abstract Order of the lower floor of the exterior is the only original surviving (fig. 92) and reminds us of the third storey of *Palazzo Stati* started by Giulio Romano around 1523. The windows open in Ionic *aedicule* with segmental gables, but the lateral brackets and the frieze are melted to a single element, which is not so evident from afar, it meant a step beyond the *aediculae* of the lunettes of the *Chapel*. All these inventions and changes of the Orders, do not make Michelangelo a mannerist artist, it all happens during, and not after, the Renaissance.



Fig. 91. Michelangelo, *Reading Room*, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



Fig. 92. Michelangelo, *Exterior Façade*, Florence, Biblioteca Laurenziana.



Fig. 93. Michelangelo, *Tomb of Julius II*, ground-floor with the statue of Moses, Rome, Basilica of San Pietro in Vincoli.

In the white ornament of the red floor, which is mirrored in the wooden ceiling, Michelangelo returned to the non-architectural harmony and equilibrium typical of the Raphael's school, which was certainly more favourable to the reader's concentration. The rectangles of each bay are separated by small panels adorned with acanthus plants, little birds and dolphins, but no real *grotesques*. Four sides of the huge oval inscribed in the rectangle extend to small rectangles in which slender laurel festoons are hanging from the teeth of ram heads. As if they showed a pagan sacrifice, these garlands are framing four intertwined rings with a diamant, one of the Medici emblems. The garlands' ends are bound together with fluttering bands, while little dolphins fill the spandrels between the rectangle and the oval. On the ceiling, the Medici rings are now missing, as they might have been possibly covered with painting. Michelangelo took the single elements from earlier decorations but enlarged them as much as Giovanni da Udine did in his decorations of the reception room of *Villa Madama* (fig. 67). In its simplicity the composition is, however, superior to those of *Villa Madama*. In no earlier interior, the correspondence between ceiling and floor is so exact, and even Michelangelo never again used a similar ornament.

Pope Clement's Roman architects, such as Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Baldassarre Peruzzi, followed antiquity and Vitruvius more precisely, they did not accept Michelangelo's *capricci*, as most of the other architects active before the master's death. The Pope though, had a special eye for architecture and must have appreciated the audacious and elegant experiments of the Master.

Going back to the *Tomb of Pope Julius*, we observe how, in the 1532 project, Michelangelo maintains the system he had already elaborated in 1516 though transforming the female herms into bearded males and placing *Moses* in the centre of the ground floor<sup>35</sup> (fig. 93). Only around 1538-1540, he substitutes the exedra and the vast relief of the Madonna with a smaller niche and a more classifying statue of the Virgin. In the upper Order we now find male herms, directly connected with the cult of the dead and of revival. He had now lived again for some years in Rome and better understood Bramante's structural distinction between the pillars and the intermediate walls. Though the monument does not bear a vault, the deep rectangular niches for the over life size statues are flanked by powerful pilasters, on which the herm pilasters are projected. On top of the monument and against the dim light of the hidden monk's choir Michelangelo places the Papal coat of arms and four richly decorated chandeliers. On feast days the candles were lit and the tomb would resound with the voices of the choir concealed in the monument.

When in 1544, Michelangelo designed the small tomb of his young friend Cecchino Bracci,



Fig. 94. Michelangelo and assistants, *Tomb of Cecchino Bracci*, Rome, Basilica of Santa Maria in Aracoeli.



Fig. 95. Michelangelo, *The windows of the Piano Nobile on the courtyard*, Rome, Palazzo Farnese.



Fig. 96. Rome, *The Basilica of Saint Peter*, detail of the exterior.



Fig. 97. Rome, *The Basilica of Saint Peter*, view of the southern transept.

sculpted in *peperino* stone in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, he was directly inspired by the *aediculae* of the Pantheon and may have been impressed by Raphael's tomb, ordered before the painter's death under one of those *aediculae*<sup>36</sup> (fig. 94). Michelangelo combined these elements, with a sarcophagus similar to those of the *Medici Chapel*, but supported by triglyphed brackets. Deep recesses alternate again with a pillar-like Doric Order of quadrangular columns now characterized by a triumphant rhythm which continues in the projections of the Ionic attic: a further allusion to the triumphal arch. In one of his sonnets, Michelangelo praises Cecchino as already triumphant over death. The niche with Raffaello da Montelupo's bust of Cecchino was not planned by Michelangelo.

If in the *Bracci Tomb*, Michelangelo is clearly returning to the language of antiquity and Bramante more evidently than in the last version of *Pope Julius' Tomb*, this is also true of the conclusive *cornicione* of the exterior of *Palazzo Farnese* designed by the master in the late 1530s. The alternating Farnese lilies and Lotus flowers of the frieze, the dentils, egg and dart, the S-brackets and lion heads of the cornice, make it one of his most classicising decorations.

Early in 1547, when the seventy two year old Master was too tired to sculpt or paint in fresco, and preferred drawing architecture, he accepted to be Sangallo's successor as first papal architect, and thus was also the designer of *Palazzo Farnese*. While enriching the frieze of the Ionic storey of the courtyard with masks and fruit festoons (fig. 95), he was obliged to close the lateral arcades, in order to create more rooms in the Palace. He adorned the windows with *aediculae*, which had to be Ionic; he varied, Peruzzi's triglyphed S-volute substituting its lower scroll with a complete triglyph. In the courtyard, bunches of pilasters of a Corinthian Order continue the pillars of the Ionic floor, and are comparable to Bramante's *Cortile del Belvedere*. In the cornice of the abbreviated entablature, Michelangelo substitutes the S-brackets with triglyphed ones, the *aediculae* of the windows are again Ionic, though more complex and adorned than in the lower floor. In the tympanum of the unbroken segmental gable, festoons are hanging from ram's skulls, just like in the floor and ceiling of the *Biblioteca Laurenziana*; the gable is sustained by block-like brackets with *guttae* but without triglyphs, just as in the windows of the *Medici Chapel*'s lunettes. These continue in the projections of cornice and tympanum, they are broader than the window frames beneath, thus emphasizing the structural independence of gable and window. The cornice of the window enlarges its exterior opening, its upper part is flanked by the same combination of the upper scroll of an S-volute and a triglyph as in the windows below, but the scrolls are decorated with scales and lion heads, which bear rings between their teeth. It supports the light cornice of the window's entablature which is as separate from the gable and its support as in the lunette window of the funerary *Medici Chapel* and the interior portal of the *Biblioteca*.

One wonders why Michelangelo introduced the motif of the lion's heads with a ring, which, though without a diamond, reminds one of the Medici's *impresa* and of Clement VII, Pope Paul's predecessor; it diminishes the stability of this area and may allude to political constellations. The upper windows of *Palazzo Farnese* are also particularly provocative thanks to the realism of the lion's heads, their combination scrolls and the triglyphs. These violations of the ancient syntax are, however, unique in Michelangelo's buildings and their intellectual and emotional background can be hardly explained.

In his project for Saint Peter's, Michelangelo returned to Bramante's original idea of a centralized plan, for the exterior he adopted Bramante's giant Order, which corresponds to the Corinthian of the interior, and to its triumphal rhythm and dynamism (fig. 96). He transformed Bramante's free standing columns and Raphael's pronaos in a real temple front, with classicising proportions. Similarly to Bramante in 1506, Michelangelo opened the interior of the building as much as possible to light; in the *aediculae* of the windows he followed the exact antique typology of the *Baths of Diocletian*, as Sangallo had done on the exterior of *Palazzo Farnese*. The triglyphed rectangular brackets of the niches are in the same position as those of the Ionic floor of the courtyard of *Palazzo Farnese*: this is only one of the many variations of the bracket, which will become part of the European architectural language for centuries.

To increase the light of the apses as much as possible, Michelangelo designed a rectangular niche in the thick wall, as wide as the entire *intercolumnium*, and high as the distance between impost and entablature, closed by fragments of a thin rear wall (fig. 97). The gable of the window is reduced to low triangular fragments, which are light enough to be sustained by S-volutes. In the drum of the *Cupola*, started in 1555, Michelangelo concentrated the supporting forces of the ribs in relatively small walls and counter pillars which allowed him to open large windows between them. Michelangelo followed ancient models even more directly in the drum's exterior *aediculae*; the funnel-like framing architrave of the windows further improves internal illumination, it cuts in the wall as in Bramante's *Tempietto*, just like in the third floor of the



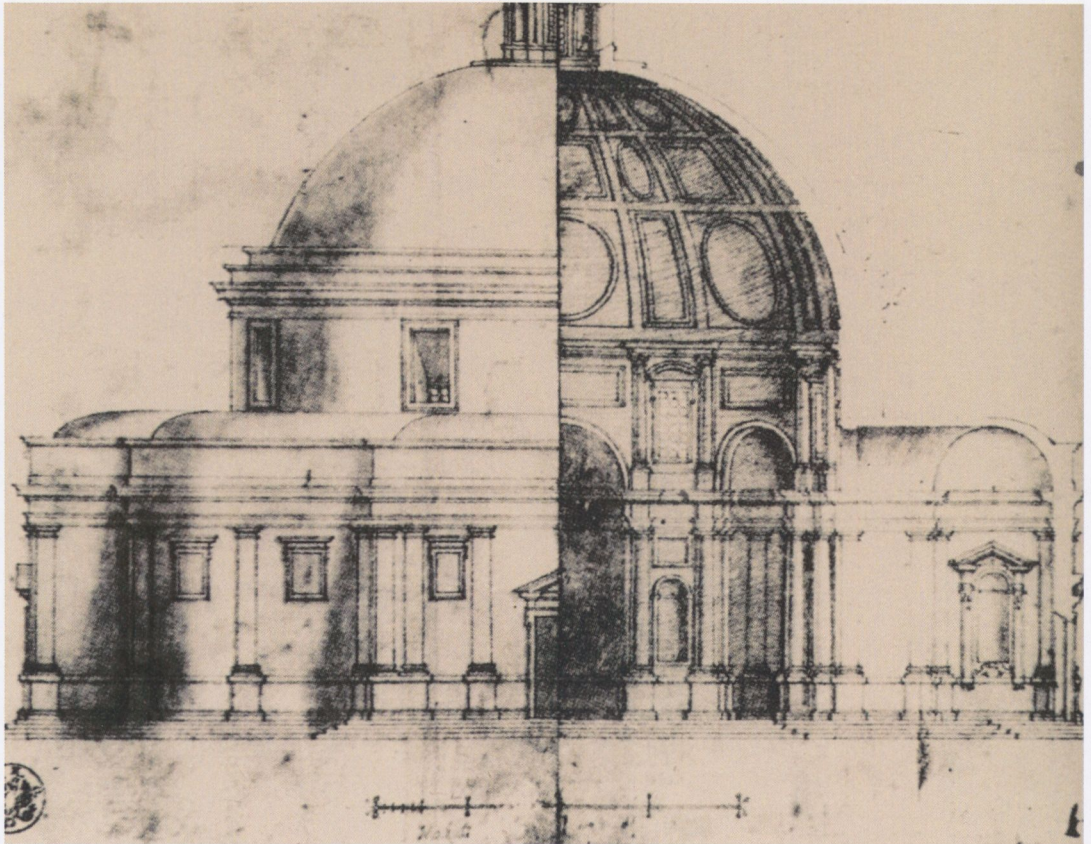


Fig. 98. Anonymous draughtsman, *Drawing of Michelangelo's wooden model for San Giovanni dei Fiorentini*, Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett.

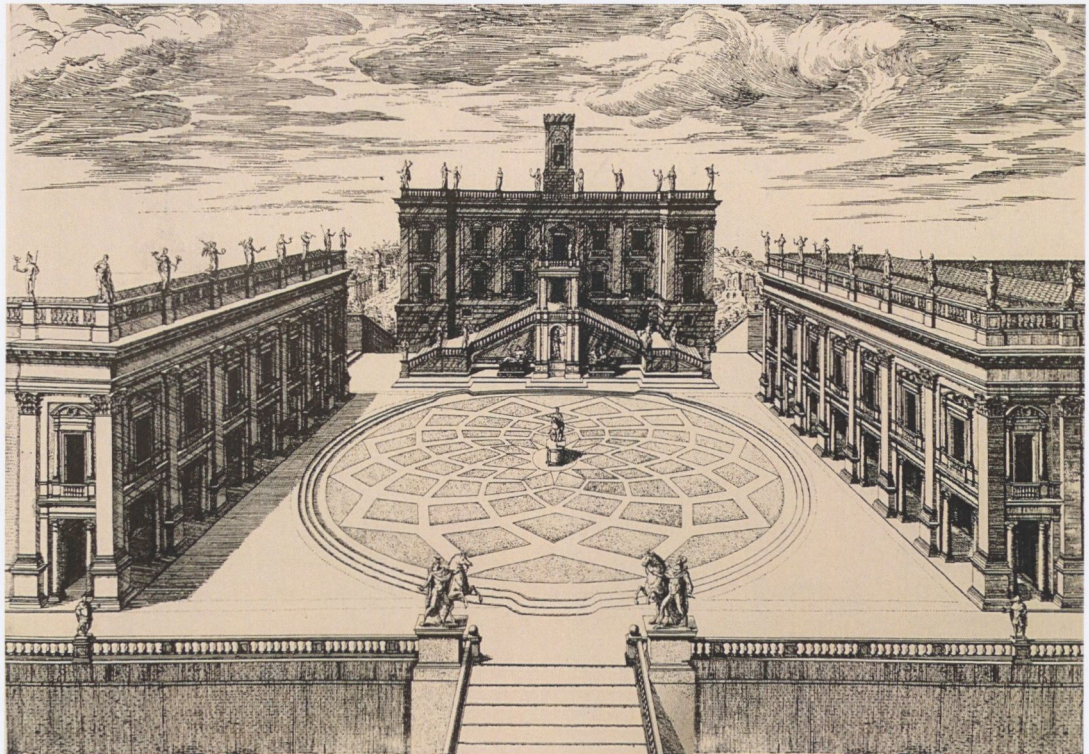


Fig. 99. Étienne Dupérac, *Engraving illustrating Michelangelo's project for the square of the Roman Capitol*.



100. Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori, *Ceiling of the Porch*, details.

courtyard of Palazzo Farnese; the festoons of the attic are the only non architectural elements of the exterior. Concentrating all structural elements in the exterior of the building, Michelangelo transformed the interior of the Basilica's drum in a weightless and transparent celestial sphere. If the distinction of the physical areas from the metaphysical ones is already characteristic of his projects for the *Tomb of Julius II* and for the *Medici Chapel*, it becomes even more evident in his late *Porta Pia*.

Much less convincing is the posthumous decoration of the attic of the Basilica, built later by Pirro Ligorio during the reign of Pius IV Medici (reg. 1559-1565), it reduces the light of the upper windows and can hardly be attributed to Michelangelo.

When in 1559, the Florentine residents at the Court of Rome asked the artist to design their national church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini on the loops of the Tiber, Michelangelo resumed his studies and vari-



101. Michelangelo, *Porta Pia*.

vestibules resemble those of the exterior windows of Saint Peter's, while the interior windows are just crowned by a segmental gable.

Designed and built by Michelangelo in 1560, the Corinthian colonnade of the Sforza Chapel in Santa Maria Maggiore is again an extremely classicising ornament directly inspired by the Antique. A year later, the command to renew the Roman Capitol brought to its climax Michelangelo's approach to antiquity and High Renaissance (*fig. 99*). The noble *Conservatori* of the City asked Tommaso de' Cavalieri, Michelangelo's pupil and intimate friend, to organize and plan the work. Cavalieri might have contributed himself to the classicising character of the design. As in most of his Roman buildings, Michelangelo was inspired by the architects active in the circle of Bramante, whom he now must have regarded as the legitimate interpreter of antiquity. The entire project is known through Étienne Dupérac's engravings, but only the square's pavement, the equestrian monument, the huge staircase and the lateral palaces correspond to Michelangelo's ideas. Before his death, in 1564, only the façade of the *Palazzo dei Conservatori* had been started. There, he had planned to substitute the narrow *Quattrocento* columnar arcades and irregular cross windows by seven equal bays distinguished by a giant Corinthian Order on high pedestals. If compared to the solutions invented for the exterior of Saint Peter's, in the project for the *Conservatori* palace, the artist went even further in the elaboration of antique models. For the façade, Michelangelo might have been inspired by Jacopo da Vignola's *Regola* published in 1562. Michelangelo transformed the former arcades in the small colonnade of a classicising porch or *vestibulum* which in its combination with the giant Order was evidently inspired by Baldassarre Peruzzi's project for Saint Peter's derived in turn from Donato Bramante's ambulatories of the same Basilica. Also enthused by Peruzzi are the square coffers formed by the vestibule's entablature and its rich classicising decoration (*fig. 100*). As in the Vitruvian *vestibulum*, each bay is distinguished by four columns, two are placed in small unframed niches carved in the rear wall. Michelangelo transforms the frontal façade of the *Conservatori Palace* in a tri-dimensional body of a highly structural system – exactly the opposite of what he had done in the relief-like walls designed before 1534.

Michelangelo was still using the composite language of the *Biblioteca Laurenziana*, when in the vestibule of *Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne* Baldassarre Peruzzi approached the splendour of Augustan architectural proportions and ornament as successfully as no other Renaissance architect (*fig. 78*). In his later

ations of the Pantheon which he had proposed forty years earlier to Pope Leo X (*fig. 98*). His project for the interior of the building is close to the triumphal system invented by Donato Bramante for Saint Peter's Basilica: the eight concave pillars continue in the hidden ribs of the cupola and are adorned in the two main floors by twin columns of Doric and Ionic Orders. The niches separating them in the ground floor, become huge windows cut diagonally in the wall and direct the light to the centre of the rotunda. The verticality of these corporeal pillars in the cupola's panels of the second floor is as decorative as Raphael's Chigi chapel. In his project, Michelangelo prolonged the main axes in the rectangular vestibules and altar chapel which alternate with the diagonal oval tomb chapels destined to the rich Florentine families. The exterior is only adorned by a modest Doric Order of pilasters, their continuous movement contrasts efficiently with the static and monumental volumes of the drum and of the cupola, similar to that of the Pantheon which would have been visible from afar. The Orders are perfectly regular and without further decoration. The *aediculae* in the interior of the

years, Michelangelo must have been deeply impressed by ancient architecture and just as Peruzzi, he must have been well aware of its ornamental language. The classicising architectural ornamentation of the vestibule of the *Palazzo dei Conservatori* is the richest designed by the artist, his hand can be recognized in the volutes of the Ionic capitals and in their lateral sides which look like bodies tied up by girdles. The small *aediculae* of the doors, which lead to the shops, are less capricious than the comparable niches of the vestibule in the *Biblioteca Laurenziana*.

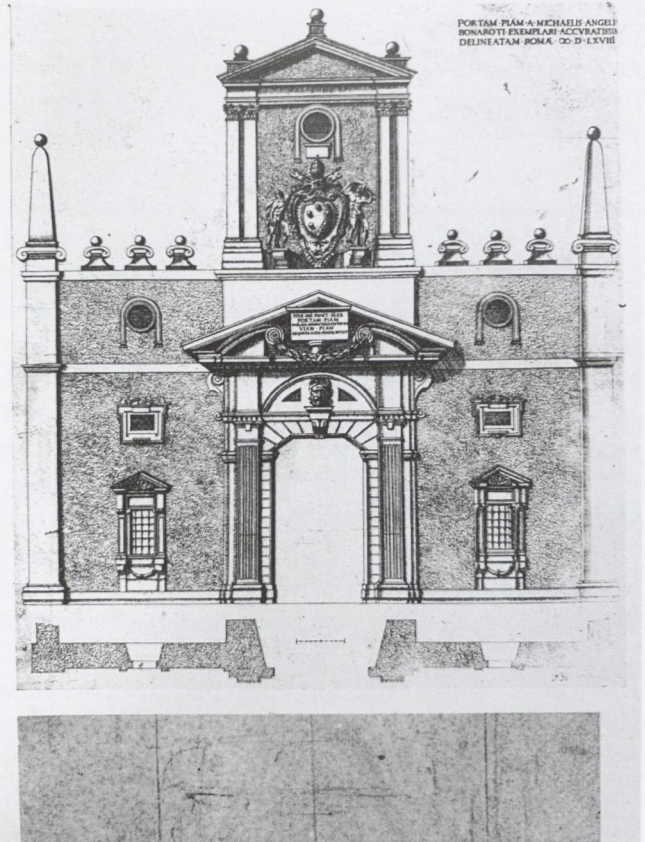
The colonnade of the vestibule seems to bear the entire load of the *piano nobile*; in the *aedicula*, perhaps the most calligraphic elements of the façade, Michelangelo combines those of the *Pantheon* with the ones of the *Baths of Diocletian*. By placing the capitals of the engaged columns above the window frames and adorning the *tympanum* of the high broken gable with a great shell, Michelangelo increases the weight and nobility of the *aediculae*'s upper part and makes them appear powerfully monumental.

If the *Palazzo dei Conservatori* is Michelangelo's most classicising building, the *Porta Pia* can be considered the opposite, and one wonders, how did the eighty-six-year old master conceive both projects at about the same time (fig. 101). He was responsible only for the door's southern façade, towards the centre of the city, where the Via Pia ended, the elegant street of aristocratic villas. As the marble inscription in the tympanum reads, the building of the new city door was begun in 1561 at the command of Pope Pius IV Medici di Marignano (reg. 1558-1564). The *Porta Pia* renewed and substituted the Porta Nomentana of the ancient *Aurelian* city wall, whose old bricks are still visible in the new *Porta*'s crenellated bays. The windows lighten the rooms of the tollhouse and are accompanied by smaller blind mezzanine windows above them; these structures undoubtedly remind of the façade of an aristocratic palace, as does the dominating central portal. The door frame is rusticated and its polygonal arch culminates in a huge keystone above which is the mask. Both the wild mask and the rustication would also appear in other portals of the Via Pia; the thermal window alludes perhaps to the nearby Baths of Diocletian, where at the same time Michelangelo planned the reigning Pope's funerary chapel. The door frame is also visible on the exterior side of the pilasters, though without the rusticated surface. It continues in a thin layer until the gable which is supported by flat S-volutes given in profile which makes them look more tri-dimensional. As in the portals of the *Biblioteca Laurenziana*, the entire layer is overlapping a naked one only slightly visible on both sides of the portal: exclusively ornamental and not part of the wall. The door frame, the mask and the thermal window, the S-volutes and the huge triangular gable form a unity, well distinct by the overlapping of the *aediculae*.

Supports of the projections of the frieze are the capitals of the empty pilasters, their fluted shafts belong rather to the Ionic or Corinthian Orders, more than to the Tuscan Order, as intended by Vitruvius, Serlio and Vignola. They sustain the fragmentary corners of the segmental gable and their huge volutes are connected by a hanging laurel festoon which covers the support of the heavy marble block with Pope Pius' inscription. These glorifying elements are similar to those sculpted in the sarcophagi of the Medici Dukes and in the monument to Cecchino Bracci.

The *Porta Pia* has been interpreted as an enormous and demonic mouth and was probably inspired by Giulio Romano's rusticated garden portals and by Sebastiano Serlio's *Libro Straordinario* of 1551. It was surely the first monumental example for the slightly later portals which opened into the gardens of the Cardinals.

The *Porta Pia* has to be considered, however, in its entity, with its upper storey as planned by Michelangelo, clearly evident in the bronze medal, as well as in the preparative drawings, and known from Faletti's



102. Bartolomeo Faletti, *Michelangelo's project for the Porta Pia*, engraving.

engraving of 1568 (fig. 102), where the upper storey looks much more classicising than the actual one. The Order of the twin pilasters is Corinthian and its entablature, as well as its pedestals, are tripartite, while Pius IV's family coat of arms is larger and the Medici *palle* which adorn also the triangular gable, the flanking obelisks and the Ionic capitals of the crenellation. The late XIX<sup>th</sup> century architect who finished the upper storey, did not retain Faletis engraving worthy of Michelangelo, he changed the proportions and made the gable look baroque. Just as in other earlier occasions, the master seems, to have used different manners for such different contexts: the classicising one for Saint Peter's and for the Capitol, the two main centres of Roman tradition, and the more capricious one for the tumultuous entry of the city. In the high upper storey of *Porta Pia* Michelangelo followed Tuscan prototypes and made it visible from afar. Pirro Ligorio, Pope Pius' favourite architect, imitated the two storied triumphal arch in the concave main front of the Palazzina Borromeo on the via Flaminia. The entire composition is however organized in a highly hierarchical way as in the *Medici Chapel* and in the *Vestibule* of the *Biblioteca Laurenziana*. In the attic, above the conflictual area of men, the marble inscription, the Medici *palle* and the planned obelisks, symbols of the divine light, allude to the Pope and to Religion; in the transcendental sphere of the upper storey, two Angels allude to the Pope's secular name, *Angelo*, and hold his coat of arms. As in the interior of the drum of Saint Peter's the language is less dynamic, corporeal and conflictual. The two obelisks would have been essential for the equilibrium of the composition; a purely classicising language of the entire *Porta* would not have allowed Michelangelo to combine allusions to the city gate, to Nature, as well as to the Pope's triumphal glory and to his particular veneration for Angels.

In conclusion, the history of Renaissance ornament starts with Brunelleschi and ends with Michelangelo and is characterized by the constant dialogue of the artists with antiquity.

Not only Michelangelo, but others, like Raphael, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Giulio Romano and even Leonardo eventually became architects, as did Pietro da Cortona and Gian Lorenzo Bernini a century later. Painters and sculptors can only suggest space and body, towns, churches or palaces, while architects create them, and nobody in Renaissance art was as powerful as the first papal architect. Raphael's experiments with the *grotesques*, did not hinder architecture to become the most dominant of the Roman arts.

From the later XVI<sup>th</sup> to the early XX<sup>th</sup> century, the glorious history of ornament went on in numberless variations and forms of expression, but when in 1910 Adolf Loos condemned it, it was already dying, and every modern attempt to create a new and generally accepted ornament has failed.

<sup>1</sup> J. Masheck, *Adolf Loos: the art of architecture*, London - New York 2013, with bibliography.

<sup>2</sup> G. Necipoğlu, A. Payne, *Histories of Ornament from Global to Local*, Princeton 2016; A. Payne, *L'ornement architectural: du langage classique des temps modernes à l'aube du XXe siècle*, in "Perspectives" 2010 (2011), pp. 77-96.

<sup>3</sup> C.L. Frommel, *La colonna nella teoria e nell'architettura di Alberti*, in *Leon Battista Alberti teorico delle arti e gli impegni civili del De Re Aedificatoria*, A. Calzona, F.P. Fiore, A. Tenenti eds., Florence 2007, pp. 695-725.

<sup>4</sup> For Italian XV<sup>th</sup> century sculpture see J. Poeschke, *Die Skulptur der Renaissance in Italien*, vol. 1, *Donatello und seine Zeit*, München 1990 (with bibliography).

<sup>5</sup> P. Grifoni, F. Nannelli, *Le statue dei santi protettori delle arti fiorentine e il Museo di Orsanmichele*, Florence 2006.

<sup>6</sup> For Renaissance painting before 1470 see S. Röttgen, *Wandmalerei der Frührenaissance in Italien*, vol. 1, *Anfänge und Entfaltung: 1400-1470*, München 1996 (with bibliography).

<sup>7</sup> G. Gentilini, *Della Robbia, Luca*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, 37, Roma 1989, *ad vocem*.

<sup>8</sup> J. Poeschke, *Wandmalerei der Giottozeit in Italien 1280-1400*, München 2003.

<sup>9</sup> C.L. Frommel, *Alberti e l'arco trionfale di Castel Nuovo*, in "Annali di Architettura" 20, 2008, pp. 13-36.

<sup>10</sup> C.L. Frommel, *Zwei Vorschläge zu Albertis figürlichem Oeuvre*, in "Leon Battista Alberti Humanist, Architekt, Kunsttheoretiker", J. Poeschke, C. Syndikus eds., Münster 2008, pp. 54-67.

<sup>11</sup> C.L. Frommel, *Architettura e committente da Alberti a Bramante*, Firenze 2006, pp. 72-78.

<sup>12</sup> C.L. Frommel, *L'architettura del santuario e del Palazzo Apostolico di Loreto da Paolo II a Paolo III*, Loreto 2018.

<sup>13</sup> S. Röttgen, *Wandmalerei*, vol. 1, p. 227.

<sup>14</sup> C.L. Frommel, *Mantegna architetto*, in *Andrea Mantegna catalogo della mostra Mantova 2010*, R. Signorini ed., Florence 2010, vol. 1, pp. 181-220 (with bibliography).

<sup>15</sup> For fresco painting from 1470 to 1510 see S. Röttgen, *Wandmalerei der Frührenaissance in Italien*, vol. 2, *Die Blütezeit 1470-1510*, München 1997 (with bibliography).

<sup>16</sup> *Bramante Milanese e l'architettura del Rinascimento lombardo*, C.L. Frommel, L. Giordano, R. Schofield eds., Milan 2002; O. Lanzarini, *Le vie dell'antico sono infinite? Alcune riflessioni sugli elementi decorativi nell'architettura di Bramante*, in "Arte Lombarda" 176/177, 2016, pp. 43-49, 219.

<sup>17</sup> G. Vasari, *Introduzione alle tre arti del disegno*, cap. XXVII; J. Schulz, *Pinturicchio and the revival of the Antiquity*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes" 25, 1962, pp. 35-55; N. Dacos, *La découverte de la Domus Aurea et la formation des grotesques à la Renaissance*, London 1969; K. Oberhuber, *Entwürfe zu Werken Raphaels und seiner Schule im Vatikan 1511/12-1520*, in "Raphaels Zeichnungen, Abteilung IX", Berlin 1972; C. Acidini Luchinat, *La Grottesca*, in "Storia dell'arte italiana", part 3, IV, Torino 1982 pp. 161-200.

<sup>18</sup> C.L. Frommel, *Raffaello nella Libreria Piccolomini*, in *Dal Razionalismo al Rinascimento. Per i quaranta anni di Studi di*

Silvia Danesi Squarzina, M.G. Aurigemma ed., Rome 2011, pp. 52-63.

<sup>19</sup> S. Borsi, *Giuliano da Sangallo i disegni di architettura e dell'antico*, Rome 1985, pp. 302-310; C.L. Frommel, *La calligrafia di Giuliano da Sangallo*, in *Giuliano da Sangallo*. Atti della giornata di studi, novembre 2016, S. Frommel, A. Nova eds. (in print).

<sup>20</sup> A. Bruschi, *Introduzione*, in "Storia dell'architettura italiana. Il primo Cinquecento", Milan 2002, A. Bruschi ed., pp. 9-75; C.L. Frommel, *La città come opera d'arte: Bramante e Raffaello*, in *ibidem*, pp. 76-99.

<sup>21</sup> For Peruzzi's figural work see C.L. Frommel, *Baldassare Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, in "Beiheft des Römischen Jahrbuchs für Kunstgeschichte" 11/12, 1986/1987; C.L. Frommel, "Ala maniera e uso delj bonj antiqj": *Baldassare Peruzzi e la sua quarantennale ricerca dell'antico*, in "Baldassare Peruzzi 1481-1536", C.L. Frommel, A. Bruschi, H. Burns, F.P. Fiore, P.N. Pagliara eds., Venice 2005, pp. 3-30 (with bibliography).

<sup>22</sup> For fresco painting from Raphael to Perino del Vaga s. J. Klieemann, M. Rohlmann, *Wandmalerei in Italien: Hochrenaissance und Manierismus, 1510-1600*, München 2004 (with bibliography); C.L. Frommel, *Raffaello nelle Stanze e nella Sala di Costantino*, Milan 2017.

<sup>23</sup> K. Oberhuber, *Raffaello: l'opera pittorica*, Milan 1999 (with bibliography).

<sup>24</sup> C.L. Frommel, *La Villa Farnesina a Roma*, Modena 2003.

<sup>25</sup> C.L. Frommel, *Nuovi contributi al primo e all'ultimo Peruzzi*, in "La festa delle arti", V. Cazzati, R. Sebastiano, M. Bevilacqua eds., Rome 2014, pp. 254-259.

<sup>26</sup> N. Dacos, *Le Logge di Raffaello: l'antico, la bibbia, la bottega,*

*la fortuna*, Milan 2008 (with bibliography).

<sup>27</sup> Maurus Servius Honoratus, *In tria Virgilii Opera Expositio*, was the first manuscript published in Florence by Bernardo Cennini in 1471.

<sup>28</sup> C.L. Frommel, *La Farnesina*, cit. pp. 99-121.

<sup>29</sup> C.L. Frommel, *Villa Madama*, in *Raffaello architetto*, C. L. Frommel, S. Ray, M. Tafuri (eds.), Milan 1984, pp. 311-321.

<sup>30</sup> C.L. Frommel, in *Baldassarre Peruzzi*, pp. 33-82 (con bibliografia).

<sup>31</sup> M.V. Brugnoli, *Buonaccorsi, Piero, detto Perin del Vaga*, in *Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 15, Roma 1972, ad vocem; E. Parma Armani, *Perin del Vaga l'anello mancante. Studi sul Manierismo*, Genova 1986, pp. 73-241.

<sup>32</sup> For Michelangelo see C. de Tolnay, *Michelangelo* vols. 1-5, Princeton 1969; for Michelangelo's architecture see J.S. Ackerman, *The architecture of Michelangelo*, Harmondsworth 1064 (2d ed.); G.C. Argan, B. Contardi, *Michelangelo architetto*, Milan 1999.

<sup>33</sup> C.L. Frommel, *Michelangelo e il sistema architettonico della volta della Cappella Sistina*, in *Michelangelo*. Atti del convegno internazionale di studi (Rome March 1990), K. Weil Garris (ed.), Novara 1994, pp. 135-139.

<sup>34</sup> G. Satzinger, *Michelangelo und die Fassade von San Lorenzo in Florenz*, München 2011.

<sup>35</sup> C.L. Frommel (ed.), *Michelangelo's tomb of Julius II: genesis and genius*, Los Angeles 2016.

<sup>36</sup> C.L. Frommel, *Michelangelo und das Grabmal des Cecchino Bracci in S. Maria in Aracoeli*, in "Docta manus Studien zur italienischen Skulptur für Joachim Poeschke", Münster 2007, pp. 263-277.