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The University of British Columbia
Vancouver, Canada

Date OCTOBER 10, 1989
ABSTRACT

Donato Bramante (1444-1514) is conventionally represented by Renaissance writers, and twentieth century art historians alike, as the "architetto doctissimo", the "saviour" of the classical manner, and "the inventor and light of all good architecture". Yet, despite a widely promoted programme of architectural renewal under Pope Julius II (1503-1513), a surprisingly small number of his projects were actually built, or if built, proved structurally sound. Even St. Peter's, the centrepiece of Julius II's imperialistic ambitions, remained incomplete with a few, structurally inadequate walls erected amidst the ruins of the old basilica before Bramante's death. Certainly, the recognition of Bramante as Julius II's Papal Architect was and is based upon more than his actual architectural designs or production. In order to understand the bases of Bramante's image, this study explores the discrepancies between the various discourses surrounding the architect and his production, particularly as they relate to his position as Pope Julius II's principal architect, the historical situation of Renaissance Rome, and contemporary architectural theory and practice. Re-inserting these discrepancies within the specific social and institutional framework which produced them, this thesis addresses these questions: From what specific circumstances was the image of Bramante's "genius" created, and thus created, how did it function in relation to the challenge of alternative historical viewpoints?

Chapter One of the thesis focuses on a number of specific texts to illustrate the interplay of architectural theory, practice and patronage from different periods and sites within the Quattrocento. These discussions, while informed by the specific demands of their respective situations, share a humanistic emphasis on theoretical liberal arts values in their formulation of an intellectual architect type (in difference to the architect of contemporary practice) whose elevated status is seen to reinforce the social position of the patron.
Chapter Two deals with the historical documentation of Bramante's image through biographies, records and memorials, including foundation medals issued by the papacy as well as his pamphlet of sonnets on the extant monuments of Ancient Rome, the *Antiquarie Prospetiche Romane*. In accordance with the general formulation of the ideal architect, the qualities consistently emphasized in Bramante's construction are his knowledge of classical architecture and his skills in poetry, painting and music. Thus he is described in direct opposition to contemporary building practice, which is represented in the literature by his contemporary, Giuliano da Sangallo, whose mechanical arts training and practice serve as a foil to Bramante's characterization as the historical realization of a type previously restricted to theory.

Chapter Three considers Bramante's image within the context of the alternative, contemporary viewpoints which it challenges. These historical discrepancies do not serve to reveal the 'truth' behind a false construction, but signal an alternative position, broadly located in traditional architectural conventions, with which the representation of Bramante's image would originally have been engaged. It is through the active dialogue between these opposing viewpoints and representations, the interests of the papacy and Renaissance Rome, that the complexities and workings of Bramante's image can be understood. Although Julius II relinquished his traditional, symbolic role as the designer of his architectural projects to Bramante, he ultimately achieved greater recognition for himself and the papacy through the promoted image of his learned architect and his grand projects. In this construction, the "great artist" was recognized as an important attribute of the "great patron". This situation, however, did not signal the actual rise in social status of artists often attributed to the Renaissance, but rather its representation; for ultimately, the patron, in practice if not in name, remained the "architect" of both his client and his projects.
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To those who have gone before,

Margaret Jenkinson (U.B.C. 1934)

Emily Thomas (U.B.C. 1979)
Et vere; nam nisi Ilias Ila extitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus eius [Achilles] contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset.

- Cicero, *Pro Archia Poeta Oratorio* 24

Without the divine poet Homer, Achilles' body and fame would have been buried in one tomb together.

- Lorenzo de' Medici, "Letter to Lord Federigo"
Introduction

What distinguishes the Italian Renaissance as an historical period is as much the self-conscious promotion of its own cultural and historical superiority as its actual achievements. Chroniclers of the period consistently describe their time as one of cultural and intellectual rebirth on a par with or even surpassing the grandeur of the ancient world. In this manner, the Renaissance identified itself as the beginning of a new, modern era in opposition to the interim of decay and disorder, still known to us today as the "Dark" or "Middle" Ages. In fact, the very terms and imagery used by Renaissance historians to describe contemporary history and individuals: 'bringing to light', 'rebirth', 'resurrection', speak of a period of renewed prosperity. As the Florentine Marsilio Ficino wrote in 1492 of his era, "It is undoubtedly a golden age which has restored to the light the liberal arts that had almost been destroyed: grammar, poetry, eloquence, painting, sculpture, architecture, music...." In many respects, this type of assessment remains unchallenged in the twentieth century. Our histories, too, recount the purposeful progression of art and learning as presented by the historians, politicians and scholars of the Renaissance. For example, in his article "The Birth of 'Artistic License'", H. W. Janson writes:

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NB: Where possible, I have cited quotes in their original language and provided an English translation in the footnote. However, when the original form was unavailable to me, as in the case above, I have quoted from an English translation and cited this source.
As we all know, during Antiquity and the Middle Ages painters and sculptors were classed with the mechanical arts or crafts, whereas the Renaissance gradually raised the artist to a new and higher status as a member of the community of the liberal arts, the equal of poets and philosophers.3

The prevailing art historical image of the architect Donato Bramante (1444–1514) is a specific example of an artist formed and read within this generalized framework or "regime of truth".4 Characterized as the 'greatest builder of his time,' 'the father of modern architecture,' and the 'saviour' of the classical manner, Bramante's image as "architecto doctissimo" 5 and genius is often upheld as the prime example of the position attained by Renaissance architects or for that matter artists in general. The following passage on Bramante from Andrea Palladio's I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura of 1570 is representative of this manner of presenting the artist, and Bramante in particular:

Poiché la grandezza dell'Imperio Romano cominciò a declinare per le continue innondazioni de' Barbari; l'Architettura, si come all'ora avvenne anco di tutte l'altre Arti, e Scienze; lasciata la sua prima bellezza, e venusta, andò sempre peggiorando fin che non essendo rimansa notizia alcuna delle belle proporzioni, e della ornata maniera di fabbricare, si ridusse a tal termine, che a peggior non poteva pervenire. Ma perché,


4This concept of a 'regime of truth' comes from Michel Foucault, Power/Knowledge: selected interviews and other writings, 1972-77, ed. Colin Gordon, trans. Colin Gordon, Leo Marshall, John Mepham, Kate Soper (Brighton, [England]: Harvester Press, 1980), p. 131 in which he states: "Each society has its regime of truth, its 'general politics', of truth; that is, the types of discourse which it accepts and makes function as true; the mechanisms and instances which enable one to distinguish true and false statements, the means by which each is sanctioned; the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth; the status of those who are charged with saying what counts as true."

essendo tutte le cose umane in perpetuo moto, avviene che ora salgano fin al sommo della loro perfezione, e che ora scendano fin all'estremo della loro imperfezione; l'Architettura a' tempi de nostri padri, ed avi, uscita di quelle tenebre, nelle quali era stata lunghamente come sepolta, cominciò a lasciarsi rivedere nella luce del mondo. Perciocché sotto il Pontificato di Giulio II. Pontefice Massimo, Bramante uomo eccellentissimo, ed osservatore degli Edifici Antichi, face bellissime fabbriche in Roma; ... Bramante sia stato il primo a metter in luce la buona, e bella Architettura, che dagli Antichi fin a quel tempo era stata nascosa...  

Thus, in a book otherwise dedicated to ancient architecture, Palladio includes two illustrations of Bramante's Tempietto, circa 1503, [Figs. 1 & 2] deeming it comparable in excellence to the building of Antiquity and as marking a return to the "good and beautiful architecture" of that earlier period.

Giorgio Vasari, too, in his Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scrittori e architettori, makes such claims for Bramante, writing, "perché, se pure i Greci furono inventori della architettura e i Romani imitatori, Bramante non solo imitandogli con invenzione nuova ci insegnò, ma ancora bellezza e difficoltà accrebbe grandissima

6Andrea Palladio I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura di Andrea Palladio, facsimile (1570; Venezia: 'La Roccia', 1973), Libro IV, cap. xvii, p. 39 [Future references to books with separate volumes, books, chapters and/or page numbers will be listed in this order with colons [:] separating them. The first citation of the work will identify the separate divisions where necessary.]; English trans.: "Because the greatness of the Roman Empire began to decline, on account of the continual invasions of the Barbarians, Architecture -- like all the other Arts and Sciences at that time -- fell away from its earlier beauty and classical harmony and got worse and worse, until nothing more was known of beautiful proportion, or of ornate methods of building, and the point was reached when it was impossible to get any worse. But because all human things are in a perpetual state of flux, now at the height of perfection and now sunk in the lowest depths, it happened that, in the time of our fathers and grandfathers, Architecture emerged from the shadows in which it had so long been lost, and, as though emerging from the grave, came back into the light of day. For in the time of Pope Julius II, that most excellent man, Bramante, a keen student of ancient buildings, erected some most beautiful buildings in Rome. ... Bramante was the first to bring back to the light of day the good and beautiful architecture that had been hidden since the time of the ancients..." Cited by Peter Murray, Bramante's Tempietto, Charleton Lectures on Art ([Newcastle upon Tyne]: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1972), p. 1.
all'arte, la quale per lui imbellita oggi veggiamo." By describing Bramante as the heir to the Classical tradition who resurrected the lost art of architecture from the remains of Antiquity to create a 'new, improved' classicism, superior to the intermediary Gothic style, Palladio and Vasari draw upon a manner of praise and a system of values advanced by Renaissance Humanists and their patrons.\(^8\) These attitudes seem to serve twentieth century historians as well. For instance, Franklin Toker presents the Renaissance architect according to this earlier topos, when he writes:

"The Renaissance architect was a noble breed. To think of Bramante, Raphael and Michelangelo as the confidants of popes; of Vasari and Palladio as equals in their local circles of litterati, is to realize how far the Renaissance architect had moved from the craft culture of the medieval builder.\(^9\)"

The view of history produced in the Renaissance represents the dominant ideological position of the period and cannot be accepted without examining the underlying societal structures which it supports. Similarly, the focus upon individual "genius" disengages the artist from the history of social and political relations of which


\(^8\)For the fifteenth century, Humanism was not only the profession of the study of grammar, rhetoric, poetry and history based on the best classical authors. Rather, it had very practical applications. It offered a linguistic and conceptual style of argument which was highly persuasive and therefore readily adopted by the Renaissance ruling class and governments for the acquisition and maintenance of power. See: Michael Baxandall, Giotto and the Orators: Humanist observers of painting in Italy and the discovery of pictorial composition, 1350–1450 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), for a useful discussion of the Humanists' participation and effect upon the visual arts through art theory.

he was part and product, and so isolates him in a rarified, 'other' realm of Art. To the extent that prevailing twentieth century readings of the Renaissance 'naturalize' the assumptions and constructions characteristic of the period, they simplify and thus misrepresent the exceedingly more complex shift in the conception of the artist and artistic practice which took place within Renaissance social and political practice. Since those who recorded the history of the Renaissance for successive generations were generally Humanists or influenced by their reasoning, the specific ways in which their values and arguments function within the telling of Bramante's storia [history] is significant to its understanding. Particularly relevant to Bramante's image are Humanism's general conception of history and its candid alliance with power. Firstly, the Humanists' construction of history as the accomplishments of a series of progressively outstanding individuals forms the basis for Bramante's personal construction as a great architect as well as his placement within a developmental line of great architects. Secondly, the Humanists' ideals of learning, humanity and political order speak for an elite whose hierarchical position they sought to maintain, despite the rhetorical celebration of the essential

10 See: Griselda Pollock, Deborah Cherry "Woman as Sign in Pre-Raphaelite Literature: the Representation of Elizabeth Siddal," in Griselda Pollock, Vision and Difference (London and New York: Routledge, 1988), pp. 91-114. This article presents the argument of 'Elizabeth Siddal' as a 'naturalized' construction much in the manner that the Renaissance can be understood as a 'naturalized' construction, only with its rationalizing structures clearly based upon historically different premises and value systems.

11 Humanism's influence on Renaissance culture far exceeded its stated scholarly programme of the study of grammar, rhetoric, poetry and history based on the best classical sources. Rather, it came to effect numerous and diverse aspects of Renaissance society through the persuasion of its rhetoric, superior attitude, and adaptability to various situations and needs, which encouraged its adoption by the ruling elite of urban Renaissance society.

12 Antique texts, such as the Natural History by Pliny the Elder, served as models for the Renaissance construction of historical development, especially in terms of art history. Giorgio Vasari's Le Vite is a classic example of the application of this type of modern historical perspective in forming a history of art.
"Dignity of Man".\textsuperscript{13} It is important to note, therefore, that the theoretical arguments that elevated the artist, also legitimized the social position of the patron.

The consistently positive, 'humanist' image of Bramante, I would argue, represents a specific historical and cultural viewpoint. Renaissance accounts of Bramante that question and refute the very characteristics for which he was praised as an architect survive to be passingly mentioned or more often omitted from the mainstream literature. However, these accounts have not altered the prevailing reading of Bramante. For instance, records of the structural weaknesses and collapse of his buildings are generally dismissed or explained away. The scarcity of works completed by him in Rome is overlooked. More specifically, Peter Murray, a respected Bramante scholar, glosses over the 'cracks' in Bramante's reputation by blaming art historians for "neglecting" Bramante's "genius", saying:

> Because of the neglect of scholars it is understandable that the general public has not realized the true greatness of this extraordinary genius, particularly since there are so few works by him still to be seen; and, worse still, those like the Tempietto or the cloister of S. Ambrogio in Milan need an experienced and sympathetic eye to discern their merit\textsuperscript{14} (emphasis mine)

Again, this argument used by Murray in the twentieth century is essentially the same used by the thirteenth century Humanist, Petrarch, in his last will and testament in support of a Madonna which was painted by Giotto and owned by him. Of the work, Petrarch wrote that the common man will not appreciate it while it leaves the experts

\textsuperscript{13} According to humanist scholarship in general, the highest worldly good was in study, outstanding political activity and magnificent patronage. These pursuits clearly were within the reach of only a select few. See: John O'Malley, "An Ash Wednesday Sermon on the Dignity of Man for Pope Julius II, 1513," in Essays Presented to Myron P. Gilmore, ed. Sergio Bertelli and Gloria Ramakus, vol. 1 (Florence: La Nuova Italia Editrice, 1978), 1:193-207.

\textsuperscript{14} Peter Murray foreword, Bruschi, \textit{Bramante}, 8.
mute with admiration. According to both, the great master appeals to an exclusive and learned audience. Thus Murray, like Petrarch repeats the humanist paradigm of the "creative individual", and suggests that the problem lies not in Bramante's construction as "genius", but in the general inability of people to recognize this level of achievement apparent even in his few existing works. Furthermore, discrepancies also arise with respect to Bramante's celebrated Classicism. Although Bramante was accused in his own time of participating in the destruction of antique monuments, he is still primarily praised in the literature for his revival of the classical manner of architecture. Such discordant records demonstrate that questions concerning Bramante's reputation and practice existed even as his image was being disseminated. Moreover, they demonstrate that while there are obvious discrepancies between these historical reports and the now familiar accounts of him as the ideal Renaissance architect, art history has chosen to accept, almost unquestioningly, the dominant, 'Humanist' image. In fact, subsequent scholarship, by its constant acknowledgement of certain texts, legitimizes this image promoted by humanist writers while effectively silencing opposing viewpoints, and in doing so creates an almost seamless view of Bramante's "genius".

The real issue for me, however, is not simply Bramante's ability to compose a harmonious and structurally feasible all'antica building; I do not intend to deconstruct Bramante's image to replace it with a more 'accurate' account of his achievements. Rather, I intend to acknowledge and explore the discrepancies between Bramante's image and his actual architectural production in the context of his position as Pope Julius II's principal architect and contemporary Renaissance architectural theory and practice:


16For instance, see: Palladio, IV:xvii.
that is, within the specific social and institutional framework which produced them. The central issues for this thesis, therefore, are: From what specific circumstances was the image of Bramante's "genius" created, and thus created, how did it function, in relation to alternative historical viewpoints?
The Quattrocento saw redefinitions and readjustments of the role of the architect in relation to both traditional building practices and the patron. While humanist rhetoric, as a current and highly flexible tool of argument, set the general tone and approach taken by most of these discussions, the requirements of the different situations, locations and interests shifted the general humanist conception towards specific definitions of the architect and his art.

Leon Battista Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (1452) stands as a strong humanist argument for the theoretical potential of architectural patronage which gained considerable influence and recognition within courtly circles of the period. Filarete's *Trattato di architettura* is written from the point of view of this architect's specific practice in the Sforza court of Milan during the 1460's. While Alberti's treatise can be seen as representing a more generalized example of humanist architectural theory, Filarete's can be seen as representing a model closer, but by no means consistent with the actual historical practice of the profession, and to the patron's traditional right to receive credit as the true architect of his building projects. From the definitions of the architect and architecture elaborated in these treatises, a variety of positions were negotiated in the presentation of this practice. The republican city-state of Florence, the princely condottiere court of Urbino, and the Imperial splendour of the Roman Papacy articulated the architect's role in three distinct manners according to the justifications appropriate to their particular situations. In order to locate Bramante's own situation in relation to these earlier formulations, this chapter will outline the
discussions of architectural theory adapted to and functioning within these various contexts.

Alberti’s treatise *De re aedificatoria* is partly a response to and an encouragement of the developing relevance and privilege of rank attributed to the patronage of architecture.¹ As a Humanist, Alberti sought to facilitate the association between learning, culture and the ruling elite. Wishing to validate the variety of patronage situations which he himself experienced as a Humanist-cum-architect, and to appeal to the patron’s ambition for prestige and fame, Alberti’s treatise presents a highly adaptable, humanistically based discussion of architecture which advocates an elevated status for the architect as complement and support to the patron’s status. Thus, Alberti’s notions of architecture and the architect are firmly wedded to his own interests as a Humanist and the interests of the patron.

Published in 1485, two years prior to the first printing of the Vitruvian text and the first of his own works to be printed, Alberti’s *De re aedificatoria* seems to have had considerable currency among his contemporary peers.² It was included in the inventories of various late fifteenth and sixteenth century libraries with owners including Federigo da Montefeltro, Ercole d’Este, Antonio Beniveni, the San Marco Library in Florence, and Lodovico Gonzaga. However, as it was originally written and published in Latin in 1452, the audience for which it was primarily intended and accessible was necessarily limited to an educated elite of architectural patrons, rather than craftsmen.³ Similarly, the tone of the treatise is not so much that of a practitioner


²E. M. Hollingsworth, “Attitudes to Architecture around 1500 in Italy,” diss., University of East Anglia, April 1981, p. 50n221.

speaking to other practitioners, as in the earlier tradition of manuals, but of a
Humanist, explaining to the important and wealthy people of his day -- the architect's
potential patrons -- the exalted history of the profession of architecture, its noble
classical expression, and the prestige it confers upon discerning patrons. In support of
this argument, Alberti encourages the modern patron's emulation of his antique
predecessors' use of architecture "per dar lustro al proprio nome presso i posteri." He
writes:

Se tu costruirai con molta eleganza un muro o un porticato, se lo
adornierai di porte, colonne e tetto, i migliori cittadini plauderanno e si
compiaceranno per te come per se stessi, soprattutto perché avranno
compreso che non tale frutto delle tue sostanze hai contribuito in modo
cospicuo alla fama e allo splendore tuo, della tua famiglia, dei tuoi
discendenti e dell'intera città ... Né vi fu uno solo tra i maggiori e più
saggi principi, che non considerasse l'architettura uno dei mezzi più
importanti per dar lustro al proprio nome presso i posteri.5

As humanist scholarship promoted itself as a 'corrected' knowledge, in opposition
and superior to previously accepted beliefs, Alberti's discussion of architecture calls
upon similar arguments, offering the precedent of antique architecture as morally and

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4E.g.: Villard de Honnecourt, The Sketchbook of Villard de Honnecourt, ed. Theodore
Bowie (c. 1250; Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1959).
Theophilus, On Divers Arts: The Foremost Medieval Treatise on Painting, Glassmaking
and Metalwork, trans. from Latin with intro. and notes, John G. Hawthorne, and Cyril
Cennino Cennini, Il Libro dell'Arte o Trattato della Pittura, cura di Fernando Tempesti
(c. 1430; Milano: Longanesi & C., 1975).

5Leon Battista Alberti, L'Architettura [De re aedificatoria], testo latino e traduz
Giovanni Orlandi, intro. e note Paolo Portoghesi, 2 vols. (Milano: Edizioni il Polifilo,
rejoice when you have raised a fine Wall or Portico, and adorned it with Portals,
Columns, and a handsome Roof, knowing you have thereby not only served yourself, but
them too, having by this generous Use of your Wealth gained an Addition of great Honour
to yourself, your Family, your Descendants, and your City .... And what potent or wise
Prince can be named, that among his chief Projects for eternizing his Name and
Posterity, did not make Use of Architecture." Leon Battista Alberti, Ten Books on
Architecture, English translation of Cosimo Bartol's Italian translation by James Leoni
Future citations will indicate author and book title in short form, followed by page
citations to this edition.
aesthetically superior to that of the Gothic past, and, therefore, worthy of imitation.\textsuperscript{6}

He tells the reader that the patron who follows the advice of his learned advisors and emulates his ancient predecessors in his taste for and patronage of classical architecture and the skilled architect is a more distinguished person for having spent his money properly and wisely.\textsuperscript{7} Thus, Alberti's paradigm flatteringly defines its adherents as individuals of virtue, worthy of their rank.

The architect's position in this paradigm was both different to the fifteenth century practice and crucial to Alberti's conception as a whole. In introducing his argument for the importance of his 'architect', he reminds the reader that it is the architect's art which will communicate the patron's [reader's] fame and virtue:

\begin{quote}
E infine opportuno rilevare che la sicurezza, l'autorità, il decoro dello stato dipendono in gran parte dall'opera dell'architetto; per merito suo possiamo trascorrere il nostro tempo libero in modo piacevole, sereno e salutare, e impiegare le ore di lavoro in modo proficuo e dando incremento alla nostra sostanza: vivere insomma dignitosamente e fuori dei pericoli.
\end{quote}


Such sentiments are echoed by Giovanni da Ravenna in his statement: "Nobility dazzles us with rays of virtue not with wealth and ancestral portraits. When a painting is exhibited, the knowledgeable beholder expresses approval not so much of the purity and exquisite quality of the colours as about the arrangement and the proportion of its parts, and it is the ignorant man who is attracted simply by the colour: men are judged in a similar way...But if someone admires proportionality of parts in fine paintings, they are still bound to be worthy of more admiration when beauty of colour is added to this proportionality. The same is true of nobility, family property being added to finish virtue..." Fr. 'Historia Ragusii' Venice, Biblioteca Querini-Stampulia, MS. IX. II, fol. 80. ; cited by Baxandall, \textit{Giotto and the Orators}, (Oxford, 1971), 62.
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L'Architettura è grande impresa, che non è da tutti poter affrontare. Occorre esser provvisti di grande ingegno, di zelo perseverante, di eccellente cultura e di una lunga pratica, e soprattutto di molta ponderatezza e acuto giudizio, per potersi cimentare nella professione di architetto.9

Within the pages of his treatise Alberti constructs for the architect an elevated status as learned advisor, above, and separate from, base manual activity.10 He advises the architect not to "dirty his hands" with economic matters, so as not to be drawn into inferior activities. An architect "giacché non prenderà certo in considerazione un carpentiere....," he writes, "il lavoro del carpentiere infatti non è che strumentale rispetto a quello dell'architetto. Architetto chiamero colui che con metodo sicuro e
Thus, Alberti's definition of the architect is a clear and major departure from the traditional medieval meaning of the word as a craftsman, even a chief craftsman. For Alberti the architect is an intellectual designer of three-dimensional structures, rather than an actual builder or craftsman of these structures. He stresses that it is important for the architect to know the proper means of execution to ensure the structural viability of his "inventions". However, he adds that it is not the architect's role to actually engage in the physical execution. In Book II, chapter I of his treatise, Alberti clarifies this opinion when he calls on the architect to conceive the building project in his mind, later suggesting that the craftsman may not have the ability for such conceptualizing. Certainly this was a novel definition of the architect for the fifteenth century. In fact, Alberti's 'modern architect' takes his definition from his very difference and superiority to the manual artisan of contemporary practice. In this manner, it is strongly reminiscent of Humanism's focus upon Antiquity as a validating mode since, in many ways, Alberti's conception of the architect is derived from Vitruvius' characterization of the architect as a liberal arts intellectual who is 'educated' as


opposed to 'apprenticed' in his profession. Such distinctions were in sympathy with the emphases of humanist scholarship and Renaissance social divisions in general, with the Manual Arts being associated with 'work', and its lower class connotations, and the Liberal Arts being associated with nobility and the upper class aspirations of "leisured" education. As Leonardo da Vinci so concisely summarized the attitude of the time, "To devise is the work of the master, to execute the work of the servant."  

As mentioned earlier, Alberti's definition of the architect is very much an expression of his own aspirations and experience in the architectural field. The illegitimate son of a politically and financially well-established Florentine banking family, he received a good humanist education and was honoured for both his writings and his architectural designs in several Italian cities, and even occasionally financed his own small scale architectural projects. He was a friend of his patrons Sigismondo Malatesta, Giovanni Rucellai, Lodovico Gonzaga and Tommaso Parentucello [Pope Nicholas V] and to some extent their social equal, as opposed to a mere employee.

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15 See: Leatrice Mendelssohn, Paragoni: Benedetto Varchi’s Due Lezzioni and Cinquecento Art Theory (Ann Arbor, Michigan: UMI Research Press, 1982), for an interesting study on this division between the manual and the intellectual in Cinquecento art theory.

16 Cited by Martin Kemp, "From 'Mimesis' to 'Fantasia': the Quattrocento Vocabulary of Creation, Inspiration and Genius in the Visual Arts," Viator, 8 (1977), 378.

17 Alberti received his basic humanist training in Padua, studied law at the University of Bologna, and held a post of abbreviator apostolicus in the Papal Curia.

18 Alberti's writings and architectural designs earned him honours in many cities including Florence, Rimini, Ferrara, Mantua and Rome.

on account of his noble birth and education. In defining the architect as a well-educated intellectual with particular knowledge in painting and mathematics,\textsuperscript{20} who designed impressive monuments for important patrons, Alberti was essentially describing his own experience and aspirations as an architect.\textsuperscript{21} In fact, he implies that he considered himself as such an architect when he refers to the practice "di nos architetti" in his treatise.\textsuperscript{22}

In presenting this architect to the patron-reader as an exemplary model, Alberti advocated a new patronage structure which displayed the patron's virtue through the virtue of the architect and his designs.\textsuperscript{23} However, we know that Alberti's experience, even as a relatively distinguished and learned architect, did not attain the levels of public recognition and respect that his treatise describes. In fact, in opposition to his model, in common practice credit was usually given solely to the commissioning patron as opposed to the architect as defined by Alberti. Evidence of this inconsistency is found, for example, even in his own work on the facade of the Florentine Church of Santa Maria

\textsuperscript{20}Alberti writes: "Tra le discipline, quelle che sono utili all'architetto, anzi strettamente necessarie, sono la pittura e la matematica." Alberti, \textit{L'Architettura}, II:IX:x:860; English trans.: "The Arts which are useful, and indeed absolutely necessary to the Architect, are Painting and Mathematicks." Alberti, \textit{Ten Books}, IX:x:206.

\textsuperscript{21}In the case of the Tempio Malatestian in Rimini for Sigismondo Malatesta it is known that Alberti provided the designs and often communicated with Matteo de' Pasti, the capomaestro in charge of the building from a distance through letters.


\textsuperscript{23}Alberti is sometimes unclear in his distinction between the architectus and patron, especially in regard to the authorship of design. This is clarified to some extent in the correspondence between Alberti and Lodovico Gonzaga which suggests that Lodovico Gonzaga was involved to some extent in the design of his buildings. In a letter of October 12, 1470 Lodovico explains to Alberti that he liked his design but did not fully understand it and that Alberti would have to explain it to him. He adds that when they next meet both would present their own ideas and Lodovico would make the final decision. See: Hollingsworth, "Attitudes," 51n234. This confusion of the attribution of the term architect may also be due to the traditional practice of referring to the patron as architect of the buildings which he commissioned. See further discussion of this point in the text following and again in Chapter Two of this thesis.
Novella dated 1470. [Fig. 3] Although designed by Alberti, the facade announces not his name, but instead the name of its patron, "JOHANES^ORICELLARIVS" [Giovanni Rucellai], like a signature, in the monumental inscription of the frieze. Despite its circulation and popularity, Alberti's treatise remained architectural theory informed by humanist values, and did not describe nor suddenly revolutionize the actual architectural practice of Quattrocento Italy.

Filarete's *Trattato di architettura* (mid 1460's) is written from the point of view of this architect's specific practice as the chief supervisor of Francesco Sforza's building projects in Milan. Although influenced by the humanist arguments within Alberti's writing, Filarete's treatise demonstrates concerns and experiences particular to his own practice as an architect to a greater extent than is evident in Alberti's. Filarete's definition of architectural practice negotiates the relations between patron, architect and builder somewhere between Alberti's decided promotion of the architect's role and the patron's traditional perogative to accept or be ceded full responsibility for his architectural commissions.

Like Alberti, Filarete begins his treatise with a defence of architecture as an intellectual pursuit worthy of the patron. He writes:

*Questa [architettura] è bene cosa degna conveniente a simili uomini per più rispetti, massime per comunicare i loro beni a molti, che per bisogno*

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24Filarete had the post of chief supervisor in Milan on the major projects of the Duomo and the Castello Sforzesco.


26Beginning in Book VII of his treatise Filarete teaches the patron's son how to draw and the basic elements of architectural design.
In support of this argument he cites classical precedents of rulers, such as the emperors Nero and Hadrian and King Polycitus, all of whom were said to be knowledgeable in the drawing of their own designs. In keeping with the authority of his examples, Filarete recommends the architectural style of Antiquity — as opposed to contemporary Gothic — as more appropriate for both great patrons and architects. The revival of all'antica architecture, he stresses, is analogous to and should be associated with the literary revival headed by the humanist scholars. Indeed, his explanation of the history of architecture follows the typical rhetorical manner introduced by the Humanists, and specifically relates the revival of 'good letters' with the revival of 'good architecture':

Dirovelo, Signore. Egli è stato per questo: che come le lettere mancoron in Italia, cioè che s'ingrossorono nel dire e nel latino e venne una grossezza, che se non fusse da cinquanta o forse da sestanta anni in qua che si sono assottigliati e isvegliati gl'ingegni, egli era, come ho detto, una grossa cosa; e così è stata questa arte, che per le ruine d'Italia che sono state e per le guerre di questi barbari che più volte l'hanno disolata e sogiogata. Poi è accaduto che pure oltre monti e venuto molte usanze e loro riti, e perché di questi grandi edifizii non si facevano, per cagione che Italia era povera, gl'uomini ancora non si esercitavano troppo in

27 Filarete, Trattato, I, Dedication, fol.1r:3; English trans.: "This [architecture] is indeed worthy and fitting in men of your sort for several reasons, especially for the transmitting of their wealth to others who would otherwise perish through need and want, and again so that enduring fame may remain of their virtue and liberality." Filarete, Treatise, p. 3.

28 Filarete, Trattato, VII:fol.47r:183; Filarete, Treatise, p. 82.
To the extent that Filarete attacks the incompetence of contemporary "Gothic" architects, and generally presents his recommendations as founded on the art of the Ancients, he continues Alberti's humanistically fashionable and authoritative dialogue on the Antique as an architecture expressive of the dignity and virtue of its patron. However, Filarete's treatise, being less theoretical in tone than Alberti's, describes the detailed construction of actual building problems throughout its narrative. Yet, in doing this, the uneasy relationship between contemporary theory and practice becomes evident. The methods and rules for architecture which he explains are essentially based upon traditional, even Gothic, building procedure and practice, only updated by an all'antica vocabulary and humanistic delivery of text.

This divergence highlights the basic dissimilarity between humanist theory and Quattrocento practice. While the outward appearance of and association with the all'antica style was more desirable, in courtly circles, the Gothic system of geometric proportions remained the basis of the building's actual structural design in the Quattrocento, as no new science or method of structural design corresponding to the humanist all'antica style had yet replaced it. The two contradictory expressions of architecture could co-exist in Filarete's treatise since it was basically the veneer of

29 Filarete, Trattato, XIII: fol. 100r, 100v: 382; English trans.: "I will tell you, my lord. It happened for this reason. [Architecture declined] as letters declined in Italy; that is, spoken and [written] Latin became more gross until fifty or sixty years ago, when minds became more subtle and were reawakened [to the past]. As I say, it was a gross thing. The same thing happened to this art through the ruin of Italy brought on by the wars of the barbarians who desolated and subjugated it many times. Then, too, many customs and rites came from the other side of the Alps. Because no great buildings were built, since Italy had become poor, men were no longer very experienced in these things. As men lost experience, their knowledge became less subtle. Thus the knowledge of these things was lost." Filarete, Treatise, p. 176.

Note the similarity between Filarete's and Palladio's narrative discussion of the decline of architecture. Palladio's is a continuation of the same tradition.

authority provided by these attributes that was ultimately desirable and of concern to Filarete.

As a member of the artisan class, apprenticed in Florence under the guild system, Filarete was clearly subordinate to and financially dependent upon his patron, as was the architect he described in his treatise. The architect’s role as he defined it included such diverse responsibilities as arranging for supplies and materials, hiring, supervising and paying the workforce, and generally managing the project’s expenses. Filarete’s architect, unlike Alberti’s, was not specifically a liberal arts educated designer, but rather reflected Filarete’s own experience as a supervisor of construction.

Still, within this more typical experience of the architect, Filarete does advocate a more public and prestigious role for the architect in correspondence with the growing prestige of his art. While Filarete concedes a greater role to the patron as designer than did Alberti in his treatise, he does stress that buildings are the product of the collaboration of the architect and the patron. He uses the analogy of the conception and birth of a child by a man and a woman to explain this point:

...che si come niuno per sé solo non può generare senza la donna un altro, così eziandio a similitudine lo edificio per uno solo non può essere creato, e come senza la donna non si puo fare, così colui che vuole edificare bisogna che abbia l’architetto e insieme colui ingenerarlo, e poi l’architetto partorilo e poi, partorito che l’ha, l’architetto viene a essere la madre d’esso edificio.\(^{32}\)

Granting the impetus for building as well as some credit for design to the patron, Filarete reserves for the architect the ultimate responsibility for the drawing up and physical realization of the patron’s and his own ideas.\(^{33}\) "Sanza l’architetto non si può

\(^{31}\)Filarete, Trattato, ll:fol.8r:41-42; Filarete, Treatise, p. 16.

\(^{32}\)Filarete, Trattato, ll:fol.7v:40; English trans.: “Since no one can conceive by himself without a woman, by another simile, the building cannot be conceived by one man alone. As it cannot be done without a woman, so he who wishes to build needs an architect. He conceives it with him and then the architect carries it. When the architect has given birth, he becomes the mother of the building.” Filarete, Treatise, p. 15.

\(^{33}\)Filarete, Trattato, V:fol.37v:147; Filarete, Treatise, p. 65.
generare, ne dedicare edificio che stia bene .... E perché ancora sono in rari questi scienze, e per questo ne dee essere fatto stima, però che l'uomo è detto gentile tanto quanto egli ha virtù."34

Seemingly speaking from experience, Filarete adds the practical concern that the recognition of the architect's status and worth should be validated in monetary terms as well:

Dico che l'architetto deve essere onorato e permesso di degno salario conveniente di tale scienza, perché vedendosi l'architetto essere trattato bene, sempre pensa di fare cose le quali siano utile e onore dello edificio e pensa de' vantaggi, che in uno di migliora il suo salario a uno aviso; e così per lo opposito ancora può fare di grandi danni che non sarà chi se n'avegga. Questo a ogni persona aviene: che se vede non essere meritato secondo vede che lui merita, non può avere amore all'opera, né pensare cosa che sia troppo utile.35

Following these statements, Filarete supplies an illustratory example of such a "friend" who was inadequately honoured and paid, and, as a result, lost much love for his patron...

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34 Filarete, Trattato, II:fol.9r:44-45; English trans.: "Without the architect", he argues, "one cannot conceive or dedicate a good building.... His knowledge is rare and he should be esteemed for it, because a man is called [noble] insofar as he has virtù." Filarete, Treatise, p. 18.

35 Filarete, Trattato, II:fol.9v:46-47; English trans.: "I say the architect ought to be honoured and paid a fitting salary according to his knowledge, for when the architect is treated well, he always thinks of doing things that are both useful and advantageous to the building. On the one hand he thinks of advantages that in one day surpass his salary and on the other he could do great damage without anyone knowing what had caused it. It happens to everyone that if he sees he is not valued as he knows he should be, he cannot love the work or think of things that are very useful." Filarete, Treatise, p. 19.
and his work. This example of Filarete's seems in fact to relate to Filarete's own experience in the project of the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan for his patron Francesco Sforza, where his salary was in fact reduced by one sixth. What this example demonstrates is the extent to which the practice of even a fairly well placed architect in the service of a powerful lord could differ from the theoretical positions advanced by Alberti and Filarete.

Filarete modifies but finally accepts the terms of social and political organization, and of cultural sponsorship that he experienced in the Sforza court. The social hierarchy of patron and architect is clearly evident in his definition of the architect; the Sforza, as patrons, were crucial to his own livelihood and therefore were of some consideration to his treatise. Consequently, it is not surprising to find in Book

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36Filarete writes of his "friend's" experience in his treatise: "E non fare come uno ch'io conobbi, il quale mi disse che aveva edificato uno certo edificio con grande vantaggio e utilità d'esso edificio, e quando venne alla distibusione del salario che gli era stato promesso, mi disse glie ne sbatterono il sesto. E perché lui, crendendosene essere meritato o vero migliorato, ma almeno non mancato, della promessa gli era stata fatta, ebbe grande sdegno e mancò molto dell'amore che aveva verso di quello."

"Non si vuol fare in quel modo, ma insinuato che sia pubblicato né divulgato: se pure se' avaro o che tu non possa tanto, accordati colui, perché non è tanto il danno quanto è la vergogna, che pare che sia per qualche mancamento per lui commesso, sì che gli è buono di spendere uno denaro per migliorare poi il grosso. Com'io ho detto, egli è da essere onorato quando egli è uomo che lo meriti, e così ancora tutti quelli che hanno a lavorare e a fare lavorare lo debbono ubbidire e reverire." Filarete, Trattato, I: fol.9v:47; English trans.: "He told me that he had built a certain building with great advantages and utility. When it came to the payment of the salary that had been promised him, he told me they reduced it one-sixth. He thought he should have merited or even surpassed [the full amount] but at least [they should] not have gone back on the promise that had been made him. As a result he held them in great disdain and lost much of the love felt toward them. One should never ever do this. [He should be told] before it is [made] public or divulged if you are perhaps avaricious or cannot agree on so large a sum with him. The loss is not so great as the shame, [for] it appears that [it is] through some fault committed by him. Don't be penny wise and pound foolish, I always say. He should be honoured, when he is a man who merits it." Filarete, Treatise, p. 19.

See: Spencer, 19n5, commenting on this section of Filarete's Treatise, I: fol.9v.

Catherine Wilkinson suggests in her essay, "The New Professionalism in the Renaissance", in The Architect: Chapters in the History of the Profession, ed. Spiro Kostof, (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press), p. 133, that Filarete's superior sense of his role may have lost him his position at the cathedral works by Francesco Sforza in Milan in the 1450's due to his inability to collaborate with the local builders engaged in the project.
XXV of the copy of the treatise that he dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici, a list of Cosimo's buildings, followed by the statement: "Questo mi disse el prefato venerabile padre don Timoteo, che Cosimo insieme con lui l'hanno disegnato e ordinato, principiato in modo che è una degna cosa ed eccellente luogo verrà." In Filarete's view the architect may be essential to the building process, but his role remains secondary to that of the patron, at least publicly.

Alberti's and Filarete's treatises both attempted to elevate the image of the architect, and argued for this image primarily in terms of the potential advantages of discerning architectural patronage. According to them such patronage was distinguished principally by two things: the emulation of the classical style, and the employment of skilled individuals whose virtue would reflect well upon the patron. Thus both Alberti and Filarete were describing a theoretical ideal rather than the practice they knew and experienced.

Duke Federigo da Montefeltro was perhaps the most prolific architectural patron of his generation. Like his contemporaries Lodovico Gonzaga of Mantua, Alfonso V of Naples and Francesco Sforza of Milan, Montefeltro was aware that large-scale architectural projects, such as his own at the Palace of Urbino, spoke of the patron's virtue and authoritative presence. Indeed, as mentioned, in the typical discussion of a ruler's architectural projects, the ruler himself was solely recognized and praised for the excellence and grandeur of the work completed, often with no public mention of the

37Filarete, Trattato, XXV:fol.188v:692. English trans.: "Cosimo designed it, ordered it, and began it in such a way that it is a worthy thing and will be an excellent place." Filarete, Treatise, p.323. Also see: Filarete, Trattato, II:XXV:683f. Filarete, Treatise, p. 318f.

designing architect or master builder. It is within this tradition that Montefeltro was acclaimed for his architectural skills.\(^{39}\)

The terms of a patent-letter of 1468 officially engaging Luciano Laurano to direct the works of the palace clearly state Montefeltro's recognition of the prestige won by the patron through architectural endeavors. In the letter, he explains his motives for building as: "... avendo deliberato di fare in la nostra Città d'Urbino una abitazione bella e degna quanto si conviene alla consizione e laudabil fama delli nostri progenitori, e anco alla condizion nostra."\(^{40}\) This statement is essentially consistent with the view of grand building projects as the most appropriate expression of a patron's magnificence that was presented by both Alberti and Filarete in their treatises.\(^{41}\) Architecture was a means of making a physical statement of one's position in society as a dignified, intelligent and moral citizen or ruler. The palace of Urbino, which was more than thirty years in building, was conceived of as such a statement. The palace's visual superiority over the

\(^{39}\)The practice of acknowledging the patron rather than the architect or master craftsmen is one which I have found consistently through my readings prior to the latter half of the Quattrocento and continuing beyond. E.g., Vespasiano da Bisticci's *Vite* is an example of this practice as evidenced in his *Vitae* of Federigo da Montefeltro and others. Vespasiano da Bisticci, *Le Vite*, ed. Aulo Greco (Firenze: Istituto Nazionale di Studi sul Rinascimento, 1970).


\(^{41}\)Cosimo de' Medici's precedent and the defence created for him by Timoteo Maffei of Verona, abbot of the Badia of Fiesole in his Latin Dialogue, "Against the Detractors of Cosimo de' Medici's Magnificence". In this Dialogue Maffei argues for the inherent connection between architectural patronage and the virtue of Magnificence were partly responsible for the widespread acceptance of such attitudes. See: A. D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici," esp. pp. 162-167.

Also see: Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti's treatise *De triumphis religionis*, Book V, published by Werner L. Gundersheimer in his *Art and Life at the Court of Ercole I d'Este* (Geneve: Librairie Droz, 1972), pp. 50-79.
landscape communicated Montefeltro's position of authority over his realm, announcing his magnificence to the surrounding population and to visitors as they approached the city. Anyone journeying to Urbino along the western road would see the palace as the single, grand picture of the city, while the east side, which faced the town, presented a decorative facade with spacious piazza to the citizens of Urbino. [Fig. 4]

The palace was the physical setting for Montefeltro's virtuous actions. Like a stage, his attributes and virtues of arms, letters and government were acted out upon and announced to his subjects from the commanding rise of its elegant facades. In order to present the palace as the suitable residence of a prosperous and "enlightened" regime, the outward irregularity and citadel-like character of the original construction was concealed behind a more ordered and soundly articulated facade with greater distinction between the ground floor and the piano nobile. These architectural changes in the palace were read by his biographers as evidence of the buon governo of Montefeltro's rule. For instance, of this grand complex Baldassare Castiglione writes: "...nel l'aspro sito d'Urbino edifico un palazzo, secondo la opinione di molti il più bello che in tutta l'Italia si ritrovi; ed'ogni cosa si ben lo forni, che non un palazzo, ma una città in forma di palazzo pareva." Thus, Castiglione's metaphor identifies the palace, like Montefeltro, as representative of the entire city.

42These changes corresponded to contemporary taste and theory as elaborated by Alberti in De re aedificatoria, where he states that beauty resides in the congruence of design and construction and in the resolution of problems, relating usefulness and strength in ordered and beautiful harmony.

43Baldassare Castiglione, Il Cortegiano, ed. V. Cian (Florence, 1908), Libro I, cap. ii, p. 13f.; English trans.: "...on the rugged site of Urbino a palace thought by many the most beautiful to be found anywhere in all Italy and he furnished it so well with every suitable thing that it seemed not a palace but a city in the form of a palace." Baldesar Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. Charles S. Singleton (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1959), Bk I, ch. ii, p. 13.
The period from 1468 to 1482 is often referred to as the ‘golden age’ of Urbino. Montefeltro had more wealth for patronage than any other prince in Italy, and probably in western Christendom at this time. His wealth was not a result of resources or territory or commercial ventures, but of a combination of political circumstances. Montefeltro was a condottiere of great reputation and success whose profession led to his wealth and ultimately his political and financial authority in the State. Montefeltro’s impressive architectural programme coincides with this growing military and financial success. Indeed, in many ways these projects are their physical manifestation.

Montefeltro’s architectural projects, and especially the designs for his palace are often cited as evidence of his virtuous achievements. In fact, according to Montefeltro’s biographers, the palace of Urbino revealed, two of the principal chivalric virtues: ‘magnificence’ and ‘intellect’. For instance, as evidence of Montefeltro’s chivalric character, Paltroni cites the “splendida corte e [i] magnifici e splendidi edificii.” Vespasiano stresses Montefeltro’s predilection for “l’ordine grande et le misure d’ogni cosa.”

Bernardino Baldi, another biographer, introduces the palace immediately after

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45Federigo was an outstanding condottiere captain and during the Peace of Lodi of 1454 which lasted until the French invasion of 1494, Montefeltro was paid in the 1460’s and 70’s not to fight. In 1467 the Duke of Milan and the League made him their Captain General, and his pay was 60,000 ducats a year in peace, or 80,000 in war. See: Clough, VIII:130.

Later his close contact with Pope Sixtus IV brought him great honours and rank. Sixtus made him the Knight of St. Peter, gave him the Golden Rose, raised him to the rank of the Duke of Urbino, and arranged for the marriage between Montefeltro’s daughter Giovanna and the papal nephew Giovanni della Rovere. See: Westfall, “Urbino,” 22, 23.

46Pierantonio Paltroni, Commentari della vita et gesti dell’illustissimo Federico Duca d’Urbino, a cura di Walter Tommasoli (Urbino: Accademia Raffaello, 1966), p. 40; English trans.: “the splendid court and the magnificent and splendid buildings.”

47Vespasiano, Le Vite, 382; English trans.: “the grand order and measure of every element.” [Author’s translation] Where not attributed to a published source, the English translation is that of the author.
he describes how Montefeltro had defeated Sigismondo Malatesta while in the service of Pope Pius II, and again turns to Montefeltro’s patronage of architecture along with his support and pursuit of learning, immediately after recounting Montefeltro’s investiture with the ducal title by Pope Sixtus IV.48

Thus, although he achieved fame and wealth through military expertise, Montefeltro’s image is artfully balanced between that of militaristic and learned virtues. The topos of arms tempered by letters is a recurrent theme in the biographies of him. The large portrait by Pedro Berrugue [Justus van Ghent] located among the other portraits of exemplary Men of Letters in the Palazzo Ducale, shows Montefeltro reading, while dressed in armor covered by the Robe of State, and conspicuously displaying the Orders of the Garter and Ermine. [Fig. 5] Below the lectern that holds Montefeltro’s book and the hat given him by the ambassadors of the Shah of Persia, stands Guidobaldo, his son, dressed in princely robes and holding a mace, while gazing thoughtfully into the studiolo. In such a manner, this portrait links and balances the attributes of military prowess, government and scholarship in the form of Federigo da Montefeltro and his heir, Guidobaldo. Vespasiano also presents Montefeltro as the perfect embodiment of each of his roles, when he writes,

... nel quale furono molto laudabili condizioni per uno uomo di grande autorità de’ tempi nostri, et de’ tutte le virtù si possono attribuire a un uomo prestantissimo, cominciandosi alla disciplina militare, peritissimo nella lingua latina, dotto in filosofia et [ebe] grandissima notitia delle lettere sacre et delle istorie, et non solo atissimo governatore della disciplina militare, ma maraviglioso ne’ governi d’uno grandissimo vedere ...49


49 Vespasiano, Le Vite, 353, proemio; English trans.: “Of all the abilities one is able to attribute to a most outstanding man, we begin with military discipline, the greatest expertise in the Latin language, learning in philosophy, and having the greatest knowledge of sacred writing and of history. He was not only a most able governor in military matters, but marvelous in governing in the broadest scope.”
Later Vespasiano discusses Montefeltro's learning as central to his success in his military campaigns, thus creating an interdependence between these two aspects of Montefeltro's character and justifying the less aristocratic and "enlightened" profession with the finer attributes of learning. Finally, he relates Montefeltro's building with his learning, writing, "Vegansi tutti gli edifici fatti fare da lui, l'ordine grande et le misure d'ogni cosa come l'ha oservate, et maxime il palagio suo, che in questa età non s'è fatto il più degno edificio, si bene inteso, et dove sieno tante degne cose quante in quello." 50 Vespasiano emphasizes that it was Montefeltro who directed both the general design and construction of his buildings, and that this clear demonstration of his knowledge of architecture was indicative of his learning. A discussion of the Duke's interests in geometry, arithmetic, music, sculpture and painting, and his patronage of the scholars who filled his library with all the most worthy books, including "tutte l'opere d'architettura," 51 and a brief description of the palace's studiolo and tapestries, follows the discussion of Montefeltro's architectural abilities as further evidence of his well-developed magnanimity and intellect. 52 Consequently, Montefeltro's building

50 Vespasiano, Le Vite, 382; English trans.: "We may see in the buildings he constructed, the grand style and the due measurement and proportion, especially in his palace, which has no superior amongst the buildings of the time, none so well considered, or so full of fine things." Vespasiano da Bisticci, Renaissance Princes, Popes, and Prelates: The Vespasiano Memoirs, Lives of Illustrious Men of the XVth Century, trans. William George, Emily Waters, (New York, Evanston, and London: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 100.

51 Vespasiano, Le Vite, 390; English trans.: "all the books on architecture".

52 Knowledge of the principles of architecture was considered an intellectual interest and skill worthy of the patronizing classes. The self-conscious alignment of wealthy and powerful patrons with architecture and particularly its mathematical connections was the result of current trends which saw such interests as evidence of intellectual superiority. For instance consider Filippo Redditi's eulogy of Lorenzo de' Medici dedicated to the younger Piero where he writes: "How greatly he excels in architecture! In both private and public buildings we all make use of his inventions and his harmonies. For he has adorned and perfected the theory of architecture with the highest reasons of geometry; so that he takes no mean place among the illustrious geometricians of our age; geometry being surely worthy of a prince since our minds and intellects are moved and affected by its power." E. H. Gombrich, "The Early Medici as Patrons of Art: A Survey of Primary Sources," in Italian Renaissance Studies: A Tribute to the Late Cecilia M. ADV, ed. E.F. Jacob (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 307.
programme is discussed as equally the result of his learning as of his military skill. This duality was important since virtue, as demonstrated by building, was not to appear to be solely the outcome of wealth and conquest, but also of intelligence and morality, as was the virtue of 'magnificence' defined for Cosimo de' Medici.\(^{53}\)

The significance attributed to Federigo da Montefeltro's patronage of architectural projects remains consistent with the traditional values and practice of Quattrocento Italy. Where Montefeltro's example differs from convention is in his definition of architecture and the architect featured in the patent-letter of Luciano Laurana's employment dating from 1468. The document begins as follows:

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Quelli uomini noi guidicamo dover essere onorati e commendati, li quali si trovano esser ornati d'ingegno e di virtù, e maxime di quelle virtù che sempre sono state in prezzo appresso li antiqui e moderni, com'è la virtù dell'architettura fundata in l'arte dell'arismetica e geometria, che sono delle sette arti liberali, e delle principali, perché sono in primo gradu certitudinis, e è arte di gran scienza e di grande ingegno, e da noi molto estimata e apprezzata.\(^{54}\)
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In many ways Montefeltro's claim that architecture was a Liberal Art, indeed the highest of them all, because it was based on the scientific truths of mathematics and geometry echoes Alberti's arguments in *De re aedificatoria*. Indeed, Montefeltro was probably quite conscious of the source of these statements. From the mid 1460's, the Urbino court was a focal point for such mathematically inclined personalities as Leon Battista

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\(^{53}\) While the spending of money was crucial to the virtue of 'magnificence', the practice of the virtue implied the translation of wealth into beneficent moral and intellectual qualities. See: A.D. Fraser Jenkins, "Cosimo de' Medici's Patronage of Architecture and the Theory of Magnificence," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 31 (1970), 162-170.

\(^{54}\) Cited in *Scritti*, 19-20; English trans.: "We deem as worthy of honour and commendation men gifted with ingenuity and remarkable skills, and particularly those which have always been prized by both Ancients and Moderns, as has been the skill (virtù) of architecture, founded upon the arts of arithmetic and geometry, which are the foremost of the seven liberal arts because they depend upon exact certainty. It is an art of great science and ingenuity, and much esteemed and praised by us." Cited in Chambers, 165.
Alberti, Piero della Francesca, Luciano Laurana, Francesco di Giorgio and others.  

Thus Montefeltro gained a reputation as a distinguished patron of such progressive humanist interests, and his statements were taken as further evidence of this.

The patent-letter's crediting of Luciano Laurana with a high degree of skill, intellect and responsibility for the project is also consistent with Alberti's discussion of the architect. Not only is Laurana discussed as a man of the Liberal Arts, being an architect, he is described in such elevated terms as, "...avendo per fama prima inteso e poi per esperienza veduto e conosciuto quanto l'egregio uomo maestro Luziano, ostensore di questa, sia dotto e instrutto in quest'arte." The authority granted him is also wide in scope, as explained in the following passage:

Noi avemo elletto e deputato il detto maestro Luziano per Ingegnero e Capo di tutti li maestri che lavoraranno alla dett' opera, così di murare come de' maestri d'intagliare pietre e maestri de' legnami e fabri, e d'ogn'altra persona di qualunque grado e di qualunque essercizio lavorasse alla detta opera, e così volerno, e commandamo a' detti maestri e operarii e a ciascuno eziam de' nostri ufficiali e sudditi che avessero a provedere, fare e operare alcuna cosa in la dett'opera, che al detto maestro Luziano debbano in ogni cosa obedire e far quanto per lui li sarà commandato, non altramente che alla nostra propria persona.

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55 Alberti was a regular guest at his household for many years, and Baldi, one of Montefeltro's biographers, mentions Alberti as one of Montefeltro's advisors. Ludwig H. Heydenreich, Wolfgang Lotz, Architecture in Italy, 1400-1600, trans. Mary Hottinger (Middlesex, England: Penguin Books, 1974), p. 72. For more information on the other members of the court see: Cheles, 11.

56 Cited in Scritti, 20-21; English trans.: "...having first heard by report and then by personal experience seen and known how Master Luciano, the subject of this letter, is gifted and learned in this art." Cited in Chambers, 165.

57 Cited in Scritti, 21-22; English trans.: "we have chosen and deputed the said Master Laurana to be engineer and overseer of all the master workmen employed on the said work, such as builders, carpenters, smiths and any other person of whatsoever degree, engaged in any kind of work in the said enterprise. Thus we will and ordain the said masters and workmen, and each of our officials and subjects who have anything to do with the said work, to obey the said Master Luciano in all things and perform whatever they are ordered to do by him, as though by our own person." Cited in Chambers, 165.
Thus the patent-letter voices its alliance with progressive theoretical views of architecture and the architect, and in so doing complements the patron’s familiarity with current theory and learning.

Still, biographers continue to flatter Montefeltro as the true architect of his projects. In fact, Vespasiano stresses this point when he writes:

\[\text{Aveva voluto avere notitia de' architettura, delle quale l'età sua, non dico [di] signori ma di privati, non c'era che avessi tanta notitia quanto la sua signoria. ... Bene ch'egli avessi architetti apresso della sua Signoria, nientedimeno nell'edificare intendeva il parere suo, dipoi dava et le misure et ogni cosa la sua Signoria, et pareva, a udirne ragionare la sua Signoria, che la principale arte ch'egli avessi fatta mai fussi l'architettura, in modo ne sapeva ragionare et metere in opera per lo suo consiglio...}^{58}\] (emphasis mine)

Thus in Urbino with Federigo da Montefeltro, we see both the traditional conception of the patron’s privilege of authorship and the emerging recognition of the intellectual authority of the architect. Both forms announce and justify Federigo da Montefeltro’s financial and political authority only in different contexts and according to different value systems.

It is crucial to understand that the specific circumstances of each city called for specific interpretations of the roles of architecture and the architect. Consequently, architectural projects in Florence during the late Quattrocento, with its civic and nationalistic values, addressed the unique needs of the Florentine situation. The restructuring of the city by a single dominant patron which took place in Urbino was therefore not a Florentine phenomenon; in Florence, even Medici patronage restricted itself to an elegant family palazzo and a limited number of ‘charitable’ building projects such as the Sacristy in San Lorenzo and the Library in San Marco. Rather, in Florence,

\[^{58}\text{Vespasiano, } \textit{Le Vite,} \text{ 382; English trans.: } \text{"As to architecture it may be said that no one of his age, high or low, knew it so thoroughly. ... Though he had his architects about him, he always first realized the design and then explained the proportions and all else; indeed, to hear him discourse thereon, it would seem that his chief talent lay in this art; so well he knew how to expound and carry out its principles."} (emphasis mine) \text{Vespasiano, } \textit{Renaissance Princes,} \text{ 100.}\]
the restructuring of the city and its glorification were seen as the 'collective' product of Florentine citizens. Leonardo Bruni's panegyric on fifteenth century Florence demonstrates this attitude in its explanation of the city's greatness in terms of the superiority of its citizens, saying: "Florence harbours the greatest minds; whatever they undertake they easily surpass all other men."\(^{59}\) In a similar manner, Cristoforo Landino's 1481 commentary on the famous Florentine poet, Dante, praises the artists and architects of fifteenth century Florence as significant attributes of the city's glory.\(^{60}\) And in 1492, continuing in the tradition, Marsilio Ficino boasts: "It is undoubtedly a golden age which has restored to the light the liberal arts that had almost been destroyed: grammar, poetry, eloquence, painting, sculpture, architecture, music and all that in Florence."\(^{61}\) Such statements are typical of the Florentine Humanists' articulation of their city's excellence.

Not surprisingly then, the Renaissance portrait of Filippo Brunelleschi explicitly identifies him as a citizen of Florence. In fact, Brunelleschi's biography written by Antonio di Tuccio Manetti is one of the earliest instances of the recording and celebration of an individual artist's life.\(^{62}\) The biography, written circa 1480, nearly forty years after his death, idealizes Brunelleschi and his historical experience according to the concept of the architect discussed by Alberti.

Manetti's recordings of Brunelleschi's repeated journeys to Rome to study the building methods of the ancients act as measured points of stability within the

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\(^{60}\) Cited by Rubinstein, *Age*, 37.


\(^{62}\) See Alison M. Brown, "The Humanist Portrait of Cosimo de' Medici, *Pater Patriae*," *The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 24 (1961), 186-215. This article discusses the re-writing and embellishment of Cosimo de' Medici's (a politician's vs. an artist's) life according to Republican principles and antique precedents by humanist scholars in association with the Florentine government.
biography, serving to legitimize his authority as an architect through the Antique. Likewise, Manetti’s description of Brunelleschi as an heroic individual who confronts the anonymous authority of the *Duomo Operai* and overcomes numerous ignorant and malicious competitors to emerge victorious through his compelling oratorical skills and strength of spirit conforms to contemporary Florentine humanistic ideals of the virtuous citizen. Furthermore, Manetti’s stress on Brunelleschi as the ultimate inventor of the system used in the construction of the Dome of the Cathedral of Florence should also be seen to derive, at least in part, from this period’s stress on the individual artist’s *invenzione*, an emphasis related to the Humanists’ readings of history as a progression of individual accomplishments. In fact, the biography adopts the form of Florentine humanist panegyric in many aspects, and particularly with regards to Manetti’s summarizing of Brunelleschi’s accomplishments: “*E nelle cose di Filippo se veduto per isperienza poi molte volte nel fine, che nulla si rimutato che non gli sia tolto di belleza, [ac]resciuto di spesa, e buona parte indebolito gli edifici e impediti della loro necissita.*”

Brunelleschi’s talents and achievements, like those of Dante and Giotto before him, were promoted in Florence’s honour after his death. Antique authors were often cited as historical precedents for their references to great artists’ immortalization of patron and city. Lorenzo de’ Medici, in the latter part of the Quattrocento (the period in which Manetti wrote Brunelleschi’s biography), eloquently echoed Cicero’s statements when he wrote that, “without the divine poet Homer, Achilles’ body and fame would have

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63 Antonio di Tuccio Manetti, *The Life of Brunelleschi*, intro., notes and critical text Howard Saalman, English trans. of Italian text Catherine Enggass, (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1970), p. 99; English trans.: “Experience proved in the end that nothing was subtracted from Filippo’s work without removing beauty, increasing cost, and in large measure weakening the buildings and damaging their usefulness.” Same text, 98.
been buried in one tomb together.  

In fact, Lorenzo de' Medici publicly acted according to this belief, seeing to the erection of several memorial monuments for past Florentine artists both in his role as a member of the Medici family and in his role as a member of the Signoria. To this end, a commemorative monument to Brunelleschi was commissioned from II Buggiano and erected in the Duomo.  

Benedetto da Maiano, the artist responsible for the monument made in Giotto's honour, cites Lorenzo de' Medici's motivation for the commissioning of these memorials as the immortalization of the city's greatness by making the Duomo the "Pantheon of Florence."  

Lorenzo de' Medici may have praised the superiority of Florentine artists, however, in practical terms these same individuals were expected to fill in as secretaries, tutors, messengers, baby-sitters and political servants as the need arose.  

While the celebration of artistic genius fulfilled Florentine interests, the contemporary artists' actual situation and practice were not necessarily commensurate

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64 Letter from the "Magnificent Lorenzo to the Illustrious Lord Federigo, son of the King of Naples", cited in Janet Ross, Lives of the Early Medici as Told in Their Correspondence (London: Chatto and Windus, 1910), p. 89. In this passage, Lorenzo de' Medici is clearly citing the antique republican hero, Cicero, from his Pro Archia Poeta Oratorio 24. The original Latin reads as follows: "Et vere; nam nisi ilia extitisset, idem tumulus, qui corpus eius contexerat, nomen etiam obruisset."

65 Later in 1490, as a counterpart to the already existing painted memorial to Dante, Brunelleschi's contemporary Giotto was immortalized with a relief monument similar to Brunelleschi's, in addition to monuments to the organist of the Cathedral Antonio Squarcialupi, the Neo-Platonist Marsilio Ficino, and the painter Filippino Lippi, all of whom were patronized by the Medici. See: Martin Wackernagel, The World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist: Projects and Patrons, Workshop and Art Market, trans. Allison Luchs (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1938), p. 289.


67 Hook, 129.
with the idealized image described, nor did the appearance of panegyrics to past artists serve to alter this. Despite the honour and fame that Manetti confers posthumously upon the architect, Brunelleschi's architectural practice does not conform to that portrayed. During his lifetime, his position was less secure, his expertise less recognized, and his practice less theoretical than Manetti describes. Brunelleschi's pay as an architect was equivalent to or below that of the typical master craftsman to whom Manetti gave little credit. In contrast to the theoretical model of the architect generally maintained by Manetti, Brunelleschi was required to fulfill a variety of functions directly involved with the building process. According to Manetti, Brunelleschi supervised all aspects of construction. "E non ui si metteua una piccola pietra ne uno mattone assuo tempo che non gli volesse vedere.... La diligenza, che metteva nella calcina, era maravigliosa; e andava alle fornaci in persona rispetto alle pietre d'esse che pareva d'ogni chosa maestro, cosi e mescugli delle rene con la calcina e di quello che bisogniava."68 These assertions are backed up by a record of a resolution dated the 28th of January 1426 by the Arte della Lana, (the guild in charge of the works of Florence Cathedral), which stipulates that Brunelleschi is "to stay and watch over the [construction], without any break or interval."69

Still, despite these differences between Manetti's account and the practice it claimed to describe, Brunelleschi was an exception among contemporary architects. He was not trained as an architect, but, as a goldsmith, and therefore belonged to the Arte della Seta (the Silk Guild), while as a youth he had studied geometry, mathematics and perspective according to his father's wishes. In this manner, he did fulfill some of the

68Manetti, 95; English trans.: "During his life not a small stone or brick was placed which he did not wish to examine.... The care he gave to the mortar was wonderful. He personally went to the brickyards regarding the stone and the baking, the sand and lime mixture, and whatever was required. He seemed to be the master of everything." Same text, 94.

69Cited in Chambers, 41.
attributes of the type of architect described by humanist theory. However, the fact that he was trained outside of the building trades and yet directed workers of those trades remained unusual and not easily accepted in this period. The potential conflict of the situation is illustrated by an incident which took place in August of 1434. Just when the cupola was nearing completion, the heads of the stone masons guild, the *Arte dei maestri di pietre*, had Brunelleschi imprisoned on the charge that he had never paid annual dues. In other words, he was punished for practicing as an architect while not being a member of the guild. The *operai* of the cathedral clearly did not agree with these actions, and retaliated by having the guild master thrown into prison.  

This disagreement, although shortly resolved, suggests that the architect-designer described in theory had very little to do with current practice.

The posthumous elevation of Brunelleschi as the ideal Florentine architect ideal served the interests and needs of his patrons within the historical and political situation of Florence.  

Here, the artist's image, and not simply his work, provided authority to the patron that commissioned them, in this case the Florentine Signoria. Although he did not possess that authority in practice, it is evident in his representation.

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71 Diane Finiello Zervas has shown in her article, "Filippo Brunelleschi's Political Career," *Burlington Magazine*, 121 (1979), 630-639, that Brunelleschi's family connections with Florence's most powerful magistrates aided in his frequent membership in Florentine civic councils between 1400-1432, and that this active involvement in the outer councils of Florentine politics significantly contributed to his architectural appointments for the city. While Zervas' research demonstrates that Bramante was active in Florentine politics, it actually calls into question Manetti's characterization of him as the classical architect ideal, by suggesting that his appointment to these councils was less through personal ability that through his father's influence; and that his architectural appointments were less due to his practical experience than his growing political contacts with the governing bodies for these civic projects. The authority Brunelleschi had in practice (described by Zervas), and the authority ascribed to him posthumously by Manetti are fundamentally different. The one, practically applied in the advancement of his career; the other, a theoretical re-reading of his practice.
It is important to re-emphasize at this point that the Renaissance’s interest in Antiquity was not simply as a subject of humanist scholarship. Rather, it was a matter of the potential use of these ideas, which decided when, where, how and by whom humanist concepts were adopted. In the case of Rome, these concepts became more widely adopted during the mid-fifteenth century by the papacy and Roman nobles. Ludwig Pastor comments that while in Florence the interest in antiquities had flourished throughout the fifteenth century, it was not until the latter half of the century that the interest truly awoke in Rome, where, in “fertile soil”, it developed rapidly. As opposed to the Florentine example, the Humanists of the Roman papal court identified the Empire rather than the Republic as their heroic model. Considering that the papacy saw civic government in Rome as a challenge to their centralized authority, the celebration of the Roman Republic would not serve papal interests as it had served those of the Florentine Republic. Rather, the notions of centralized, imperialistic power associated with the Roman Empire were more appropriate to the ‘universal’ aspirations of the Catholic Church. The papal Humanists sought to reinforce such equations by normalizing contemporary Rome’s associations with ancient Rome, arguing that the classical manner, particularly in architecture, was more relevant in Rome than elsewhere. Firstly, the historical and architectural legacy of the Roman Empire specifically aligned the city of Rome and, by association, the papacy with the most progressive phase of contemporary culture: the classical revival. Secondly, the continued reference to the all’antica style in modern projects (painting and sculpture as well as architecture) reinforced the


historical and ideological link to the city's past glories. In Rome the architectural restoration of the city, according to the humanist rhetoric of the papal court, was the proper domain of the papacy as heir to the Eternal City. Furthermore, as papal commissions, the Humanists discussed these works as evidence of the renewed glory of the Roman Empire under the beneficent rule of Christianity. In accordance with such concepts, a manuscript illumination from Saint Augustine's *De civitate Dei* dating from 1459 actually depicts the present city of Rome as the new City of God. [Fig. 7] Despite such representations, rhetorical and otherwise, in actual fact, the recently returned papacy was faced with a sprawling, disjointed and basically unplanned city whose random, convoluted growth effectively resisted efforts of uniform control and government. The restructuring of the cityscape through architectural projects and policy was, therefore, a priority for the papacy which sought to order and govern it.

Alberti had dedicated his treatise on architecture to his patron the great papal builder of the mid-fifteenth century, Pope Nicholas V. Nicholas V, a respected Humanist and a Florentine citizen, recognized the value of architecture as a tool of propaganda and control, and used it to strengthen the Holy See's authority once the decades of economic instability had subsided. His building projects focussed upon three major sites with

74 Flavio Biondo's *Roma instaurata*, (circa mid-fifteenth century), in particular emphasizes the papacy (of Pope Nicholas V) as successor to the Roman Empire and the city of Rome as the centre of the Universal Church. Fienga, 18.

historic and political significance to both the City of the Caesars, and the City of God. He initiated building projects on the Capitoline, (the historic centre of Roman civic government);\textsuperscript{76} restructured the Borgo Leonine, Vatican and S. Celso area, (the environs of the papal court and Curia, new residence of the Pope, and the residence of the Florentine bankers who funded the papacy); and initiated the rebuilding of the Constantinian basilica of St. Peter's (the seat of the Catholic Church).\textsuperscript{77} These projects were both secular and non-secular in scope and demonstrated the papacy's growing authority and interest in both realms.

In his famous deathbed speech of 1455, Nicholas V eloquently expresses those arguments made by architectural theoreticians such as Alberti according to the needs and ambitions of the Roman Papacy. Giannozzo Manetti, his biographer, records him as saying:

Only the learned who have studied the origin and development of the authority of the Roman Church can really understand its greatness. Thus, to create solid and stable convictions in the minds of the uncultured masses, there must be something which appeals to the eye; a popular faith, sustained only on doctrines, will never be anything but feeble and

\textsuperscript{76}Pope Nicholas V recognized the intimate connection between Rome's physical order and its political order. His physical restoration of the Capitoline area to its previous dignified and orderly state was part of a larger program to restore Rome to its ancient splendour both physically and politically. This particular restoration of the Palazzo del Senatore and Palazzo dei Conservatori of the Capitoline did not signal the restoration of independent civic government in Rome; Nicholas V rebuilt the Capitoline by virtue of his own apostolic authority, and not in recognition of the rights of Roman citizens. Its restoration was important to his program in that it was a significant and powerful symbol of Ancient Rome which had fallen into a state of decay. At the same time, Nicholas was also rebuilding the Castel Sant'Angelo, the symbol of a higher, papal level of justice, which physically and politically dominated the Palazzo del Senatore of the Capitoline. See: Carroll William Westfall, \textit{In this Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V. and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning in Rome. 1447-55} (University Park, [Pennsylvania]: The University of Pennsylvania State Press, 1974), 70f.

vacillating. But if the authority of the Holy See were visibly displayed in majestic buildings, imperishable memorials and witnesses seemingly planted by the hand of God Himself, belief would grow and strengthen from one generation to another, and all the world would accept and revere it. Noble edifices combining taste and beauty with imposing proportions would immensely conduce to the exaltation of the chair of St. Peter....

Such a declaration by a patron registers architecture's growing recognition as a means of conveying prestige and policy. However, while Nicholas V's architectural projects were praised by Giannozzo Manetti as aggrandizing the city of Rome, the papacy, and himself, Alberti, who is generally considered to be the architect of the project's conception and design, is accorded no public role in conveying the architecture's prestigious reception as was Brunelleschi, at least posthumously, in Florence. In fact, in writing that Nicholas had designed his own projects and "conceived such buildings in mind and spirit" , Manetti excluded the possibility of recognizing the actual architect-designer of the project. This more traditional recording of architectural patronage is continued in Vespasiano's 1480's biography of Pope Nicholas V where he writes:


80 While Manetti makes no mention of Alberti in connection with Nicholas' building projects, it is interesting to note that Vasari, writing considerably later in the mid-sixteenth century mentions both Alberti and Bernardo Rossellino. In Alberti's "Vita", Vasari explains: "onde il Pontefice, col parere dell'uno [Alberti] di questi duoi e collesseguire dell'altro [Bernardo Rossellino] face molte cose utili e degne de esser lodate,..." Vasari, Le Vite, III:286; English trans.: "Thus the Pope, by following the advice of one of them [Alberti] and the execution of the other [Rossellino], carried out many useful and praiseworthy things." Vasari, Lives, I:347. According to Vasari's versions, the Pope's role is limited to the patronage of skilled advisors and executors as advocated by Alberti in his treatise. The contrast between Manetti and Vespasiano as opposed to Vasari, concerning Nicholas V's architectural projects is a matter of the interests and emphases of their respective historical periods. In fact, the contrast is directly evident in Vespasiano's and Vasari's versions of Cosimo de' Medici's architectural patronage where Vespasiano omits to mention the architect, giving sole credit to Cosimo, while Vasari identifies Michelozzo as Cosimo's right-hand man and architect.
Vespasiano's association of Nicholas V's building projects with those of the Roman Emperors was not accidental. The association of the glories of Ancient Rome with the restored Roman papacy had long been fostered by the papal humanists as a potent mating of history and papal authority. In fact, under Pope Nicholas V's pontificate, two works on ancient Rome by distinguished humanists were produced and dedicated to him: Poggio Bracciolini's *De varietate fortunae* and Flavio Biondo's *Roma instaurata*. In both of these works, the link between classical Rome, as preserved in the ancient monuments, and contemporary Rome under Pope Nicholas V are explicitly stated.

Rome was a cosmopolitan city without a unified citizenry. Its inhabitants included the scholars, labourers and merchants of Europe, with their scattered alliances. Thus, Rome lacked the cohesive patriotic base on which a city such as Florence could draw. Rather, in Rome, the marriage of humanist scholarship and classical architecture formed the basis of papal ideology. This association was essential to the stabilization of the papacy's authority in Rome and Europe and both elements figured largely in the projects undertaken during the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV.

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81 Vespasiano, *Le Vite*, 70-71; English trans.: "Pope Nicholas did builder's work in several of the Roman churches, especially to be noted is the wonderful structure he erected in St. Peter's, which would hold the whole Roman court, and in all the churches of the country he did marvellous works, concerning which Messer Giannozzo Manetti has written in his life of the Pope. *The building which he carried out would have sufficed for the activity of one of those Roman Emperors who ruled the entire world...*" (emphasis mine) Vespasiano, *Renaissance Princes*, 51-52.

82 Fienga, 17.

83 Pope Sixtus IV's architectural policies were an important model and precedent for his nephew Giuliano della Rovere during his own early sixteenth century pontificate as Pope Julius II.
Although a member of the Franciscan Order and trained in Scholastic theology, Sixtus IV, following the example of his predecessor Nicholas V, adopted many humanist-oriented activities during his pontificate. As Humanism had become the voice used to justify papal rule in Rome, it was essential to papal legitimacy that Sixtus IV also be seen to patronize humanist scholars and artists.

Melozzo da Forli’s fresco (1474-77) depicting Pope Sixtus IV appointing the Humanist, Platina, as Vatican Librarian acts as a visual affirmation of these concerns. [Fig. 8] Framed within the classically inspired architecture of the new library commissioned by Sixtus to house his collections of books and manuscripts, Sixtus’ four nephews, including the centrally located young Giuliano della Rovere (Pope Julius II), look on while Platina receives his post from the enthroned Sixtus. Kneeling at the feet of Sixtus, Platina points to the Latin inscription below him. While this inscription was written by Platina to commemorate the opening of the Papal Library and his appointment as Papal Librarian, it is significant that it uses the high humanist tone of the occasion to praise Sixtus IV’s architectural achievements in general:

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\text{Templa, domum expositis, vicos, fora, moenia, pontes,} \\
\text{Virgineam trivii quod repararis aquam,} \\
\text{Prisca licet nautis statuas dare commoda portus,} \\
\text{Et Vaticanum cingere, Sixte, iugum,} \\
\text{Plus tamen Urbs debet; nam quae squalore latebat} \\
\text{Cernitur in celebri Bibliotheca loco.} \\
\]

Sixtus IV engaged in the architectural restructuring of Rome with fervor. Indeed, so much so that his building achievements exceeded the unfulfilled projects of Nicholas V. Sixtus oversaw the construction of the Sistine Chapel, a hospital, seven new

\[84\text{Stinger, 9.}\]

\[85\text{Cited by James Ackerman, "The Planning of Renaissance Rome, 1450–1580," in Rome in the Renaissance: The City and the Myth, ed. P.A. Ramsey (Binghamton, New York: Centre for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1982), p. 8; English trans.: "You gave your city temples, streets, squares, fortifications, bridges and restored the Acqua Virgine as far as the Trevi; you managed to give the sailors a port, and to girdle the Vatican with a Sistine yoke. The city owes you even more: now the Library that had lapsed into squalor is exhibited in this famed place." Same text, 8.} \]
churches, (including the reconstruction of nearly forty others), and the first modern bridge over the Tiber. Furthermore, in 1480, to facilitate his architectural programme, Sixtus IV passed a bull which gave the papacy sweeping powers to expropriate private property, widen streets, and tax residents for enterprises undertaken within their neighborhoods such as the paving and cleaning of streets and piazzas. In this manner he facilitated travel as well as papal control throughout the city.

These projects were celebrated in inscriptions on the Capitoline, the Ponte Sisto and various other sites around the city as the restoration of Rome as *caput mundi*. Typical of this construction is Aurelio Lippo Brandolini's statement on Sixtus' work in Rome: "*Imprimisque urbs Roma terrarum caput: quae tua singulari beneficentia, Sixte, Pontifex benignissime, ita tota instaurata atque exornata est ut de integro pene tota videatur condita.*" Likewise, the encyclopedist Raffaello Maffei's statement that Sixtus "made Rome from a city of brick into a city of stone, just as Augustus of old had turned the stone city into marble," is typical of the dominant message connecting Sixtus' building with that of Imperial Rome. Beyond inscriptions and written documents, several papal medals were also struck, including one showing the Pope's

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86 Ackerman, "The Planning of Renaissance Rome," 7-11.

87 Fr. Aurelio Lippo Brandolini, Cod. Vat. Lat. 5008, f.46. Cited by Egmont Lee, *Sixtus IV and Men of Letters* (Roma: Edizioni di Storia e Letteratura, 1978), p. 124; English trans.: "This city Rome, head of the world, through your singular beneficence, Sixtus [IV], ... is so entirely restored and adorned that it seems almost founded anew." Brandolini was one of Sixtus IV's favourite poets.

The furthering of papal interests was the aim of these actions. By ordering the city through publicly oriented architectural projects associated directly with himself, Pope Sixtus IV consolidated his temporal authority and control within the city, and impressed upon the crowds of pilgrims that Rome was indeed the true capital of the Universal Church.

* * *

Together the examples presented constitute a discussion on the architect and architecture conducted in the common language of Humanism as spoken by different voices to different ends. When in 1503 Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was elected Pope Julius II, he too articulated a position in dialogue with these precedents to determine a construction commensurate with his own requirements. Bramante's role as Papal Architect and the conception of his architectural projects address the particular needs of the Julian Papacy. In the following chapters, I propose to explore the relationship between Bramante's historical situation and the construction of his image.

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CHAPTER TWO
THE HISTORICAL CONSTRUCTION OF BRAMANTE AS IDEAL ARCHITECT

Donato Bramante (1444–1514) is generally identified in art history as the quintessential High Renaissance architect. Over the centuries his name has been implicitly associated with an architectural vocabulary -- monumental scale, classical design and grand vaulted spaces -- which has come to characterize High Renaissance Rome. In fact, it is often argued that he symbolizes the architectural achievements of the period much as Michelangelo and Raphael symbolize its sculpture and painting. For instance, Peter Murray’s introduction to Arnaldo Bruschi’s *Bramante* is typical in its sweeping praise: "The grand manner was born" he writes, "and Bramante alone was the founder of this new, revolutionary manner."¹ This is Bramante’s "image": an image constructed around the established notions of architectural ‘genius’ and cultural ‘rebirth’ associated with the Renaissance.

To a certain extent this dominant image of Bramante, in its preoccupation with the intellectual prestige of architecture, can be seen as continuous with the earlier discussions on the architect outlined in Chapter One. At the same time, however, Bramante’s image is an informed synthesis and development of these precedents. Unlike the earlier cases, Bramante is publicly posited by his patron and biographers as the practical realization in a specific, historical individual of what had been hitherto restricted to theory. Yet, while his image is constructed in line with the theoretical ideal, it is simultaneously constructed in opposition to the practicing norm. Indeed, Bramante’s departure from the norm is as crucial to the notion of his genius as is his

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adherence to the ideal, for both constructions define him as exceptional and therefore superior. The literature on Bramante, both modern and of the period, often uses his contemporary, the architect Giuliano da Sangallo, as the standard against which to compare Bramante. The reasoning behind this comparison needs to be considered. While Sangallo and Bramante were of the same generation, worked under similar conditions, and for patrons of the same rank (e.g. both worked for Julius II in Rome), Sangallo’s reputation in the literature never matched Bramante’s and even decreased in later centuries while Bramante’s reputation rose. What criteria resulted in the diverse reputations of these two architects? What made Bramante increasingly famous and worthy of acclaim in the eyes of theoreticians and art historians and Sangallo less so? This chapter will focus upon these issues in order to examine how Bramante’s image was constructed and ultimately how this construction transformed architectural theory into architectural history.

* * *

When considering the records on Bramante, the tendency of the chroniclers has been to read his life ‘backwards’ from the height of his celebrity as Papal Architect to Pope Julius II (1503–13). To write with the end always in view is characteristic of most biographies, and its effects on the accounts are significant. For instance, since most readings of Bramante’s activities begin from the initial assumption of his imminent destiny as a successful architect, his early history is generally related as a series of career developments which roughly correspond with the expected education and experiences of such an individual. Therefore, although Bramante was not engaged in

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2 Giuliano da Sangallo was born in 1443 and Donato Bramante in 1444. Sangallo, like Bramante, worked as an architect throughout Italy for such patrons as Lorenzo de’ Medici, the Duke of Calabria, Ludovico Sforza and on several occasions for Giuliano della Rovere, both before and after he was elected Pope Julius II.

3 As mentioned in Chapter One, this form of developmental narrative is also typical of the humanist construction of history as the accomplishments of significant individuals who themselves are seen to develop as microcosms of the larger history.
any significant architectural commissions in his early years, his training and
experience in Urbino and Lombardy, principally in the Montefeltro and Sforza courts,
figure largely in these later accounts. Specific biographical features of his childhood,
initial training, and shift to architecture are selected, elaborated, and even fabricated by
these chroniclers as the foundations of his celebrated architectural career in Rome.

Vasari's biography of Bramante in the *Vite* of 1550, provides the reader with
what he deems to be the pertinent details of Bramante's early education. According to
Vasari, as a youth Bramante showed diligence in reading, writing and a special
inclination for mathematics, or the abacus. His father, we are told, recognizing the
boy's talents and delight in drawing, guided him toward the art of painting, and, while
still a child, apprenticed him to Fra Bartolomeo Corradini, also known as Fra Carnevale
da Urbino, a painter and architect in the court of Urbino.4 In his *De re aedificatoria*,
Alberti had identified both painting and mathematics as important prerequisites for the
training of an architect, with design and drawing aiding in the transcription of the plan
and its conception, and mathematics serving the work's fundamental harmonies and
structure.5 These skills were strongly associated with the prestigious Liberal Arts
among which architectural theorists sought to include architecture. Consequently, the
inclusion of Bramante's propensity for and early training in these foundational Liberal
Arts was crucial to his image as the ideal architect within Vasari's *Vite*.

Although there is little specific evidence of Bramante's activities in Federigo da
Montefeltro's court at Urbino, his education there is frequently explained in terms of the
influence of specific court artists and scholars. Such notable individuals as Leon Battista

4Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite de' più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori: nelle redazioni
del 1550 e 1568*, testo Rosanna Bettarini, commento secolare Paola Barocchi, 6 vols.

James Leoni of Cosimo Bartoli's Italian trans. in modern edition (London: Alec Tiranti,
1955), Bk.IX, ch.x, 207.
Alberti, Luciano Laurana, Francesco di Giorgio and Luca Pacioli, with their varying degrees of expertise and knowledge in mathematics, painting and architecture are mentioned as significant influences in Bramante's formation as an architect during his years in Urbino. Not coincidentally, I think, these chosen figures were generally regarded as leading architectural theorists. Giovanni Santi, 'later to be the father of Raphael', and Melozzo da Forli, 'the painter of the Vatican fresco showing Pope Sixtus IV naming Platina as Papal Librarian', are also identified by Bramante's biographers as having worked with Bramante on the Duke's studiolo at Urbino. Like the others, they are included because they are seen to foreshadow Bramante's later association with the Papal Court in Rome. Another chronicler, Fra Sabba Castiglione, a younger contemporary of Bramante's, recorded that Bramante was a disciple of Mantegna and became proficient in the art of perspective practiced by Piero della Francesca who was also resident at the Urbino court around this time. Perhaps due to the appropriateness of such associations for the ideal architect, subsequent writers have repeated these

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7Giovanni Santi and Melozzo da Forli are generally identified in the writings on Bramante in the terms used here. For instance see: André Chastel, Italian Art, trans. Peter and Linda Murray (London: Faber and Faber, 1963), pp. 180-1.

8Fra Sabba Castiglione, a native Milanese and cleric who served as the Procurator general of the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher, was well informed about the Milanese milieu and the art of his city. When he transferred to Rome in 1508 (where he remained until after Bramante's death in 1514), his position in the order gave him access to the Papal Court and brought him in contact with the "artistic Renaissance" under Julius II. Doris Diana Fienga, "The Antiquarie Prospetiche Romane composte per Prospecto Melanese Depictore: A Document for the Study of the Relationship between Bramante and Leonardo da Vinci," diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1970, p. 196n2. Of Bramante Castiglione wrote: "... discepolo del Mantegna et gran prospectivo, come creato di Piero del Borgo." Fr. S. Castiglione, Ricordi, 139, cited by Fienga, 76.
somewhat tenuous claims. The influence of Mantegna upon Bramante is generally called
upon to explain Bramante's facility with architectural illusionism and classical motifs,
while the model of Piero della Francesca presumably accounts for Bramante's profound
understanding of mathematical perspective and geometry. Similarly, Arnaldo Bruschi's
more recent description of Bramante's training in Urbino refers to the court as the
centre of "mathematical humanism" and of a "civilization of perspective", and therefore
as an appropriate site for Bramante to have begun his architectural career.\textsuperscript{9}

Thus, according to the larger picture of Bramante's history, Urbino was
identified as the place where he received the rudiments of his discipline, which, not
coincidentally, aligned with the theoretical ideal.\textsuperscript{10} Bramante's biographers were not
concerned with what he produced in Urbino, but with the opportunities provided there
for his architectural education. Painting, design, perspective, geometry, mathematics,
and his exposure to humanist learning as well as to great artists and intellectuals,
provided the foundation in the Liberal Arts necessary to Bramante's artistic identity.

However, while Bramante's liberal arts training conforms to the education of the
architect set out in current theory, it does not correspond with the prevailing
experience within the building trades. The majority of builders, including Giuliano da
Sangallo, were trained in skills such as masonry and carpentry. Sangallo apprenticed in
wood-working and carpentry before beginning his career as an architect. But practical
training in the more mechanical aspects of building was deemed inappropriate for the
ideal architect; Vasari's comments on architectural design state quite clearly that
structural concerns were unworthy of the architect's expertise and knowledge:

\textit{...i disegni di quella [architettura] non sono composti se non di linee; il
che non è altro, quanto all’architetto, ch’ il principio e la fine di}

\textsuperscript{9}Bruschi, \textit{Bramante}, 16.

\textsuperscript{10}NB: In keeping with this construction, Chapter One of Bruschi, \textit{Bramante}, 15f. is
etitled "Early Life: Urbino apprenticeship".
According to the revival of this classical ideal, the true architect emerges not from the mason's workshop with its long apprenticeship in building technique, but from painting, design and similar, more 'intellectual' pursuits. As the majority of information on Sangallo and other Renaissance artists is the product of the recorded judgements of such individuals as Alberti, Vespasiano and Vasari, these particular biases are common to most artists' biographies of the period. For instance, Benvenuto Cellini writes of the architectural status of Antonio da Sangallo, who had trained in carpentry: "Ma per non essere stato né scultore, né pittore, anzi maestro di legname solamente, però non si vidde mai di lui nelle sue opere di architettura una certa nobil virtù." Because of his training, Antonio da Sangallo is ranked inferior to Bramante, as others ranked his uncle, Giuliano da Sangallo. According to Cellini's criteria, a liberal arts background fosters the intellectual thought necessary for architectural design which is the distinguishing ability of the true architect. In a more general sense, such skills signify the elite, intellectual values attributed to this newly redefined art. Carpentry, in contrast, associated with the manual skills of artisans, and therefore the Mechanical Arts, represents the opposite, 'baser' tradition from which architectural theorists were

\[\text{\textsuperscript{11}}\text{Vasari, }\textit{Le Vite}, 1:112, \text{also see 111f.}; \text{English trans.: } "...[architectural] designs are not composed if not by lines; that is, as much as concerns the architect, the beginning and the end of that art, because the rest, by means of wooden models taken from the said lines, is no more than the work of unskilled labourers and bricklayers."\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{12}}\text{Antonio da Sangallo, although trained in carpentry, is said to have exceeded Giuliano da Sangallo by virtue of the fact that he learned design under the guidance of Bramante in his Vatican workshop.}\]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{13}}\text{Benvenuto Cellini, }\textit{Discorso della architettura}, \textit{Opere di Benvenuto Cellini} (Torino: Editrice Torinese, 1971), p. 816; \text{English trans.: } "But because he had been neither a sculptor nor a painter, but rather only a master of carpentry; for this reason one never sees a sign in his work of that certain noble character (\textit{virtù})..."\]

Cellini's reference to the importance of sculpture to the architect's profession (which is less common than the reference to the importance of painting or \textit{disegno}) is most likely included in reference to Michelangelo whom he admired as an architect.
attempting to disassociate architecture. Vesari's engravings for the second edition (1568) of his *Vite* visually register this distinction. In Bramante's portrait, the muse of painting, engaged in her art, surmounts an elaborate architectural frame upon the base of which two putti, holding the architectural attributes of compass, set square and building plans, are seated. [Fig. 9] Antonio da Sangallo's portrait, on the other hand, is simpler; only the muse of architecture appears holding compass and set square and

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14 Part of the reason for Cellini's attitude can be seen in the developing notion of architecture as an intellectual and abstract pursuit, indeed as the most abstract of the arts being closely related to mathematics and geometry. This is the conception of architecture lauded by Federigo da Montefeltro in his patent letter for Luciano Laurana: "...com'e la virtù dell'architettura fundata in l'arte dell'arismetica e geometria che sono delle sette arti liberali, e delle principali, perché sono in primo gradu certitudinis, ed è arte di gran scienza e di grande ingegno, e da noi molto estimata apprezzata." [Scritti Rinascimentali di Architettura, ed. Arnaldo Bruschi, Corrado Maltese, Manfredo Tafuri, Renato Bonelli (Milano: Edizioni il Polifilo, 1978), pp. 19-20.] Certainly arithmetic and geometry were among the traditional scientific foundations of architecture and had been throughout the Middle Ages. However, with the Humanist revival of a classically based theory of architecture, and the sciences in general, such skills and knowledge were enjoying an elevated reputation as pursuits worthy of 'enlightened' princes and scholars. According to this theoretical conception of architecture, the universal laws of science applied as much to the structure of the natural world as they did to the frame of the perfect building. Leonardo da Vinci, Francesco di Giorgio, Cesare Cesarino and Luca Pacioli among others conceived of an idealized architecture which they saw as three dimensional, organic structures or *macchina*, which they compared to the human body, and ultimately to the perfect ordering of the cosmos. [See: Rudolf Wittkower, *Architectural Principles in the Age of Humanism* (University of London: The Warburg Institute, 1949); also George L. Hersey, *Pythagorean Palaces: Magic and Architecture in the Italian Renaissance* (London: Cornell University Press, 1976).] Michelangelo's statement "there is no question but that architectural members reflect the members of Man, and whoever has not been or is not a good master of the [human] figure and likewise of anatomy cannot understand [anything of them] ....." [From letter from Michelangelo, supposedly to Cardinal Rodolf Pio of Carpi, Milanese, c. 1560: cited by James S. Ackerman, "Architectural Practice in the Italian Renaissance," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, XIII-3 (October 1954), 3n4. See also: James S. Ackerman, "Michelangelo's 'Theory' of Architecture": Chapter 1, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 37-52] argues for the implicit relation made between architecture, the liberal arts of painting and sculpture and the new "universal" learning in general. According to this reasoning, the basis of architecture, and therefore its field of study, were the universal principles which governed man and the cosmos. A truly beautiful and universal architecture was therefore believed to share the same principles according to which man and his environment were created. Architecture was thus a microcosm of the larger macrocosm. Clearly, such reasoning was highly theoretical and characteristic of a highly educated and elite group.
seated upon the architectural frame.\textsuperscript{15} [Fig. 10] While Bramante's apprenticeship in painting is acknowledged, Sangallo's training in carpentry is excluded as if unworthy of the art.

For the most part, Bramante's biographers describe his activities and experiences after Urbino and prior to Rome according to this same set criteria for architectural genius. Around 1475, according to Vasari, "\textit{perché egli sempre si dilettò de l'architettura e de la prospettiva}"; Bramante left Urbino for Lombardy.\textsuperscript{16} Bramante's biographers speculate on his travels through Ferrara, Padua and Mantua on his way to Milan as opportunities for contact with the humanist learning of the northern courts and with the variety of architectural styles to be seen in these cities.\textsuperscript{17}

Bramante's stay in Milan spans some two decades yet it is summarized by Vasari simply by noting that "\textit{considerata che egli ebbe questa fabbrica e conosciuti questi ingegneri, si inanì di sorte che egli si risolve del tutto darsi a l'architettura; laonde partitosi da Milano, se ne venne a Roma innanzi lo Anno Santo del MD.}"\textsuperscript{18} However, other chroniclers, and especially Milanese biographers who have a greater interest in Bramante's association with the city, elaborate further on this period as the beginning of

\textsuperscript{15}Interestingly, Vasari has used the same engraving for both Antonio da Sangallo's: Giuliano's brother (1455-1534) and Giuliano's nephew (1485-1546).


\textsuperscript{17}Several biographers, including Ludwig Heydenreich, speculate that Bramante would have stopped in Mantua to see Alberti's churches of S. Sebastiano and S. Andrea which were in the process of being built in Mantua at the time of his travels. See: Heydenreich, "Leonardo and Bramante," 126.

\textsuperscript{18}Vasari, \textit{Le Vite}, IV:76; English trans.: "after an examination of the Duomo (of Milan) and having met these masters, he [Bramante] determined to devote himself entirely to architecture." Vasari, \textit{Lives}, II:184.
his architectural career and experiments for his work in Rome. Thus Bramante's
experience in Milan, as in Urbino, is described as a *curriculum vitae* for his ultimate
achievements in Rome. However in Milan, Bramante is given a more active role in his
development, since here, his works themselves are described as evidence of his latent
genius.

In Milan, Bramante's opportunities to meet and work with specific significant
individuals of the court as a peer rather than a student is emphasized. Lodovico Sforza,
like his contemporary Federigo da Montefeltro, surrounded himself with an entourage of
Humanists, poets, historians, mathematicians, musicians and artists. Those generally
named in connection with Bramante include Caradosso (Christoforo Foppa), an
antiquarian and medalist, Antonio Cammelli and Gaspare Visconti, humanist poets,
Jacomo Andrea da Ferrara and Cesare Cesariano, experts on Vitruvius and architectural
theory, Leonardo da Vinci, an engineer, theorist and painter, and Luca Pacioli and
Francesco di Giorgio, mathematical and architectural theorists formerly of the Urbino
court. Such names and talents gave luster to the Sforza Court in Milan and, according
to Bramante's biographers, to the architect as well. For instance, at the end of the
fifteenth century, the Sforza court in Milan became the centre for studies in a

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For example, in his *Storia di Milano* of 1570 Gaspare Bugati Domenicano claims
Bramante as the city's own, writing, "Lodovico il Moro amò grandemente Bramante
Donato o Donnino Bramante al nobil uomo il Signor Marchese Antaldo Antaldi Patrizio
Urbinate* (Roma: Dalla Tipografia Ferretti, 1836), p. 47. Several books and articles
have compiled records of Bramante's activities under Ludovico Sforza in Milan and its
environs. See L. Beltrami, *Bramante a Milano. Nuovi Documenti*, (Milan, 1912); Peter
Murray, "Bramante milanese", *Arte lombarda*, VII (1962), 25-42; Richard Schofield,
"Lodovico il Moro and Vigevano," *Arte lombarda*, LXII (1982), 93-140.
Still today, in fact, there are disputes over which location will have the honour of being
Bramante's birthplace. For an interesting, but not entirely critical view of this ongoing
debate. See: Fert Sangiorgi, *Bramante "hastrubaldino": Documenti per una biografia
bramantesca*, a cura del Comitato Nazionale per le Celebrazioni Bramantesche sotto
l'alto patronato del Presidente della Repubblica (Urbino, Fermignano: Stabilimento
Tipografico Editoriale Urbinate, 1970).

Bruschi, *Bramante*, 51; also Fienga, 91-104.
mathematically based, architectural theory developed by Leonardo da Vinci, Luca Pacioli, Francesco di Giorgio and Cesare Cesariano. The coincidence of these developments in the Milanese court and Bramante’s presence there is often cited in his biographies as confirmation of his own theoretical interests and facility. While there is evidence for Bramante’s friendship and working association with Leonardo and Cesariano, there is no concrete evidence of his personal engagement with these theories. Likewise, there is no evidence for Anton Francesco Doni’s assertion of 1555 that Bramante had compiled a work on classical elements, Cinque Libri della Architettura, and another, Practica, on proportional harmonies in architecture. Nevertheless, biographers repeat the claim as evidence of Bramante’s literary and classical architectural knowledge. The presence of Caradosso who was renown for his knowledge of and interest in antiquities is also introduced into Bramante’s records as an influential factor in his classical interests as an architect. Caradosso’s sketches, antique medals and purchase of Roman antique sculpture for the Milanese court are cited as probable models for Bramante’s classical vocabulary. According to this selective use of the sources, the interests in Antiquity, architecture, and mathematics represented by these figures in the Milanese court are recounted as a sort of pedigree for Bramante’s Roman architecture.


For instance, A.F. Doni, Libraria Seconda, 1555, pp. 44–5; cited by Wittkower, Architectural Principles, 13n1; and Fienga, 94–95.

In 1495, after the expulsion of the Medici, Ludovico Sforza commissioned the medalist and antiquarian Caradosso to journey to Florence to acquire works of antique art from their collection. However, since the Medici possessions had already been dispersed, Caradosso proceeded to Rome. In Rome he purchased a Leda in marble which he brought back to the Milanese court. See: Pungileoni, 84; Fienga, 177.
Another element which consistently emerges in these biographies is Bramante's literary talents as a poet and Dante scholar. Discussed by classical authors and contemporary humanists as a superior intellectual endeavour and a Liberal Art, poetry was considered an admirable pursuit for the ideal architect. Consequently, Bramante's knowledge of poetry is enlisted as further testimony to his intellectual achievements.

Bramante's work as a painter is also favourably discussed in terms of his later architectural practice. Although this background clearly did not prepare him to build, as did Sangallo's training in carpentry, it did prepare him for the architect's most challenging undertaking, disegno. Consequently, Bramante's painted works are linked by his biographers to his architectural talents. For instance, writing during the third quarter of the sixteenth century, Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo repeatedly praises Bramante's painting in terms of its perspectival illusionism, proportions and classical style. The Anonimo Morelliano also praises Bramante for these skills as evidenced in his portrayal

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24 Some twenty three poetic compositions by Bramante have survived in two manuscripts. One manuscript is in the Bibliothèque National in Paris (Ms. 1534), the other among the collected works of Anonimo Magliabechiano in Florence (Ms. 342). These works date from Bramante's Milanese period of 1477 to 1499. See: E. Müntz, "Les Architectes de Saint-Pierre de Rome: D'apres des documents nouveaux (1447-1549)," in Gazette des Beaux-Arts, II, vol. 20 (1879), 514-6; Fienga, 93.

25 The praise of the poet Gaspare Visconti, who acted as a personal counsel to Ludovico Sforza, is often referred to as a specific example of Bramante's literary acclaim, as in the following verse by Visconti which speaks of Bramante as a rare genius of many talents: "Quanto a Bramante huomo singulare/Ciascuno a quest' etate il vede e intende/ e si potrebbe piu presto numerare nel cie di lati sante/ che dir le cognition ch'a in se Bramante." Fr. Gaspare Visconti, "Due Amanti," cited in Scrittori d'Italia, ed. G. Mazzuchelli, Libro I (n.p., 1957); also see Bruschi, Bramante, 52. Much has been written on Bramante's talent as a poet. See: L. Beltrami, Bramante poeta, colla raccolta dei sonetti in parte inediti (Milano, 1884); also E. Müntz, "Les Architectes de Saint-Pierre de Rome," 514f.; A. Berti, Artisti-poeti italiani dei secoli XV e XVI (Firenze, 1907), pp. 20-25; G. Natali, "Il Bramante letterato e poeta," Rivista ligure di scienze, lettere ed arti (1915), 335-41.

of philosophers on the facade and interior of the Palazzo del Podesta in Bergamo (circa 1477).27 [Fig. 11] Bramante's six full length portraits of Men at Arms in Casa Panigarola (circa 1480-83) are also praised for the painted illusion of the curved niches within which each figure was set, [Fig. 12] as are the architectural settings in the narrative cycle of Saint John the Baptist in the Church of S. Pietro in Gessante of Milan (circa 1480-84).28 The discussions of the Prevedari Print, however, are perhaps the most explicit examples of this conflation of Bramante's two-dimensional works with his three-dimensional architecture. [Fig. 13] This image, often attributed to Bramante, depicts a large, ruined interior space in mathematical perspective.29 The building's form and decoration are typically read as presenting a synthesis of a pagan

27 Cited by Suida, 10-12; also Pungileoni, 48; Bruschi, Bramante, 106. The pseudonym Anonimo Morelliano refers to Marcantonio Michiel, a well-educated Venetian who wrote on the art and artists of northern Italy. He did not publish his own compilations. Notizie d'opere di disegno is his only work which has come down to us through Jacopo Morelli who edited it in Bassano, 1800 and through Gustave Frizzoni who republished it in Bologna, 1884. See: Fienga, 196n 11.

28 See: L. Beltrami, "La sala dei Maestri d'Arme," in Rassegna d'Arte, 7 (1902), 97-103. In this article Beltrami draws connections between Bramante's architecture and his painterly illusionism and sonnets. Also see: Bruschi, Bramante architetto, 115, 118; and Fienga, 84.

Bramante's panels for scenographic backdrops for theatrical performances are similarly discussed. For instance, the perspectival street scene by Bramante in the collection of Padre Resta, which probably derived from the designing of stage sets, is typically praised for the classical design of its buildings and its implicit knowledge of Vitruvius' prescriptions for comedy set backdrops. This drawing is among a collection of Padre Resta's and was annotated with bibliographic information about Bramante by Padre Resta. [S. Resta, Cento Tavole del Codice Resta, Fontes Ambrosiani in Lucem Editura et studio bibliothecae Ambrosianae, (Milano, n.p.,1955), XXIX; cited by Fienga, 87; see also R. Krautheimer, "The Baltimore and Urbino Panels," Gazette des Beaux-Arts, XXXIII (1948), 329. Suida, 14-15, 25-36, in passim; Bruschi, Bramante, 35, 36 in which Bruschi equates Bramante's two-dimensional work to his three-dimensional work.

29 In reference to the Prevedari Print, a contract of October, 24, 1481, witnessed by Benino Cairati and filed in the Milan Archives of Notaries conveys that a drawing by Bramante was commissioned by the painter Matteo Fedeli to be engraved by Bernardino de Prevedaris, who agreed to "fabbricare ... secundum desgnum in papiro factum per magistrum Bramantem de Urbino."; cited by L. Beltrami, "Bramante e Leonardo, praticarono l'arte del bulino? Un incisore sconosciuto, Bernardo Prevedari," Rassegna d'Arte, XVII, (1917), 155, 187; Suida, 13-16; also Bruschi, Bramante, 31-36; on the print itself also see Murray, "Bramante milanese," 25-42.
temple and an ideal Renaissance church. In accordance with the recently revived classical aesthetic, the architectural space is articulated through a complex coordination of Corinthian pillars, semicircular arches, coffered barrel vaults, and hemispherical domes, which, when extrapolated Bruschi maintains, form a centralized Greek cross plan inscribed within a square.\textsuperscript{30} [Fig. 14] Acanthus leaves, satyrs, pagan processions and busts of mythic heroes framed by medallions accentuate these architectural components, while the courtiers and clergy shown wandering throughout the architectural space of the print act as units of measure, emphasizing the modular basis upon which the building is designed: a figure's height being the equivalent to the podium base of the pillars. [Fig. 15] Finally, at the centre of this monumental, classical interior stands an antique memorial, surmounted by a Christian cross and inscribed with the proud statement BRAMANTVS FECIT IN MLO.\textsuperscript{31} The memorial's antique column surmounted by the cross is read as a reference to the "continuity and concord" possible between classicism and Christianity reflected in this church's architecture, while the inscription declares this grand philosophical and architectural synthesis as the Milanese work of Bramante.\textsuperscript{32}

Together, the architectural elements recited within this print have generally been read as a two dimensional demonstration of Bramante's command of classical architecture and its principles, as if the print were an actual design for a church to be built. In fact, Suida writes:

\textit{Nella grande incisione il Bramante ha voluto dire al mondo quanta bellezza di forme architettoniche, quanta sensibilità di proporzioni, quanta}

\textsuperscript{30}Bruschi, \textit{Bramante architetto}, 151-160, including figures 94, 95 [Fig. 14].

\textsuperscript{31}BRAMANTUS FECIT IN MLO (MEDIOLANO); English trans.: Bramante made [it] in Milan.

\textsuperscript{32}Bruschi, \textit{Bramante}, 32; Suida, 13.
The print, according to such an interpretation, becomes a glossary of Bramante's formal vocabulary: the pier, arch, dome, grisaille frieze, coffered vaulting, round cartwheel window, figurative busts as well as his predilection for the Greek Cross plan, elements which he frequently used in his subsequent architectural works in Milan and Rome. Certainly, it is a synthesis and display in two dimensions of what must have seemed to Bramante, and what was in large measure, ordained by Alberti and other humanists as the most progressive architectural forms in the last decade of the fifteenth century. However, it is not proof of Bramante's architectural abilities to design and build such a structure, nor of his theoretical intentions for the conception, if indeed the image is of his design. Still, whether the Prevedari Print actually served as a 'letter of introduction' to the Sforza court, and particularly as a 'resume' for the commission of Santa Maria presso San Satiro as has been repeatedly argued, it is read as a statement of Bramante's architectural ability by his biographers.

Thus a number of non-architectural factors figure into Bramante's characterization as the ideal architect. Sabba Castiglione's description of Bramante's

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Suida, 14; English trans.: “In the great engraving Bramante wanted to show to the world what beautiful architectural forms, what sensibility of proportions, what exuberant wealth of figurative life he would want to create, if a patron would give the opportunity to build in his own manner.” See: Suida, 39, for a similar comment.

See: Alessandro Rovetta, "Le fonti monumentali milanese delle chiese a pianta centrale del Trattato d'Architettura del Filarete", Arte lombarda, 60 (1981), 24-32, on centralized structures and their significance in Milan. There is a marked tendency in the literature on Bramante to assign to him either the authorship or influence of a number of centralized churches of the period. For example see: Bruschi, Bramante, 35.

See: Gino Chierici, Bramante (Milano-Firenze: Electa Editrice, 1954), n.p. In fact, Suida goes as far as to speculate that the Prevedari Print was commissioned by Bramante to be offered to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere who was to be Bramante's patron in Rome as Pope Julius II. Suida, 15
credentials in his *Ricordi* of 1549 epitomizes this manner of defining Bramante when he writes:

Bramante dell' penne del San Marino, uomo di grand' ingegno, cosmografo, poeta volgare, e pittore valente, come discepolo del Mantegna, e gran prospettivo, come creato di Piero del Borgo [Piero della Francesca], ma nell'architettura tanto eccezente, che si può dire essere stato il primo che alli nostri tempi habbia rivocata in luce l'architettura antica stata sepolta molt'anni.  

Castiglione identifies Bramante's interests in cosmography, poetry and painting as relevant to his ability as an architect. In the sixteenth century, such talents were not simply discussed as supplementary to architectural practice, but as essential factors in the well-rounded education and social standing of the learned architect.

The accounts of Bramante's architectural works dating from the early 1480's to his departure from Milan in 1499 similarly accord with this emerging image. They too tend to be discussed in subsequent records as 'preparatory studies' for the 'true' classical style of his Roman architecture. For instance, while Bramante's work on S. Maria della Grazie dates from this period of 1492–97, Fra Giorgio Rovengnatino, who wrote between 1500 and 1520, praises Bramante's dome for this church as the true classical style associated with the classical architecture of the Roman Renaissance as opposed to the classical style associated with Lombardy.

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36 Sabba Castiglione, *Ricordi III: Cerca il creare delli figluoli*, 1549; cited by Murray, "Bramante milanese," 25; English trans.: "Bramante of San Marino, man of great genius, a cosmographer, vernacular poet, and good painter, as apprenticed by Mantegna, and a great perspectivist, as formed by Piero del Borgo [Piero della Francesca], but in architecture so excellent that one can say that he was the first of our time to have revived the light of ancient architecture that had been buried for many years."

37 In Milan Bramante became increasingly engaged with architectural projects under Sforza commission, appearing under the titles of 'ingegnerius et pincror' in a list of engineers dating from the final years of the century. [Bruschi, Bramante, 52] S. Maria presso S. Satiro, the Duomo di Pavia, S. Maria della Grazie, the portico of Sant' Ambrogio, and the works at the Sforza residences in Milan, Vigevano and environs are among the architectural accomplishments attributable to Bramante between 1482 and 1499. Richard Schofield, "Ludovico il Moro and Vigevano," *Arte Lombarda*, 62 (1982), 93–140; and Fienga, 108.

38 By his 'true' classical style the biographers mean the classical style associated with the classical architecture of the Roman Renaissance as opposed to the classical style associated with Lombardy.
beginnings of his Roman manner and ultimately of his plans for St. Peter's.\textsuperscript{39} In particular, Bramante's biographers discuss his Milanese architecture in terms of its developing classical allusions, and specifically in its references to Vitruvius' text, \textit{De architectura} of the first century B.C.\textsuperscript{40} Seen as the embodiment of classical architectural ideals, comparisons to Vitruvius and his text were the standard against which humanist writers of the sixteenth century judged and praised architects and architecture. Therefore, when contemporary writers describe Bramante as a follower of the dictates of the classical Roman style, specifically as outlined by Vitruvius, they are paying him one of the highest compliments paid to an architect. Cesare Cesariano, Bramante's pupil and the first to translate Vitruvius into the vernacular, is therefore honouring his master as a great architect when he identifies him as an expert in \textit{Symmetria Vitruviana}.\textsuperscript{41}

As an architect of the courtly milieu, Bramante's choices, works and presentation were also influenced by the attitudes and ideas which informed his subsequent biographies. Thus, he too contributed to his own representation within these theoretical categories and expectations. For instance, in the portico of the Canonica of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, Bramante cites his familiarity with Vitruvian principles in his use of the organic motif of the tree trunk for a column. [Fig. 16] The source of the motif of a column with knots can be traced to the column \textit{ad tronconos}, a column mimicking a tree trunk: a learned, architectural reference to Vitruvius' account of the rise of the

\textsuperscript{39}Fra Giorgio Rovengnatino's statements cited by Fienga, 126.

\textsuperscript{40}The Vitruvian text became available in print circa 1486. Fienga, 112.

\textsuperscript{41}Vitruvius, \textit{Di Lucio Vitruvio Poligone, De Architectura Libri Decem}, traducti de latino \textit{in volgare} ..., trans. C. Cesariano(Como, 1521), fol.100r.; cited by Fienga, 113n17. Although Bramante did not read Latin his pupil obviously did. Furthermore, Jacomo Andrea da Ferrara, an expert on Vitruvius, was also resident at the Milanese Court during Bramante's stay. Fienga, 114.
classical orders from this first, primitive support. Most recently, Alberti, the probable source for Bramante’s adoption of this motif, had referred to this Vitruvian form as particularly appropriate for garden architecture as Bramante had employed it in the garden portico at Sant’Ambrogio.

A final element of Bramante’s profile as a modern architect is developed from the last decade of his Milanese period in the discussions of his “restlessness”. This “restlessness” is mentioned by a number of Bramante’s chroniclers in terms of his frequent absences from the court in the 1490’s. For instance, we are told that in May 1492, two months after the first stone of S. Maria della Grazie was laid, a letter from the Duke’s secretary, Bartolomeo Calco, to the Duke refers to searches being made outside of Milan to find the absent Bramante. On December 11, 1493, Giovanni Stefano Castiglioni, mentions that Bramante is again being looked for on Ludovico’s behalf “in Florence or in Tuscany”, with the suggestion that he might be with Perugino or someone else ‘notable for pictures or sculpture’. Another letter from the Duke dated December

42 Vitruvius, *De architecture*, Libro II, cap. i.

43 Although there is no absolute proof that Bramante was familiar with Alberti’s treatise, (the first printed edition of Alberti’s treatise appeared in 1485), he certainly had access to it and its ideas at the Sforza court in Milan through his friend Leonardo da Vinci who owned a copy of the work. A manuscript of Leonardo da Vinci’s discovered in Madrid, includes a list of books owned by him slightly after 1500. Among the books on the list is Battista Alberti in architettura, cited by L. Reti, “The Two Unpublished Manuscripts of Leonardo da Vinci in the Biblioteca Nacional of Madrid,” II, The Burlington Magazine, 110 (1968), 81.

For Alberti’s reference to the column *ad tronconos* as particularly appropriate for garden architecture see: Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, libro IX, cap. i.

In the Piazza Maggiore in Vigevano, begun in 1490 under Duke Ludovico Sforza, a work quite convincingly attributed to Bramante, [Lotz, 78f.] both the form of the piazza and its inscription refer to the project’s basis upon Vitruvius’ description of the forum. The image of the forum surrounded by arcades was recorded by Vitruvius and reappears in Italy around 1450 in Alberti’s architectural treatise almost word for word. [Lotz, 76] In the first printed edition of Alberti’s treatise the square and its surrounding arcades are discussed at length. The Sforza inscription at Vigevano echoes Alberti’s description so closely to suggest it as an inspiration for the work itself. [Lotz, 79] In this case it is conceivable that either the patron or the architect consciously attempted to draw the allusion between the contemporary architectural work and Vitruvius’ descriptions of the ancient model.
25, 1493 and addressed to Stefano Caverna asks for news of Bramante in Rome. On February 16, 1494, Bramante is back in Milan receiving columns and blocks of marble for the Porta Ludovico of the Castello Sforzesco in Milan. But again, in September 1497 he is absent. A sonnet by Bramante addressed to his friend the poet Visconti, dated "the 1st of September 1497 in Taracina", is cited as a possible completed itinerary of a trip including the cities of Genoa, Nice, Savona, Alba, Asti, Acqui, Tortona and ending in Pavia.

These absences from Milan are offered as confirmation of Bramante's "restless" genius aggravated by the 'limited opportunities' in Lombardy. Such an interpretation of this information is consistent with the notion of the solitary, artistic temperament which was just beginning to gain currency in the literature at the end of the fifteenth century. The characterization of the artist as a 'brooding genius' separates him from the average person as an exceptional type, predestined for artistic creativity. The implied separation of the artist from his historical society inherent in this conception is an element that remains, albeit in a transformed state, in present notions of the artistic temperament. For instance, Bruschi's recent reading of Bramante's nature retains the implications of the earlier writings when he writes:

Bramante was an isolated character, a wanderer uprooted from his original background. He had no master, he followed no tradition. In Milan he was an outsider, and basically he was to be so in Rome as well.... he was never really integrated into the world he lived in, but always faithful to himself, not so much to a single, limited ideal of...

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44 Bruschi, Bramante, 59.

45 Vasari, Le Vite, VI:154; Fienga, 177.

46 Based upon the evidence of this poem, Bruschi suggests that Bramante may have been in contact with Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (his later patron) and Giuliano da Sangallo in Savona, prior to Rome, while work was being done on the della Rovere palazzo. Bruschi, Bramante, 60.

expression as to his restless longing to know, to experiment, and to test the truth. His strength lay in this very detachment from tradition, in this optimistic openness to all kinds of stimuli.... This gave him an advantage over the other great architects of his day, especially over the man who was to be his most cultivated, most gifted rival in Rome, Giuliano da Sangallo.48 (emphasis mine)

What remains essential to Bramante's identity as genius in both Renaissance and twentieth century interpretations is the 'individual' creation of an art that is uniquely the artist's; an art which speaks only for and of itself and its creator. This notion clearly stands in opposition to the traditional mode of architectural production which was based upon the cooperative expertise of numerous craftsmen working for the aggrandizement of the patron.

Bramante's arrival in Rome marks for the biographers his true initiation into the classical manner. Vasari tells us:

Aveva Bramante recato di Lombardia, e guadagnati in Roma a fare alcune cose, certe danari, i quali con una masserizia grandissima spendeva, desideroso poter viver del suo et insieme, senza aver a lavorare, potere agiatamente misurare tutte le fabbriche antiche di Roma. E messovi mano, solitario e cogitativo se n'andava, e fra non molto spazio di tempo misurò quanti edizii erano in quella città e fuori per la campagna, e parimente fece fino a Napoli e dovunque e' sapeva che fossero case antiche. Misurò ciò che era a Tiboli et alla Villa Adriana, e, come si dirà poi al suo luogo, se ne servì assai.49

Thus, according to Vasari and others who repeated his example, Bramante spent his first months in Rome furthering his education in ancient architecture. This activity serves as yet another facet of his image. Brunelleschi, the earlier notable architect of Vasari's Vite, is recorded by Antonio Manetti and Vasari to have begun his architectural career in the same manner. In fact, Vasari makes the association between the two architects in his

48 Bruschi, Bramante, 36.
49 Vasari, Le Vite, IV:76; English trans.: "Bramante had earned money in Lombardy and at Rome, and on this he hoped to live, by dint of severe economy, and to be able to measure all the ancient buildings of Rome without it being necessary to work. He set about this task, going alone and wrapped in thought. In a little while he had measured all the buildings there and in the neighbourhood, going even, as far as Naples, and wherever he knew antiquities to be. He measured what there was at Tivoli and the Villa of Hadrian, and made considerable use of this." Vasari, Lives, II:184.
introduction to Bramante's biography, using this shared activity of the study of ancient monuments as metaphor and verification for their artistic achievements:

Di grandissimo giovamento alla architettura fu veramente il moderno operare di Filippo Brunelleschi, avendo egli contrafatto e dopo molte età rimesse in luce l'opere egregie de' più dotti e maravigliosi antichi. Ma non fu manco utile al secolo nostro Bramante, acciò, seguitando le vestigie di Filippo, facesse agli altri dopo lui strada sicura nella professione della architettura, essendo egli di animo, valore, ingegno e scienza in quella arte non solamente teorica, ma practica et esercitato sommamente. (emphasis mine)

Most treatises of the period stress the importance of first hand knowledge of Roman remains for the architect; and invariably the best architects are praised for engaging in activities which facilitated this knowledge. The practice of copying, measuring and studying antiquities, the act of digging down deep through the rubble of the ages, is discussed in these treatises almost as a rite of passage for the architect. Through these activities, the architect is said to recover the pure significance of classical architecture for his own epoch.

Consequently, as a 'great architect', Bramante is repeatedly described according to such metaphors. Andrea Palladio keeps to this interpretation when in his *Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* of 1570 he writes:

50Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV:73; English trans.: "The modern methods of Filippo Brunelleschi proved of great assistance to architecture, as he had copied and brought to light after long ages the excellent productions of the most learned and distinguished ancients. But Bramante has been no less useful to our own century, for he followed in the footsteps of Filippo, and paved a safe way for those who succeeded, his spirit, courage, genius and knowledge of the art being displayed not only in theory but in practice." Vasari, *Lives*, II:183.

Palladio's praise of Bramante retains the metaphor of the rebirth of classical architecture through Bramante's genius. In fact, as if demonstrating Bramante's recovery of Antiquity's excellence in his own modern works, the preceding passage, accompanied by two illustrations of Bramante's Tempietto, [See Figs. 1, 2] appears within Palladio's compendium which is otherwise devoted solely to the masterpieces of antique architecture.

This aspect of Bramante's image is still a powerful metaphor for us today. In fact, so much so that according to Peter Murray, Sebastiano Serlio's statement of the sixteenth century remains valid for Bramante's historical significance in the twentieth century.53

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52 Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura* (1570; Venezia: 'La Roccia', 1973), Libro IV, cap. xvii, p. 39; English trans.: "...in the time of our fathers and grandfathers, Architecture emerged from the shadows in which it had so long been lost, and, as though emerging from the grave, came back into the light of day. For in the time of Pope Julius II, that most excellent man, Bramante, a keen student of ancient buildings, erected some most beautiful buildings in Rome... Bramante was the first to bring back to the light of day the good and beautiful architecture that had been hidden since the time of the ancients...". Peter Murray, *Bramante's Tempietto*, Charlton Lectures on Art ([Newcastle upon Tyne]: University of Newcastle upon Tyne, 1972), p. 1.

The biographical and personal characteristics selected to represent Bramante identify him with Roman classicism and humanist architectural theory. Again, Bramante was active in the formation of this image as well. His pamphlet, *Antiquarie Prospetiche Romane com poste per Prospettivo Melanese Depictore*, (circa 1499-1500; soon after his arrival in Rome), can at least be partially understood in terms of Bramante's self-presentation.

A collection of sonnets on the Roman Antiquities, faced by a woodblock print, the *Antiquarie* visually and literally reads like an affirmation of the expectations of the ideal architect of contemporary Rome. [Fig. 17] The frontispiece of the pamphlet depicts a nude male figure kneeling, with his left knee positioned at the centre of a circular platform filled with smaller geometric shapes. In his hands he holds the instruments traditionally attributed to the architect as intellectual and creator. In his right hand he holds aloft the armillary sphere, cited by Vitruvius as an instrument for both

54 Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva*, 7 libri (Venezia, 1619; Ridgewood, New Jersey: The Gregg Press Incorporated, 1964), Libro III, cap. iv, fol. 64v; English trans.: "There was in the time of Pope Julius the Second, a workeman [term specific to English translation] called Bramante of Casteldurante in the Dukedom of Urbin, who was a man of so great understanding in Architecture that it might by sayd (by meanes of the ayde and performents which the Pope gave him) that he raysed up good Architecture againe, which from ancient time till then had been hidden and kept secret." Sebastiano Serlio, The Five Books of Architecture (English edition of 1611; New York: Dover Publications, 1982), Bk. III, ch. iv, fol. 15v. Serlio inherited Bramante's ideas in a direct line through Baldassare Peruzzi and Giulio Romano.

55 All further references to this work will be identified with the short title: *Antiquarie*. Dating of *Antiquarie*, 1499-1500 based on the convincing analysis on the pamphlet's date by Fienga, 3-4.

56 It is commonly held that Bramante, almost sixty at the time that he would have produced this work, was himself nearly bald. If so the baldness of the male figure may have been a personal, yet still positive, allusion to himself as the figure. Otherwise the baldness of this figure is quite unusual. Furthermore, the physique of the male figure also stands out as an aesthetic ideal of the period. His strongly defined musculature demonstrates the current interest in the anatomical structure of the human body and its proportions, realized according to the Classical aesthetic praised by humanists.
observation of distant stars and for the measurement of the heights of mountains and buildings. In his left hand he holds a pair of compasses, firmly fixed on the base of a triangle which he is measuring. Thus, with his instruments set upon both finite forms and larger, abstract quantities, and himself surrounded by models of classical architecture, the architect gazes heavenward, perhaps towards some higher ideal. The continuous flow implied in this pose from the earth to the heavens, from the concrete to the abstract and back again, visually suggests the observation, recording, synthesis and invention which architectural theory stressed for the architect.

More specifically, these attributes of armillary sphere and compass held by the figure often appeared among the attributes of philosophical types. For example, the figure of the CHRISTIANVS PHILOSOPHVS depicted in the 1594 frontispiece from George Hartgill's *Generall Calendars* shows the philosopher holding aloft an armillary sphere in his left hand while holding a book inscribed VERBUM DEI [the Bible] in his right. [Fig. 18] Together these two symbols of earthly and divine knowledge suggested an individual who sought to understand the cosmos in all its aspects, both material and spiritual. The armillary sphere also is often included among the instruments depicted within a scholar's study, as in the intarsia of Federigo da Montefeltro's studiolo and in Sandro Botticelli's painting of St. Augustine in his study, both images dating from the second half of the fifteenth century. [Figs. 19, 20] In Botticelli's painting the armillary sphere takes a position of significance above the saint's reading table. Shown pausing from his writing for a moment, St. Augustine lays his hand upon his heart and gazes up at the sphere as if it were an object deserving of reverence. Astrologia is another figure associated with this symbolic object, as she is shown among the Liberal Arts depicted on Sixtus IV's tomb, dated 1493. [Fig. 21] Thus, for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the armillary sphere was closely associated with liberal arts scholarship, with a particular emphasis on the heavenly realm.
The act of measuring or drawing with the compass is also traditionally associated with architecture as an intellectual and mathematical art. In manuscript illuminations showing the creation of the world, God is commonly represented as the Architect of the Universe, forming and measuring the divine mass with a large compass as shown in the manuscript illumination from a mid-thirteenth century French copy of the Old Testament. [Fig. 22] In the sixteenth century print, *Typus geometria*, Geometry is personified as a noble woman drawing complex geometric figures with the aid of a compass, (as she is again in the liberal arts figure, *Geometria*, from Sixtus IV's tomb), while around her men are shown in the practical applications of her theories: charting stars, surveying land, and constructing vaults. [Figs. 23, 24] Representations of Euclid, such as that in Federigo da Montefeltro's studiolo, also show the mathematician with compass in hand, drawing out a geometric diagram as an indication of his status and concerns. [Fig. 25] In contrast to the armillary sphere then, the compass was associated with the finite and exact measurements pertaining to the earthly realm.

In addition to these associations, Doris Fienga has argued that the *Antiquarie* figure's manipulation of these attributes specifically serves to illustrate two Vitruvian dicta: "Astrologiam coelique rationes cognitas habeat," and, "Iconographia, ex qua capiuntor formarum in solis arearum descriptiones." While this suggestion is interesting, the image's relation to classical architectural theory need not be so specific. The figure's prominent position on a central, circular platform with the attributes of armillary sphere and compass in hand amidst a setting of ancient Roman ruins reads like

57Vitruvius, *De architectura*, Bk. 1:i:3; English trans.: "The architect must be cognizant of astronomy and the regions of the sky so as to understand the disposition of the site and to plan accordingly the appropriate orientation of the building." and Vitruvius, *De architectura*, 1:i:2; English trans.: "The process of determining the proper orientation of the building predicated on the disposition of the site was preparatory to drawing on paper the ground plan of the building, and indispensable practice for the competent architect." Cited by Fienga, 68–70.
a general illustration of the ideal Vitruvian architect as characterized and redefined by the architectural theoreticians of the Renaissance.58

Furthermore, Bramante's *Antiquarie* frontispiece is very similar in its principal pictorial elements to later frontispieces for architectural treatises and other 'gentlemanly' subjects such as that of Cosimo Bartoli's collection of Alberti's *Opuscoli morali*, printed in Venice in 1568.59 [Fig. 26] The inclusion of a ruler, a square, a Roman river god and a circular temple, similar to Bramante's Tempietto, in addition to the compass and armillary sphere and panorama of ancient monuments found in the Bartoli frontispiece are simply elaborations upon the basic attributes displayed in Bramante's frontispiece. In both compositions the artists were concerned to produce an image which symbolized the humanistic and architectural ideals of the period. This they achieved by making visual reference to the attributes, models and implied practice of the ideal architect-intellectual as defined by contemporary theory.

Framing the image of the architect in the *Antiquarie*'s frontispiece is a decorative cornice on which are inscribed to either side of the figure the initials P and M. These initials are identified by Fienga as referring to Bramante's adopted pseudonym "Prospectivo Melanese", to be translated as 'the perspectivist of Milan' or 'from Milan',

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58 For the humanist and Neo-Platonist scholars and mathematicians of the Renaissance the circle was a geometric symbol for absolute perfection symbolic of the deity. A man within a circle, such as in Leonardo da Vinci's "Vitruvian Man", therefore alluded to man's potential to strive towards perfection in the conceptual realm. Furthermore, Fienga suggests that the dimensions of the frontispiece are equivalent to the Golden Section. The sides of the inner rectangle of the image measure 135 x 84 mm, equivalent to 1:6, the golden section as specified in Euclid, II:ii. The importance attributed to the golden section by Vitruvius in his antique treatise was revived for the Renaissance by Bramante's friend Luca Pacioli who had been in both Urbino and Milan with Bramante. See: Fienga, 68n15.


NB: Cosimo Bartoli's 1550 Florentine edition of his Italian translation of Alberti's "L'Architettura" also bears a similar frontispiece. See: Borsi, 351, fig. 373.
which he uses in the pamphlet.\textsuperscript{60} At the end of the fifteenth century in Milan, the term ‘prospectiva’ had specific connotations to the specialized province of architecture, being associated with architectural artifices predicated on optical illusion.\textsuperscript{61} Bramante, who had been engaged in painted architectural illusions in Milan, probably used these initials to refer to himself.\textsuperscript{62} Identified as such, the frontispiece becomes a statement of the most salient affinities between the author and the ideal architect. In this way, the print serves as a visual introduction to the literary discussion of antique architecture within the pamphlet.

In the sonnets of the \textit{Antiguarie}, Bramante praises the monuments, sculpture and architecture of Ancient Rome still visible in Renaissance Rome, citing both the historical and physical location of the monuments in the city and the present notable owners of the various antiquities.\textsuperscript{63} Through the exuberant recounting of the artistic achievements of Ancient Rome, Bramante describes modern Rome as the proud and worthy inheritor of its history. As the frontispiece engages with the visual tradition of

\begin{footnotesize}
\textsuperscript{60}Fienga also suggests the reading of "Pramante Magister", as Bramante's name appears like this in association to that of Leonardo, in \textit{Historiarum ab origine Urbis mediolanensis ad nostra usque tempo} by Bernardo Arluno Basilea in 1530. Fienga, 77.

\textsuperscript{61}Fienga, 71.

\textsuperscript{62}Examples of Bramante's painted architectural illusions include: the Prevedari Print, illusionistic architectural settings and theatrical backdrops, the illusionistically painted perspectival chancel in the Church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro where the exigencies of the site, which left no physical room for a choir in the church, forced Bramante to come up with the alternative and innovative solution of a shallow chancel, to achieve a convincing impression of the unavailable extended space. In the Church of Santa Maria presso San Satiro, Bramante transposed and adapted this principle of illusionist architectural backdrop to real architecture, by creating a wholly feigned part of the building. This artificial sanctuary actually appeared convincing from anywhere approximate of centre along the nave from the entrance on towards the altar. While in Lombardy decoration had traditionally been elaborately applied but only as a superficial element of the whole building, in Santa Maria presso San Satiro, Bramante made it an integral part of the perspectival design with the perspective painting itself completing the form.

\textsuperscript{63}See: Appendix I for a consideration of Bramante's reference to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere as the patron of Pope Sixtus IV's tomb in his \textit{Antiguarie}.\end{footnotesize}
architectural theory, the verses of the *Antiquarie* engage in a long established literary tradition; that is, the tradition devoted to the celebration of Rome's ancient monuments, a tradition which by the beginning of the sixteenth century in Rome was firmly located within the patronage and interests of the Roman Papacy.

More specifically, in his poem, Bramante discusses pagan Antiquity as the precursor to Christianity, and Christianity as the preserver of all that which was glorious and virtuous in Antiquity. According to this theme, the poem begins by invoking the aid of Apollo:

> Oh great Apollo, oh eternal influence,/ Oh immortal one, of divine countenance/ make me worthy of your knowledge/ So that I may escape Charon's presence and be altogether free of cowardice/censuring the vain delights of mortals.\(^64\)

Having thus begun with invocations to the pagan gods of Antiquity, and having praised the many monuments to their glory, Bramante completes his poem with Christian aspirations of ultimate triumph:

> Above is the temple where Octavian/ shielded his eyes with a cupped hand/ at the vision of Mary with the Child;/ And the Tiburtine Sybil pointing him the vision/ recited that hope was vain other than in Him/ and Her, who bring us to a quiet shelter/ with everlasting joy for man.\(^65\)

Thus Bramante's poem spans Rome's historical legacy as defined by the papal Humanists and in so doing names Christian Rome as the rightful heir to the development of Antiquity's moral and temporal splendour. In this manner the *Antiquarie's* conclusion is

\(^64\)Translation by Fienga, Tercet 1, p. 40.

\(^65\)Translation by Fienga, Tercets 132-133, p. 56.
in agreement with papal interests as expressed in the form of guide books, speeches and other 'historical' accounts of the city produced by the Papal Curia.66

Moreover, Bramante's account, with its personal allusions and greater emphasis on the architect's role in this programme, links the Humanists' historically based glorification of Rome specifically to the architecture of Rome and himself as the architetto-letterato of this pamphlet. For instance, while the subject of the frontispiece shows the architect studying and transcribing antique ruins, the text of the Antiquaria repeatedly refers to Bramante's activity of drawing the Roman monuments, as in Tercet 121 of the poem: "At the top of a ruin there are two Trophies/ which are well ten braccia tall/ I hardly know how to refrain from drawing them."67 In fact, he

66The most influential prototype for works describing the monuments was the Mirabilia, a mid-twelfth century, pilgrim's guide book describing the monuments and legends of Rome for the pilgrim as he went from one great basilica to the next, attributed to Benedictus Canonicus (codex Vaticanus 3973) who claimed to have been inspired by a vision of a resurgence of Rome as the capital of a new Christian Empire. The vision was perhaps a bit premature as Rome during the Middle Ages had shrunken to a small population huddled amongst the ruins of the once great metropolis. However, with the return of the Popes to Rome in 1420, a rapid succession of papal commissioned or supported humanist writings on Rome sought to renew and substantiate the vision as fact. By seeking to recreate a more accurate historical and topographical image of Ancient Rome in which specific, locatable events crucial to the birth of the Christian Church had taken place, they sought to renew and substantiate the Mirabilia's vision as manifest, showing Ancient Rome to be the true historical and physical centre for the Roman Church headed by the Papacy. Around 1432-34, Alberti wrote his Descriptio urbis romae in which he calls for the moralistic rebuilding of a virtuous society through the virtuous art of Antique architecture. This book was quickly followed by Niccolo Signorilli's Descriptio of the same dates and Poggio Bracciolini's De varietate Fortunae circa 1448, dedicated to Pope Nicholas V by Bracciolini while he was secretary to the Pope. One of the more influential of these books was written circa 1445 by Flavio Biondo, another papal secretary with access to the papal libraries. In his book, Roma instaurata, Biondo demonstrates the continuity of the fifteenth century with the fifth century, conceiving of the intermediary period of the Middle Ages as a 'media aetas', and promoting the idea of a progressive linear history merely interrupted by the intervening years and now continued in Renaissance Rome. Supported by extensive historical and literary sources and artifacts, Biondo proclaims that the city of Rome is the ancient seat of Christianity and the Imperial glory which the Papacy is to inherit and renew so that a new Christian Pax Romana might reign on earth. Roberto Weiss, The Renaissance Discovery of Classical Antiquity, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1969), p. 66.

67Translation by Fienga, Tercet 121, p. 55.
discusses his participation in this revival as a personal mission, expressing this sentiment in the introductory portion of his poem as follows:

Oh, elusive, intellectual virtue,/ with your high justice/ bathe the arid lips of the Prospectivo.
So that I may give some delight/ to those who have faith in nature/ by spreading the learning about Rome:
Of sculptures, of painted sacred temples/ part of which is standing and part in total ruin/ causing even the walls to cry with sorrow.
And should I, who am devoted to the ancients erroneously convey of their value/ I would beg forgiveness for being ignorant.68

Such interjections serve to remind the reader throughout the poem of the author's professional interest in these works.69 Thus the Antiquarie in the format of an emblem, visually and verbally links Roman humanist scholarship, (already linked to the interests of the papacy), with the new ideal of the architect in the person of Bramante, as if it were an introduction to potential Roman patrons.70

* * *

The earlier accounts of Bramante's background are generally discussed and edited to display, as Vasari states: "essendo egli di animo, valore, ingegno e scienza in quella arte non solamente teorico, ma pratico et esercitato sommamente."71 However, it is really with Pope Julius II's appointment of Bramante as his principal architect that Bramante's record first takes on its narrative of progressive development. Medals, documents, building projects and papal appointments directly and indirectly convey the

68 Translation by Fienga, Tercets 3-6, p. 40.
69 Giovanni Paolo Lomazzo indicates that sketches of antiquities from the hand of Bramante were in circulation in many places. "Nell'arte nostra fu il primo Donato, cognominato Bramante, da Castel Durante, il quale designò gli ordini, e le misure delle antichità di Roma, delle quali se ne ritrova gran parte in diversi luochi disegnati a mano." Lomazzo, "Idea del tempio della pittura," I:257.
70 E.g. see Appendix I for a consideration of Bramante's reference to Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere as the patron of Pope Sixtus IV's tomb in his Antiquarie.
71 Vasari, Le Vite, IV:73; English trans.: "his spirit, courage, genius and knowledge of the art being displayed not only in theory but in practice." Vasari, Lives, II:183.
authority of Bramante’s position within the court and the priority of his architectural projects within the city.\textsuperscript{72}

The literature of Bramante’s Roman period represents the first major building project of Julius II’s reign, the Cortile del Belvedere, as both a grand statement of Julius’ imperialistic ambitions and Bramante’s revival of the heroic style of the Ancients. An official medal struck circa 1504 commemorates the foundation of the courtyard which was to unite and enclose the land between the Vatican palace and the papal Villa Belvedere.\textsuperscript{73} [Figs. 27, 28] The obverse of the medal presents a formidable profile portrait of Pope Julius II, with his large, tonsured head emerging from a lavishly decorated cope. The medal’s reverse presents the Belvedere courtyard as planned by Bramante, stretching its monumental length across the landscape. Such a representation publicly promoted the colossal scale of the project at its conception, early in Julius’ pontificate and soon after Bramante’s appointment as Papal Architect.\textsuperscript{74}

The next project in Julius II’s architectural programme and one of the most ambitious and controversial of the period was the rebuilding of St. Peter’s. On April 18, 1506, the first foundation stone for the new St. Peter’s was set by Julius himself and a

\textsuperscript{72} The medals struck for the Julian papacy were the products of the greatest names in the medallic art of the early 16th century, including Caradosso, Francio, Vittore Camelio, Giancristoforo Romano and Pier Maria Serbaldi. Roberto Weiss, “The Medals of Pope Julius II (1503–1513),” The Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes, XXVIII (1965), 169.

\textsuperscript{73} In Renaissance Rome the issue of a commemorative medal to be placed in the foundations of the building, together with the first stone, was common practice. However, until Pope Julius II all papal medals had been cast. With his reign pieces were instead struck. See: Weiss, “Medals,” 169.

\textsuperscript{74} The dating of the medals from the early part of Julius II’s pontificate is uncertain, however, it is generally believed that the Belvedere Foundation Medal is among his first as Pope, and certainly his first architectural medal as Pope. See: A. Armand, Les médailleurs italiens des quinzième et seizième siècles (Paris, 1883–87); E. Martinori, Annali della Zecca di Roma: Alessandro VI, Pio III, Giulio II (Roma, 1918), pp. 63–69; G.F. Hill, “The Roman Medallists of the Renaissance,” Papers of the British School at Rome, 1920, pp. 48–57.
foundation medal by the Milanese medalist and antiquarian Caradosso struck to commemorate the event.\footnote{See: Dr. Ludwig Pastor, \textit{The History of the Popes}, ed. Frederick Ignatius Antrobus, 40 vols., 2nd edition (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1901), Vol.VI, Bk.II, ch.viii, pp. 472-474 for a description of the foundation ceremony for the new St. Peter's. Caradosso settled in Rome sometime in 1505, having previously served in the Sforza court in Milan with Bramante. Bramante began his work on St. Peter's in 1506, with the foundation stone being laid on April 18 just before Julius II left on his military campaign in Bologna. The medal therefore probably dates from 1506. George Francis Hill, \textit{A Corpus of Italian Medals of the Renaissance before Cellini}, 2 vols. (London: British Museum, 1930), I:41-42.} \footnote{Lotz, 129.} [Figs. 29, 30] Again, as in the Belvedere medal, the obverse shows a facial profile of the Pope in his pontifical robes inscribed IVLIUS*LIVVR*PAPA*SECVNDVS*MCCCCCVI. The reverse presents a view of the facade of St. Peter's in elevation according to Bramante's original, centralized plan with the inscription TEMPLI*PETRI*INSTAVRACIO in the arc above and "VATICANVS*M" in the arc below. As the foundation medal's inscription states, the planned structure was described as an "instauratio", "renewal" or "reconstruction", as opposed to an "aedificatio " or "new building", of the temple of Peter. This terminology presents the planned church as a reconstruction after an earlier model. However, the building depicted on the medal certainly does not look anything like the old Constantinian basilica, and it is doubtful whether Julius or Bramante thought that it did. It was not physically based on nor did it seek to retain the form of the ancient basilica. Rather, the new St. Peter's was conceived perhaps more correctly as a 'translation' of its fourth century predecessor's significance into a modern form. According to these terms, St. Peter's was built anew as an instauratio of an ideal Templi Petri, that is in the revived Classical Roman style and on the imperial scale and ambition of the Renaissance Church.\footnote{Lotz, 129.} Therefore, as in the Belvedere, the new St. Peter's forged links with the classical past and the original Christian Basilica. A seventeenth century allegorical print, depicting Pope Julius II and the Emperor Constantine discussing the plans of the ancient and new basilicas, shown
superimposed on a piece of parchment presented by an angel with a triumphal trumpet, makes this allusion explicit. [Fig. 31]

However, in contrast to the previous models of architectural patronage and practice so far discussed, with the declaration of the plan to rebuild St. Peter's, Bramante was promoted by his patron, Julius II, as the principal designer responsible for all major papal building projects. As noted in Chapter One, earlier patrons of architecture such as Popes Nicholas V and Sixtus IV were credited as the architects of their commissioned projects. By contrast, with the official declaration of the St. Peter's project, another medal celebrating Bramante as the architect accompanied the foundation medal which celebrated Pope Julius II as the project's patron. This medal of Bramante, like the foundation medal, was also commissioned from the medalist Caradosso in the same year, 1506.\textsuperscript{77} [Figs. 32, 33] The medal's obverse depicts a nude \textit{all'antica} bust of a male figure. His hair is curled in the ancient Roman manner and the arm broken off in imitation of an antique statue. The inscription above identifies the figure as BRAMANTE\textsuperscript{\textcopyright}ASDRVVALDINVYS.\textsuperscript{78} The medal's reverse depicts the draped female figure of Architecture, holding an architect's square and a pair of compasses, with her foot resting

\textsuperscript{77}Interestingly, shortly after becoming the bishop of Ostia, Giuliano della Rovere commissioned a matching foundation medal with his own bust on the obverse and a view of the fortress at Ostia from the same artist who had done the original, official foundation medal for the fortress with Pope Sixtus IV's bust as the official patron on its obverse. [Weiss, "Medals," 163.] Thus, within Giuliano della Rovere's own experience there is a precedent for the commissioning of two nearly identical foundations to honour two individuals. However, the change from the first instance at Ostia to the second at St. Peter's is informative to this study in that both figures represented could be categorized as patrons. Although Giuliano da Sangallo was the architect commissioned to carry out the work on the fortress, it was his principal patron, Giuliano della Rovere, and not himself, that was honoured. This was the traditional manner of attribution. While in the example from Julius' pontificate the architect too is honoured in this manner along with the patron.

\textsuperscript{78}This inscription refers to Bramante's birth place near Monte Asdrualdo, in the area of Urbino. See: Sengiorgi, 12-13.
upon a weight and a view of the new St. Peter's, as represented in Julius' medal, in the background. The inscription above this image reads FIDELITAS^LABOR.\textsuperscript{79}

Here, as in the Antiquarie, the association between Bramante and antique architecture is made explicit. Represented as an antique Roman figure inspired by the architectural muse, he is identified as the classical designer of the new St. Peter's: an heroic synthesis of Roman temple and Christian church in accordance with the humanist tastes of the Renaissance court. In fact, according to Pungileoni, poets of the day sang of Bramante's design for the new St. Peter's as the ninth wonder of the world.\textsuperscript{80} Such an overt promotion of Bramante as the designer of St. Peter's, and by implication as the Papal Architect, signals a decisive change in the traditional procedure and relations between architect and patron. Each assumed specifically differentiated roles: Julius II as the learned patron and Bramante as the skilled architect. In itself, this situation is more consistent with the ideal defined by Renaissance architectural theorists than with contemporary practice.

Indeed the difference in the definition of the term "architectus" and the experience of an individual working under the title of "architectus" is indicative of the major inconsistencies which existed between architectural theory and practice in the Renaissance. The architectural theorists of the fifteenth century apply the term "architectus" to a variety of types.\textsuperscript{81} While their definitions differ somewhat, all generally describe a person skilled in design and mathematics, steeped in a knowledge of

\textsuperscript{79}English trans.: "FIDELITY ^ LABOUR".

\textsuperscript{80}Pungileoni, 112.

\textsuperscript{81}Alberti used the term to describe both a patron and a liberal arts architect, specifically differentiating this individual from the craftsman who he considered the mere \textit{instrument} of the architect. Filarete, whose experience in the architectural field was principally practical compared to Alberti's, used the term to describe a supervisor and chief craftsman on the site, who was also an individual of learning, skilled in design and mathematics. The description of the architect in Federigo da Montefeltro's patent letter of 1468 essentially describes a similar type of individual.
Antiquity and the Liberal Arts, and innovative and independent in temperament: basically the model used to describe Bramante. However, the introduction of the term "architectus" into mid-fifteenth century practice, in place of, or in addition to, the traditional title of "capomaestro" or "master builder", does not seem to have been accompanied by a change in the nature of the positions to which it was applied.\textsuperscript{82} That is, the term was not necessarily assigned or used to describe the same roles which the theoreticians had recently outlined for it. Practitioners rarely met the intellectual education and skills advanced by the theorists.\textsuperscript{83} However, while the influence of theory on practice is difficult to gauge, being neither direct nor simple, it is evident in more indirect ways.

In practice, the term described a broad and rather disparate range of responsibilities and activities. For instance, in the working records of the period, the term is applied to a variety of high ranking positions in architecture, ranging from patrons and building administrators to foremen on building sites, most grades of stone cutters and even to suppliers of stone, ironwork and other materials. An individual in the role of "architectus" may, in fact, have assumed a variety of these responsibilities simultaneously being chief estimator, paymaster, supplier of mortar and other materials.\textsuperscript{84} There might also be more than one "architectus" on any one building site.\textsuperscript{85} The term could also be applied to members of advisory councils for architectural projects, even though the individuals themselves often had no direct

\textsuperscript{82}E. Mary Hollingsworth, "The Architect in Fifteenth Century Florence," \textit{Art History}, 7-4 (December 1984), 386.

\textsuperscript{83}E. Mary Hollingsworth, "Attitudes to Architecture Around 1500 in Italy," diss., University of East Anglia, April 1981, 212-5.

\textsuperscript{84}Ackerman, "Architectural Practice," 5.

\textsuperscript{85}E.g.: In the Charterhouse of Pavia, six men were named as being concerned with its design, while in the building of Milan Cathedral under the Sforzas as many as thirty people at one time were identified as occupying such a role. John Lerner, \textit{Culture and Society in Italy, 1290-1420} (London: B.T. Batsford, 1971), p. 304.
connection with or expertise in architecture. Furthermore, it could be applied to committees of citizens summoned to make final decisions on projects based on the advice of the previous "architetti". Authority, then, is the one consistent component of the term's use in practice. In fact, in several cases the role of "architectus" seems to have been a type of sinecure, with the holder acting as a prestigious figure head for the project in question. To this extent, the term's use was consistent with its theoretical definition.

On the whole the term does not necessarily signal any fundamental change in the status of the architect as it is so often assumed. Rather, its application seems to have been more indicative of a changing theoretical conception of architecture's potential functions and reception, which were more often the direct concern of the patron rather than the architect. Certainly the theoretical writings of the period define the image and importance of the "architectus" in terms of the potential patron and their concerns, with the new "architectus" and the values he represented (the values of Humanism) identifying the patron as both educated and 'enlightened'.

To a large extent then, Bramante's image accords with the "architectus" as designer-intellectual and authority figure. Publicly presented by his patron as a learned individual who conceives and designs architectural projects and is therefore worthy of respect and recognition himself, he is distinguished from his contemporaries as an exceptional figure and the embodiment of an ideal. Indeed, Vasari sees Bramante's status as a great architect acknowledged in Raphael's so-called School of Athens.

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86 Members on advisory councils might include such persons as painters, goldsmiths, and clerics. See: Hollingsworth, "The Architect," 385.

87 This practice of summoning "architetti" to advise groups of decision making citizens, also at times themselves referred to as "architetti", was not new. In fact, it was a medieval practice of some standing. See: Hollingsworth, "Attitudes," 210-212.

88 See: Hollingsworth, "Attitudes," 115f., for the various manners by which such an individual would be distinguished from other workers in the employ of the architectural patron.
commissioned by Pope Julius II in 1508. According to Vasari's persistently repeated claims, Raphael depicted Bramante as Euclid demonstrating a geometric theorem with a compass amidst of an attentive gathering of pupils.\textsuperscript{89} [Figs. 34, 35] Such a depiction corresponds in essence with the Antiouarie frontispiece and the painting of Euclid in Federigo da Montefeltro's studiolo in Urbino. Vasari's equation of the famous contemporary architect as the much celebrated antique geometer, Euclid, was a powerful one, comparable in kind to the architectural theorists' literary comparison of Bramante to Vitruvius.

In 1508 Julius had medals struck for the projects of the Port of Civitavecchia outside of Rome and for the Palazzo dei Tribunali within the city's centre. [Figs. 36, 37] For both projects Bramante was the principal architect, a role for which he is acknowledged in all major papal commissions.\textsuperscript{90} These projects, like the Belvedere and St. Peter's, were monumental, public undertakings the impact of which was considerable upon the social and physical environment of Rome.\textsuperscript{91}

Between 1505 and 1510 Bramante was associated with a large number of consecutively running architectural projects in Rome. By 1510, he had become established as a controversial public personality due to the scope and impact of his

\textsuperscript{89}Vasari writes of the fresco: "Evvii similmente una figura che chinata a terra, con un paio di seste in mano le gira sopra la tavole, la quale essere Bramante architetore, che egli non e men desso che se e' fusse vivo, tanto e ben ritratto." Vasari, \textit{Le Vite}, IV:166-7; English trans.: "Another figure bends towards the ground, holding a pair of compasses in his hand and turning them on a board. This is said to be a life-like portrait of Bramante the architect." Vasari, \textit{Lives}, II:227. Commenting further on this fresco Vasari states that Bramante had actually designed the architectural setting in which Raphael depicted the scholars and philosophers of antiquity as the artists of the Julian court, reaffirming Bramante's mastery of the classical style of architecture considered to be implicit in the painted architecture.

\textsuperscript{90}The Modenese Envoy records on April 12, 1507 that Julius II introduced him to Bramante and proudly stated that 2,500 men were working under him towards the completion of the new basilica. \textit{State Archives}, Modena. Cited by Pastor, VI:II:viii:475.

\textsuperscript{91}The clearing of land, large workforces, and shipment of materials which such projects required alone would have drawn the attention of the Roman populace.
projects upon the city. In support of his actions as Papal Architect, accounts of his learning and skill were written. Documents and rumor spoke of him as a companion to the Pope, even dining with him at his table. Based on records of the period, Pastor writes that: "Bramante very soon came to occupy the position of a sort of minister of public works and fine arts at the Papal Court; apartments in the Belvedere were assigned to him,...[and] the great architect accompanied Julius in all his journeys and planned all his fortifications...." A letter dated December 13, 1510 states that Bramante was with the Pope at Bologna, and informs the reader that Julius, who had been ill, was recovering with Bramante as his reading companion: "Nostro Signor sta ognor meglio et parmi si voglia far docto in Dante, che ogni sera si fa legger Dante e dichiarar da Bramante architecto doctissimo." Beyond announcing both Julius II's and Bramante's literary interests, this anecdote emphasizes Bramante's learning as a significant attribute of his architectural profession. Vasari also singles out Bramante's literary and musical skills for comment, writing: "Dilettevasi de la poesia e volentieri udiva e diceva improviso in su la lira, e componeva qualche sonetto, se non così delicato come si

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94 Cited by Fienga, 95; English trans.: [The Pope is] "now better and wanted to become learned in Dante, so every evening he had Dante read and explained to him by Bramante, his learned architect." Bruschi, *Bramante*, 177.
Again, it is such liberal arts talents above all which are used to support his position as master architect.

The Papal Court also honoured Bramante with important titles and offices which increased his wealth as well as his fame. And in turn, biographies on Bramante interpret these honours as rewards for his architectural skills, thereby contributing to his image. Vasari provides one such example when he states that Bramante received the office of the Piombo in recognition of his architectural skills:

Cesariano, writing in 1521, also notes that Julius "lo [Bramante] fece ricco et gli dono beneficii et officii de maxime pensione annui a piu che non bisognava assai a la sua decente vita et vestimenti per epso et suoi servi." In confirmation of this claim, Bramante was very fond of poetry, and loved to hear and compose improvisations on the lyre. He composed sonnets which, if not so nice as those of today, were grave and faultless. The characterizations of Bramante as a mathematician, painter, poet and musician correspond with the disciplines emphasized in association with architecture as represented on a frontispiece for the translation of Vitruvius' *De architectura* by Gianbattista di Perugia of 1536. This correspondence further demonstrates the degree to which Bramante's biographies replicate the codified classical theory of Renaissance architecture. While the office of Piombo which carried the title of Frate could only be conferred upon a man who knew no Latin, it nevertheless brought very handsome financial rewards and prestige. Sabba Castiglione in his *Ricordi* also mentions that Bramante "essendo stato creato frate del piombo dalla Fel. M. di Papa Giulio secondo...", adding that when Bramante was asked how his affairs were going, he replied: excellently, for my ignorance pays my expenses.
Vasari writes that Bramante “sempre splendidissimamente si onorò e visse; et al grado
dove i meriti della sua vita l’avevano posto, era niente quel che aveva a petto a quello che
egli avrebbe speso.” In recording the privileges Bramante received from the Pope
and Papal Court, these examples affirm Bramante’s fame and wealth as products of his
genius in architecture.

Even years after his death, Bramante’s reputation remained strong. In an
amusing play entitled Simia, written in Latin by Andrea Guarna Salernirani in 1511
and published in 1516, Bramante is cast in a lead role playing next to St. Peter and
other high profiled individuals of the Curia. In Simia, Guarna has Bramante confess
to having “alleggerire alquanto il borsotto del Papa, che crepava, tant’era gonfio e
grosso.” Indeed, Bramante is represented as cleverly persuading the Pope to
implement his daring architectural plans, and, even after having died, arriving in
Paradise to tell St. Peter that he would enter Heaven only on the condition that he could
rebuild it:

Prima di tutto io voglio tor via questa strada si aspra e difficile a salir, che dalla terra conduce al cielo: io ne farò un’altra si dolce e larga, che le anime dei deboli e dei vecchi vi abbiano a salir a cavallo. Poi penso buttar giù questo paradiso e farne un nuovo con più belle e più allegre

100 Vasari, Le Vite, IV:84; English trans.: “He lived in honour and splendour in the rank
to which his merits had raised him, but he would have been far more lavish had he
possessed more.” Vasari, Lives, II:189.


102 Simia, 60; English trans.: [Bramante] “considerably lightened the Pope’s purse that
had grown so swollen and fat.”
Thus, Bramante is represented, albeit with humorous exaggeration, as a man with grandiose architectural dreams and ambitions, and with the personal ingenuity and drive to initiate such monumental works. Indeed, he is attributed sole responsibility for the conception and implementation of the new St. Peter's in his role as Papal Architect.

These accounts of Bramante's building suggest another basic difference between the characterization of him and his contemporary, Giuliano da Sangallo. All these accounts emphasize Bramante's ability in architectural design, with particular reference to his classical style. The works which Sangallo's biographers tend to focus on, in contrast, are generally works of a military nature, such as fortifications and bridges, or of a more practical nature, such as the reinforcement of others' projects, or the crafting of wooden architectural models. Thus, in comparison to Bramante, Sangallo's works are generally noted for their sound technique and practical construction. For instance, Vasari praises Giuliano da Sangallo's works as "avesse..."

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103 Simi, 63–64; English trans.: “I want to get rid of this hard and difficult road that leads from earth to heaven: I shall build another, in a spiral, so wide that the souls of the old and the weak can ride up it on horseback. Then I think I shall demolish this paradise and make a new one that will provide more elegant and comfortable dwellings for the blessed. If you agree, I shall stay; otherwise I shall go straight to Pluto's house, where I shall have a better chance of carrying out my ideas...I shall make an entirely new hell and overturn the old one.”

The spiral staircase mentioned here is a probable allusion to the spiral staircase in the Vatican Palace designed by Bramante.

104 Vasari records that Sangallo was sent as an engineer to Castellina by Lorenzo de' Medici to make mills and bastions and to oversee the handling of the artillery, along with being in charge of the fortification of Poggio Imperiale and several bridges. Working for Bishop Giuliano della Rovere, he restored the stronghold of Castle of Ostia. For Pope Alexander VI he restored the roof of S. Maria Maggiore which was at that time falling into ruin, and he completed the cupola of the Church of the Madonna at Loreto begun by Giuliano da Maiano before his death. Sangallo is also noted as having made several models for Lorenzo de' Medici for his palace at Poggio a Cajano and other commissions as well as a model for the Duke of Calabria for his palace at Naples, another for the Duke of Milan, and several for Cardinal della Rovere for his Palace of S. Pietro in Vinculi and his palace in his familial city of Savona. Vasari, Le Vite, IV:132f.
Although there was great demand and necessity for this type of architecture, it was considered less worthy of praise by architectural theorists. Instead, projects defined according to their 'aesthetic' merit and learned allusions, such as Bramante's St. Peter's, were more prestigious in artistic and theoretical terms. According to this criteria, Vasari clearly considered Sangallo as second rate in comparison to the genius of Bramante. Indeed, he characterizes Bramante in contrast to Sangallo, "come una persona di più giudizio, migliore ingegno e maggiore invenzione." Supposedly, the preceding was also the position adopted by Julius II. For as Vasari records, Sangallo, despite his long service to Giuliano della Rovere, ultimately found himself without work and forced to request permission to return to Florence while the newcomer Bramante replaced him as the architect in charge of papal projects.

Judging from the assumptions of such discussions, Giuliano da Sangallo’s expertise in military fortifications and structural problems, along with his training in the Mechanical Arts, seem to have excluded him from the honourable realm of the intellectual designer of the Liberal Arts. Just as Bramante’s liberal arts background

105 Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV:140; English trans.: “having strength in the stonework and solidity and order and stability.”

106 Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV:144-145; English trans.: “as the man who had shown the finest judgement, the best intelligence, and the greatest invention.”

Giuliano da Sangallo had been Giuliano della Rovere’s principal architect in the years before his election as Pope, working with him in Rome and Savona. Della Rovere had even taken Sangallo to Avignon with him when he fled Italy fearing the present Pope Alexander VI’s threats and anger against him. In Avignon Sangallo, as della Rovere’s architect, was presented to the King of France and in turn presented him with a model for a palace for which Sangallo received great praise and rewards. When Giuliano della Rovere was elected Pope Julius II, Sangallo was called to Rome. Now that his previous patron had achieved such eminence, Sangallo anticipated a great future as a papal architect. A patron such as Pope Julius II, with his increased means and position, and his interest in building, was invaluable to artists such as Sangallo. In the end, however, Giuliano da Sangallo was not chosen to continue in his role as principal architect for the della Rovere pope. Instead, he was supplanted by Bramante, a relative new-comer to Rome and architecture. Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV:141-148; also see: Bruschi, *Bramante*, 178, for Giuliano da Sangallo’s comings and goings between Rome and Florence.
was discussed as the significant prerequisite to his success in Rome, and consequently as a key to his achievements, Giuliano da Sangallo’s mechanical arts background seems to have diminished his accomplishments in the eyes of Julius II and later historians. Consequently, while Giuseppe Marchini describes Sangallo as representing the maturity and “end” of an earlier tradition begun in the Florentine or ‘Early’ Renaissance, he identifies Bramante as the synthesizer and innovator of the classically based modern style of the Roman or ‘High’ Renaissance. In celebrating Bramante as educated in the Liberal Arts: learned in mathematics, music, poetry, and painting as well as architecture, these documents distinguish him as an exceptional architect, more akin to the humanist revival of his mythic classical predecessors than to the practice of his contemporaries, such as Giuliano da Sangallo, which serves as a foil for his “genius”.

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108 This tendency seems to have become more evident as these theoretical considerations became increasingly accepted in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

CHAPTER THREE

"SCIENTIA SANS ARS..." : THE DISSEMINATION OF THE 'CLASSICAL' ARCHITECT AND 'UNIVERSAL' ARCHITECTURE IN POPE JULIUS II'S CIVITATE DEI

The art historical discourse on Bramante as architectural genius is essentially ahistorical. Within the discipline, Bramante and his architecture 'transcend' their primary historical context. Isolated from complexities and contradictions, his achievements are placed within the more coherently constructed frameworks of artistic expression and 'universal' aesthetics. His architecture thus functions 'stylistically' to be compared directly with classical or medieval precedents under the assumption that 'artistic meaning' is stable, predetermined and therefore independent of history and context.\(^1\) Within this framework, considerations of individual genius and invention dominate, since such assumptions effectively silence art's dialogue with its own history. However, that is not to say that this dialogue does not exist. The broader historical discourse on Bramante is more complex, problematic and diverse than that generally defined by art history. Considered within the historical and political reality of Renaissance Rome, Bramante's image resumes its dialogue with the various viewpoints.

\(^1\)For instance, while Peter Murray quite correctly distinguishes the impact and significance of Bramante's architectural commissions in Rome, he writes: 'There can be no doubt that Julius' vast schemes of patronage, including the tomb he commissioned from Michelangelo, were all subordinate to the truly Imperial desire to rebuild St. Peter's itself in a form which would have compelled the admiration of Constantine and his architects -- TEMPLI PETRI INSTAURACIO, as the foundation medal of 1506 succinctly puts it. This was an ambition on an altogether different scale from a few frescoes, however distinguished, since it involved the labour of many hundreds and the financial support of millions, which, sadly, was not forthcoming... For this reason alone, it is necessary always to think of the High Renaissance as dominated by Bramante even more than by Raphael or Michelangelo, and so, to understand its true nature, we must understand the art of Bramante and reconstruct, as far as we can, his intentions and artistic ideals.' (emphasis mine) Peter Murray, fwd., *Bramante*, by Arnaldo Bruschi, intro. and trans. Peter Murray (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977), p. 8.
of the period. These alternative and even contradictory voices reveal the very constructed-ness of his apparently seamless image. It is their dialogue with Bramante's prevailing image which suggests his relation to the social, economic and ideological practices of the period, and, ultimately, the functioning of his image.

According to a number of extant documents, the representation of Bramante as the celebrated architect of Papal Rome was not entirely consistent with the reality of his practice, situation or contemporary reception. In fact, records still survive which question and even refute the extent of his architectural contributions in Rome, his commitment to Antiquity, and even his architectural knowledge.

Ascanio Condivi, perhaps the most damning of the chroniclers in his accusations against Bramante, records a number of incidents which question Bramante's structural knowledge. Recounting Michelangelo's work on the Sistine Ceiling in his *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti*, published in Rome in 1553, Condivi belittles Bramante's abilities in comparison to Michelangelo's as follows:

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Dovendo Michelagnolo dipingere la volta della cappella di Sisto, il papa ordinò a Bramante che facesse il ponte. Egli, contuttocché fosse quell'architetto ch'egli era, non sapendo come se lo fare, in più luoghi pertugiò la volta, calando per que' pertugi certi canapi che tenessino il ponte. Ciò vedendo Michelagnolo se ne rise, e domando a Bramante, come sarebbe da fare, quando venisse a que' pertugi. Bramante, che difension non aveva, altro non rispose, se non che non si poteva fare altrimenti. La cosa andò innanzi al papa, e replicando, Bramante quel medesimo, il papa voltato a Michelagnolo: "Poiché questo," disse, "non è a proposito, va e fattielo da te." Disfece Michelagnolo il ponte, e ne cavò tanti canapi, che avendogli donati a un pover'uomo che l'aiutò, fu cagione che'gli ne maritasse due sue figliuole. Così fece senza corde il suo, così ben tessuto e composto, che sempre era più fermo quanto maggior peso aveva. Ciò fu
Thus, according to Condivi, not only was Bramante unable to engineer an adequate scaffolding, but his solution was wastefully costly. Furthermore, he tells us that it was only through Michelangelo’s guidance that Bramante was capable of his later task of St. Peter’s.

In addition, writing on Michelangelo’s tomb project, Condivi comments upon Bramante’s personality and architectural abilities:

Stimolava Bramante, oltre l’invidia, il timore che aveva del guidicjro di Michelagnolo, il quale molti suoi errori scopriva. Perciocché essendo Bramante, come ognun sa, dato ad ogni sorte di piacere e largo spenditore; ne bastandogli la provvisione datagli dal papa, quantunque ricca fosse; cercava d’avanzare nelle sue opere, facendo le muraglie di cattiva materia, ed alla grandezza e vastità loro poco ferme e sicure. Il che si può manifestamente vedere per ognuno nella fabbrica di San Pietro in Vaticano, nel corridore di Belvedere, nel convento di San Pietro ad Vincula e nell’altre fabbriche per lui fatte; le quali tutte è stato necessario

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2Ascanio Condivi, *Vita di Michelagnolo Buonarroti* (Milano: Rizzoli Editore, 1964), pp. 77–78; English trans.: “When Michelangelo was to paint the vault of the Sistine Chapel, the Pope ordered Bramante to build the platform. For all that he was such an architect, he did not know how to proceed, and in several places on the vault he drilled holes from which he suspended the ropes which were to hold the platform. When Michelangelo saw this, he laughed and asked Bramante what he was supposed to do when he got to those holes. Bramante, who had no defence, gave as his only answer that there was no other way of doing it. The matter was brought before the Pope, and when Bramante gave the same answer, the Pope turned to Michelangelo and said, “Since this won’t do, go and build it yourself.” Michelangelo dismantled the platform, and he recovered so many ropes from it that, when he gave them to a poor assistant of his, the proceeds enabled the man to marry off two of his daughters. Michelangelo built his platform without ropes in such a way and so well fitted and joined that the greater the weight upon it, the more secure it became. This opened Bramante’s eyes and taught him how to build a platform, which was very useful to him later in the building of St. Peter’s.” Ascanio Condivi, *The Life of Michelangelo*, trans. Alice Sedgwick Wohl, ed. Hellmut Wohl (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976), pp. 99–101.
Contrary to what one would assume of a renowned architect, Condivi criticizes Bramante's buildings as poorly built and structurally unstable, especially for their vast scale.

As Michelangelo's apprentice and lifelong companion, Condivi's bias towards Michelangelo is well known. Furthermore, considering the well-documented rivalry between Bramante and Michelangelo, it is not surprising that this aggrandizement of Michelangelo was developed at the expense of Bramante's reputation. However, despite the clear bias and even vindictive nature of these accusations, they are not entirely unfounded. While there is no evidence to suggest that Bramante was ever employed at the church of San Pietro in Vincoli and therefore Condivi's accusation of defective work there must be questioned, Condivi's other statements are substantiated by additional reports.

Bramante was engaged as an architect for approximately thirty years, yet some accounts claim that he did not gain much competence in the technical and structural aspects of his profession. The Belvedere court is a case in point. Although Bramante was...

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3Condivi, *Vita*, 39-40; English trans.: “Apart from envy, Bramante was prompted by the fear he had of the judgement of Michelangelo, who kept discovering many of Bramante's blunders. Because Bramante, who was as everyone knows a great spendthrift and given to every sort of pleasure, so that the funds provided him by the Pope, however ample, did not suffice, tried to gain advantage in his buildings by making the walls of poor materials and inadequately strong and secure for their size and extensiveness. This is obvious for everyone to see in the building of St. Peter's in the Vatican, in the Belvedere Corridor, in the monastery of S. Pietro in Vincoli, and in his other buildings, all of which have required new foundations and reinforcement with buttresses and retaining walls, as if they were falling or would shortly have fallen down.” Condivi, *Life*, 30-33.

4San Pietro in Vincoli was the titular church of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, later Pope Julius II. In the case of San Pietro in Vincoli, it was Giuliano da Sangallo and not Bramante who was put in charge of the church's rebuilding by della Rovere while he was still a cardinal. See Giuseppe Marchini, *Giuliano da Sangallo* (Firenze: G.C. Sanson, 1942), p. 93. It is possible, however, that Condivi is confusing San Pietro in Vincoli with San Pietro in Montorio which is a monastery and the site of Bramante's Tempietto.
and still is highly praised for this architectural conception, several writers refer to the collapse of a thirty metre stretch of corridors in the lower court in 1531, barely twenty years after being built, which caused the entire three-story structure along this length to come tumbling down.\textsuperscript{5} Despite the extent of the damage, Vasari and others tend to down-play the incident, attributing it not to any real inadequacy on Bramante’s part, but to the impatience of Julius II:

\textit{...che aveva voglia che tali fabbriche non si murassero ma nascessero, che \textellipsis}.

Sebastiano Serlio, too, in his Third Book on architecture dated 1540 initially speaks favourably of Bramante’s design for the Belvedere, whose details he reproduces, before referring to their specific structural weaknesses [Figs. 39, 40, 41]:

\begin{quote}
\textit{Et veramente ordini furono belli, e molto bene ornati, e accompagnati: nondimeno perché i pilastri del primo ordine Dorico furono troppo deboli, e gli archi troppo grandi alla proporzione de’ pilastri, e anco alla sodezza del muro dell’ordine ionico sopra esso, in processo di tempo questa opera cominciò a rovinare: ma Baldassare Sanese Architetto raro, ed intendente, riparò a tal rovina, facendogli alcune pilastre dalle bande, a i detti pilastri assai bene accompagnate con li suoi sotto archi, e però io dissi che l’Architetto prudente potria da questa fabbrica imparare: imparare dico non solamente ad imitare le cose belle e bene intese, ma...}
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{5}See: James S. Ackerman, \textit{The Cortile del Belvedere} (Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1954), p. 57f. for an account of this accident. Also see the letter of January 9, 1531, from Francesco to Federigo Gonzaga, cited on p. 147 of this same text.

\textsuperscript{6}Vasari, \textit{Le Vite de’ più eccellenti pittori, scultori e architettori: nelle redazioni del 1550 e 1568}, testo Rosanna Bettarini, commento secolare Paola Barocchi, 6 vols. (Firenze: Sansoni Editore, 1966) IV:78–79; English trans.: “...who wanted his structures not to be built but to grow up as by magic. Thus the builders carried away by night the sand and earth excavated by day in the presence of Bramante, so that he directed the laying of the foundations without taking further precautions. This carelessness has occasioned the cracking of his works, so that they are in danger of falling.” Giorgio Vasari, \textit{The Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects}, trans. A.B. Hinds, ed. and intro. William Gaunt, 4 vols. (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1963), II:186.
guardarsi da gli errori, e haver sempre consideratione, che quantità di peso habbino a sostenere le cose inferiori.\textsuperscript{7}

Thus Serlio, while praising Bramante for the conception, admonishes him for his imprudent application of the design which had to be repaired and reinforced by Baldassare Peruzzi between 1534 and 1535. Furthermore, while scolding Bramante for his technical failings, he warns students of architecture to avoid the pitfalls of Bramante's poor example. In the end, however, Serlio's more positive judgement prevails, and Bramante remains his model architect.

The \textit{loggie} on the facade of the Vatican palace, begun by Bramante and completed by Raphael, serve as yet another example of the technical problems attributed to Bramante's works. Of this project Vasari, who usually defends Bramante's reputation, comments that the \textit{loggie} were so inadequately designed on the groundfloor that Antonio da Sangallo the Younger had to wall in the weakened arches entirely, thus destroying their originally graceful form.\textsuperscript{8}

Even Bramante's work on St. Peter's, his most important commission and frequently acclaimed as his masterpiece, is said to have required alteration and repair as early as the 1540's. Again Vasari records that Antonio da Sangallo the Younger was required to reinforce Bramante's work:

\textsuperscript{7}Sebastiano Serlio Bolognese, \textit{Tutte l'opere d'architettura et prospetiva, 7 libri} (Venezia: 1619; Ridgewood, New Jersey: The Gregg Press Incorporated, 1964), Libro III, cap. iv, fol. 118v; English trans.: "And in trueth, the orders were faire, well set out, and placed: notwithstanding, that the Pilasters of the first story of order being Dorica, were somewhat too weake, and the Arches too wide, to the proportion of the Pilasters: and therewith the weight of the wall of the lonica order standing upon it, was an occasion that it was broken, ruinated and decayed in short time. But Balthazar of Sciene, a skilfull workeman, repayred the decayed ruines, making counter Pilasters, with under Arches: therefore I have said, wise workemen may learne of this building; not onely to imitate same and well made things, but also to beware of errors, and alwayes to consider what weight the nethermost story is to sustaine." Sebastiano Serlio, \textit{The Five Books of Architecture} (English Edition of 1611; New York: Dover Publications,1982), Bk III, ch. iv, fol. 67v.

\textsuperscript{8}See: Vasari, \textit{Le Vite}, IV:83; also see Gustavo Giovannoni, \textit{Antonio da Sangallo il giovane} (Rome: Tipografia Regionale, 1959), I:80.
Ringrossò i pilastri della detta chiesa di San Pietro, acciò il peso di quella tribuna posasse gagliardamente; e tutti i fondamenti sparsi empi di soda materia e fece in modo forti, che non è da dubitare che quella fabbrica sia per fare più peli, o minacciare rovina, come fece al tempo di Bramante; il qual magistero se fusse sopra la terra, come è nascosto sotto, farebbe sbigottire ogni terribile ingegno.9

Serlio also refers to fissures and buckling in the crossing piers erected by Bramante for St. Peter's: [Fig. 42]

Not only does Serlio criticize the construction of St. Peter's, but he also identifies the parchment plan itself as evidence of Bramante's lack of technical considerations in the church's planning. In studying this plan, Serlio wonders whether the wall masses could even sustain their own weight, let alone that of the domes which they were to support.11

Furthermore, there is evidence of structural problems with Bramante's architecture even prior to his Roman period. A document on the earlier palace of Vigevano, which was

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9 Vasari, Le Vite, V:49; English trans.: "He thickened the pilasters of S. Pietro to bear the weight of the tribune and filled the foundations with solid materials, making it so strong that it could not move as it had done in Bramante's time. If that masterpiece were above ground instead of being hidden beneath, it would dismay the most formidable intelligence, and for it this admirable artist [Antonio da Sangallo the Younger] must always retain a place among the rarest intellects." Vasari, Lives, III:95.

10 Serlio, Tutte l'opere, III:iv:fol.66r; English trans.: "The figure hereunder set down, is the ground of the Tribune that should have gone above over the four rows of Arches (as I sayd before) whereby a man may perceive, that Bramant in such case was bolder to draw a piece of worke, then circumspect therein; because so great and massie apiece of worke should have an excellent foundation to stand very tall, and not to be made upon four rows of Arches of such an height. And for confirmatione of my speech, the foure Pilasters, and also the Arches without any other weight upon them, are already settled and suncke, yea, and rent in some places." Serlio, Five Books, III:iv:fol.17r.

completed by Bramante for Ludovico Sforza, raises such questions. In response to the following words of praise for Bramante's work at the palace: "... la bellissima torre, opera del grande architecto Bramante de Urbino, quale fu il primo dopo li antiquie ch'abbia illustrato questa arte bella architecture...," an anonymous note added in the margin of the same folio reads:

...Hebbe questo architecto un vitio nelle sue fabbriche che quelle male fondava come in effecto se po vedere in quella parte del Palatio del giardino verso la strada coperta ove sono le bellissime camere che gittò tante fissure che se Ferdinando Gonzaga governator de stato per Carlo V imperato l'anno 1548 non avesse fatto refondere sari e cascate e cosi in molti altri lochi a Roma ove dimostrò il suo grande ingegno in simil errore cascà.\(^{(12)}\) (emphasis mine)

However, despite these references to Bramante's inadequate understanding of his designs' structural requirements, many writers, including Serlio and Vasari, continue to praise Bramante as a great architect according to the established humanist rhetoric. For instance, after mentioning the cracks in Bramante's crossing piers for St. Peter's, Serlio states: "nondimenoperché la inventione e bella e ornata, ed è per dar gran luce all'Architetto, il l'ho voluta mettere qui disegnata..."\(^{(13)}\) Thus, it would seem that Bramante's status as a designer, his "invenzione", was more important in his consideration as an architect to these writers than his technical ability to bring these designs to fruition. Furthermore, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, the architect responsible for the repair of several of Bramante's works, is disdained by the same writers as a designer, and therefore as an 'architectus', due to his technical training and


\(^{(13)}\) S. Serlio, *Tutte l'opere*, III:iv:fol. 66r; English trans.: "Nevertheless, because the invention is fame and costly, and a thing to give good instruction to a workman [architect]: I thought it good to place it here in a modell." Serlio, *Five Books*, III:iv:fol.17v.
This theoretical bias clearly represented a position which judged design far above technical expertise, as if in architectural practice, as well as in theory, the two could exist independently. Thus, according to this position, the structural inadequacies of Bramante's architecture could be overlooked since such considerations were not crucial to the ideal and, as noted earlier, even contrary to it.

Nevertheless, while maintaining this position, Vasari and Serlio do find it necessary to address these alternative voices which represent a different viewpoint from their own: one which does not privilege theory above practice, but rather argues from the traditional position held by contemporary practice. This alternative position is represented by such voices as the *Arte dei maestri di pietre* when it had Brunelleschi imprisoned for working as an architect while not being a guild member, by the positive acknowledgement of Giuliano da Sangallo's mechanical arts training and practice, and by Condivi's criticisms of Bramante's technical deficiencies: all voices which tend to favour conventional practice and function over such abstract reasoning. Just as the norm must always exist in relation to its exception, these positions exist in relation to one another. They exist as a dialogue, acknowledging the presence of the other in order to confirm their own arguments. Thus, these criticisms of Bramante's technical facility should not be seen as revealing the 'truth' behind the false constructions of Bramante's image. Both positions are representations. Both present a constructed (and constructing) way of looking at the world which, while based to some extent in reality, is always a reconstruction of it. What is important here is the debate: the interaction of these two voices, one based in traditional architectural conventions and the other in a theoretical and universal idea of art. It is within this debate that Bramante's image and its discrepancies attain intelligibility.

14 See Cellini's comments and their subsequent discussion in Chapter Two of this thesis.

15 See section on Brunelleschi in Chapter One of this thesis.
This prevailing theoretical position is also challenged by reports concerning the extent of Bramante's architectural activities as Papal Architect in Rome. Of the grandiose papal projects commemorated by numerous medals for which Julius II and Bramante are still remembered, very few were actually completed, or even substantially begun during Bramante's lifetime, or, in some cases, ever. For instance, while the Belvedere project was conceived between 1503-04, and its foundation medal struck by 1504, it was still largely unfinished upon Julius' and Bramante's deaths. In fact, Giovanni Antonio Dosio's drawing (1558-61) shows the west side of the courtyard still barely begun. [Fig. 43] It was not until eighty years after its conception that the garden theatre was enclosed on all sides as originally planned. As for the coastal fortress and port of Civitavecchia, the commemorative medal was struck in 1508, but little more than the foundation stone, laid by Julius on December 14, 1508, was actually accomplished. Likewise, the Palazzo dei Tribunali, which was commemorated in a medal of 1508, was abandoned after its massive travertine blocks were transported to the Via Giulia site. Today, these foundations, affectionately known to the local populace as "the sofas of Via Giulia", can be seen along the Tiber side of the street.\(^{18}\) [Fig. 44] Spanning an area of approximately two blocks square and having since been incorporated into the various houses and shops of the street, these stones look like they could be the massive relics of some antique Roman ruin. In actuality, however, they are not the ruins, but the abandoned foundations of a project barely begun. The foundation medal for the facade of the church of S. Maria di Loreto, struck in 1509, is yet another example of a publicly announced project under Bramante's supervision never begun in his lifetime.

\(^{16}\)Only the eastern loggie had been built before Julius' and Bramante's deaths.


Planned as a classical facade introduced by a courtyard-piazza within the city, only the plans and a definitive model in wood were carried out. And when it was eventually built by Bramante's pupils, Cristoforo Romano, Andrea Sansovino and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, it differed significantly from these original designs. Even St. Peter's, the centrepiece of Pope Julius II's architectural programmes, remained only partially begun with no feasible plans for its reconstruction until after Bramante's death. Still, the foundation medal for the new basilica was struck in 1506, and the foundation stone for the first crossing pier laid by Julius with much celebration on April 18, 1506. While the cathedral was surely not intended to be completed in either Julius' or Bramante's lifetimes, all that remains of St. Peter's as conceived by Bramante, aside from the structurally inadequate piers for the dome, are the plans and the medal: that is, the architectural conception.

Other proposed papal projects attributed to Bramante in documents but never begun or brought to completion by him include: 1505-07, the complete rebuilding of the Vatican Palace; 1506-8, project for the Rocca at Viterbo; late 1508, project for a church for the Florentine community on Via Giulia; 1508, church of S. Biagio on Via Giulia; 1508, Palazzo Apostolico and 'Ornamento' in Loreto; before 1509, loggie of the courtyard of S. Damaso in the Vatican; 1509, SS. Celso e Giuliano in Banchi (now Via del Banco di S. Spirito), Rome; 1509-10 project for S. Eligio degli Orefici, Rome.


Thus, while Bramante was identified and celebrated in his own time and later as heading these projects, there remains little, or rather there was little actually built, on which to base these claims. In contrast, despite the fact that he is generally recognized and praised for his Roman works, Bramante seems to have been actively involved in a far greater number of completed works in Milan under Ludovico Sforza than in Rome under Pope Julius II. This situation suggests that Bramante’s celebrity was less dependent upon his actual production than upon the publicized commissioning of these works and munificent patronage of which they spoke. Appropriately enough, Vasari identifies Julius II’s patronage as an important condition of Bramante’s genius:

Ne poteva la natura formare uno ingegno più spedito, che esercitasse e mettesse in opera le cose della arte con maggior invenzione e misura e con tanto fondamento quanto costui. Ma non meno punto di tutto questo fu necessario il creare in quel tempo Giulio II, pontefice animoso e di lasciar memorie desiderossissima; e fu ventura nostra e sua il trovare un tal principe — il che agli ingegni grandi avviene rare volte —, a le spese del quale e’ potesse mostrare il valore dello ingegno suo e quelle artificiose difficulta che nella architettura mostrò Bramante. 21 (emphasis mine)

Finally, in addition to the challenges posed to this representation of Bramante’s genius by references to his technical failings and the limited number of works actually constructed in Rome, discrepancies also arise with respect to his celebrated classicism: the linch-pin in the construction of his image. Despite his reputation as the ‘saviour of the Antique style’ in architecture, several records refer to him as “il ruinante”, “maestro ruinante” and “Bramante ruinante”. These nicknames are principally attributable to public reaction to the destruction of Old St. Peter’s and its historical

21 Vasari, Le Vite, IV:73-74; English trans. "Nature could not have formed a mind better adapted than his to put into practice the works of his art with invention and proportion and on so firm a basis. But it was necessary that she should create at the same time a Pope like Julius II, ambitious of leaving a great memory. It was most fortunate that this prince should have afforded Bramante such unrivalled opportunities of displaying his abilities and of showing the full force of his genius, for such a thing rarely happens." (emphasis mine) Vasari, Lives, II:183.
monuments for the said expediency of his own project: the new St. Peter's.\textsuperscript{22} The base of the antique statue of Menelaus, popularly known as Pasquino,\textsuperscript{23} was for a period daily decorated with protests concerning the Pope's decision to rebuild, or rather demolish, this holiest church of Christianity and Bramante's hasty enactment of the destruction.\textsuperscript{24}

One of the earliest known recorded accusations against Bramante is recorded in the papal secretary's, Paris de Grassi's diary entry of June 11, 1511, where he writes:

"...interim contemplando ruinas et aedificia, quae per eius architectum moliebantur nomine Bramantem, seu potius Ruinantem, ut communiter vocabatur a ruinis et demolitionibus, quae per ipsum tam Romae, quam ubique perpetrabantur."\textsuperscript{25}

Evidently, even among the Curia Romana, the rebuilding of St. Peter's was not a popular decision nor was Bramante's role in the proceedings well received. In the 1550's, Condini records similar complaints made by Michelangelo concerning Bramante's 'irreverant' destruction of classical remains, explaining:

\textsuperscript{22}Condini says as much when he writes that the sacristy of St. Peter's was: "secondo alcuni, tempio di Marte: la quale, per rispetto del disegno della nuova chiesa, fu da Bramante rovinata." Condini, \textit{Vita}, 35; English trans: "according to some [it] was formerly a temple to Mars, [which] was destroyed by Bramante for the sake of the design of the new church." Condini, \textit{Life}, 24.

\textsuperscript{23}Pasquino was a headless marble Greek torso from the third century B.C. which was placed in the small triangular square, the Piazza di Pasquino, outside Palazzo Braschi by Cardinal Carafa in 1501 after being unearthed during the repaving of the nearby Via dei Leutari. The popular pastime of attaching labels to the statue with critical and humorous comments on the activities of those in authority seems to have derived, together with the name, from a fifteenth-century tailor called Pasquino who worked in the neighborhood, frequently for the papal court. Pasquino was known for his unusually free and vehement comments on the activities of the papal court. The statue was first used for the purpose of protest during the reign of Pope Alexander VI.


\textsuperscript{25}Paride Grassi, \textit{Le due spedizioni militari di Giulio II: tratte dal Diario idi Paride Grassi Bolognese}, documenti e note Luigi Frati (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1886), pp. 286-287; English trans: "... in the meanwhile, contemplating the ruins and buildings which were being undertaken by his [Pope Julius II's] architect by the name of Bramante, or rather the Destroyer as he was commonly called due to his ruins and demolitions which were being carried out in Rome, just as everywhere else."
Not only does Condivi suggest that Michelangelo criticized Bramante for his destruction of the columns of the old basilica, but he implies with his last statement that Bramante's rebuilding of the basilica was not a worthy substitute for the masterful workmanship of the earlier sculptors and architects of Old St. Peter's. Even Vasari, who tended to overlook many of Bramante's shortcomings for the sake of his own scholarly artistic ideals, criticized Bramante's handling of the treasures of Old St. Peter's:

Dicesi che egli aveva tanta voglia di vedere questa fabbrica andare innanzi, che e' rovinò in San Pietro molte cose belle di sepolture di papi, di pitture e di musaici, e che perciò aviano smarrito la memoria di molti ritratti di persone grandi che erano sparse per quella chiesa, come principale di tutti i cristiani.27

While praising Bramante's work in his Ricordi of 1549, Fra Sabba Castiglione also refers to Bramante's less celebrated reputation, writing: "...ancora che da alcuno [Bramante] fosse detto maestro Guastante, e da altri Roinante."28 In his later edition of 1555, Castiglione repeats and further substantiates the extent of this controversy, writing:

26Condivi, Vita, 51; English trans.: "... in demolishing the old St. Peter's, Bramante was pulling down those marvelous columns which were in that temple, with no regard or concern for their being broken to pieces, when he could lower them gently and preserve them intact; and he [Michelangelo] explained that it was easy to put one brick on top of another, but that to make such a column was extremely difficult, and many other things which need not be told." Condivi, Life, 57.

27Vasari, Le Vite, IV:83; English trans.: "It is said that Bramante was so anxious for the work to progress that he destroyed in S. Pietro many fine tombs of popes, paintings and mosaics, thus obliterating the memory of many portraits of the great men scattered about the principal church in Christendom." Vasari, Lives, II:189.

28Cited by Peter Murray, "Bramante milanese": The Printings and Engravings, Arte lombarda, VII (1962), 25; English trans.: "... still [Bramante] was called by some Maestro Devastator [Guastante], and by others the Destroyer [Roinante]."
Questo artista petulante [Bramante], geloso di condurre a fine egli solo un'opera che richiedeva un secolo, atterrò spietatamente le colonne dell'antica basilica, e distrusse molte cose belle, come sarebbero mosaici, tombe di Pontefici, pitture. Di tutte le opere che Bramante fece con tanta fretta vi rimasero i soli archi che sostengono la torre della cupola. 

Bramante's characterization as both an avid student of antique architecture and a master of its skillful assimilation into contemporary building design seems even more surprising if one considers his destruction of other well-known antique monuments in Rome. For instance, there is evidence that the Basilica Aemila, an antique ruin greatly admired by Renaissance artists and Humanists, was demolished by Bramante and its fragments removed soon after 1500 to be re-used in his construction of a palazzo for Cardinal Adriano Castellesi in the Borgo. Indeed, the demolition of this classical structure is interesting in view of the fact that the most complete extant drawings of it are by Giuliano da Sangallo, Bramante's 'less-learned' rival architect, who recorded the structure's antique details in several drawings. [Fig. 48]

What this example points out is not that Sangallo was a more classically oriented architect than Bramante after all, but that while both their images were constructed as representing opposing traditions, they themselves did not belong exclusively to either. In actual fact, despite the increasing tendency for papal Humanists to praise the ancient

29 Cited by P. Luigi Pungileoni, M.C. Memoria intorno alla vita ed alle Opere di Donato o Donnino Bramante. Al Nobil Uomo il Signor Marchese Antaldo Antaldi, Patrizio Urbinate (Roma: Dalla Tipografia Ferretti, 1836), p. 98; English trans.: "This brash artist [Bramante], eager for himself to direct the completion of a work which required a century, ruthlessly knocked down the columns of the ancient basilica, and destroyed many beautiful things, such as mosaics, the tombs of popes, and paintings. Of all the works that Bramante made with such haste only the arches which support the dome remain."


30 The palazzo referred to is the present Palazzo Giraud-Torlonia.
monuments of Rome, the use of stone and marble from their ruins for the building of new structures was a commonly accepted practice during the Renaissance. Ironically, Julius II authorized the demolition of ancient monuments still standing, as was the case in this instance, even though during his pontificate, Antiquity and its monuments were praised above all else. Thus Bramante's actions, while challenging his classical image, were not so unusual in practice.

Bramante's reputation as "il ruinante" also emerges in the previously mentioned play, Simia. Introducing him into the play, Alessandro Zambeccari Bolognese (a former member of the Papal Curia) announces Bramante's arrival to Saint Peter. When Saint Peter asks to which Bramante Zambeccari refers, Zambeccari answers: "il nostro architetto." To which Saint Peter queries: "Il distruttore del mio Tempio?" "Anzi di Roma tutta e del mondo, se avesse potuto," Zambeccari confirms. Later Saint Peter interrogates Bramante asking: "Perché hai tu ruinato quel mio tempio di Roma, che colla sola antichità sembrava chiamare a Dio gli animi più irreligiosi?" Bramante initially denies this accusation as unjust, arguing that he was commanded to do so by Pope Julius II. However, Saint Peter refutes Bramante's claims of innocence saying: "Tua fu questa trappola: dal tuo consiglio e dai tuoi malefizj fu indotto Giulio: per tua direzione ed ordine lo abbatterono gli operaj." "Tu la sai lunga: confesso il fatto," Bramante concedes. Having obtained the confession, Saint Peter asks Bramante why he committed this act of destruction. Bramante replies: "Per alleggerire alquanto il borsotto del Papa,


Thus Bramante is made to admit to the destruction of St. Peter's due to his own selfish desire for the Pope's money.

Accordingly, Bramante alone is made responsible for the destruction and rebuilding of St. Peter's as if the papacy had no particular interest or responsibility in the decision.

Saint Peter, outraged by this senseless destruction, is reluctant to admit Bramante into Heaven. As he states, not only has Bramante torn down the sacred basilica, but he has done so without rebuilding it and without even determining where the door will be.

Consequently, Saint Peter determines to retain Bramante at the doors of Paradise until such time as the new St. Peter's is completed: a long wait indeed for "il ruinante".

These and others records demonstrate that Bramante's status as architectural genius was not originally as unanimously accepted as it is today in art historical texts. Rather, it existed in dialogue with a variety of viewpoints. In fact, these discrepancies concerning the quality and extent of Bramante's work and the basis for his characterization as the ideal 'classical' architect specifically challenge the key points upon which his image hinges. Or, perhaps more correctly, they question the key points where Bramante's history and practice were reformulated according to the humanistic

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33 Guarna, Simia, 60; English trans.: Saint Peter: "Why did you ruin my temple in Rome, that antique paste alone seemed to summon to God the most irreligious souls?"; "You were this trap; from your advice and from your malevolence Julius was instructed; by your direction and orders the workers knocked it [St. Peter's] down." "You know the whole of it; confess the deed." Bramante: "In order to considerably lighten the Pope's purse that had grown so swollen and fat."

34 Guarna, Simia, 65. Probably a reference to Bramante's original centralized plan for St. Peter's which was somewhat controversial for its perceived classical allusions and structural inconsistencies.

35 The fact that these criticisms of Bramante's technical expertise, architectural production, and relationship to antiquity still survive, despite the strong tendency to accept the interpretation of his architectural achievements according to the criteria of humanist theory, suggests that these criticisms were not isolated exceptions. Rather, they are the surviving contradictions and reservations which were not sifted out in the subsequent codification of Bramante as the theoretical ideal and model of High Renaissance architecture. In fact, Ackerman identifies the tendency to heroicize Bramante as actually having increased in the decades after Bramante's death. See: Ackerman, "Bramante's Bad Reputation," 346.
representation of architectural genius. For all these points of discrepancy, are in some
manner, crucial to the functioning of Bramante's image either in terms of humanist
architectural theory and/or the historical and political needs and limitations of the
Roman Papacy during the Renaissance. As we have seen, technical expertise in building
was not stressed by humanist theorists as a crucial element within the ideal architect's
characterization. Since art history has generally accepted the humanist viewpoint of
Bramante's achievements, the technical problems evident in his designs and buildings,
and the lack of concrete examples of his Roman work are silenced in the historical
accounting of him as non-issues. Yet it is at these points of contention and debate with
the traditional value system that the unconventional nature and function of Bramante's
characterization as the ideal architect is to be discerned.

In order to understand Bramante's role as architect in Renaissance Rome, it is
necessary to consider the specific ways in which architecture served the papacy. In his
speech to the College of Cardinals commemorating the papacy of Julius II, Tommaso
Inghirani states:

La città che egli trovò plebea, sparuta, sudicia, convertì in pulita, piena
di decoro, degna del nome romano. Messe insieme le costruzioni sorte per
opera dei savonesi in un periodo di quarant'anni esse formerebbero la
vera Roma. Il rest, mi si perdoni il termine, non erano che capanne! (emphasis mine)

In referring to Sixtus IV, a della Rovere, and his nephew, Julius II, as "Savonese",
Inghirani was drawing attention to the continuity in urban development policies pursued

In fairness to Bramante, it should be recognized that the unprecedented scale and
ambitious nature of his architectural projects under Pope Julius II, would contribute to
the likelihood of structural problems as well as their discontinuation.

In referring to Sixtus IV, a della Rovere, and his nephew, Julius II, as "Savonese",
Inghirani was drawing attention to the continuity in urban development policies pursued

Paolo Portoghesi, \textit{Roma del Rinascimento}, vol. 1 (Milano: Electa Editrice, 1971), p. 10; English trans.: "The city which he found plebeian, bare and dirty, he made clean,
dignified and worthy of the name Roman. If all the buildings which arose through the
work of the Savonese over a period of forty years were put together, they would form the
real Rome. The rest, if you will excuse the expression, were nothing but shacks!" (emphasis mine) Paolo Portoghesi, \textit{Rome of the Renaissance}, trans. Pearl Sanders
by both of these popes. But more than a continuity in the thought and action of the two della Rovere popes, these words suggest a new and developing conception of Rome in relation to the papacy which both had sought to consolidate through urban development and reorganization. This was the "la vera Roma" as Inghirani states: a Rome "built" by these popes, a city whose very architectural form and structures were to declare the universality of the Church and the authority of the Papal State. Building in this sense was identified, initially in Papal Rome under Pope Nicholas V and Sixtus IV, and again in a more declarative manner under Julius II, as a noble pursuit associated with the glorious antique past of the city, and consequently as uniquely appropriate to "Roman" leaders. As Nicholas V stated in his Deathbed Speech: "Noble edifices combining taste and beauty with imposing proportions would immensely conduce to the exaltation of the chair of St. Peter..." It was essentially the vision of this pronouncement that Pope Julius II, when elected in 1503, sought to realize.

If Julius was to achieve this goal of building a new Papal Rome, or at least be acknowledged as a great architectural patron for the Church, major and significant building projects would have to be associated with his pontificate. The large number of projects promoted through foundation medals, inscriptions and various documents, in addition to the scale on which these projects were conceived, and the urban

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38 Savona was the birthplace of the della Rovere family.

39 The idea that something concrete [e.g. the physical world] could represent and reveal something intangible and divine is a concept which forms an implicit part of Christian theology. In Romans 1:19-20 St. Paul states: "For all that may be known of God by men lies plain before their eyes: indeed, God himself has disclosed it to them. His invisible attributes, that is to say his everlasting power and deity, have been visible ever since the world began, to the eye of reason, in the things he has made." St. Augustine elaborates upon this form of metaphorical interpretation in his almost semiotic explanation of it in On Christian Doctrine: "All doctrine concerns either things or signs, but things are learned by signs." [Saint Aurelius Augustinus, Bishop of Hippo, On Christian Doctrine, trans. and intro. D.W. Robertson, Jr. (New York: Liberal Arts Press, 1958), Bk. I, ch. ii, part 2, p. 8] By extrapolating this idea to the pragmatics of the earthly sphere, the papacy adopted the position of God in relation to his creations, and commissioned works in which their own ideas, messages and attributes were made manifest to a relatively wide audience.
restructuring they entailed, contributed to Julius' reputation as a great architectural patron. In fact, he was lauded by his court Humanists as a restorer of the glorious ancient tradition. For instance, Francesco Albertini's *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae*, written between 1506 and 1509, draws such a parallel. While essentially updating the *Mirabilia*’s discussion of Ancient Rome, Albertini, by including a section describing the new city which was taking shape under Julius and Bramante, connects Julius' projects with those of the ancient emperors. In so doing, he reasserts the papacy's position as successor to ancient Rome through its rebuilding of a new, equally grand Rome. The fact that very little of the works planned were ever completed during Julius' pontificate, like the arguments concerning Bramante's technical competence, suggest that these factors were not crucial to the validification of his image or the successful reception of his projects according to the humanist viewpoint described. Rather, what was crucial and consistently insisted upon through the repetitious celebration of Bramante and his projects was the representation of Bramante's prolific production in Rome, and the representation of the papacy's munificent patronage of classical architecture conceived on a spectacular scale, indicative of a renewed Roman Empire under Christianity.

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40 Francesco Albertini, a Florentine priest with a thorough grounding in the arts who had studied music and poetry and had been a pupil of Ghirlandaio's, moved to Rome in 1502 and in 1510 published his two works on Rome for which he is remembered, the *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* on February 4th and the *Memoriale di molte Statue et Picture sono nella inclyta Cipta di florentia* on October 2nd. The first was repeatedly reprinted in 1515, 1519, 1520 and again in 1523, suggesting its contemporary popularity. In the preface to the *Opusculum*, Albertini tells his reader that Cardinal della Rovere, the nephew of Pope Julius II, had complained to him about the fables in the *Mirabilia* and had asked him to produce a more “truthful account”. In the end, the *Opusculum* was dedicated to the Pope since Cardinal della Rovere had died in the meantime. This information suggests that there was a direct connection between the conception of this complementary account of Julius' and Bramante's Rome and the della Rovere family. Peter Murray, intro., *Five Early Guides to Rome and Florence* (Germany: Gregg International Publishers, 1972), n.p.
Considering the degree to which the Renaissance papal image had already been formed by humanist rhetoric and taste, it was inevitable that papal projects too would be presented in accordance with the same canons which defined the papacy textually and verbally. As Peter Partner points out, artists employed by the papacy, such as Bramante, Raphael and Michelangelo, "were not painting pictures for a museum, nor were they putting humanist culture on record for the benefit of succeeding generations". The buildings in and of themselves did not exude humanist values. Rather, it was through the projects' representation -- the medals and contextualizing discourses -- that humanistic notions were put in place. The message was not dependent upon the completed work, as it had been traditionally. Afterall many of these works, although never completed, functioned; their representation in relation to other representations, and not their physical reality, evoked the desired reading and response. Bramante's works for the papacy existed within this context. The presentation of their meaning and function spoke for the papacy, its interests and requirements. As papal Humanists' texts and oratories implicitly defined the papacy in relation to Rome as both the historical city and the mythic *caput mundi* and *Civitate Dei*, Bramante's architectural projects, likewise relate the papacy to its chosen seat of power, Rome, in their reference to the architectural idioms of classical Rome.

In Bramante's first project for Julius II, circa 1503, the Belvedere courtyard, the monumental scale of Imperial Rome is already evident. The Belvedere courtyard was envisioned as a monumental link between the two separate structures of the Vatican

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42 I am thinking of such architectural projects as the Palazzo Medici in Florence by Michelozzo di Bartolommeo, and even Duke Federigo da Montefeltro's renovations of the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino where the building's physical presence was essential to its intention and effect.

43 See Chapter One of this thesis for the relevance of Humanism and Imperial Rome to Renaissance Rome.
palace and the smaller Villa Belvedere of Innocent VIII located on the rise of the hill above. Thus the Papal Villa was transformed from the quiet retreat designed for Innocent VIII into a spectacular space for outdoor entertainment on an imperial scale. The very conception of linking these two, very separate structures, which necessitated the massive restructuring of the natural landscape, is itself an indication of the ambitions of Julius II's Papacy and the desire for these ambitions to be publicly declared through an autonomous and coherently defined complex. Furthermore, constructed according to the scale and style of Imperial Roman structures, the Belvedere project directly referred to the heritage which the Papacy of Julius II declared as its own. Indeed, in his praise of Bramante and this project, Vasari states that "Fu tenuta tanto bella invenzione, che si credette che dagli antichi in qua Roma non avessi veduto meglio." Significantly, it was the overtly classical associations of the statuary court within the complex which were singled out for comment by writers of the sixteenth century. In his biography of Bramante, Vasari describes how: "Fecevi ancora la testata, che è in Belvedere allo

44 In fact the Belvedere project closely relates to selections from the classical literary works in the papal library as if, in fact, they had been direct inspirations for the work. Most similar in form and conception seems to be Nero's Domus Aurea. Tacitus' description of Nero's Domus Aurea as an urban villa where architecture and nature were brought together over a large expanse of undulating land between the Palatine and Esquiline Hills [Annals, XV, 1] could be almost equally applied to Julius' Belvedere. The porticus triplices, the mile long colonnades which linked the various parts of Nero's Villa described by Seutonius [Nero, De vita Caesarum, 31] are echoed in the three story pilastered colonnades of Bramante's design which linked the main Vatican Palace to the Villa Belvedere. The letters of Pliny the Younger also relayed significant details of the ancient villa which correspond to Bramante's design. According to Pliny the main part of the dwelling was connected with another suite of rooms by a gallery which formed the side of a hippodrome or oblong garden area [Letters, V, 6]. In another letter Pliny spoke of a zotheca or statue court punctuating the extreme north end of a long gallery which connected two buildings. All of these elements are present in Julius' Cortile del Belvedere with its garden, theatre and Statuary Court. Doris Diana Fienga, "The Antiquarie Prospetiche Romane composte per Prospectivo Melenese Depictore. A Document for the Study of the Relationship between Bramante and Leonardo da Vinci," diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1970, 149-50.

45 Vasari, Le Vite, IV:78; English trans.: "...it was considered such a fine idea that it was believed that Rome had never seen better since the time of the ancients." Vasari, Lives, II:186.
antiquario delle statue antiche, con l’ordine delle nicchie; e nel suo tempo vi si messe il
Laocoonte, statua antica rarissima, e lo Apollo e la Venere.”

Giovanni Francesco Pico della Mirandola, although disapproving of the pagan emphasis within the
papal court, provides a good sense of the statuary court’s classical appearance in a letter
dated August 1512:

Eos Iulius secundus Pont. Max. acceivit e romanis ruinis, ante
paululum erutos, collocavitque in nemore citiorum illo odoratissimo
constrato silice, cuius in mediuillo Caerulei quoque Thybridis est imago
colossea. Omni autem ex parte antiquae Imagines, sui quaecumque arulis
super impositae. Mine pergamei Laocoontis exculptum uti est a Vergilio
proditum simulacrum. Inde pharetrati visitur species Apollinis, quals
apud homerum expressa est, sed et quodam in angulo spectrum demorsae
ab aspide Cleopatrae: cuius quasi di mammis destillat fons vetustorum
instar aqueductuum, excipiturque antiquo inquod relata sunt Traiani
Principi facinora quaeplam marmoreo sepulchro...

This gallery of antique art was the jewel of the complex. Its obvious classicism
was presented as evidence of Julius’ progressive, humanist attitudes to the courtly
culture of the time as well as emphasizing the implicit relation between ancient and
Papal Rome. In fact, the inscription carved over the entranceway into the statuary
court read, PROCUL ESTE PROFANI, a clear indication of the learning and prestige

46 Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV:78; English trans.: “Bramante also did the antique gallery in the
Belvedere for the ancient statues with the arrangement of niches. Here in his own
lifetime, Laocoon was put, a very rare and ancient statue, and the Apollo and Venus ...”

47 From an introductory letter to his poem, *De Venere et Cupidine expellendis*, addressed
and Courtauld Institutes*, XIV (1951), 123n2; English trans.: “Julius II, Pontifex
Maximus, has procured them (the "Gods of the ancients") from the Roman ruins, where
they were recently discovered, and has placed them in that most fragrant citrus grove,
paved with flintstone, in the midst of which stands also the colossal image of the Blue
Tiber. Everywhere, however, antique statues are placed, each on its little altar. Here is
the Trojan Laococon, sculptured as he is described by Vergil; there you see the figure of
Apollo with his quiver, as he is pictured by Homer. And in one of the corners you see
also the image of Cleopatra, bitten by the snake, from whose breasts, as it were, the
water flows in the manner of ancient aqueducts, and falls into an antique marble
sarcophagus on which the deeds of the Emperor Trajan are related.” Gombrich, 123.

48 See: Pastor, VI:11:vi:488fr., for the enthusiasm and vigorous competition with which
new antique finds were met as a suggestion of the prestige associated with their
possession.
inferred by the possession of such works.\textsuperscript{49} Thus, beyond being a grand architectural conception by Bramante, the first major project of Julius' reign and the most impressive transformation of the papal residence during the Renaissance was an assertion of temporal authority. A grand theatre for leisure, spectacle, and classical art, the Belvedere served the papacy's religious functioning only peripherally.\textsuperscript{50}

In 1506 Julius publicly announced the plans to rebuild St. Peter's, laid the foundation stone, and issued a commemorative foundation medal for the project. The Constantinian Basilica, which was more than 1100 years old, had been in a ruinous condition for at least fifty years. As early as 1450, Alberti, speaking for his patron, Pope Nicholas V, who planned to restore and enlarge it, said that the basilica had shifted almost six feet out of true and was held together only by the anchoring of roof timbers.\textsuperscript{51} By the time Julius II became pope, the whole structure was said to be visibly tottering.\textsuperscript{52} However, while the precariousness of the structure was offered to explain the necessity of Julius' plans, Julius' decision to completely rebuild and significantly enlarge St. Peter's seems to have been dictated less by necessity than by the desire to make a symbolic statement of the achievements and aims of the Roman Church.

\textsuperscript{49}Cited in \textit{Builders and Humanists}, 45; English trans.: "Let the ignorant stay away."


\textsuperscript{52}In the letter to the King of England on the laying of the foundation stone of the new St. Peter's, the Pope distinctly asserts that the old church was in a ruinous condition, and this statement is repeated in a whole series of other Briefs. See: Pastor, VI:II:viii:471, for a detailed outlining of these various briefs, their language and content. See also: Peter Murray, "Observations on Bramante's St. Peter's," in \textit{Essays in the History of Architecture presented to Rudolf Wittkower}, ed. Douglas Fraser, Howard Hibbard, and Milton J. Lewine (Great Britain: Phaidon Press, 1967), p. 53.
under his reign and beyond. In fact, Julius II's bull of February 19, 1513 declares this purpose explicitly. Architects of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, such as Serlio who comments upon the impracticality of the crossing piers as drawn in Bramante's design, describe Bramante's plans for St. Peter's as highly ambiguous and even fanciful. Indeed, the plans were vastly oversized for the physical needs the church had to serve in 1506, being appropriate only as a symbol of the Roman Church's aspiration to embrace the nations of the world within its doctrine and authority. In fact, the present massive building of St. Peter's as completed by Michelangelo and others occupies only a little more than 17,300 square yards compared to the 28,900 of Bramante's plan authorized by Julius II: a reduction of more than one third. The ambitiousness of such plans, especially in light of the number of other projects announced and the funding available, not only emphasizes the Pope's desire to found a monument that would never be rendered obsolete, but also raises the question of whether it was actually 'planned' to be built in his time. Clearly the new St. Peter's existed more as an idea or vision at this moment than as a feasible reality. In fact, I would suggest that the actual construction of the new St. Peter's according to Bramante's plans was not the main consideration at this time. Rather, it seems that Bramante's drawings illustrate not so much a working design as a transitional phase between myth building and physical realization. The building's representation (as opposed to the building) had value in itself. Certainly, the more abstract than functional nature of his plans, which necessitated its redesigning by subsequent architects, would support such a suggestion.

However, if Bramante's plans for the new St. Peter's were not structurally sound, they were ideologically sound. The architectural form and vocabulary associated

54 Serlio, Tutte l'opere, III:iv:fol. 66r.
55 Pastor, VI:ii:viii:468; also Partner, 181.
with them responded to and satisfied a number of political, cultural and ecclesiastical needs. The new St. Peter's was not simply the physical manifestation of the ideal Renaissance church, nor simply the product of Bramante's personal, artistic expression. Specific symbolic and functional requirements existed for this, the most important church of Christendom. Even if the new church was only to exist as a conception as this time, it had to stand as evidence of the power and sanctified authority of the Roman Church. It had to be understood as a structure commemorating the tomb of the Apostle Peter in a vocabulary which asserted the papacy's succession from Constantine and the heritage of Ancient Rome. Since Bramante's own time it has been repeatedly recorded that he expressed the desire to rebuild St. Peter's in the form of "the dome of the Pantheon over the vaults of the Temple of Peace."56 This statement, whether actually made by Bramante or not, was a powerful metaphor for the period. The pagan associations of the Pantheon had long been exorcised since its conversion to a Christian church, Santa Maria ad Martyres, in 609, and it survived as the best preserved example of a classical building in Rome. The Temple of Peace, what is known to us today as the Basilica of Maxentius, was built by Constantine after his victory over Maxentius.57 The conception of the dome of the Pantheon, like the dome of Heaven, or more specifically, the dome of martyrs, crowning the massive substructure of the Pax Romana -- just as Christianity had succeeded the glory of the Roman Empire -- was consistent with images within contemporary papal rhetoric. While the conception of "the dome of the Pantheon over the vaults of the Temple of Peace" may not have accurately described the physical structure, it was nonetheless an appropriate metaphor for its ideological inspiration and intent. Finally, as an extended centralized plan, the building provided for its two distinct liturgical functions: the basilica type derived from imperial architecture

56 Pastor, VI:II:viii:466; also Murray, "Observations," 56.

57 Murray, "Observations," 56.
provided for large congregations, while the centralized plan based on the classical martyrrium fulfilled its purpose of commemorating the most important martyr of the Roman Church, St. Peter.\textsuperscript{58} [Figs. 50, 51] These important symbolic elements were conveyed through the project's presentation if not through its construction.

The third part of Julius' rebuilding of the Vatican area under Bramante's designs was the systematization and modernization of the upper palace. After centuries of random additions to the palace's main body, Julius' programme sought to present a more unified and elegant exterior of the papal seat to the populace of Rome and the city's visitors. As the eastern facade faced Rome and could be seen rising above the Borgo from almost any part of the city, this aspect was given priority and eventually screened with a series of graceful loggie.\textsuperscript{59} [Figs. 52, 53] The openness and elegance of this design for the palace facade signalled a new visual character and concern for the papal image.

The palace of Pope Alexander VI (1492–1503) had remained essentially a stark, medieval fortress of defensive walls, crenellated battlements and towers. Alexander VI's major building projects had primarily been fortifications, including the re-fortification of the Castel Sant'Angelo and the building of the Torre Borgia onto the Appartamento Borgia in the Vatican Palace.\textsuperscript{60} While Julius II was clearly as aggressive a pope in his military campaigns and policies as Alexander VI, he is presented by Humanists and later historians in a light more appropriate to 'progressive' contemporary tastes for a ruler of his station, like Federigo da Montefeltro before him.

\textsuperscript{58}Murray argues that Bramante's Parchment Plan could be seen as both a pure centralized plan, as probably initially conceived, but also as a design for a tribune to which the longitudinal nave of a basilica plan could be added. This is, in fact, as he reminds us, what Bramante had done in earlier designs in Milan. See: Murray, "Observations," 53f; also Murray's remarks in Bruschi, \textit{Bramante}, figs. 157, 158, 159.

\textsuperscript{59}Ackerman, \textit{Cortile}, 11.

as an enlightened patron of the arts.\(^{61}\) Whereas Alexander VI is generally characterized as being out of touch with the main intellectual currents of his day and as more sympathetic to Medieval thought than to that of the Renaissance, the flowering of the High Renaissance, in contrast, is generally associated with the pontificate of Julius II. In fact, this distinction was propagated by Julius II and his court in his own lifetime. Julius publicly denounced the crude and ostentatious manner of the Borgias. In fact, his dislike of the Borgias was reportedly so strong that on November 26, 1507, he announced that he would no longer inhabit the Appartamento Borgia, as he could not bear to be constantly reminded by the fresco portraits of Alexander of 'those Maranas of cursed memory'. In opposition to Alexander VI's reign which he declared decadent and riddled with nepotism, Julius II proclaimed himself to be a culturally enlightened leader of open and progressive policies, and independent in his power.\(^{62}\) Thus Julius' image was formulated in direct contrast to the Borgia's artistic tastes and priorities. The arcaded facades, terraced gardens and open loggie designed by Bramante for the Vatican palace of Julius II and presented as indicative of an enlightened court, were just one aspect of this effort to distinguish the Julian Papacy from the former, rather sober, fortified exterior of the Vatican Palace which was seen to represent Alexander VI's rule. Pastor's interpretation of the art patronage of these two popes clearly displays the associations which accompanied their choices. Speaking of the fresco decorations in the Appartamento Borgia by Pinturicchi, Pastor writes:

> This bright and fantastic style of Art was especially congenial to the taste of the age of Alexander VI. The serious and sculpturesque manner which belongs to fresco painting jarred on the sensuous frivolous habit of mind of the Borgia and their courtiers, in whom the aesthetic sense was so largely bound up with vanity and display. Continued

\(^{61}\) See: Appendix II for the contemporary Renaissance discussion of Pope Julius II. Also see Chapter One of this thesis for a discussion of Federigo da Montefeltro's dual character as condottiere and cultural patron.

\(^{62}\) See: Pastor, VI:II:i:216f. and 222f. for Pastor's comparison of Julius II and Alexander VI.
development in this direction would have been fatal to Art. Thus it was most fortunate that the stern influence of Julius II recalled the painters whom he employed to a severer style.63 (emphasis mine)

In comparison, Pastor writes of Julius II's art patronage:

Thus, the great masters found free scope for their genius in all its fullness, and nascent talent was fostered and developed. The home of Art was transferred from Florence to Rome. A world of beauty in architecture, painting, and the plastic art sprang up in the ancient city, and the name of Julius II became inseparably united with those of the divinely gifted men in whom Italian art attained its meridian glory.... It was through him [Julius II] that Rome became the classical city of the world, the normal centre of European culture, and the Papacy the pioneer of civilization.64 (emphasis mine)

Thus, Pastor repeats the dominant criticism of Julius' period, characterizing Alexander VI's taste as "frivolous" and even "vain" in contrast to Julius II's more "severe", classical style. The dichotomy created is one between an individualistic, idiosyncratic expression which revolved around itself, and a universal, all-encompassing expression which identified Rome as "the normal centre of European culture, and the Papacy, the pioneer of civilization."

While the Vatican area was an important focus of the papal architectural programme under Julius, it was not the only one. Like the precedent of his uncle, Sixtus IV, Julius' vision of papal power, also claimed the temporal sphere. An inscription of 1512 from the memorial stone of a house on the recently renovated Via dei Banchi Nuovi praises these valorous objectives of Pope Julius II's projects according to the dichotomy established between the former Rome and Julius' Rome: [Fig. 54]


63Pastor, VI:1:vii:177.

64Pastor, VI:ii:viii:458-459; also see: Mallett, 234-238; and Builders and Humanists, 44.
Thus Rome's fortified urban image of the Middle Ages, with which Alexander VI had been associated, was also renovated by Julius II's 'imperial' projects according to the rational and 'liberating' ideals of his 'enlightened' leadership.

Bramante's designs for the city, like those for the Vatican area, were concerned with more than architectural values. They also fulfilled needs of city planning for strategic political, economic and social purposes. Julius' interest in renovatio Romae was inextricably linked to his programme of renovatio imperii. As the visual environment can be seen as a set of templates for conditioning the relations which exist within it, by restructuring the physical, social and institutional components of the city, Bramante's designs served to alter and somewhat control the functioning of these respective areas of Roman life according to papal interests. The Via Giulia Project begun by Bramante around 1507 is a good example of this type of urban renewal undertaken during Julius' pontificate. This project restructured the secular urban environment to relate more directly to the physical seat of the papacy (the Vatican area), through new streets and public buildings. The new road system consisted principally of two long, straight streets, Via della Lungara on the west bank of the Tiber, and Via Giulia on the east, as well as a new bridge, Ponte Giulio, which was to provide another link between the two sides of the Tiber. [Fig. 55] This reorganization of the city's roadways

65Fr. Manfredo Tafuri, "Via Giulia: storia di una struttura urbano," in Via Giulia: una utopia urbanistica del ‘500, 67n10; English trans.: "To Julius II, Pope of the Holy Roman Church (Pontifex Optimus Maximus Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae) who after enlarging the boundaries of the papal state and freeing Italy, in the interests of imperial glory [Julius II] adorned the city of Rome, which had formerly been like a city under military occupation rather than one well-arranged with fine streets which he measured and widened." Partner, 167-68.
NB: the juxtaposition of a fortified aesthetic with that of 'cultured' and rationally ordered government.

66Until this time the Vatican and Borgo area had remained relatively isolated from the rest of the city.
effectively established direct connections between the various urban districts, including the densely populated and often turbulent working class districts, such as Trastevere, Porta di Ripa, Campo dei Fiori, and the Borgo and Vatican Palace area. Officially, these new thoroughfares were justified as necessary for facilitating the movement of processions and crowds of pilgrims through the previously narrow and winding streets, as well as alleviating health problems caused by overcrowding and lack of regulation. However, it soon becomes evident that the changes undertaken for this project went beyond simple decongestion and maintenance. The Via Giulia cut into the compact cluster of the city’s medieval centre, providing quick access to areas previously inaccessible to and independent of papal policing. Furthermore, the cutting of straight, wide streets required the destruction of neighborhoods of fortified palazzos belonging to noble Roman families and the confraternities of powerful groups within the urban population. Consequently, it is recorded that in August of 1508 Bramante began to destroy the houses of the Oratorio fiorentino to make way for the new Via Giulia. Such actions forced targeted groups to relocate and rebuild in line with papal ordinances, and in so doing, acted in concert with other related actions undertaken through papal

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67NB: It is partially due to the Roman citizens' reaction against the political and social implications of these projects that the projects were finally not fully implemented.

68Portoghesi, Rome, 21.

While the restructuring programme tended to work against the interests of the old baronial families and the poor working class (both groups uprooted by these projects), it did align itself with those factions of the Roman populace which generally shared papal interests to some extent, such as cardinals, wealthy merchants and bankers. Building incentives in the form of tax concessions, papal patronage and prime locations in central zones of commerce and so forth, encouraged the building of

The architectural changes associated with the Via Giulia Project must be seen together with other complementary actions undertaken by Julius II: i.e. the re-evaluation of the depreciated silver coinage of the papacy in which many of the spiritual taxes were assessed, the minting of new money later known as *giulii*. These changes had the effect of raising the sum of incoming taxes to the papacy to help finance these numerous building projects. [See Peter Partner, 'The "Budget" of the Roman Church in the Renaissance Period,' in *Italian Renaissance Studies* ed. E.F. Jacob (London: Faber and Faber, 1960), p. 264] Also at this time, the traditional baronial privileges of defence were replaced by the Swiss Guard, and no further members of Roman baronial families were elected to the Curia before 1511 under Julius II. Consequently, when in 1508, Giovanni Colonna, and in 1510, Giuliano Cesarini died, there remained no representation in the Curia from this traditionally powerful segment of the Roman population. See: Luigi Spezzaferro, "La politica urbanistica dei Papi e le origini di via Giulia," *Via Giulia*, 45f. Also see: Pastor, VI:II:i:226, 227 & VI:II:vi:371 for references to these actions by Pope Julius II.

Rome produced virtually nothing at all in an economic sense. The city had no industries or raw materials, having to import nearly everything it needed to meet its needs. What Rome did have, however, was its mythic status which brought the pilgrim trade. In order to gain plenary indulgences, Italians had to spend fifteen days in Rome, and non-Italians, eight. During this time, the pilgrims lived well, generally consuming meat, buying guidebooks and souvenirs. For Rome, papal and otherwise, the pilgrims were an indispensable source of income. Charles L. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1985), p. 22. However, in the early sixteenth century the papal court was the largest single focus and employer. Dedicated to the administration of the Church throughout Catholic Europe, the papal court drew large numbers of immigrants from across Europe for its employment opportunities, e.g. merchants, bankers, Humanists. [Partner, 47-48] It is largely due to this situation that Rome became a city of immigrants. For instance, according to the Roman 'census' of 1526-27 published by Gnoli in *Archivio della Societa Romana di Storia Patria*, XVII (1894), of roughly 3,600 Christian heads of households in the Roman census whose place of origin is known, only 747 (23.8%) originated in Rome or in the papal provinces lying to the north or the south of the city. Of the remainder, 57.6% came from other parts of Italy (including Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia) and 18.6% originated outside Italy. [Cited by Partner, 75.] These immigrants who came to Rome for its employment opportunities depended on the wealth brought by the constant flux of pilgrims and tourists who flocked to Rome, due to the city's history and significance as the seat of the Catholic Church. The service industries and the papacy shared similar interests to this extent. Bruschi, *Bramante architetto*, 124.
churches, elegant palazzos and business establishments by such groups in designated areas.\textsuperscript{72} Meanwhile, smaller side streets offered simple standardized row houses for those in the lower levels of papal service.\textsuperscript{73} It was under such incentives and restrictions that a new quarter of curialists, cardinals and bankers, the administrative and financial support of the papacy, took shape, conveniently located at the head of the Via Giulia, and at the feet of the papacy.

The urban reorganization under papal direction also included a number of new public buildings which were to define the various banking, commercial and administrative zones of the city. The Roman Mint or Zecca was one such important centre. Here, not only was coinage minted, but also papal medals, such as the foundation medals for these same projects. The building of the Mint was reconstructed by Bramante for Julius II in the middle of the recently renovated financial and trading district near the Ponte Sant'Angelo, an area populated primarily by Florentines.\textsuperscript{74} Also within the plans was the creation of a large, new administrative centre, the Palazzo dei Tribunali, on the Via Giulia near the proposed Ponte Giulio. \textsuperscript{[Fig. 56]} The Palazzo dei Tribunali was to house the courts of law -- the most important secular institution of the papacy -- as

\textsuperscript{72} E.g.: on December 20, 1507 Julius gave tax concessions to those who wished to build on a grand scale in the areas designated for such residential building. Bruschi, \textit{Bramante}, 123.


\textsuperscript{e.g.} The banking house of the wealthy Agostino Chigi, who was the Pope's financial advisor, stood in this new quarter near to where the new Mint was to be erected. \textsuperscript{[Pastor, VI:ll:vi:495.]} Also the goldsmiths decided to construct their new church Sant' Eligio degli Orefici and the seat of their confraternity in the Via Giulia, recognizing it as the new financial district. While others, such as the \textit{Oratoria fiorentino}, were demolished to make way for them. Luigi Spezzaferro, "\textit{La politica urbanistica dei Papi e le origini di via Giulia}," \textit{Via Giulia}, 48.

\textsuperscript{74} Partner, 70. This restructuring would have placed the Zecca next to Bramante's church of S. Celso.
well as all other curial and secular offices for the city. Conceived as a monumental civic office building, it was to be centrally located within the city's commercial district. From the Palazzo's foundation medal, we see that Bramante's design planned for four massive corner towers with a central campanile dominating the facade overlooking the main thoroughfare. [See Fig. 37] The design did not follow the classical elegance Bramante employed for the Vatican buildings and for which he is known, but assumed the image of a fortress in the tradition of the palazzo comunale with its fortified forms, heavy rustication and crenellated roof top. Across from the Palazzo dei Tribunali, to emphasize its imposing scale, a large piazza was to be opened up measuring about fifty five by one hundred and ten meters. The space for this piazza was to be gained by the demolition, without compensation, of houses, shops and a church whose worth totaled 40,000 ducats. [Fig. 57] Although, as noted, neither palazzo nor piazza were ever completed, the Palazzo dei Tribunali was begun and praised by chroniclers of the early sixteenth century as the largest and most significant papal building campaign outside the walls of the Vatican. With regards to the plan, Vasari wrote:

\[
Si\ risolve\ il\ Papa\ di\ mettere\ in\ strada\ Giulia,\ da\ Bramante\ indirizzata,\ tutti\ gli\ uffici\ e\ le\ ragioni\ di\ Roma\ in\ un\ luogo,\ per\ la\ commodità\ ch'ai
\]

75Frommel suggests that the Palazzo dei Tribunali is related to the foundation of St. Peter's in that when Bramante destroyed the old basilica, the judiciary offices were displaced, thus creating an occasion for the reorganization of the Roman courts. Frommel, “Il Palazzo dei Tribunali,” 523-24.

76Frommel "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali," 527.

77Frommel, “Papal Policy”, 51.

78See: von Moos, 47; Vasari, Le Vite, IV:80.
NB: I think it is important to note here that although the Palazzo dei Tribunali was not built and its reorganization of the judiciary system not directly realized, chroniclers of the period and after continue to discuss it as a viable project. That is, its conception had a life independent of its physical construction.
While Vasari discusses the project as logically beneficial and convenient to the merchants of Rome, it was even more beneficial and convenient for the papacy. This massive architectural programme represented the papacy's challenge to the commune's own tribunals and vestiges of republican power. In fact, the fortified design of the Palazzo dei Tribunali is strikingly similar to that of the Palazzo dei Senatore on the Capitoline, the traditional seat of Roman civic government, whose judicial authority it intended to subsume within its own walls and authority as the new 'palazzo communale'.

Vasari, *Le Vite*, IV:80; English trans.: "The Pope resolved to employ Bramante to collect into one place in the Strada Giulia all the offices and bureaux of Rome for the benefit of those who had affairs there, and who had previously suffered much inconvenience." Vasari, *Lives*, II:187.

Beginning in the early sixteenth century, Rome became a pilgrimage site not only for its martyrs and reliquaries but also for its remains of ancient Rome, as a site for the educated or semi-educated tourist with an interest in Humanism. The changing fortunes of the papacy, due in part to its military victories and growing temporal power under Alexander VI and Julius II, contributed to its changing image in humanistic writings and in papal spectacles; the papacy had an invested interest in this newly promoted association with the centralized power of Imperial Rome and its own position in Rome. As the feudal power of Roman barons was gradually eroded by the imposition of the papacy's growing temporal authority upon them, the dominant papal image presented focused increasingly upon Christian Rome's associations with Ancient Rome and the antique revival in general. While the principal centres of humanist culture of the fifteenth century, including Florence, Urbino and Milan, had declined in their role as cultural leaders, the papacy's concentration of temporal power aided Rome's economic and political growth and prosperity at their expense. [Builders and Humanists, 45; and Ackerman, *Cortile*, 10].

By 1500 Rome had supplanted Florence as the cultural capital of the peninsula. [Stinger, 10] Artists and scholars trained in 'Tuscan Humanism' brought their skills to Rome to serve the papacy which promised continued employment and prosperity. However, unlike during the fifteenth century when foreign artists adorned Rome in the prevailing styles still associated with their own centres, they remained in Rome to contribute to and form a uniquely Roman style and Renaissance. Rome, with its large immigrant population with its various allegiances and the strong centralized power of the papal court, chose to identify itself not with the civic virtues of Republican Rome as did Florence and other city states, but with the triumph and glory of Imperial Rome. The papacy had a direct interest in weakening the strength of the baronial families which had formerly 'ruled' Rome. The judicial court of the Campidoglio was a symbol of the historically legitimized power of the baronial families of Rome. Therefore, with its power challenged, their control too was challenged.
under papal jurisdiction. 81 Thus, with the plans for the Palazzo dei Tribunali, the Pope was infringing upon one of the most essential rights of the commune: the dispensing of law. 82 While other popes before Julius had acted to reestablish the Campidoglio as a site of civic government, at least as a symbolic seat of power, Julius attempted to directly challenge the civic authority with his own. 83 Furthermore, the piazza referred to earlier, which was to be opened up across from the Palazzo dei Tribunali on the Via Giulia side, would have situated the new courthouse across from the Cancelleria Vecchia. This palazzo (the Cancelleria Vecchia), once the residence of Rodrigo Borgia as vice-chancellor cardinal, had since become the residence of Julius' nephew, Cardinal Sisto della Rovere, the new vice-chancellor. According to this plan, the Piazza dei Tribunali would have facilitated not only the message of papal justice, but also of pontifical power by joining the site of the apostolic chancellor's residence, held by Sisto della Rovere, to the site of papal justice, headed by the della Rovere Pope, Julius II. 84
The political precedents of the Borgia and the communal power of the Roman baronial families were thus to be effaced in the celebration of Buon Governo under della Rovere

81 von Moos, 50-57.

82 Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali," 532.

83 Popes Nicholas V (1447-1455), Pius II (1458-1464), and Sixtus IV (1471-1484), before Pope Julius II, had contributed to the reconstruction of the Campidoglio site.

rule, in a conflation of the Church's authority with the personal glory of the della Rovere family.85

Bramante's architectural projects, physically as well as politically, identified the papacy as the highest political and religious authority in Rome. Together, the reorganization and rebuilding of these sites constituted a significant amplification of the papacy's renewed presence in Rome, challenging and harnessing the traditional economic power of such groups as the Roman baronial families and the Florentines. In the works within papal jurisdiction, such as the Belvedere, St. Peter's, and Vatican Palace, the architectural references tend to be humanist, antiquarian and generally more aesthetically learned, while in the highly public civic works, such as the Via Lungara, Via Giulia, Zecca and Palazzo dei Tribunali, the references are more heraldic and overtly authoritarian. Both, however, speak of essentially the same thing: papal authority. Only they do so in the different idioms appropriate to their different functions and audiences they address: the one, religious, refined and 'progressive'; the other, secular and traditionally civic minded. Thus, the projects' representations and/or physical construction defined an audience (existing or otherwise) not only positioned in relation to the projects in question, but also implicitly aligned with the interests of the papacy.

85 The Palazzo dei Tribunali was, however, only begun and the piazza never begun. Although intensive construction took place between 1509–11, the crisis of the papal wars and the following schism brought an end to this period of economic prosperity. All major works by Bramante for Julius II begun before 1511 dropped off considerably after 1510. After this time the Pope concentrated his efforts and finances on St. Peter's. [Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali," 533]

Furthermore, the Pax Romana of August 1511 which decided in favour of the barons and the 'popolo romano', led to the creation of four Roman cardinals and the granting of authority to an elected official to appoint magistrates and offices for building matters. All this was given by the papacy to stabilize internal order within the city. Lastly, with the bull of April 5, 1512, the justice system of the Roman people was solemnly returned to the Capitoline, therefore rendering the project of the Palazzo dei Tribunali obsolete. Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali," 534.
The orders of ancient Roman architecture as redefined by Renaissance theory and contemporary papal interests were a language charged with specific historical and geographic significances for Renaissance Rome. The form's association with the origins in Roman Imperialism was an explicit dimension of the authority it conveyed. For instance, in March of 1507, on the Pope's return from his victorious campaign in Bologna, the streets of Rome were adorned in a mixture of Christian and Pagan styles. Garlands and hangings decorated the streets and everywhere were inscriptions in the ancient Roman style in praise of the victor. "Triumphal arches, covered in legends were erected in all directions. Opposite the Castle of St. Angelo was a chariot with four white horses and containing ten genii with palms in their hands, welcoming the Pope; on the prow of the chariot a globe rested, from which sprang an oak bearing gilt acorns and rising to the height of the Church of Sta Maria Traspontina." Indeed, these projects are the conceptual backdrop against which Julius II's military campaigns and policies were intended to be seen as reclaiming the glory of the Roman Empire for the Renaissance Papacy. Nevertheless, this architectural vocabulary is concurrently praised as 'universally' symbolic by papal Humanists, in keeping with their characterization of the city as the Christian caput mundi and Eternal City. Hence, the orders of ancient Roman architecture are likened more closely to divine, universal

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86 While what is commonly called Classical architecture can be equally identified with the Republican period of Roman Antiquity as with the the Imperial period, the Renaissance Papacy's emphasis upon its Imperial associations as well as the European continent's initial introduction to the style during the expansion of the Roman Empire made the identification of this architectural form with Roman Imperialism most likely.

87 Pastor, VI:II:iii:287f.
principles than to their contingencies of time and place.\footnote{The idea of Bramante's architectural style being universal came out of the Renaissance Humanists' equation of the 'classical' with the 'universal'. Such allusions drew support from the architectural theories of the day which spoke of buildings as theoretical absolutes and ideal forms existing outside of time and history. In fact, according to the quasi-scientific aspirations of Renaissance architectural theory, the architectural values of Bramante's buildings are said to be consistent and verifiable manifestations of the harmonic and rational laws of nature. Thus, for the Roman humanists of the papal court, antiquity was celebrated as an ideal, timeless model. The classical style in architecture still has resonances for us in the twentieth century as a style of legitimate authority and rational order. It is the style of choice in many buildings of law, banks, museums and residence for the wealthy precisely for these associations, e.g. Vancouver Art Gallery [former Vancouver Court House], U.S. Capitol Buildings. See: Bruschi, \textit{Bramante}, 181f.} By identifying Bramante's Roman architecture as 'universal', the texts essentially naturalize the ideological implications of Bramante's classical Roman style. Unlike his Lombard architecture, his Roman architecture is said to be purged of specific historical and regional idiosyncrasies.\footnote{Murrary, intro., Bruschi, \textit{Bramante}, 12-13; and Bruschi, \textit{Bramante}, 187.} Instead it is timeless and eternal, being based not on a particular technique, but on a universal idea of art. Clearly, however, Bramante's architecture and its presentation were very much in dialogue with the specific needs of the Renaissance Papacy and firmly located in the historical situation of Renaissance Rome. Then why, in Renaissance Rome, is Bramante's architecture represented as a 'universal' expression?

While this question cannot be satisfactorily dealt with here, I would suggest that part of the answer lies in the representation of Papal Rome as the Christian \textit{caput mundi}. The Roman Papacy sought to establish itself as the centre of European culture against a steady stream of external challengers and detractors. The only way it could be seen to meet this goal of universality was to be seen as universal in its aims and image. Perhaps more immediately pressing, however, were the internal challenges to papal authority. Rome was a divided community with disparate and conflicting allegiances among its large immigrant population. It lacked major industry and therefore the strong guild
organizations which often bonded and stabilized a community. Furthermore, the staffing of the papal court tended to change with each papal election in accordance to the new pope's allegiances. Thus, Rome's population was shifting and fractured. The papal projects' representation of a Rome well-organized and unified under the patronage and authority of a papacy which emphasized consolidation and universality above nepotism, locality and division, defined a similarly cohesive audience. This is not to say that such an audience existed or came into existence simply through its appellation. Rather, this representation articulated a need, a possibility. It suggested a common ideology to compensate for the disunity in the society as a whole. To some extent, this voice seems to have been accepted, particularly among those groups already aligned with the papacy's interests such as the cardinals, bankers and great merchants: the new elite. They, along with a number of court artists, built elegant palazzos designed by celebrated architects along the new thoroughfares in place of the formerly preferred fortified houses and towers. Such building was encouraged by the pope and humanist commentators as a necessary accompaniment to positions of status and worthy of Rome's antique heritage.

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92 Paolo Cortesi's De Cardinalatu of 1510 can be seen as a similar type of discourse, and perhaps indicative of a growing sense of unity and shared interests among this faction of Roman society which otherwise represented the disparate regional interests which they represented.

93 For examples of the interest and encouragement which such building received see: Bruschi, Bramante, 123f; Frommel, "Papal Policy," passim; and, Andrieux, 232–233.
This issue of the significance of the ancient Roman architectural style for the Renaissance Papacy returns us to the question of Bramante's own classicism. His apparent classical training and predilection were perhaps the crucial elements of his characterization as the ideal architect: an ideal which was based upon the abstract reasoning of humanist scholarship. However, as noted, it was just this aspect of his characterization which had to be persistently defended against contradictory reports of his destruction of and disregard for classical monuments.

As noted earlier, it is with Bramante that the architect of such a prestigious patron is first publicly promoted and identified as the designer of the patron's commissions in lieu of the patron himself. Bramante's representation together with that of his works helped to legitimize the authority and prestige of the new Papal Rome. Considering the massive restructuring of the city and its social fabric which Julius II's projects entailed and the opposition of cardinals and the Roman populace to such actions as the demolition of the Constantinian Basilica, their houses and neighborhoods, Julius needed potent symbols to facilitate the acceptance of his plans. The humanists' discussion of Antiquity, their interpretation of Papal Rome as the Christian caput mundi, and Bramante's characterization as the classical architect were such symbols.

For the Renaissance, it was not simply the commissioned products of musicians, artists and scholars which conveyed a court's power and prestige, but also the individuals themselves, as individuals of "quality". The writings of the Humanists, based as they were upon a conception of history as the progressive achievements of significant individuals, glorified certain figures above others almost by necessity. According to this historical reasoning, the artist-genius was an important requisite for

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94 The focus upon individual fame and achievement which is articulated within the Renaissance in histories, courts and among the upper classes in general is of crucial importance to this period and the emergence of singular artistic personality. A clear analysis of its sources and function is, unfortunately, beyond the scope of this thesis. See: Lauro Martines, Power and Imagination: City-States in Renaissance Italy (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1979) for some useful insights into this development.
enlightened, (historically significant) patronage. In fact, the famous artist gave authority and distinction to the works produced and therefore to the patron who commissioned them. In this way, the patron and artist were conceived as mutually supportive and defining, and therefore, the patron had a direct interest in cultivating the careers of those he patronized.

It was in this potent image of the artist and his historical significance, as potentially expressed in the personality of Bramante and other members of the papal court, that Julius II invested for papal and personal glorification. Presented as a learned, architectural genius among other highly accomplished artists and scholars, Bramante's affiliation with the papal court spoke of the court's own classical and artistic taste and learning. His representation as Papal Architect signified beyond his skill and accomplishments as an architect. His association with antique architecture and the classical architect were important aspects of his image for a papacy which wished to legitimize itself through the city's antique heritage. In such a situation, Bramante's classicism validated his public role and the respect and authority conferred him. Furthermore, his image as the ideal classical architect hailed the revival of a 'universal style' and aesthetic as Julius' presentation hailed the return of a 'universal' epoch in Roman history. Finally, formulated according to the Humanists' architectural theory and conception of history, Bramante's image marked his patron and his works as historically significant, even in their own time. It is not surprising, therefore, to find

95The artist's knowledge of Antique art and the classical manner became increasingly important to artists and patrons of the sixteenth century. Consequently when Francesco Sangallo sought to revive his father's name for posterity in a letter among other things, he mentioned his father's presence at the excavation of the Laocoon. Francesco recalls that his father was requested to go to the site by the Pope himself to inspect the newly discovered sculpture. Of this event he writes: "subito mio padre disse; questoe Laocoonte, di cui fa menzione Plinio." [Fr. Letter of Francesco da Sangallo published in the Miscellanea Tomo 1, p. 329, cited in D. Carlo Fea, Notizie intorno Raffaele Sanzio da Urbino... (Roma: Presso Vincenzo Poggioli Stampatore della R.C.A., 1822), 21.] This statement refers to Giuliano's vast knowledge and appreciation of Antiquity -- an important attribute for the artist-genius type -- and was probably meant to convey his claims to this title.
that the catapulting of Bramante's reputation and stature as an architectural genius corresponds directly with the election of Pope Julius II in 1503 and the Pope's subsequent appointment of Bramante as his principal architect.

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With Pope Julius II's architectural programme, an individual artist raised above the common historical practice as an independent, intellectual and classically-oriented personality emerges as a viable symbol and support for a patron's ambitions and needs. In relinquishing his sole responsibility for the architectural programmes to the architect, Julius II did not actually relinquish his control over the work or the status he derived from its commissioning. The relationship between patron and artist was not significantly altered in this relocation of responsibility. Rather, it was the representation of this relationship that was altered. In this manner, Bramante together with his architecture served to explain, legitimize and celebrate the papacy's political and spiritual existence.

In this capacity, Bramante's promotion and fame were integral to his post as Papal Architect. His name, bolstered by the medals, official declarations and documents, rose confidently above the unrealized projects like an icon or symbol which encapsulated the ideals upon which these projects were supposedly based: 'universal' ideals of progress, learning, and enlightened imperial rule. In his role as Papal Architect, Bramante represents an aspect of the grand designs and ambitions of Pope Julius II's pontificate as well as the humanistically-inspired ideals of the Roman "Renaissance" as a period of cultural and intellectual rebirth. In fact, Bramante continues to exist as such an icon despite obvious discrepancies with his idealized characterization. While Bramante's buildings have fallen or never been built, this construction of individual achievement and a universal artistic ideal survives in twentieth century art history better than any edifice could have. In fact, with time, it has only been strengthened.
While the essential relationship between artist and patron may not have been fundamentally altered at this historical juncture, this period does mark a significant change in the role of art as an ideological tool, apart from its physical realization. The prevailing image of Bramante, like that of his Roman period of architecture, is a representation fashioned according to a theoretical position which privileged an idealized, 'universal' vision above the particularities of historical practice, and the individual genius above common experience. While these representations are ultimately based to differing degrees in reality, they function fundamentally on the level of appearances and ideas. They are rhetorical, in that they attempt to persuade their audience by means of abstract reasoning as did the humanists in their literary arguments. Furthermore, they exist almost independently of their physical subjects. The combination of the abstract notions of artistic genius, exemplified by Bramante, and munificent architectural patronage, exemplified by Pope Julius II, met the specific needs of the Renaissance Papacy, fashioning an image of Rome as the new centre of humanist learning, in place of the former Florentine centre. It is this conception of art, artist and patron, rather than their actualization, which, I believe, marks the commencement of the "High Renaissance".

One of the effects of this constellation of representations was the diffusion and dislocation of alternative positions. As we have seen, the generalized image of Bramante as architectural genius is the product of specific historical, social and political circumstances. Upheld by art history as indicative of Renaissance practice, this image obscures its own sources and the ways in which it and Bramante's architecture functioned within the period. Consequently, rather than these projects being identified directly with Pope Julius II, the papacy and their specific political alliances and concerns, attention is focussed upon the architect and the artistic merits of his work. In reorientating the relation between patron and architect, art history confers fame and authority upon Bramante, first, and the patron only secondarily. In so doing, the
interpretation of the commission or project is altered. This process translates the patron's specifically directed motives into neutral, formalist and ahistorical interests by means of an aesthetic filter: namely, a humanistic art history. For instance, while the motive may have originally been the consolidation of papal secular power, the work, the Palazzo dei Tribunali, is presented and discussed in the formal and aesthetic terms of 'Architecture', rather than according to the work's underlying function. The prestige conferred upon the patron of a commission so interpreted is, therefore, discussed in terms of cultural enlightenment and progressiveness rather than direct political and/or social gain. In this manner, Julius' projects are de-politicized by their translation into an 'art' idiom, i.e. Bramante's universal architectural style. As such they are interpreted not as functional and strategic agendas, but separately as 'works of art'. Certainly this is how Bramante and his architectural projects are discussed by the majority of Renaissance theoreticians. Seldomly are the works' ideological presentation or reception seriously considered or outlined. Rather, the focus is on Bramante's genius and art as autonomous. Artistic production, however, is never so neatly compartmentalized.

Bramante, like Michaelangelo and Raphael, lived and worked obliged to his patron, the papacy as represented by Pope Julius II. Ultimately, his art and image served the glorification of the papacy's political programme through the creation of visual symbols of papal policy and power and in the validation of the Renaissance as a period of cultural and intellectual superiority: a conception which again supported contemporary papal claims as the harbingers of this epoch. However, if the architect is to be defined as the "designer" and "authority" behind the works, in many ways, the patron, represented by Julius II, although relinquishing the title, nevertheless remained the "architect" of both his client and his projects.
Fig. 1  Andrea Palladio, Elevation for Bramante's Tempietto
Fig. 2  Andrea Palladio, Plan for Bramante's Tempietto
Fig. 3  Frieze from facade of Santa Maria Novella, Florence

Fig. 4  Western facade of Palazzo Ducale, Urbino
Fig. 5 Pedro Berruguete [Justus van Ghent], Federigo da Montefeltro and His Son Guidobaldo, c. 1476
Fig. 6  Il Buggiano, Monument to Brunelleschi, Florence Cathedral

Fig. 7  Illumination from St. Augustine's *De civitate Dei*, 1459
Fig. 8 Melozzo da Forli, *Pope Sixtus IV Appointing Platina Vatican Librarian*, 1474–1477
Fig. 9 Giorgio Vasari, Portrait of Bramante from *Le Vite*
Fig. 10  Giorgio Vasari, Portrait of Antonio da Sangallo, *Le Vite*
Fig. 11  Bramante, *Greek Philosopher Chilon*, c. 1477
Fig. 12  Bramante, *Youth from Mazza*, Men at Arms, c. 1480–83
Fig. 13  Bernardo Prevedari after Bramante, *Ruined Temple*, c. 1480
Fig. 14  Reconstruction of elevation and plan of Prevedari Print, Ruined Temple
Fig. 15 Detail of Prevedari Print, Ruined Temple
Fig. 16  Bramante, Tree trunk column, Canonica of Sant'Ambrogio
Fig. 17  Bramante, Frontispiece of *Antiquarie Prospetiche Romane*, c. 1500
Fig. 18  *The Christian Philosopher*, frontispiece from George Hartgill's *Generall Calendars*, c. 1594

Fig. 19  Armillary Sphere, musical instruments and books in Intarsia in the Studiolo, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino
Fig. 20  Sandro Botticelli, *St. Augustine*, Ognissanti, Florence, c. 1480

Fig. 21  Antonio Pollaiuolo, *Astrologia*, Sixtus IV's tomb, 1493
Fig. 22  God as the Architect of the Universe, illumination, mid-13th c.
Fig. 23  *Typus geometriae*, woodblock print, c. 1583

Fig. 24  Antonio Pollaiuolo, *Geometria*, Sixtus IV's tomb, 1493
Fig. 25  Euclid, Studiolo, Palazzo Ducale, Urbino
Fig. 26 Frontispiece of Cosimo Bartoli’s edition of Leon Battista Alberti’s *Opuscoli morali*, 1568
Fig. 27  Belvedere Foundation Medal, obverse, c. 1504

Fig. 28  Belvedere Foundation Medal, reverse, c. 1504
Fig. 29 Caradosso, *St. Peter's Foundation Medal*, obverse, 1506

Fig. 30 Caradosso, *St. Peter's Foundation Medal*, reverse, 1506
Fig. 31 Pope Julius II and the Emperor Constantine Discussing the Plans for St. Peter's, 17th century engraving
Fig. 32  Caradosso, *Bramante's Medal*, obverse, 1506

Fig. 33  Caradosso, *Bramante's Medal*, reverse, 1506
Fig. 34  Raphael Sanzio, Detail from *School of Athens* Cartoon, c. 1508

Fig. 35  Raphael Sanzio, Preliminary sketches for Euclid after Bramante
Fig. 36  Pier Maria Serbaldi, *Civitavecchia Foundation Medal*, reverse, 1508

Fig. 37  *Palazzo dei Tribunali Foundation Medal*, reverse, 1508
Fig. 38 Frontispiece of Caporali's edition of Vitruvius' *De architectura*, 1536
DELLE ANTICHITÀ.

Mentre la traccia di tante cose antiche, & dimostrazioni in età & inglese 8 si esercitino
nelle cattedrali, & dimostrarli a quelle di moderna, & illuminare di qualche di teorico
architettura, benché non l' ho lasciato adere, lasciando dimostrare il Disegno edificato di
San Pietro, & altro eseguito da t'impiegati, & vero ma il può dire il modo in
Vista la buona Architettura col merco di Giglio II, Ponte di Manna, & sono fatti
sebbene di così belle opere da la parte in Architettura, quelle la figura col duomo & i due. Questa
è una loggia fatta a Belvedere nei giardini del Papa, nella quale si comprendono due belle
città, la lastricata, che accenna alla proporzione, per avere la dimostrazione di tale larghezza,
& grandezza. L'idea di quelli accompagnamento, & effetti ornato, & oltre le belle norme
Venne che è aver molto ben proporzionato. L'opera qui fatta è voluta & palma antica, cioè a
primo, & a minori che a detto. & la larghezza da gli archi & palme, & alcune sono
fino li pilastri, cioè conto il piano, quanti sono. Le forme dei pilastri erano in parte, & una
parte sovrà la pilastri che la cortina all'arco, che sono detti che parli del tempo. & con
intese che i quattro parti son per le pilastri del mosaico, & tre parti si danno a una
città, & i due parti si danno a una
chiesa, & i quattro sono delineati le quattro parti. L'altrelucne del prodigio sarà per la cortina della
larghezza del pilastro. L'altrelucne della volta d'ogni prodigio sarà quanti ha la piastrellata dell'arco.
L'altrelucne delle case del prodigio a una per metà bene della base, l'altrelucne della
chiesa con la base, & il capo della base con base, & la cortina parte di più. La base sarà
per le quattro griglie di colonne, & il capo sarà per una griglia, & base la cortina parte
di più per la cortina, l'altrelucne dell'architettura, del prodigio, & della cortina & quanti è il pro-
digio della base la sua base, & quell'altrelucne sfondo in parti & parti & questo sarà per
l'architettura; tre parti si danno al prodigio, perche di forma ingegnoio le quattro parti ritornano
lungo per la cortina; & stipetti al merco ehe alla griglie delle pilastri, l'altrelucne
del mosaico diluito alla sua larghezza, & ritorna l'opera al suo luogo & l'altrelucne
delle parti & per le quattro griglie di colonne & mosaico & i quattro sovrà che hanno in
sua porzione.

Fig. 39 Sebastiano Serlio, Elevation and plan of Belevedere
courtyard loggie
Fig. 40 Sebastiano Serlio, Details of Belvedere courtyard loggie
Fig. 41 Sebastiano Serlio, Details of Belvedere courtyard loggie
Fig. 42  Sebastiano Serlio, Bramante's plan for central dome of St. Peter's
Fig. 43 Giovanni Antonio Dosio, Drawing of Belvedere courtyard, c. 1558-61

Fig. 44 "Sofas of Via Giulia", rusticated foundations of Palazzo dei Tribunali
Fig. 45  S. Maria di Loreto Foundation Medal, reverse, 1509

Fig. 46  Maren van Heemskerck, Drawing from inside of St. Peter's
Fig. 47  Marten van Heemskerck, Drawing of St. Peter's under construction

Fig. 48  Giuliano da Sangallo, Drawing of extant Basilica Aemilia
Fig. 49  View of Belvedere Statue Court, (during pontificate of Pius VI)

Fig. 50  Bramante, The Parchment Plan, Bramante's first project for St. Peter's
Fig. 51  Bramante, Study of revised plan for St. Peter's
Fig. 52  Hartman Schedel, Detail of Map of Rome, 1493

Fig. 53  Marten van Heemskerck, Drawing of St. Peter's and Vatican Palace, c. 1550
Fig. 54  Inscription from memorial stone, Via dei Banchi Nuovi, 1512
Fig. 55  Reconstruction of early 16th century Rome
Fig. 56  Bramante (?), Drawing of first floor plan of Palazzo dei Tribunali

Fig. 57  Hypothetical reconstruction of "Via Giulia Project"
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Castiglione, Sabba. Ricordi overo Ammaestramenti di Monsignore Sabba Castiglione Cavaller gerolomitan. Ne quali con prudenti, e Christiani discorsi si ragiona di tutte le materie honorate che si recercano a un vero gentil huomo. Milano, 1555.


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APPENDIX I

A NOTE ON BRAMANTE’S
ANTICHRARIE PROSPETICH ROMANE COMPOSTE PER PROSPECTIVO MELANESE
DEPICTORE

One section of Bramante’s Anticuarie in particular seems to refer specifically to the relationship between patron and artist. While Bramante’s poem is ostensibly centred around the description of the antique treasures of Rome, he enthusiastically praises one modern work among a collection of otherwise antique works. This modern work is Pope Sixtus IV’s bronze tomb, recently finished by the Florentine artist Antonio Pollaiuolo, and commissioned by the former Pope’s nephew, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, (the subsequent Pope Julius II). Of the tomb Bramante writes:

Evi una tomba di corpo fusario
del quarto di savona gran pastore
comove giaque el nemico di dario.
Tutte di bronzo e par che sporti inore
ornato di virtu muse e scientia
di laude cinto premio et honore
In somma sta el pastor per excelletia
di tal splendor quale el car phebeo
che par che sie nativo in so presentia
Praxiteles e scopa over perso
facto nollo haverrebbe lucibello
over de andromida el gran tholomeo
El Anton polli fel proprio modello
per nothomia et ogni nervo et osso
come facto I havessi praxitello.¹

¹Doris Diana Fienga, “The Anticuarie Prospetiche Romane composte per Prospectivo Melaneese Depictore: A Document for the Study of the Relationship between Bramante and Leonardo da Vinci,” diss., University of California, 1970, facsimile of original reproduced p. 35; English trans.: “There is a tomb with the effigy/ of the fourth Pope from Savona fused in bronze/ which moves the hardest of men to mourn./All in bronze, it appears to be projecting out,/ ornamented with Virtues, and Liberal Arts/ a work of much praise and honour./On top is the Holy Shepherd,/ splendid as the Sun/ he seems vital in his presence./Praxiteles, Scopas, or Perseus/ would have made nothing more brilliant or beautiful/ for Andromeda or the Great Tholomeus./Antonio Pollaiuolo created the original model,/ every nerve and bone of the anatomy/ as though Praxiteles himself had made it.” Fienga, 53–54, Tercets 112–116.
It is interesting to note that Bramante should isolate this work -- the only modern work -- and praise it in this manner. It is interesting especially considering that the patron of the work was none other than Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere who was at this time (circa 1500) a powerful figure, rumored to be the next Pope and, in fact, to be Bramante’s own patron only a few years after this poem was written.

Certainly, patronage concerns may at least partially explain the tomb’s inclusion in the verses of the Antiquarie. Bramante dedicates the poem to his old friend from Milan, Leonardo da Vinci, expressing empathy over the loss of their mutual patron, Ludovico Sforza.2 Continuing along this vein, Bramante notes that the genius of a great artist such as Leonardo required a stable patron in order to flourish: “Se tu vivessi piu che mai arandro/ e non venissi dove policreta/ non valeresti per antichun landro.”\(^3\) The inference of such a statement is that only with a great and munificent patron such as Polycrates does an artist achieve the excellence of the ancient artists.\(^4\) It is possible that Bramante was thinking of himself as well as Leonardo when he wrote these lines since both had suffered the loss of their patron Ludovico Sforza. It seems that Bramante believed that Rome offered such a Polycrates as men of 'genius', like Leonardo, and it can be assumed himself, required. Who he saw as this Polycrates we cannot be sure, but perhaps it was Giuliano della Rovere, the individual he flattered as the equivalent of

\(^{2}\)“Neither Straton, or Zoroaster would suffice/ Nor Hegasisus, gentle Speusippus, or Periander/ to tell how deeply I feel the change in your life.” English trans., Fienga, 41, Tercet 9.

\(^{3}\)Fienga, 33; English trans.: “If you continue to live at large/ and you were not to come where there is Polikrates/ you would not be worthy of the ancients.” Fienga, 41, Tercet 10.

\(^{4}\)Bramante’s reference to Polycrates is of the munificent and honoured tyrant of Samos who was a lavish patron of the Arts, and would have been familiar to both Leonardo and Bramante. He is the same Polycrates who Sabba Castiglione of the Milanese court described as the happiest man on earth, possessed of good sense, health, power, wealth, honour, and, most importantly for the artists who relied on his patronage, able to will all that he desired: “tanto poteva quanto voleva.” [S. Castiglione, *Ricordi*, 259; cited by Fienga, 100].
Andromeda or the Great Tholomeus for being the patron of this magnificent tomb. Or perhaps Bramante was simply referring to the Papal Court or the general climate of patronage in Rome at the turn of the sixteenth century. Irregardless, it is significant that Bramante positively acknowledges the interdependence of the patron and the artist in his poem: an interdependence which he was later to enjoy with Pope Julius II as his 'Polycrates', and which came to characterize Renaissance patronage relations.
APPENDIX II

POPE JULIUS II'S IMAGE AS SOLDIER-POPE

While Giles of Viterbo, the Prior General of the Order of Augustinian Hermits and the favourite preacher of Pope Julius II, actually congratulated Julius on his scholarship and pacification of the papal state, other writers such as Erasmus, Guicciardini and Macchiavelli clearly identified his militaristic temperament.1

Julius II's desire to consolidate the Holy See's temporal power and drive the Barbarians out of Italy is evident in his personal actions and policy as pontiff. Described by his contemporaries as a stubborn and passionately tempered man, and specifically by Machiavelli as "violent", "audacious", "unstable", "hasty", and "rash", and as proceeding impetuously in all his affairs to his own benefit, Julius II pursued his goals through militaristic campaigns and strong punitive actions against his detractors.2

In fact, the Italian people came to know him as "Papa terribile", in acknowledgement of the awe and fear that his actions inspired. The Venetian ambassador's report of April 1, 1510 is consistent in tone with these descriptions, stating, "Il papa vuol essere il signore e maestro del giuoco del mondo!" 3 Guicciardini's recollections tend only to confirm this image of the Pope, who, we are told, led his troops in person, fighting against foreign influences in Italy, and attempting to gain control over all of Italy.

"Julius is now calling for the expulsion of all barbarians from Italy -- Fuori i Barbari," Guicciardini writes, continuing "... and in Rome the saying is that the Pope


has cast the keys of Saint Peter into the Tiber to take up the sword of Saint Paul."  
Furthermore, he notes that "after laying the cornerstone of the new St. Peter's in April 1506, Julius issues forth from Rome at the head of five hundred men-at-arms, ... The vicar of Christ has become Mars."  
Finally, on April 27, 1509, when the Venetians refused to restore the cities of the Romagna to the Holy See, Julius excommunicated them. Commenting on this act, Guicciardini writes:

Setting the importunity and violence of his mind above all other considerations, Julius was not restrained by the consideration of how unworthy it was for the majesty of so high a position, that the Roman pontiff should lead armies in person against Christian towns; nor how dangerous this was, scorning the reputation and judgement that the entire world would make of him, and lending apparent reason and almost justification to those who were seeking to convolve the Council and arouse the princes of Christendom against him, on the grounds primarily that his rule was pernicious to the Church and his failings scandalous and incorrigible. Such were the words resounding throughout the papal court.

Also in Andrea Guarna's play, *Simia*, in response to St. Peter's accusation that Bramante is responsible for the destruction of the Constantinian Basilica and his question: "Sei poi riuscito nel tuo progetto?", Bramante's replies: "No: because Julius allowed the old church to be destroyed; but for the rebuilding of the new one he did not open his purse, but only made available the monies from indulgences and confessionals; encroaching upon my territory, the Spanish troops drained almost all of it."

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4Guicciardini, 211.
5Guicciardini, 189.
6Guicciardini, 212.
7Andreae Guarna Salernirani, *Andreae Gurana Salernirani: Simia Opus Novum*, ed. Giorgio Nicodemi (1913), pp. 60-61; English trans.: Saint Peter: "Then you succeeded in your project?" Bramante: "No: Because Julius allowed the old church to be destroyed; but for the rebuilding of the new one he did not open his purse, but only made available the monies from indulgences and confessionals: encroaching upon my territory, the Spanish troops drained almost all of it."
The image of Pope Julius II painted by these historical commentaries is of a fiery military ruler and a soldier-Pope, rather than the enlightened patron of the Arts which the documents concerning his architectural projects and clients present. These discrepancies should be seen as part of the rhetorical discourse associated with *Roma instauratio*, not unlike the discrepancies within Bramante's representation.