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INTRODUCTION

CONTEMPORARY ARCHITECTURE PRIZES originality, and with it the idea that creativity thrives on a blank slate. In fifteenth- and sixteenth-century Italy, however, an architect's reputation was made in part on the basis of how much he had been able to steal or borrow from the past. A design was not spontaneously generated, as some architects today might have us believe, but took form in negotiation with precedent and in dialogue with the past.[1]

The precedents that carried the greatest weight in Renaissance Italy were overwhelmingly Roman. But ancient Rome could present a baffling aspect to the uninitiated. Prior to the middle of the sixteenth century, when printed books by Sebastiano Serlio (1537), Giacomo Vignola (1562), and Andrea Palladio (1570) established a canon of classical monuments and disseminated their images, there were no obvious means of learning about the ruins—which ones might be appropriate models, or what they might have looked like whole.

Giuliano da Sangallo (1443–1516) changed all this, providing his contemporaries and followers with a visual and conceptual guide to the monuments of the ancient world.[2] A successful architect closely tied to Lorenzo de' Medici, he established a series of important new Renaissance types: the patrician villa, in Poggio a Caiano; the centralized church, in Santa Maria delle Carceri in Prato;

FACING PAGE   Giuliano da Sangallo, Theater of Marcellus, Codex Barberini (detail of fig. 210).

and the Florentine patrician palace, in Palazzo Gondi, Palazzo Cocchi, Palazzo Strozzi, and Palazzo Scala- della Gherardesca. While most of his built works were in Tuscany, he also designed significant projects for Julius II and Leo X in Rome. All the while, he built up his graphic repertoire, making extensive studies of ancient Roman and early Christian monuments and fragments.

Giuliano's Codex Barberini and Taccuino Senese (c. 1465–1516), two books of drawings on parchment, one held in the Vatican Library and the other in the Biblioteca Communale di Siena, record the first thorough attempt to document the monuments of Rome. Falling between the medieval model book and the printed architectural treatise, both chronologically and conceptually, the volumes and the drawings they contain defy conventional classification and explan- ation. They attest both Giuliano's nostalgia for the lost splendor of Rome and his impulse as a practicing architect to collect principles and models. The co- incidence of these interests, which would later mani- fest as two distinct types—the pictorial view (*veduta*) and the architectural drawing—may be read in the layers of information included in the images, from Giuliano's use of ink wash as a method of rendering weathered stone and his invocations of a fantasy ruined landscape, to his carefully measured and orthogonally represented architectural details. While his purpose was in part to record what he saw, he saw with the eyes of an architect, and his drawings blur the lines between documentation, interpretation, and invention.

Giuliano's modes of architectural representation were innovative and experimental in relation to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century conventions of draw- ing. Architectural historians generally agree that con- ventions of representation were advanced in the context of the building of Saint Peter's.[3] However, the tremendous range and vitality of the representational techniques evident in the pages of Giuliano's books suggest that it may have been the desire to represent ancient ruins that drove these innovations. Documen- tation itself can be a dynamic, transformative force: in seeking to represent a range of spatially complex and ornate monuments, Giuliano developed conventions equal to the task.

The way in which Giuliano drew a monument can also signal how he hoped to use it and provides a key to understanding the interplay between antiquarian study and design in his work. Studying Giuliano's drawings of Rome in light of his activities as a professional architect offers insight into these connections. He looked to the antique for solutions to problems that he faced with his projects. Thus, his practice shaped his perception of the antique as much as his study of the antique informed his practice. This is evident in his use of the orders, his organization of space, the relation of his interiors to his exteriors, and his deployment of figurative ornament.

Many fifteenth- and sixteenth-century architects, from Francesco di Giorgio and Simone del Pollaiuolo (Il Cronaca) to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Palladio, erase the effects of time in their drawings of ancient monuments, presenting old and new as though they were equivalent. Giuliano's drawings, by contrast, devote painstaking attention to the damage wrought by weather and history. He makes lavish use of wash, occasionally colored, to render the surface of the stone and its decay and to show the growth of new plants in the crevices. These aspects of Giuliano's drawings may be understood in relation to paintings by such contemporaries as Sandro Botticelli, Filippino Lippi, and Andrea Mantegna, who made great efforts to render the passage of time in the backgrounds of their works, employing architecture for symbolic ends.

But it was not only visual artists who had an impact on Giuliano's approach to the ancient monuments. The architect's attitude toward Rome was shaped equally by the poetic culture of ruins and, in particular, by Petrarch (1304–1374) and his followers. Adopting the term *ruinae* to refer to literary remains, Petrarch developed an extended metaphor linking the reconstruction of ancient texts with the disinterment of monuments. For Petrarch, as for Giuliano, caught between the impulses of the antiquarian and the creative artist, the project of recovery and imitation of the past was fraught with ambivalence. What for Petrarch is a literary image of the author consuming his sources takes on literal meaning for Giuliano in the context of his era, when ruins were used as quarries to fuel new building.[4]

Giuliano's drawings of Rome invite a consideration of many issues central to Renaissance architectural culture: the architect's relation to the past and the link between the study of ancient monuments and the formulation of new designs; conventions of representation in architecture and their relation to pictorial practices; and the diverse functions of drawing. Thus, the drawings illuminate the link between perception, representation, and design, demonstrating that drawing existing buildings engaged the architect's imagination, as the first step in their transformation of what they saw into something new. Finally, the drawings suggest a more inclusive view of classicism than the one we have inherited, in their emphasis on the unstable and richly varied qualities of Roman architecture.

Before Archeology

Several preconceptions have prevented scholars from seeing Giuliano's drawings clearly and in relation to their own aims. First, Renaissance drawings after the antique have traditionally attracted the interest primarily of archeologists, who look to them for documentation of buildings that have since disappeared.[5] When Giuliano's drawings are considered only for their objective, informational content, what is most evident are their shortcomings.[6] Second, the way in which the architectural orders have come to dominate discussions of sixteenth-century architecture has obscured a range of other concerns. The varied and subtle kinds of information Giuliano sought to find in antique buildings did not directly advance the purpose of canonizing the orders, but rather involved ornamental motives, ways of organizing the wall into panels and revetment, and configurations of complex plans. Third, while antiquarianism provides a useful context in some regards, it is not generally construed as a creative enterprise. It is thus difficult to situate Giuliano's impulses as a designer within his study of the antique.

Rather than seeing him primarily as an archeologist or an antiquarian, this book recognizes Giuliano's drawings of Roman ruins and fragments as a form of research and as an extension of his activities as a designer. For hundreds of years, from the Renaissance through the era of the Grand Tour, the Prix de Rome, and the École des Beaux-Arts, visits to Rome and the drawing and study of its monuments formed an essential part of an architect's professional development. But today, these practices are at best the exceptions, and the knowledge of how the study of older monuments once constituted an important part of an architect's work has been lost.[7] As a result, architectural documentation is assumed to have been a rote process of recording, in which the architect is akin to a courtroom stenographer, when, in fact, the process acted as a dynamic, transformative force. In seeking to represent a range of spatially complex and ornate monuments, Giuliano developed new conventions that could match the nature of his interests.

Beyond the particular problems related to the historiography and evaluation of his drawings after the antique, Giuliano has not received the recognition he merits as an architect generally. This is the first book in English dedicated to him, and, prior to 2016, Giuliano was the subject of only one, thin volume in Italian.[8] In recent years, he has garnered more attention in Italy, with the publication of a monograph, as well as a catalogue of his drawings and an edited book of essays.[9] Giorgio Vasari's relative neglect of him—he was considered only in a paired biography with his brother, Antonio the Elder—may be partly responsible, along with accidents of history by which Giuliano has been construed as a transitional figure, stuck at the awkward juncture between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.[10] Despite Giuliano's deep knowledge of antiquity, as both his drawings and designs attest, many historical accounts credit Donato Bramante (1444–1514) as the first to truly understand ancient Roman architecture.[11] Bramante's Roman buildings, such as the Tempietto, are presented as the evidence of his full assimilation and mastery of ancient architectural principles. However, as I shall argue, the Tempietto may well depend on Giuliano's research into ancient prototypes and reconstructions of them. Furthermore, while according to Vasari, Bramante had his own book of drawings after the antique, it does not survive. Thus, the means by which Bramante acquired his knowledge of the antique remains uncertain.

By contrast, Giuliano's drawings reveal exactly what he knew and thought about the ancient past. My point is not to exchange Bramante for Giuliano as the sole, heroic interpreter of the past for the Renaissance, but rather to suggest that there was a broader field of investigations and explorations that contributed to a gradual understanding and appropriation of ancient ideas and forms, in which Giuliano played an important and well-documented role.

Giuliano's Codex Barberini, although frequently mentioned by archeologists and historians of architecture, has rarely been the object of direct study. Christian Hülsen's catalogue of 1910 (reprinted in 1984) remains the exception and is still an invaluable resource; Stefano Borsi's catalogue of 1985 updates many of the archeological references in Hülsen's book.[12] Hülsen provides an excellent guide to the physical makeup of the codex and a remarkably thorough catalogue of the buildings and fragments it represents. Rodolfo Falb's catalogue of the Taccuino Senese (1902) is far less scholarly but also provides a basic description of its contents. My aim in these pages is not to replace these books but rather to consider the broader questions surrounding Giuliano's study of antiquity.

Beyond Classicism

As an intellectual and artistic movement, classicism gained traction in the eighteenth century, in the context of the growth of academies of art and architecture.[13] John Summerson pointed out in his series of lectures published as *The Classical Language of Architecture* (1963), when associated with architecture, the term *classical* cannot be separated from the concept of the five orders: Tuscan, Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Composite. Summerson observes, "Although the Romans clearly accepted the individuality of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian, and knew about their historical origins, it was not they who embalmed and sanctified them in the arbitrary, limiting way with which we are familiar."[14] Vitruvius had established some of the basic parameters of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian. However, the concept of the five orders, and the precise morphology and proportions ascribed to them, were later inventions, based not only on Vitruvius but

also on observations he and his contemporaries had made about Roman antiquities.[15] To many, "classical architecture" simply denotes buildings with columns. It may more specifically refer to any building modeled on ancient Greek or Roman monuments. It is seen often as encompassing Renaissance architecture, although the more historically specific term, employed by people in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is *all'antica*, or "in the manner of the ancients."

Classical is also often used as a synonym for *canonical*, or in conjunction with it, to denote architectural adherence to the types set forth by Vitruvius in his *Ten Books of Architecture* of the first century B.C., as the sole surviving authority on architecture from the Greco-Roman world. As scholars have noted, Vitruvius himself was less doctrinaire than some of his later interpreters, such as Serlio, Vignola, and Palladio, who themselves are largely responsible for establishing the orthodox view of the classical orders through their texts and especially through their woodcut illustrations.[16] Vignola is a case unto himself: the title he chose, *Regola delli cinque ordini* (The Canon of the Five Orders), points to his emphasis on normative and orthodox forms. At the same time, the magnification of the image relative to the shrinking text reinforced the idea of the image as a standard.

Giuliano worked decades before Serlio, Vignola, or Palladio, and, in some regards, his investigations of the antique lay the groundwork for their explorations. His extensive research into the forms and typologies of the ancient orders, and his measurements of them, directed the interest of other architects toward particular examples and also, in his later drawings, established a standard of precision.[17] But in another sense, Giuliano's embrace of ancient architecture resists the narrative of classical architecture as historians have described it. Although he included many capitals, bases, and cornices, most of the examples did not adhere to any of the five orders as they would come to be defined. Instead, he depicted a wide array of highly ornamented, often figurative capitals and bases in the first part of the Codex Barberini (the Libro Piccolo) and throughout.[18] While in the later parts of the codex, and especially in the Taccuino Senese, Giuliano also demonstrated his interest in the

proportions of the Doric, Ionic, and Corinthian orders and in Alberti's description of the Ionic order, his investigations were largely rooted in the heterogeneous realities of ancient exemplars rather than in the description of their abstract qualities. Significantly, his interests went far beyond the orders, encompassing the study of figurative relief sculpture (in triumphal arches and elsewhere), paneling systems, and geometrically unusual plans.

In this regard, his studies suggest an entire alternative tradition, a road not followed in the interpretation of the past. His drawings allow us to recover an understanding of the ancient world beyond the narrow confines of what later centuries deemed "classical."

Perhaps even more impressively, Giuliano realized that Rome did not end at the Aurelian Walls. He understood Rome as an empire in a way that few others of his or later generations did. From southern France to Campania, from Ravenna to Athens and Istanbul, he brought in antiquities that had never been conceived of together. With our modern-day notion of "classical architecture" and "the Greco-Roman tradition," the relationship among these pieces may seem obvious. But at a historical moment when few local architects were documenting the ruins of Pozzuoli or Baia, not to mention Florentine ones, and when travel, especially to the far reaches of the Mediterranean, presented an insurmountable hurdle for most, this was an extraordinary accomplishment.

Over the course of the sixteenth century, the view of antiquity that Giuliano had proposed was rejected in favor of a narrower conception of the past, dependent on a smaller set of models. But his legacy continued in less obvious but equally significant ways. His vision of the antique was carried forward through a strain of architects who shared his interests: Michelangelo, through his fascination with the grotesque; Raphael, in his interest in architectural abstraction and the recherché architectural detail; and Borromini, in his exploration of an anomalous antiquity.

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Why Study Rome?

Why would a Florentine architect with a thriving career take time away from building to make studies of Roman antiquities? And why would he draw them not just for his own eyes but to share with others? The Codex Barberini and Taccuino Senese are distinguished from other, contemporaneous books of drawings in ways that may provide clues about their function. The Codex Barberini was a large-format luxury book, with parchment sheets and a fine leather binding. Consisting of seventy-five folios, most drawn on recto and verso, it included a wide range of monuments from throughout Italy, including Rome, Florence, Pisa, Ravenna, and Naples, as well as from France. Perhaps most striking was the pictorial quality of the drawings, achieved both by use of wash and color and by attention to the composition of the page. The Taccuino Senese, made up of fifty-two pages, was more compact, also employing parchment as the surface for carefully executed drawings of both ancient monuments and Giuliano's own projects.

The luxury of the Codex Barberini, akin to that of illuminated manuscripts, might suggest the presence of a sponsor. However, the many decades Giuliano worked on it preclude the consistent support of a single patron. Some have suggested that it was a personal project, autobiographical in nature, intended to be passed on to his son Francesco.[19] While this may have an element of truth, the didactic character of the book's inscriptions suggests that it was meant for a wider audience to see and study. Furthermore, the copies made from the book, by Bernardo della Volpaia in the Codex Coner, and by the anonymous authors of drawings in the Codex Escurialensis, the Codex Mellon, the Montreal Codex, and loose sheets at the Uffizi indicate that the book was seen both by immediate members of Giuliano's circle and beyond.[20] The books would have formed a part of Giuliano's self-conscious construction of his legacy, which also took the form of his commission of a portrait of himself and his father by Piero di Cosimo and his building of a family house on Borgo Pinti (fig. 1). Recently uncovered documents suggest that Giuliano also assembled an ambitious and notable collection of

1   Piero di Cosimo, portraits of Giuliano and Francesco Giamberti da Sangallo, 1482–85. Oil on panel, 47.5 × 33.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (SK-C-1367). On loan from the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen Mauritshuis.

antiquities, paintings, and books in the house on Borgo Pinti of which the Codex Barberini would have been a distinguished component.[21] The size of the Codex Barberini in itself facilitates viewing and discussion: it is large enough that one can readily imagine Giuliano's standing over it and describing its contents to a patron or to another architect.

Some questions may be better framed in cultural terms than in strictly biographical ones. In this regard, the creation of the Codex Barberini occurs at a moment in which increasing value was ascribed to fragments of a lost Roman past. By the 1460s and 1470s in Florence, Urbino, Rome, Mantua, and many other cities, the humanist revival of ancient literature and philosophy had spilled over into the visual arts, and educated patrons sought to demonstrate their cultural sophistication by means of references to the ancient past.[22] Painters, sculptors, architects, and craftsmen of all varieties had begun to inject *all'antica* references into their works. As these references became more diffused, and patrons became more sophisticated and discerning, architects and painters needed to build up their catalogue of references. They traveled to Rome to make drawings of ancient ruins and statues, and the drawings they brought back supplied references and motives for paintings and built works, as well as

serving as a form of professional credential at a time when few existed. Vasari's account of how Bramante got his first job in Rome, building the courtyard of Santa Maria della Pace, indicates that it hinged on his showing his (now lost) book of drawings to Oliviero Carafa, the project's patron.[23]

Many loose sheets of studies of Roman fragments and monuments from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries survive, as well as several books of drawings. A substantial number of the surviving drawings are by as yet unidentified hands, but there are also hundreds of drawings certainly by Baldassare Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, many of which are devoted to the study of antiquities, and lesser numbers by other draftsmen.[24] Books of drawings include, in addition to those mentioned above, several illustrated manuscripts by Francesco di Giorgio in London, Rome, Turin, and Florence, the books formerly attributed to Jacopo Ripanda at Oxford, the Ambrosiana Codex in Milan, and the Zichy Codex in Budapest, among many others.[25]

Each of these examples served a different purpose for the artists and architects who made them, but a few broad observations might be ventured. Although scholars have emphasized the significance of Vitruvius, there is little evidence of his impact in the drawings. While Peruzzi and Antonio da Sangallo occasionally include annotations alluding to the ancient author, they are exceptional.[26] More often, Renaissance architects responded directly to what they saw, rather than looking for confirmation of Vitruvian theories. They often took an interest in the ornamental details of ancient architecture but also in its proportions, measurements, and plan. The surviving drawings show that architectural details received an inordinate amount of attention (relative to whole façades or plans), probably because they were more physically accessible, scattered as they were on the ground and gathered in courtyards. Architraves, capitals, and cornices would also have been the easiest elements to integrate into a new building, thus adding a veneer of antique prestige without requiring a wholesale reconception of the structure at hand.

In addition, the corpus of surviving architectural drawings after the antique show that few draftsmen

sought to provide an objective representation and record of ancient monuments as they were. Many drawings include extensive measurements, but prior to the advent of modern-day archeology, the utility of such measurements was relative—they served the architect's own interest in proportion and scale but had little other use. This distinction matters because scholars have at times criticized fifteenth- and sixteenth-century draftsmen for their inaccuracy or imprecision, or for making "arbitrary" or "fantastical" changes to the monuments as they saw them.[27] The judgment is anachronistic, however, because for an architect of the time there was no virtue in, or even conception of, an objective representation. Rather, the entire purpose of these drawings was to serve the needs of the draftsmen as designers: in this regard, any changes they made were far from arbitrary but rather the considered result of their redesign of and attempted improvement upon the existing (and often fragmentary) ancient monuments. Francesco di Giorgio, for example, tended to depict ancient buildings as longer and taller than they were, reflecting his aesthetic preference as a Sienese architect for Gothic proportions.[28]

In contrast to the flexible approach of fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century architects, in the Letter to Leo X of around 1519, Raphael and Baldassare Castiglione advocated a form of objective documentation and precise measurement. However, there is little evidence that their contemporaries followed their advice or even agreed with their aims.[29] To the extent that some did follow it—for example, Giovanni Battista da Sangallo, the proposed author of the Codex Rootstein-Hopkins (formerly Stosch)—they did so decades after Giuliano da Sangallo's death.[30]

Things Broken and Whole

Before architects and artists began to study Roman ruins, a shift occurred, such that the ruins themselves were considered worthy of study. Over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Rome and elsewhere, fragments once considered to be detritus, fuel for the making of lime, or material pieces ripe for reuse came to be valued in and of themselves. With

time, what happened to individual fragments also took place on a citywide scale, with areas such as the Roman Forum, which previously had served only as a quarry and a cow pasture, assuming their status as museums of antiquity.

How did ruins go from being merely broken, old things to objects of aesthetic contemplation and creative inspiration? It is difficult to chart the shift in attitude, or even indicate when it began, because it occurred in fits and starts.[31] Even when a sense of the value of ruins did begin to take hold, it was provisional. For many centuries, in the eyes of some Christian observers, ancient monuments were tainted by their association with paganism, while others believed the ruins contained demonic spirits that needed to be exorcized or destroyed.[32] Beyond this, there was the aesthetic value placed on objects in their whole or complete state, and a tendency to see fragments as inherently imperfect.[33]

In *The Broken Jug,* Heinrich von Kleist encapsulates the complex historical status of objects and how it changes when they break. The comic play centers around Frau Marthe, a barmaid at an inn, who is distraught because her precious jug has been carelessly broken by rowdy guests. She appears in court before an impatient judge and magistrate: "You see this jug, your honours, You see this jug?" The judge responds affirmatively, but she objects: "You don't, you'll pardon me, you see the bits."[34] To demonstrate the jug's importance, she recounts the historical figures and events it depicted, who had owned it, who had drunk from it, and what calamities it had survived. Frau Marthe sees the whole in the parts. Through her testimony she evokes the significance the object once held, in terms of what it represented figuratively as well as what it had been through over time—the history it depicted and the history to which it had belonged.

The Renaissance is also the story of the broken jug. It might be said that over the course of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the cultural point of view shifted from that of the judge, who saw only "the bits," to that of Marthe, who could conjure the whole even from the fragments. Living among the scattered detritus of ancient Rome, humanists, artists, architects, and antiquarians, from as early as the fourteenth century,

began to take stock of the fragments around them. Since the fourteenth century, Petrarch and others had valued ruins in a detached, abstract way, evoking the idea of the fragment rather than its physical reality.[35] Antiquarian initiatives to catalogue the ruins often focused on inscriptions or synthesized an array of classical authors as an attempt to understand ancient institutions. In the work of Flavio Biondo and Pomponio Leto, among others, reference to the physical appearance of monuments is rare.[36]

The transition from Rome as an idea to Rome as a real city made up of real fragments took place incrementally. Early accounts are composed primarily of a few repeated stories, difficult to verify. Prominent among these is the story, told by Antonio Manetti, of Brunelleschi's surveying the ruins with Donatello in the 1410s and making careful drawings. Although the tale has been repeated countless times, no associated drawings survive, and it could be apocryphal: Manetti's enhancement of facts provides a flattering view of his subjects, reflecting the expectations of his own era. Even Alberti, who repeatedly describes the importance of studying and drawing the ruins, and refers to his own efforts, left only one drawing (although he must have made many more).[37]

Instead, the transition in the conception of Rome— from a somewhat mythical, intangible place composed of disparate ruins to a real urban environment that could be systematically mapped, studied, and reconstructed—occurs with the next generation, with architects such as Francesco di Giorgio (1439–1502) and Giuliano, and after them Baldassare Peruzzi (1481–1536) and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484–1546). Giuliano's role in this transformation of the vision of Rome from one based on texts and imagination to one based on actual monuments was crucial because of the number, character, and impact of his drawings of antique monuments and fragments.

Another artist whose work allows insight into the changing status of the object in Italy in this period is Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574).[38] He came to Rome in 1532, decades after Giuliano's death, but his drawings bring into high relief many of the issues central to the Codex Barberini. Though keenly attentive to architecture, Heemskerck was a painter by training,
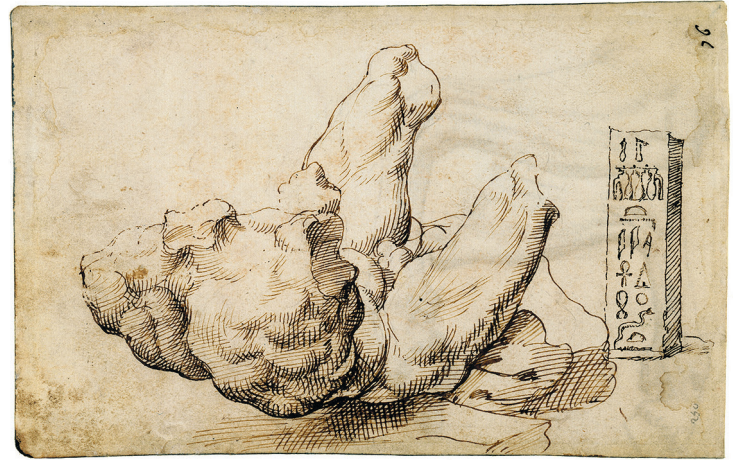
3 (ABOVE) Maarten van Heemskerck, Torso Belvedere and fragment of an obelisk, c. 1532–36. Pen and ink, 13.3 × 21 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (79 D 2, fol. 63r).

2 (LEFT) Apollonius of Athens, Torso Belvedere, 1st century. Parian marble, 159 × 84 × 87 cm. Vatican Museums, Vatican City (1192).

and he brought a sense of narrative and drama to his representation of the ancient city. Among other things, he was an eloquent chronicler of the shifting aesthetic status of sculpture and architecture. In a striking drawing of the Torso Belvedere, Heemskerck depicts the revered sculpture that would inspire Michelangelo and countless other artists as an abandoned fragment lying on the ground, barely recognizable at its oblique angle (figs. 2, 3). His inclusion of a cut-off obelisk in the background only increases the sense that these are remnants of a lost, irrecoverable, ancient culture.

In his studies of Saint Peter's, Heemskerck attests to the productive tension between the ambition of Renaissance architects and the achievements of ancient ones.[39] The start-and-stop pace of the construction of Saint Peter's mirrored, inversely, the slow decay of Rome's ancient monuments. In one view of the apse, dated around 1532–36, Heemskerck depicts the unfinished building with the same jagged edges and vegetal growth one would expect to find on a ruin, an impression enhanced by the similarity between the coffered barrel vaults of the church and those of such monuments in the Roman forum as the Basilica of Maxentius (fig. 4). In another view, a pulley indicates the building is in construction, but the site is strewn with rubble that reads ambiguously as either building materials or antique remains (fig. 5).

4   Maarten van Heemskerck, pillar of the crossing of New Saint Peter's Basilica and remnants of the northern wing of Old Saint Peter's, c. 1532–36. Pen, ink, and wash, 13.5 × 21 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (79 D 2, fol. 13r).
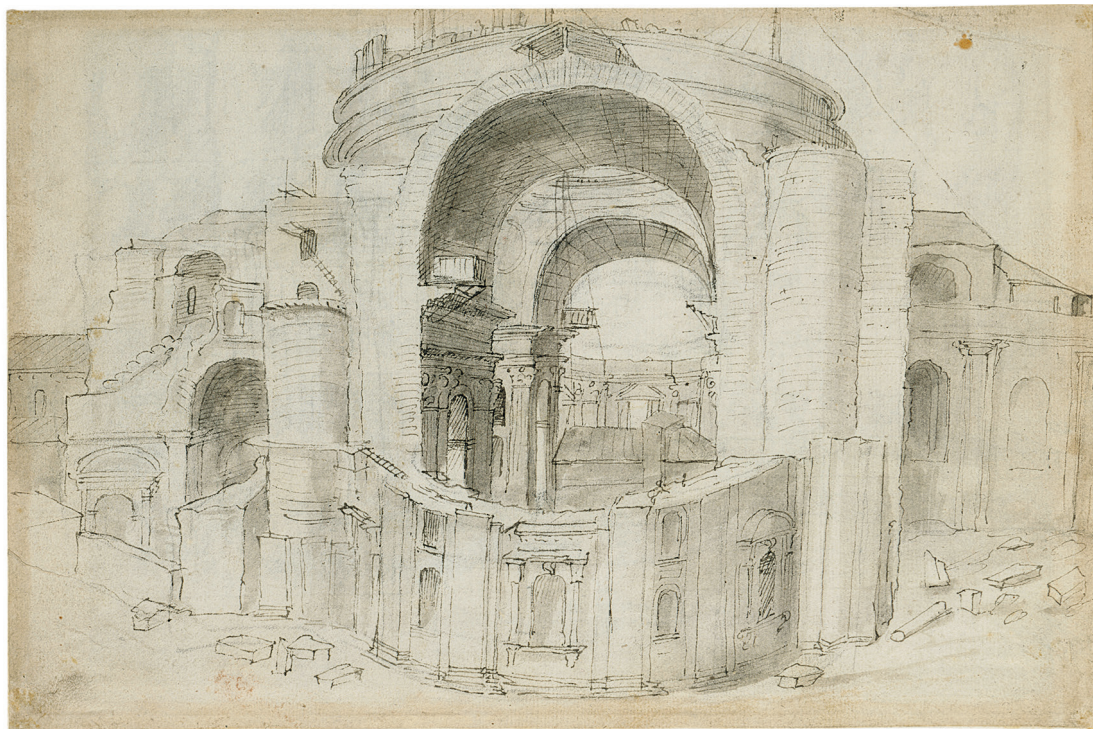
5   Maarten van Heemskerck, north tribune in the new construction of Saint Peter's, c. 1532–36. Pen, ink, and wash, 18.6 × 28.1 cm. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin (79 D 2 a, fol. 60r).

Giuliano does not visualize this relationship in precisely the same way, but he also juxtaposes old buildings with new designs, both in explicit and subtly confounding ways.

Rome Restored through Drawing

More than cataloguing the prowess and creativity of Giuliano as a draftsman, this book brings to the fore several themes that emerge from study of the Codex Barberini and Taccuino Senese. Chapter 1, "The Architect as Bookmaker," considers Giuliano as a maker not only of images but of books. It suggests that the Codex Barberini and Taccuino Senese are important artifacts within the history of book production, and in the complicated transition between the manuscript and the printed book.

Chapter 2, "What Is Antique?," examines the question of canon formation and how particular monuments came to be selected as authoritative models. I argue that Giuliano created an anti-canon, based on principles distinct from those of later architects and theorists. Against the received idea that architects went to Rome to uncover rules and find illustrations of Vitruvian principles, the chapter demonstrates how Giuliano and his contemporaries actively sought a broad, inclusive antiquity.

Chapter 3, "Ornament and Abstraction," uncovers the interest late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century architects and painters demonstrated in the material and figurative richness of antiquity. The fascination for figurative capitals, decorated vaults, and triumphal arches, which surfaces in Giuliano's drawings, in his designs, and in his built projects, eclipses the understanding of classical architecture as a system pertaining principally to the five orders. The definition of composition, wall, ornament, and decoration were raised by Alberti, and Giuliano's drawings and projects demonstrate how he worked through these concepts in visual terms.

Chapter 4, "Ruins and Representation," addresses the recurring topic of representation in the realm of painting and architecture, particularly the two visual paradigms of single-point perspective and of orthogonal drawing. This chapter reconsiders the historical moment, when methods of drawing architecture were still in flux, as a way of questioning the apparent inevitability of the conventions we have inherited. The discussion focuses on Giuliano's explorations of pictorial techniques to stretch the boundaries of what architectural drawing could achieve: in the representation of the passage of time and its effects; in the experience of perceiving a building while moving through it; and in the simultaneous rendering of interior and exterior.

The final chapter, "Research, Reconstruction, and Design," analyzes the intersection between Giuliano's perception of fragmentary monuments, his visual reconstruction of them through his drawing, and his work as a designer. Distinct from a scientific, modern archeological approach, Giuliano's drawings from this period are full of willful embellishments and imaginative reconstructions, blurring the boundary between documentation and invention. The chapter centers on the relation between several ambitious reconstructions of ancient monuments in the Codex Barberini and Giuliano's buildings, arguing that his graphic modifications of ancient buildings were an extension of his work as a designer.

The valorization of fragments and ruins as aesthetic objects through drawing had profound consequences for the city of Rome itself. An epilogue, "Rome Remade," argues that Giuliano's Codex Barberini had an effect on the representation of the city, shaping an enduring image that in turn shaped the city itself. Rome became what it is not just through the construction of new streets, palaces, churches, and squares, but through the image propagated by architects and artists. Specifically, the survival of the ruins, and their preservation in such areas as the Roman Forum, may be understood as a legacy of the image of the city generated by Giuliano and his contemporaries and continued by later generations.

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