renovatio urbis

Architecture, Urbanism and Ceremony
in the Rome of Julius II

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Acknowledgements

Introduction

This book examines the inter-relationships between architecture, urban design and ceremony in Rome during the pontificate of Julius II (1503-13). It considers how these initiatives, which included proposals for new ceremonial streets, bridges, public squares and buildings, were motivated by a desire to remap – and at the same time transform - the topography of the ancient and medieval city. I argue that these ambitious initiatives formed part of a more general vision, promulgated by humanists and artists in the papal court, that promoted the idea of early 16th century Rome as both the *altera Ierusalem* and the renewed imperial city. Drawing upon the history of the physical terrain of ancient Rome and the biblical narratives of the Holy Land, this collective vision was underpinned by a shared belief in the imminence of a Golden Age under Julius II, when the iniquities and sins of past ages would be swept aside by the creation of a new papal empire of faith.

Communicated through papal sermons and eulogies, this essentially humanist 'project' enabled Rome to be re-conceptualized as the redeemed city, whose physical transformations were visibly and spatially juxtaposed against the older and moribund counterparts of the medieval city. The implied moral distinction, underlying the contrast between old and new, culminated in the ambitious redesign of the sacred enclave of the Vatican, to which all ceremonial routes ultimately converged. The book identifies three principal streets in this earlier ancient/Medieval network, each of which variously played a role in shaping the symbolism of Julius II's pontificate; 1) the route of the papal coronation (via Papale), 2) the principal pilgrimage route (via Peregrinorum), and 3) the legacy of the ancient *via triumphalis* and its various re-tracings and re-interpretations in Julius II's own role as warrior pope and '2nd Caesar'. The streets are explored in the context of the political and administrative objectives of the Julian papacy and their supporting symbolic itineraries. Allied to these were other civic and religious ceremonies to be examined, such as the Festa di Agone of 1513, which drew upon in more explicit ways the dual status of Julius II as military figure and key-bearer of St. Peter's Basilica.

The principal author of these urban and architectural projects, Donato Bramante, was not only architect to the pope but also papal hagiographer and keen promoter of Julius II as 2nd Caesar. My investigations examine the political, religious and artistic motives behind Bramante's ambition to create a unified urban/architectural scheme, and how this was inspired by a providential view of Rome's topography. Expressed elsewhere in the writings of humanists and antiquarians, this redemptive notion of the city was based on the premise that the layout of Rome could be interpreted as a series of inter-related 'mytho-historic' narratives, shaped by creative interpretations of auspicious events or religious practices of the past.

Summarized in the form of paradigmatic themes - such as the patriarchal role of Noah in Etruria, Apollo as the pagan 'version' of the Savior and the triumphal symbolism of Peter's martyrdom and burial – these complex mytho-historic narratives were conceived as if inscribed upon existing terrain and topographical features of the city (Tiber River, Janiculum, Monte S. Egidio, Vatican, Capitol, Campus Martius etc). The propensity to treat Rome's topography in this way gave legitimacy and credibility to both Bramante's project of *renovatio urbis* and to the hagiographical treatment of Julius II, in respect of his multiple identities and affiliations. In both enterprises of Julian *renovatio*, humanist and architect cleverly weave together complex symbolic themes that incorporate references from the Apostolic Succession, Roman imperialism, Etrusco-Roman heritage and Judeo-Christian tradition.

Added to the symbolic treatment of topography were more specific political and strategic agendas underlying Bramante's urban and architectural projects, in the way they transformed the territorial and jurisdictional relationships between the Vatican and the rest of Rome. Through an outline investigation of the political and religious initiatives of the Julian pontificate I examine the impact of Bramante's developments on the historical rivalries between the papacy, the Popolo Romano and the baronial families of Rome. The pope's 'incursions' on the east bank of the Tiber River, in the form of administrative and judicial complexes, are explored in the light of Julius II's attempt to extend papal control over the whole city.

The study will draw upon a range of literary and representational sources to ascertain the degree to which Bramante's urban and architectural scheme for the east and west banks of the

Tiber River sought in various ways to emulate ancient paradigms, and at the same time appropriate more recent architectural and urban models. These references include commemorative inscriptions, sculptured reliefs, numismatic sources, papal sermons, contemporary commentaries, drawings and frescoes. Besides providing a framework for establishing a clearer picture of the underlying meanings of these ambitious projects the sources will also contribute towards explaining the possible ceremonial functions and symbolic meanings of Bramante's urban scheme - one of the earliest examples of conscious urban planning.

The book comprises six chapters of varying length. In the first, entitled 'Sign-posting Peter and Paul', I introduce the topography of Early Christian Rome, or more specifically the east and west banks of the Tiber River, and provide an overview of the city and its changing religious and political landscapes from the period of Constantine. The chapter highlights how Rome of the martyrs and saints was understood as a series of thresholds to sacred shrines and venerated monuments, most notably those of St Peter and St Paul *fuori-le-mura*. It then outlines how this legacy of Early Christianity persisted in the medieval city, and at the same time was appropriated by urban, political and religious changes. Key aspects of this 'inheritance' from antiquity are the symbolic and topographical relationships between the *Meta Romuli* and the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius (*Meta Remi*), the two ancient pyramids that functioned as 'sign-posts' to the Basilicas of Peter and Paul. Demarcating the sacred territories of the east and west banks of the Tiber River, the pyramids became venerated land-marks for visiting pilgrims. The establishment, however, of this dual relationship between the consecrated sites of Peter and Paul was soon to be transformed during the 15th century by a new emphasis on the Vatican as the powerbase of the popes. I indicate how this revision to the Early Christian model of the city contributed to enhancing the political and religious agendas of Renaissance popes - in particular Julius II - and their various modes of representation.

The five chapters that follow explore the major urban and architectural projects of Julius II's pontificate. Below is the order of these investigations, followed by a brief description of each chapter:

Via Giulia & Papal Corporatism: The Politics of Order
Palazzo dei Tribunali and the Meaning of Justice

Cortile del Belvedere, via della Lungara and *vita contemplativa*

St. Peter's Basilica: Orientation and Succession

The Stanza della Segnatura: A Testimony to a Golden Age

In Chapter 2 I examine the extension of papal influence on the east bank of the Tiber River, in the Ponte, Parione and Regola districts, and how this found expression in architecture, urban planning and ceremony. Focusing specifically on the north-south axis of via Giulia, that links the Ponte Sisto to the south with the bend in the Tiber River to the north, the papal 'extension' was prompted by political and jurisdictional ambitions, to acquire control over the most populated part of Rome which was also the financial centre of the city. I outline how these urban transformations drew influence from the ancient *via triumphalis*, whose original route extended roughly parallel to via Giulia.

Papal ambitions to 'colonize' the east bank of the Tiber River incorporated existing medieval streets that served as important visual and processional links between major administrative buildings - such as the Papal Mint, the Old Chancery and Palazzo dei Tribunali. These will be examined in the context of Bramante's attempt to create a distinctive network of streets and buildings for the purpose of emphasising papal authority in this area of Rome. Chapter 2 concludes with an examination of a festival procession, the Festa di Agone in 1513, that took place during the waning months of Julius II's pontificate, and a papal inscription (in the form of a 'hieroglyph') that Bramante had planned to install in the Cortile del Belvedere. In the first, we see how Julius II's dual roles as warrior pope and key-bearer of the Roman Church were given allegorical expression and incorporated within the drama of a ceremonial procession. In the second we are presented with a succinct example of how topographical references are used to codify Julius II's pontifical title (Pontifex Maximus).

Chapter 3 examines the Palazzo dei Tribunali in the context of papal concepts of Justice. Here I argue that the decision to construct a new palace of justice, outside the Vatican enclave along via Giulia, was motivated by political and religious objectives that drew influence from three critical themes: 1) the role of justice in Julius Caesar's programme of judicial reform; 2) Platonic notions of 'cosmic justice' (summarized in the iconography of the *Jurisprudence* fresco in the Stanza della Segnatura) and 3) the relation of justice to piety in the symbolism of martyrdom of St Peter and St Blaise. These themes are examined in the light of Julius II's attempt to usurp the authority of the Popolo Romano. The chapter then

considers the range of influences on the actual design and location of the palace, with particular emphasis on two key areas; the first concerns the political implications underlying the topographical relationships between the site of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, the Vatican and the Capitol – the latter embodying Roman *imperium* and the location of the later medieval Commune. The second considers Bramante's design for the palace, with its adjacent piazza, as an attempt to emulate Julius Caesar's Forum and the reconstruction of the nearby Roman Senate. By way of conclusion to this chapter I set out the political context of the disastrous *Pax Romana*, and the reasons for the abandonment of the project of the Palazzo dei Tribunali in 1511.

In the following chapter, entitled 'Cortile del Belvedere, via della Lungara and *vita contemplativa*', I consider the topographical and symbolic relationships between the Cortile del Belvedere and via della Lungara on the west bank of the Tiber River, with reference to an account of the area by Giles of Viterbo. Whilst both street and building are geographically disconnected, with no obvious visual or spatial relationship, Giles' description suggests that they formed part of a common symbolism that centered on the idea of the west bank of the Tiber River as the domain of *vita contemplativa*. More familiar in the setting of the 'villa suburbana' of the famous Villa Farnesina (and its ancient predecessors such as the Domus Agrippae), this territorial definition of *vita contemplativa* served as a counterpart to the activities of the east bank of the Tiber River which embodied *vita activa* (or *negotium*). In establishing this context of contemplative life, the chapter focuses on the Cortile del Belvedere which Giles implies was the destination of via della Lungara.

By referring to the frescoes in the north loggia of the earlier Villa Belvedere, and the articulation of the perspective view from the Vatican Palace, I highlight how Giles' account could be interpreted in broader geographical terms. The chapter includes previously unexplored relationships between the Cortile and its surrounding topography, highlighting possible triumphal associations in the colonnaded longitudinal structure. Finally, I conclude with a detailed examination of the route of the via della Lungara, indicating that plans for its extension to the Ripa Grande, and possibly beyond, may have been motivated by a desire to formalize links between the Vatican and St Paolo fuori-le-mura. The street, moreover, would also have connected a number of important basilicas, whose various dedications and histories helped shape the multiple identities of Julius II.

Chapter 5 considers the developments of Bramante's schemes for the new St Peter's Basilica, in the light of possible influences of the old Constantinian basilica and the mytho-historic associations underlying the topography of the Vatican (in particular relating to Janus and Julius Caesar). I begin with an examination of the Sistine Cappella del Coro and its significance in the context of papal succession and imperial authority. I make the case that this funerary chapel for the della Rovere family may have inspired Bramante's initial proposal (recorded by Giles of Viterbo) to re-orientate the new Basilica on the north-south axis. It seems that Bramante's motivation for making this daring proposal was to align St Peter's tomb with the Vatican obelisk, whose orb was reputed to contain the ashes of Julius Caesar.

The investigation further speculates that this axial arrangement was also intended to incorporate the mausoleum of Julius II, thereby reinforcing the dual roles of the pope as both '2nd Caesar' and key-bearer of the Church. From this investigation of Bramante's initial proposal, the chapter then examines the spatial articulation of his designs for the new basilica, in the context of the mytho-historic interpretations of the Vatican as promulgated by Giles of Viterbo and his fellow countryman Annius of Viterbo. Through an examination of textual sources I argue that Bramante's centralized scheme for the new Basilica consciously drew comparison with the ancient model of the Janus Quadrifrons, the four-way arch often associated with the Porta Triumphalis. This relationship, moreover, is supported by a growing interest during the late 15th and early 16th centuries in the progeny of Janus (especially in relation to the west bank of the Tiber River) and the status of the Vatican as the *territorium triumphalis*.

In the final chapter of this book I explore the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura in the context of the urban and architectural projects of Bramante. By taking the arguments of Manfredo Tafuri and Christiane Joost-Gaugier as a starting point, the chapter outlines possible geographical and topographical relationships in the orientation and content of the frescoes. I explain how the iconography of the Stanza was conceived in programmatic terms as an summary of Julian *renovatio*, in which the depicted scenes – the *Disputa*, *School of Athens*, *Jurisprudence* and *Parnassus* - constitute exemplars of the various stages of the Golden Age, as enthusiastically endorsed by Giles of Viterbo. The study highlights how the arrangement and iconography of the frescoes was intended to reveal continuity between actual locations and their ideal counterparts. Through a detailed examination of aspects of the

iconography I argue that the internal (symbolic) relationships of the frescoes were partly informed by their external (topographical and geographical) connections. These connections moreover are reinforced by the presence of windows in the north and south wall, whose views are framed by the *Parnassus* and *Jurisprudence* frescoes respectively. In Chapter 6 I seek to demonstrate that the Stanza della Segnatura was intended to serve as a visual *testimony* to Julius II's vision of Rome renewed, and at the same time to underline the status of the papal city as the centre of a new – geographically conceived - Christian empire of faith.

Finally, the Conclusion examines the Julian Golden Age in the context of the etymological and symbolic connections between the pontifical title (*Pontifex Maximus*) and 'pons' (bridge). As 'Pontifice', Julius II could be said to bridge divides - between theological truth and political expediency, civil law and canon law, *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* etc. Significantly, I suggest that this metaphor, which is implicit in the associations of Julius II with ancient patriarchs, historical rulers and mythical figures (Noah/Janus, Solomon, Apollo, Julius Caesar etc), was recognized by Bramante and others as an effective means of enhancing the role of the pontifical office as a mediator between temporal and eternal worlds. In earlier chapters I indicate how this metaphor was deployed in the bridging of actual terrains; as expressed for example in Bramante's plan to re-build the *Pons Neronianus* and in the construction of the Cortile del Belvedere that connects Monte Egidio (Villa Belvedere) to Monte Vaticanus (Papal Palace).

Given the range of investigations of Julian Rome in this study - from urban projects to religious and civic ceremony - it is envisaged that the book will provide a useful source for re-evaluating the role played by architecture in the conception and realization of the redeemed city. Through the exploration of historical sources, relating not just to buildings but also to humanist/antiquarian texts, papal sermons/eulogies, inscriptions, frescoes and contemporary maps, the study seeks to illuminate the close exchange of ideas between humanist/Neo-platonic thought and architectural/artistic production in early 16th century Rome. Inspired by Augustinian thought, the notion of the redeemed city was motivated by a sense of antithesis towards the physical city – its degradation and *miasma* - and at the same time recognised its potential as an agent of spiritual and cultural renewal. This ambivalence gave humanists and architects inspiration to interpret the mytho-historic past as a series of propitiatory events that could serve as exemplars for renewing the present. Taken from the standpoint of the contemporary globalised city, with its largely bodiless forms and veneered

treatment of urban terrain and topography, the initiatives of Julian Rome, situated historically at the cusp of early modern Europe, are a compelling reminder of human ingenuity and fallibility.

Chapter 1

SIGN-POSTING PETER AND PAUL

The Tiber's Sacred Banks

"Today we have the festival of the apostles' triumph coming round again, a day made famous by the blood of Paul and Peter. The same day, but recurring after a full year, saw each of them win the laurel by a splendid death. The marshland of Tiber, washed by the nearby river, knows that its turf was hallowed by two victories, for it was witness both of cross and sword, by which a rain of blood twice flowed over the same grass and soaked it…..Tiber separates the bones of the two and both its banks are consecrated as it flows between the hallowed tombs."[1]

Written by the late 4th century Spanish poet, Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, this description of the topography of the Tiber River in Rome, in the context of the places of the martyrdom and burial of St Peter and St Paul, is testimony to the long-held belief in the redemptive significance of the left and right banks of the river. Throughout much of Early Christianity and the Middle Ages, the partnership between the Princes of the Church, as the most venerated saints of Rome, was matched by the apparent symmetry of their consecrated territories on either side of the Tiber River. This topographical relationship was however more a symbolic reading than an actual reality. Indeed, Prudentius' account had little connection with the physical layout of the city of Rome, given that the hallowed sites of Peter and Paul were located at the periphery of the inhabited city. The description re-affirms that Rome's status as a Christian city, in the 4th century, was quite distinct from the nature of the urban fabric *déntro le mura* (inside the walls).

Fig.1 Outline map of Rome, indicating the Aurelian Wall and the construed locations of martyrdom and burial of St Peter and St Paul respectively. Vatican Hill/St Peter's Basilica

(A); Janiculum Hill (B); *Aquae Salviae* (Tre Fontane) (C) and St. Paul *fuori-le-mura* (D) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin).

Under Constantine, the 1st Christian emperor, the programme of church building had been, as Richard Krautheimer explains, "confined to sites mostly on imperial estates and always on the edge of the city or outside the walls."[2] Constantine instigated an ambitious programme of church building on communal burial sites previously dedicated to martyrs and saints (St Peter's, St Agnese fuori le mura, San Lorenzo fuori le mura, San Paolo fuori le mura etc). These essentially communal halls were built to accommodate growing numbers of congregation and no doubt to underline the imperial status of the religion.

Whilst this situation of extra-territorial complexes changed from the late part of the 4th century, with the establishment of monumental basilicas within the city walls (such as Santa Maria Maggiore), Prudentius' model of sacred topography *extra muros* was nevertheless to persist as a 'summary' of Christian Rome throughout the Middle Ages. It largely defined the perception and representation of Rome conveyed in pilgrimage guide-books to the city and the legacy of the main pilgrimage road through Rome.[3] Entering the city from the north, via Monte Mario, the via del Pellegrino passed through the Borgo to Peter's Basilica. Partly retracing the construed route of the ancient via Triumphalis, it then crossed the Tiber River at the Ponte Sant'Angelo and extended south through the Ponte, Parione and Regola *rioni* (districts) of the city towards San Paolo fuori-le-mura.[4]

An important aspect of Prudentius' model of Rome's sacred topography is the way in which the sacrificial blood of martyrdom is expressed through its passage across terrain (turf) and flowing water (Tiber River). One implication of this relationship between human blood and topography is that Church liturgy becomes intimately intertwined with land and its hidden geological features, to the extent that the symbolic efficacy of the former is dependent upon the reception and appropriation of the latter for ritual purposes:

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> "The quarter on the right bank took Peter into its charge and keeps him in a golden dwelling [basilica], where there is the grey of olive-trees and the sound of a stream; for water rising from the brow of a rock [*mons Vaticanus*] has revealed a perennial spring which makes them fruitful in the

holy oil. Now it runs over costly marbles, gliding smoothly down the slope till it billows in a green basin [*catharus*]. There is an inner part of the memorial where the stream falls with a loud sound and rolls along a deep, cool pool [baptistery]. Painted in diverse hues colours the glassy waves from above, so that mosses seem to glisten and the gold is tinged with green, while the water turns dark blue where it takes on the semblance of the overhanging purple, and one would think the ceiling was dancing on the waves. There the shepherd himself nurtures his sheep with the ice-cold water of the pool, for he sees them thirsting for the rivers of Christ."[5]

In this description, we are presented with an account of the site of Peter's Basilica, and its Early Christian baptistery, which assumes that the Vatican was somehow 'fated' to host the Apostle's martyrdom and burial. The implication here of the pre-destination of Rome's topography - as the consecrated ground of martyrdom – later serves as a powerful and enduring symbolism in medieval Rome. It constituted one of the key modes of communicating the redemptive layers of urban terrain, which were later to be appropriated by antiquarian and archaeological interests during the Renaissance.

Peripheral Centres

The persistence of Prudentius' model of the sacred topography of the Tiber River must be seen in the context of the political and religious backgrounds of Constantine's building programme in Rome, and their later adaptations during the Middle Ages. The topographical arrangement of Constantine's Christian complexes, *extra muros*, was largely pre-empted by the construction at the Lateran of arguably the first Christian basilica.

Fig. 2 Outline map of Early Christian Rome indicating the principal roads, shrines and basilicas. Covered Cemeteries and Basilicas of Martyrs: St Peter's (A); St Paul's *fuori-le-mura* (B); S. Sebastiano (C); SS. Marcellino e Pietro (D); S. Agnese (E) and S. Lorenzo (F); Churches: St John the Lateran (G); S. Croce (H). Ancient Monuments: Hadrian's Mausoleum (1); Mausoleum of Augustus (2), Stadium of Domitian (Piazza Navona) (3); Circus Flaminius (4); Circus Maximus (5); Baths of Caracalla (6); Colosseum (7); Baths of Trajan (8); Palatine Palace (9); Baths of Constantine (10); Baths of Diocletian (11). '**O**' indicates locations of Tituli within the walled city (After Krautheimer and redrawn by Peter Baldwin)

Located in the eastern part of Rome on the Caelian Hill, close to the Aurelian Wall, the Lateran became the headquarters of the bishop of Rome, following Constantine's departure

from the city to establish a new imperial capital on the Bosphorus. Formerly the location of the imperial barracks of Maxentius' home guard, Constantine is said to have donated the site to the 4th century bishop of Rome, St. Silvester. With the construction of a substantial palace during the early Middle Ages the Lateran emerged as the political powerbase of the papacy.[6] Unlike the other basilicas that Constantine commissioned on the outskirts of Rome, the Lateran was not the site of a martyr's grave or a venerated cult centre. Rather, it served as "an audience hall of Christ the King", thereby promoting a direct allegiance between the Saviour and the Emperor.[7] At the same time the Lateran provided the principal initiation centre for the Roman Church following the construction of a large baptistery, on the site of a former domestic bath building on the west side of the basilica.

It is against this Late Antique background of the Lateran, as Constantine's Christian foothold in pagan Rome, that the complex of buildings acquired such political and symbolic importance for the popes. Its location, at the eastern periphery of the city, posed however a number of problems for the papacy, not least its isolation from the inhabited part of Rome. Up until the 12th century the population of the city declined significantly, leading to large areas of Rome becoming effectively deserted (*disabitato*). One of these areas was the Caelian Hill, once a prestigious residential district of ancient Rome.

Fig.3 Schematic layout of the Lateran Complex (4th century), highlighting the Constantinian baptistery (A) (formerly the Lateran bath-building), Lateran House (B) and Basilica (C) over the former barracks of Maxentius' home guard (After Pellicioni and drawn by Peter Baldwin).

By the 14th century, following a period of sustained population growth, the inhabited parts of the city (*abitato*) were mainly concentrated in the quarters of the old Campus Martius, to the west of the ancient Corso. The most densely populated area was on the east bank of the Tiber River, in the Ponte, Parione and Regola *rioni*, an area that was to become crucially important for the papacy during the Renaissance as I will explain in Chapter 2.

Given this concentration of the population in a relatively confined area of the city, medieval Rome could be described as a city within a city; between the *abitato* and the outlying patchwork of Christian communities dispersed in a landscape of spoliated ancient ruins. At the same time, there was another city, albeit more symbolic than actual, that constituted the extra-territorial constellation of venerated Christian shrines that surrounded the ancient walled city. This fragmented arrangement underlines the fact that medieval Rome lacked the kind of cohesion and hierarchy of spaces that characterised other medieval cities in Italy, such as Florence and Siena. This was largely due to the exceptional nature of Rome's history which precipitated its rapid depopulation and the abandonment of large areas of the city, following the relocation of the imperial capital to the east.

In spite, however, of these dramatic changes in the fabric and urban structure of Rome the *rioni* of the medieval city constituted a loose amalgam of urban communities, sustained largely by the ceremonial routes linking religious complexes. By the early Renaissance, as we shall see later in Chapters 2 and 4, this arrangement was formalised into what Charles Burroughs aptly describes as "a spatio-temporal system of liturgically linked holy places and memorials..."[8] Through these ritual passages, religious festivals and ceremonials provided the most tangible means of engendering a sense of connectedness between otherwise isolated religious centres. This was most apparent during the 'Holy Year' (Jubilee celebrations), first introduced by Pope Boniface VIII in 1300. It was during these celebrations that thousands of pilgrims converged on the city to attend the graves of the Apostles and martyrs. The Jubilee enabled, as Eamonn Duffy states, pilgrims "to gain indulgences, adding enormously to the prestige of the papacy and the spiritual centrality of Rome."[9]

Given the significance of the network of pilgrimage routes in Rome, as the 'glue' that binds the dispersed and fragmented topography of the city, it is evident why Prudentius' account of the Tiber River carried such potency; it effectively defined the 'back-bone' of Rome's sacred landscape, against a background of rapid urban decay, desertion and ruination. Attempts to restore parts of the city, and to give greater order to its topography through such initiatives as paving and widening streets, were substantially hindered by ongoing political and territorial feuds between the ruling baronial families and the papacy; claims of the Frangipane, Annibaldi, Orsini and Colonna families to parts of the city (that served as their strongholds) often resulted in internal conflicts and confrontations with the 'lawful' prerogatives of the pope. Supposedly conferred on the bishop of Rome by Constantine himself, as stated in a

document known as the 'Donation of Constantine' (famously discovered to have been a forgery in the 15th century), these prerogatives gave the pope temporal authority over Rome and her territories.[10]

In spite however of the apocryphal nature of these claims to temporal authority, the Christian 'Pontifex Maximus' was presented by court hagiographers as the rightful inheritor of imperial rule in the West, which gave legitimacy to political initiatives and even military action.[11] This aspect of the papacy was to become especially pronounced during the Renaissance when aspirations to expand the Holy See in the Italian peninsula went hand in hand with initiatives to unseat the authority of the Popolo Romano on the Capitol in Rome.

Such papal claims were closely allied to the imperial legacy of the Lateran, the location of the cathedral of Rome and therefore seat of the bishop of Rome. The importance of this legacy was in spite of the relative distance and isolation of the Lateran from the populated parts of the city during the Middle Ages. The cathedral of Rome formed one of the two destinations of the ceremony of the papal coronation, the *Possesso*. In this ceremony the pope receives the 'keys' of the Church (at St Peter's Basilica) and the Church's temporal 'possessions' (at the Lateran). By the Renaissance, as we shall see shortly, this essentially ceremonial aspect of the Lateran would become its lasting purpose, reflecting a changing political climate that witnessed greater emphasis on the Vatican as the territorial, administrative and spiritual strong-hold of papal rule. The relationship between pope/bishop and sacred/temporal authority, implicit in the relationship between the Vatican and the Lateran, later became subject to a more explicit form of absolutist rule at the time of the pontificate of Julius II (1503-1513). Indeed, during Julius' remarkably productive ten year pontiff the Vatican emerges as the contested religious, political and judicial centre of the whole of Christendom

The status of Rome as the most revered Christian city after Jerusalem was largely maintained by a combination of the continuity of the Apostolic Succession, in which the pope is presented as the legitimate heir to St Peter, and by the continuing importance of Rome as a major pilgrimage city. These twin aspects of Rome's Christian credentials were, moreover, to find their most visible expression in the preparations for the Jubilee celebrations. The Holy Year was increasingly treated by incumbent popes as an opportunity to make their mark, so to speak, on the urban topography of the city. Through the construction of new churches and hostels, the restoration of existing ones and the commissioning of major urban developments

(to facilitate better access for pilgrims to the hallowed sites), these initiatives became tangible signs of the enduring legacy of successive popes and their varying degrees of allegiance or concordance. Commemorated in numerous wall inscriptions, the changing topography of Renaissance Rome under the popes acquires a certain epigraphic significance, or what Burroughs prefers to describe as a "para-textual efficacy."[12] This characteristic, as we shall see in the course of this investigation, provides an increasingly important framework for interpreting Rome's topography and its mytho-historic terrain.

"*inter duas metas*"

Access to the Constantinian basilicas of Peter and Paul was signalled by important ancient landmarks, in the form of pyramids. These monuments served as prominent visual beacons for visiting pilgrims processing to the sacred sites from within the walled city. At the bend in the Tiber River, located near the Castel Sant'Angelo, was a colossal pyramid known as the *meta Romuli*. The structure had a distinctive hybrid form somewhere between a conventional pyramid and an obelisk. As the name implies, the association of the monument with Romulus relates to a long-held belief that the mythical founder of Rome was buried here.[13]

By the early Middle Ages, the *meta Romuli* acquired added symbolic significance when it was associated with the nearby tomb of St. Peter - Apostle and 'founder' of the Roman Church. The connection was partly the consequence of a contrived 'ancestral link' between Romulus and St. Peter that in turn engendered a concordance between the origins of Rome and the foundations of the new Christian faith.[14] As if to underline this allegiance the original ornamental marble cladding, that embellished the inclined walls of the ancient pyramid, was removed in the Middle Ages and reused as pavement for the atrium of old St. Peter's Basilica.

Fig.4 Raphael (school): *Apparition of the Cross to Constantine* (ca.1520), showing the *Meta Romuli* and the Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel Sant'Angelo) in the background. The fresco erroneously depicts this scene in the area of the Vatican (it reputedly took place in Saxa Rubra in the north of the city), perhaps to underline the continuity between Constantine as first Christian emperor and the Vatican as the *territorium triumphalis*. Vatican, Stanza di Costantino.

The relationship between Peter and Romulus served as one of a number of symbolic partnerships in Medieval views of Rome's providential history - as a superimposition of a new and urgent eschatological order upon a defunct but still relevant pagan tradition. In spite however of the importance attached to the *meta Romuli* as the sign-post to St. Peter's Basilica, and its associations with the mythical founder of Rome, the monument was not to survive the rapid urban developments of the Renaissance. Under Alexander VI (1492-1503), a substantial part of the pyramid was demolished to make way for the new via Alessandrina-Borgo Nuovo that connected the Castel Sant'Angelo to St Peter's Basilica.[15] It was finally demolished during the Pontificate of Leo X in the early 16th century, much to the consternation of Raphael.[16]

Reinforcing the much trumpeted inheritance of the Christian tradition from its pagan forbears was the cultivation of a contrived symbolic connection between the *meta Romuli* and the other - still extant - Pyramid of Gaius Cestius. Located adjacent to the Porta San Paolo to the south of Rome, within the ancient Aurelian walls, this monument served a similar function as its Vatican counterpart, by signaling the passage to the shrine of the other Prince of the Roman Church, S. Paolo *fuori le mura*, on the Ostian way.[17] This similarity no doubt justified the adoption of an alternative name for the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius - the *meta Remi*.[18] By seeking to emulate the mythical founders of the ancient city (Romulus and Remus), the Princes of the Roman Church are presented as legitimate heirs to Rome's glorious pagan past.[19]

Fig. 5 View of the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius, Rome (Photo by author).

This partnership further underlines Prudentius' symbolic model of the east and west banks of the Tiber River; the two pyramids served as gateways from the ancient city to the burial sites of both saints and the construed locations of their martyrdom. As monumental sign-posts they functioned as one-way markers by directing pilgrims from *civitas terrena* to *civitas sancta*. Seen from a distance, moreover, the tapered configuration of the pyramids could be seen to convey to the penitent traveler the impression of a visual 'abbreviation' of the spiritual path they must follow to achieve salvation, beyond the physical realms of the lived city.

Given the hybrid nature of the form of the *meta Romuli*, and its proximity to the Vatican obelisk (located on the south side of old St. Peter's Basilica), it is perhaps inevitable that a special topographical relationship should emerge between all three monuments in the Vatican:

> "In Early Christian times, the memory of Peter's martyrdom was invariably connected to the grave of Romulus and the outlying ruins along the Via Triumphalis leading up to the Mole Hadriana [Castel Sant'Angelo]. Whereas St. Jerome recalled the spot near the naumachia of Nero ("iuxta ad naumachiam"), already in Romanesque paintings of the late twelfth century artists began to represent the crucifixion enframed telescopically between two immense monoliths. Tactitus recounts how the apostle had been crucified in the Circus of Nero ... For whatever reason, the setting of this event was gradually transmuted in the collective memory of pilgrims as "inter duas metas," and the two conical goalposts of the circus metamorphosed appropriately into two pyramids."[20]

The conflation of pyramid and obelisk in these representations of Peter's martyrdom, by which a hybrid motif is adopted to communicate the "goal posts" of the *spina* of the Circus of Caligula/Nero, probably influenced the so-called Stefaneschi altarpiece attributed to Giotto. Implicit in this representation is the idea that the site of Peter's martyrdom was somehow preordained by the location of these ancient structures in the *ager Vaticanus*. It is as if the compass-needle of the upside-down cross of Peter's martyrdom appears to be 'preset' by the flanking obelisks/pyramids. The representation reinforces the notion of a divine providential plan embodied in the ancient topography of the city.

Fig. 6 Giotto (1266-1336): *The Crucifixion of St Peter*. Left panel of the Stefaneschi Polyptych with predella. Vatican, Pinacoteca.

As already mentioned, disputes emerged during the Renaissance among humanists, antiquarians and theologians about the actual location of Peter's martyrdom. Indeed, during the early part of the fifteenth century there was increasing support for the idea that the

Janiculum, rather than Vatican Hill, was the site of this solemn event.[21] A number of marble and bronze reliefs during this period highlight a new interest in representing the drama of Peter's martyrdom by giving it topographical specificity, rather than rely on symbolic motifs alone to authenticate the setting - as was the case in late medieval art.[22] A good example can be seen on the 15th century bronze doors of St Peter's Basilica, previously located in old St. Peter's. Commissioned by Pope Eugenius IV (1431-47) and executed by Filarete (Antonio Averlino), the doors contain reliefs depicting the scenes of the martyrdom of the Peter and Paul. On the left we see a representation of the beheading of St Paul which is believed to have taken place somewhere in the *Aquae Salviae* (later Tre Fontane) on the Ostian Way. On the right panel the scene depicts Peter's martyrdom taking place on a hill, most probably the Janiculum, flanked by a number of monuments that include the Castel Sant'Angelo and two pyramidal structures shown on the bottom corners of the relief.[23]

Fig. 7 Averlino, Antonio (Filarete) (1400-1469), *Crucifixion of St Peter*. Right hand panel of the bronze doors of St Peter's Basilica, Vatican, Rome (15th c.) (Photo by author)

The earlier medieval tradition of representing the event *inter duas metas* is given greater topographical clarity in the scene of Peter's martyrdom by Filarete. This is achieved in the way the monuments act as clear urban markers in the landscape, framing the site of the drama. It is generally recognized that the two pyramids represented in the scene, on the bottom left and right corners, are the *meta Romuli* and *meta Remi*. The revision of the "goal posts," from the earlier medieval construct (of a hybrid between the obelisks of the Circus of Caligula/Nero and the *meta Romuli*) may have been based on an observation made during the pontificate of Eugenius IV, at around the same time that the bronze doors were being fabricated. Maffeo Vegio, a humanist canon in the papal curia, 'discovered' that the two pyramids are roughly equidistant from the supposed site of Peter's martyrdom on the Janiculum, thereby concluding that this topographical relationship affirmed the sanctity of the Janiculum.[24]

Vegio's observation conveys the idea of urban topography as something that can be measured by the observant eye. By construing equidistance between the pyramids, and therefore affirming the supposed location of Peter's martyrdom, Vegio was inadvertently applying a

method of triangulation more familiarly deployed in later surveying techniques. In doing so, Vegio infers an 'intentionality' of topographical relationships; the banks of the Tiber River, of which the two ancient pyramids were inextricably related, was predestined to 'host' the execution.

Fig.8 Schematic map of Rome indicating topographical relationship between the construed site of St Peter's Martyrdom (Tempietto of San Pietro in Montorio) (A), the *Meta Romuli* (B) and Pyramid of Gaius Cestius (Meta Remi) (C). (Drawn by Peter Baldwin).

At one level therefore Vegio's 'discovery' underlines Prudentius' account of the sacred topography of the Tiber River; at another level however it assumes a point of view (and therefore a primacy of place) that anticipates Alberti's famous survey of Rome (*Descriptio urbis Romae*) in which the Capitol rather than the Janiculum serves as the point of reference.[25]

The site of St Peter's martyrdom was later commemorated by the construction of the famous Tempietto of San Pietro in Montorio by Bramante. The topographical relationship between Peter's place of martyrdom and the pyramids is further suggested in Filarete's bronze relief in the way the upside-down cross of St Peter reads as a gnomon, echoing the 'preset' orientation of the upside down cross invoked in the Stefaneschi Altarpiece. The sloping sides of the cross in Filarete's representation form an equilateral triangle which, when extended, direct our attention to the bottom left and right hand corners of the relief, the locations of the two pyramids.[26]

Fig. 9 Bramante, Donato (1444-1514), Tempietto of San Pietro in Montorio (ca. 1502), Rome (Photo by author).

Filarete's underlying geometric treatment of the topography of Peter's martyrdom most probably drew inspiration from the symbolic connotations of Giotto's Stefaneschi's altarpiece. At one level, the term *meta* refers to the turning-posts (typically in the form of

pyramidal columns) found in ancient circuses - located at either end of the spina. At another level it defines, in the specific context of the pyramids of Rome, the pilgrimage sign-posts *extra-muros*. Through this double reading of the *meta Romuli* and *meta Remi* Filarete's bronze relief conveys the idea of the procession between the Vatican Borgo and the Porta Ostiense as a kind of extended circus that symbolically 're-enacts' the routes taken by the Princes of the Church to their places of martyrdom and burial. This idea may well have inspired later plans in the Renaissance to forge clearer links between the two pyramids, by creating a network of roads on the east and west banks of the Tiber River.[27]

When considered further in the context of Prudentius' account of the sacred topography of the Tiber River, Filarete's bronze doors for St Peter's Basilica reveal some interesting relationships. To begin with, the reliefs of the martyrdom of the Princes of the Church should not be read in isolation, but rather as a single narrative; the scene of Paul's beheading, on the extreme right hand side of the left panel, is positioned directly opposite the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius (*meta Remi*) in the neighbouring panel, the 'sign-post' to the alleged sites of his burial and martyrdom along the Ostian Way.

Fig. 10 Averlino, Antonio (Filarete) (1400-1469), *Crucifixion of St Paul*. Left hand panel of the bronze doors of St Peter's Basilica, Vatican, Rome (15th c.) (Photo by author)

The visual connection is further underscored by the orientation of the kneeling figure of Paul, facing in the direction of his topographical landmark. In addition, at the base of the relief of Peter's martyrdom is a representation of the winding course of the Tiber River which meanders around the ancient monuments that occupy both banks of the river. On the right hand side we see represented the river bend along the Vatican bank, with the Castel Sant'Angelo and the *Meta Romuli* portrayed like trophies of war. On the left the river passes behind the *Meta Remi* highlighted by a figure in armour and holding a sword. Below the course of the river one can identify various shields and swords, perhaps alluding to the military associations of the Campus Martius on the east bank of the Tiber River. Behind the sequence of monuments in the lower half of the bronze relief is a representation of Nero, who is witnessing Peter's crucifixion from the shade of his canopied throne or baldachin. A similar representation of the emperor is also shown in the left-hand relief of Paul's beheading. At one level, the pyramids become prophetic of Rome's re-foundation as a

Christian city, 'standing-in' so to speak for their destined sanctuaries - the basilicas of Peter and Paul. Prudentius's account of the marshy banks of the Tiber River is transformed here into a densely composed relief of military weapons and trophies of war.

Fig. 11 Averlino, Antonio (Filarete) (1400-1469). Detail of right hand bronze panel of the *Crucifixion of St Peter* (15th c.) indicating the winding course of the Tiber River and the representations of shields. St Peter's Basilica, Rome (Photo by author)

We should recognise however that Filarete's iconographic treatment of the stories of the martyrdoms of the Princes of the Church gives primacy to the scene of St Peter. In doing so, the relief departs from the Prudentician model of a mediated landscape, symmetrically disposed between the banks of the Tiber River. Unlike the Stefaneschi altarpiece, which assumes a largely localised reading of Peter's martyrdom - framed by the obelisks/pyramids within the Circus of Caligula/Nero - Filarete's relief reflects a new awareness of larger topographical relationships, echoed in Vegio's observation referred to earlier. The emphasis is underlined by the fact that the *meta Remi* is shown in the relief of Peter's martyrdom rather than the adjoining panel, as one would perhaps expect. Consequently, the west bank of the Tiber River constitutes the sacred bank *par-excellence*, against which the rest of Rome and its periphery become largely subservient. The change relates no doubt to the growing importance of the west (Etrurian) bank of the Tiber River during the 15th and 16th centuries.

It is important to see this emphasis on the Vatican area in the context of the changing religious, political and territorial priorities of the Church during the Renaissance. Following the return of the papacy to Rome by Eugenius IV's predecessor, the Colonna pope Martin V (1417-31,) after its exile in Avignon the papal headquarters were located at the Vatican rather than the Lateran. Whilst this move had already been anticipated in the early 13th century, Martin V's decision to abandon the Lateran - once and for all - as the papal residence was no doubt motivated by a number of reasons; principally by the central importance of St Peter - first bishop of Rome and 'key-bearer' of the Church - in the identity of the pope, and by the greater security offered by the Vatican and Borgo during periods of civil unrest (with its Leonine wall and its extra territorial fortification - the Castel Sant'Angelo on the banks of the Tiber River). It should also be pointed out, as I will explain later in Chapters 4 and 5, that the

region of the west bank had a special symbolic connection with the dual roles of the pope, as key-bearer and princely ruler. During the Renaissance the *ager Vaticanus* was thought to be the ancient *territorium triumphale*, and therefore had close associations with Roman triumphal symbolism.[28] Further underlined by Constantine's early attempts to 'imperialize' Christian worship, the superimposition of Christian funereal references upon an existing terrain, previously accorded martial status, provided a fertile symbolism for enhancing the spiritual and temporal roles of the pope. At the same time, both the Janiculum and *mons Vaticanus* formed part of a mytho-historic narrative of the origins of Etruria - the Latin 'Holy Land'- as described by a number of Renaissance humanists and commentators. In particular, the Dominican humanist and forger, Giovanni Nanni (Annius of Viterbo), and his fellow countryman, the Augustinian friar Giles of Viterbo, promoted a messianic reading of the left bank of the Tiber River that brought Old Testament literature and archaic Roman mythology and history into a common providential plan:

> "The Mons Vaticanus itself was a spur of Rome's proverbial eighth hill across the Tiber, named Janiculum after Janus, the primeval Etruscan god. For Egidio da Viterbo, thanks to the efforts of his countryman Annius, the Janiculum was also where Noah-Janus had once presided over the idyllic life of the Golden Age."[29]

At the same time, the Vatican was strategically and territorially important for the papacy, given that it was close to the most populated part of Rome during the 15th and 16th centuries - along the east bank of the Tiber River in the ancient Campus Martius. It was also in the Ponte *rione*, near the bridgehead to the Vatican, that most of the merchants' and banking headquarters of the city were located (otherwise known as the Quartière d'Banchi) which were vital for the economic life of Rome. The establishment, therefore, of the papal headquarters in the Vatican would enable the pontiff to more effectively control, and ultimately subjugate, the communities on the east bank of the Tiber River. This strategy becomes especially effective during the pontificate of Julius II, as I will demonstrate in Chapter 2. It is interesting to consider how the centralisation of papal authority - on the west (Vatican) bank of the Tiber River - influenced the representation and perception of Rome during the 16th century. With its accompanying emphasis on princely rule, and a form of Petrine cult centred on the symbolism of the *claviger*, the centrality of the Vatican represents the most significant shift away from the Early Christian Prudentician model.

This revision of the symbolism of Rome's topography is partly indicated in maps of the city from the 16th century by Bartolomeo Marliani, Pirro Ligorio, Leonardo Bufalini, Mario Cartaro and Antonio Tempesta. In these we notice that the city is oriented with north to the left which, as Jessica Maier notes, becomes "the predominant orientation for maps of Rome until the eighteenth century."[30] In describing the maps by Ligorio and Marliani, Maier further observes:

> "Ligorio's choice to orient the map with north at left, although nominally just repeating Marliani's orientation, also allows St Peter's to take on its conspicuous position. If one likens Ligorio's map to a text on ancient Rome, St Peter's serves as the introduction, a declaration from the outset that this history is written from a sixteenth century perspective. The new St Peter's, moreover, was not just any Renaissance building, but the one most emblematic of Rome's rebirth. It was at once a link to the past, since the new church took the place of the Constantinian basilica, and the only contemporary building that could compete with the grandeur of the ancient structures."[31]

The primacy of St Peter's Basilica, in 16th century maps of Rome, reflects not just the status of the new basilica, in its emulation of ancient Roman precedents, but also probably relates to the humanistic interest in the territory of the Vatican as the providential gateway to Etruria, the 'Latin Holy Land'. As I will argue in Chapter 5, the interest of humanists in the mytho-historic background of the Vatican was to play a role in the design of the new St Peter's Basilica. Accordingly, the representation of the Vatican in these 16th century maps, as the sacred gateway to Rome, reflects a new topographical awareness that assumes the city as subject to the authority of the papacy.

Fig. 12 Tempesta, Antonio (1555-1630), Map of Rome (engraved 1593), Milan, Civica Raccolta Stampe Achille Bertarelli.

Papal Rivalries

In one sense, the *mons Vaticanus* (Vatican hill) emerges in the Renaissance as the *nemesis* of the ancient Capitol, constituting the centre of a new Christian empire. But such an oppositional stance was only to become politically contentious by the late 15th century, following protracted rivalries with the medieval power-base of the Popolo Romano on the Capitol. Once the celebrated acropolis/Arx of Jupiter and Juno in antiquity, the Capitol emerges as a centre of new political importance during the Middle Ages. The installation of the Senate, and adjacent church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, clearly sought to emulate the civic, religious and judicial activities of the nearby Roman forum.[32]

In spite of its partly ruined state the imperial legacy of the Capitol, as the location of the most venerated temple in ancient Rome (dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus), continued to exert a powerful influence on the collective memory of the citizens of Rome. For the early humanists of the 14th century, the poor physical condition of the providential city was likened to the decline in the moral fibre of society, provoking many to reflect with increasing yearning for Rome's glorious past. Of all the sites of the ancient city that embodied these sentiments, the Capitol provoked most nostalgia for the city's Republican virtues. Indeed, as Krautheimer reminds us:

> "...the Capitol had never lost its old fame as the *caput mundi*. A legend of
> the seventh century or even earlier, the *Salvatio Romae*, depicting statues of
> all the provinces subject to Rome standing on the Capitol, kept alive the
> memory of its ancient grandeur."[33]

Celebrated in the writings of Petrarch, most notably his *Trionfi,* and used as the setting for Cola di Rienzo's popular uprising against the city's nobles, the Capitol became a rallying point for Roman patriots.[34]

By the late 15th century the ancient hill acquires as much a strategic as a symbolic significance. The ambitious urban initiatives of Renaissance popes were initially driven by the desire to formalise the connections between the Capitol, Lateran and Vatican, and to give greater coherence to the matrix of pilgrimage routes that extended across the city. The historical importance of the Capitol was no doubt to have a bearing on the ceremony of the *Possesso*, whose processional route – the via Papale - processed by the foot of the hill

between the Vatican and the Lateran.[35] As I mentioned earlier, the via Papale partly followed the route of the Roman triumph, whose ritual climax at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol was to play an increasingly important symbolic role in the caesaro-papal identity of the pontiff, a point we will return to in Chapter 3. Evidence of the significance of the triumphal route can be seen for example in the *Possesso* of Leo X in 1513 which we will examine in Chapter 2.[36]

Related to papal initiatives to give greater coherence to these ceremonial routes was the further ambition to expand the territories of the *abitato* further east (beyond the north-south axis of the Corso). This objective aimed to relieve the prevailing concentration of Rome's population in the Ponte, Parione and Regola *rioni* that were prone to flooding. Instigated by Nicholas V (1447-55), the proposal initially entailed a partnership with the Roman Senate, as Linda Pellecchia states:

> "Nicholas [V] who early in his reign had experimented with an urban model
> that addressed local concerns and sought to share power with the Popolo
> Romano, turned to grand, utopian schemes at the end of his life, providing
> the spiritual justification for papal involvement in civic affairs."[37]

Nicholas V's programme of urban renewal also involved the restoration and expansion of the Capitol. Under the Parentucelli Pope the Medieval Palazzo Senatore was embellished and the new Palazzo dei Conservatori was constructed. In addition, his wish to create a civic space on the Capitol was partly realized by the formation of a piazza, framed by the two palaces. Nicholas V's interest in the restoration of Capitol was to continue under Sixtus IV who donated a fine collection of Greek and Roman bronze sculptures to the new Palazzo dei Conservatori, that included the famous Etruscan she-wolf nurturing Romulus and Remus. This venerated sculpture acquired a powerful symbolic importance, as an embodiment of ancient Roman virtue, and at the same time affirmed the mythic origins of the city.

The original location however of these sculptures at the Lateran, crowning ancient columns, served a very different symbolic function to that intended for the Capitol. Indeed, Charles Stinger has suggested that their medieval purpose was "as didactic-moralizing emblems of papal authority and of the triumph of Christianity over pagan idolatry."[38] In sharp contrast,

the setting of the Capitol gave these sculptures a positive celebratory purpose that affirmed Roman sovereignty and the rebirth of classical culture.

The installation of these sculptures in the Palazzo dei Conservatori accorded well with Nicholas V's earlier wish to renew the status of the Capitol as a centre of civic authority. Whilst the seat of papal authority in the Vatican became the site of a new and rationalised Christian epicentre the Capitol increasingly provided a fertile reservoir of physical and symbolic references to classical antiquity.[39]

Sixtus IV's *renovatio* signalled a gradual transformation of the Capitol from the seat of the Commune of Rome to a "scenographic image and erudite museum", creating in the process a ceremonial (rather than political) focus.[40] Underlying Sixtus IV's generous donations to the Capitol, which celebrated Rome's mythic foundations, was probably an attempt to undermine the political role of the Popolo Romano, in the life of the city, in favour of cultivating the hill's ancient legacy.

Sixtus IV's revisionist agenda for the Capitol was to serve as an important precedent for his nephew and fellow della Rovere, Julius II. Besides quarrying the ancient symbolism of the Capitol, to further the hagiographical connections between the armorial arms of the della Rovere family and the oak of Jupiter, Julius II's pontificate also instigated a policy of systematic neglect of the fabric of the venerated hill, to underline the supremacy of the Vatican hill in the political and judicial affairs of Rome.[41] We will see later in Chapter 3 how this policy was directly related to the construction of the Palazzo dei Tribunali along via Giulia, located roughly midway between the Vatican and Capitol.

From what we have examined so far, of the changing landscape of Rome from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance, it is abundantly clear that religious and political iconography increasingly drew upon the symbolism of the Vatican – and St Peter's in particular - to further legitimize papal claims to both temporal and spiritual authority. At the same time, the Vatican's geographical location (in relation to the Lateran and the Capitol), and its transformation into a veritable 'palace-temple' complex during the Renaissance (redolent of imperial and princely rulers), underscored the caesaro-papal ambitions of the apostolic succession.

Chigi Chapel

The ways in which the *meta Romuli* and *meta Remi* were variously incorporated in successive representations of Peter and Paul's martyrdoms, to reflect the changing political landscape, tells us a great deal about how the topography of Rome was constantly reinterpreted. This process, however, was not an exclusively papal prerogative but also extended to private commissions as well. Of particular relevance to this investigation is the design of the Chigi Chapel. Begun during the pontificate of Julius II, the chapel is located in Santa Maria del Popolo which was the adopted church of the della Rovere family.[42] It was designed by Raphael, with the assistance of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. From its very inception, the project was designed as the mausoleum of the powerful Sienese banker Agostino Chigi and his family. As one of the wealthiest and most powerful bankers of his day, Agostino Chigi was largely responsible for bank-rolling the ambitious urban and architectural projects of Julius II, including the construction of new St Peter's Basilica.

Fig. 13 Raphael (1483-1520), Chigi Chapel (begun c. 1513), Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. Section and Plan. (Drawn by Peter Baldwin).

A conspicuous feature of Agostino Chigi's mausoleum is the two famous pyramidal wall-tombs located on adjacent sides of the central altar. John Shearman has observed that their proportions are almost identical to those of the *meta Romuli*, albeit on a much smaller scale.[43] This relationship is also supported by the fact that the original design of the wall-tombs incorporated marble relief-work on the inclined surfaces of the monuments, much like the original marble cladding for the *meta Romuli*, discussed earlier, later used to pave the atrium of St Peter's Basilica.[44] Raphael's interest in the *meta Romuli* is highlighted in a letter that he wrote to Leo X, in which he lamented its demolition in the second decade of the sixteenth century as a deplorable act of vandalism.[45] Ironically, soon after the destruction of the ancient pyramid under Leo X, a replica was constructed in 1515 to celebrate the entry of the Medici pope into Florence.[46]

Not all the influences however on the design of the tombs of the Chigi Chapel point to the *meta Romuli*. Another likely source of inspiration was the Vatican obelisk. This is reflected in the globes that originally crowned the apex of the pyramid-tombs, which remind one of the famous 'orb' of the Vatican obelisk, long thought to have contained the ashes of Julius

Caesar.[47] The hybrid nature of the design of the wall-tombs is, in one sense, reminiscent of the "goal posts" in the famous Stefaneschi altarpiece, referred to earlier.

Fig. 14 Raphael (1483-1520), Chigi Chapel (begun c. 1513), Santa Maria del Popolo, Rome. View of interior showing the pyramid tomb of Agostino Chigi (Photo by author).

Set within large triumphal arches, that frame the adjacent walls of the Chigi Chapel, the pyramids clearly allude to the notion of triumph over mortality. However, rather than being framed by the triumphal arch, the apex of the pyramids projects beyond the cornice of the arch. This superimposition of the two motifs reminds one of the later Tragic Scene by Sebastiano Serlio, to be examined in Chapter 2. Here an obelisk, redolent of the Vatican Obelisk (with orb at its apex), and a pyramid, similar in proportion to the *meta Romuli*, are represented behind a triumphal arch that terminates the street scene. Could we not construe from this similar arrangement of superimposed (and identifiable) elements in the Chigi Chapel and Serlio's Tragic Scene parallel intentions; namely to convey topographical specificity to otherwise unrelated architectural settings? We will see shortly how this intention relates to the particular symbolism of the Chigi Chapel.

Marc Worsdale however takes a slightly different line of enquiry by suggesting that the symbolism of the two pyramids in the Chigi Chapel relate to the pyramidal funeral pyres used for the cremation of emperors.[48] This idea prompts Ingrid Rowland to argue that "one of the meanings evoked by Raphael's design was that of an imperial funeral monument."[49] Rowland further speculates that Raphael may have been inspired by a passage in a letter written by Giles of Viterbo to his future successor as Prior General of the Augustinians, Gabriele Della Volta. In the letter he states that the pyramid "is associated with fire by Plato", which perhaps further underlines its connections with funeral pyres.[50] But Giles goes further by suggesting that the numerological significance of twelve conjoined pyramids, that form the earthly orb and starry sphere, has a bearing on the handling of money by the Banco Chigi.[51] Reflecting, no doubt, on Giles' extraordinary ability to forge relationships between commerce, monetary transaction and cosmological symbolism, this relationship, as Rowland argues, highlights the " continuity in the Chigi family's longstanding connection with the Augustinian Order and confirming Agostino's own interaction with that order's Prior General."[52]

Rowland makes the case that the pyramids, and their connection with the imperial funerary pyre, should be interpreted as "the flames of human charity".[53] Whilst this argument is a worthy explanation of the symbolism of the pyramidal motif in the Chapel, it does not sufficiently account for Raphael's conscious reference to the *meta Romuli* in the proportions of the pyramids. More generally, Rowland's argument does not explain the possible symbolic significance of using two pyramids in the chapel, beyond their obvious function as tombs.[54] Implicit in this arrangement, as I will seek to argue, is Raphael's particular interest in the topography of Rome, reflected in his attempt to undertake an ambitious archaeological survey of the city during the pontificate of Leo X. One clue to ascertaining how such interests could have informed the design of the Chapel can be found in the life of Agostino Chigi. In Rome, Agostino owned property on both sides of the Tiber River. On the west side, the banker had a lavish suburban villa built, later called the Farnesina. Sited along via della Lungara, close to the river, the villa is fairly near to the Tempietto of San Pietro in Montorio which looms high above the Tiber River on the ridge of the Janiculum. On the east bank of the Tiber, Agostino had his banking headquarters in the so-called Quartière dei Banchi, referred to earlier. In the course of his journeys between his residence, the Vatican Palace, and his offices, Agostino would have become very familiar with the topography of the east and west banks of the Tiber River. Given this background it would seem plausible that upon Agostino Chigi's death on 11th April in 1520 his funeral cortege should ceremonially re-enact his personal experience of the banks of the Tiber River. Commencing at his residence, the Villa Farnesina, the cortege processed across the Ponte Sisto to the Campo dei Fiori, bypassing via Giulia. From there it passed to the Quartière dei Banchi, along via di Pellegrino and via dei Banchi Vecchi (the construed route of the ancient via Triumphalis). Then it processed along the Canale di Ponte, as far as the Ponte Sant'Angelo, and passed along the banks of the Tiber River to Santa Maria del Popolo to the north.[55]

Agostino's life could be said to have mediated between the two faces of Rome; between the *otium* of his *villa suburbana* and the *negotium* of the banking district of Rome. These places of work and leisure were located within the very sacred territory that was delimited by the two pyramids, the *meta Romuli* and *meta Remi*, as conveyed in Filarete's bronze relief of Peter's martyrdom. It is plausible therefore that Agostino's mausoleum was designed, at one level, to invoke this relationship. Indeed, given the precedents I outlined earlier, could we not argue that the triangular relationship between the *meta Romuli*, *meta Remi* and Tempietto

provided a spatial analogy to the triadic relationship between the two pyramidal wall-tombs and the altar in the Chigi Chapel? In such a connection, by demarcating a territory for ritual procession and sacrifice, the pyramidal tombs define spatially what their urban counterparts achieve topographically. This spatial and metaphorical reading of interior space was not unusual in Renaissance Rome, as noted in Manfredo Tafuri's assertion that the iconography of the frescos of the Stanza della Segnatura (also by Raphael) formed a "manifesto" of the urban projects in Rome under Julius II.[56]

In conclusion, this chapter has sought to illuminate how Prudentius' poetic account of Rome's sacred topography provided the starting point for interpreting Christian Rome. It defined an enduring model of the redemptive city *extra muros* that, at one level, was amplified by the network of pilgrimage routes that criss-crossed medieval Rome. At another level it was overlaid by the political rivalries and territorial claims that characterised the changing topographical and symbolic relationships between the Vatican, Lateran and Capitol during the late Middle Ages and Renaissance.

Implicit in Prudentius' account, as we have seen, is the idea that topographical and geological features 'speak' of Rome's destiny as the pilgrimage city and bearer of the Petrine keys to the heavenly city. This subterranean narrative of Rome's redemptive symbolism, in one sense, served as an Early Christian precursor to what would later become dominant themes in Renaissance antiquarian thought – archaeology and topography as agents of *renovatio urbis* (renewal of the city).

The chapter has further highlighted how the left bank of the Tiber River acquired, by the Renaissance, a new political dimension and a universal status as the seat of papal authority, that was to radically alter Prudentius' description of the mediated landscape of the Tiber River. Notwithstanding however the increasing political and religious centralization of papal Rome, it is evident that the Prudentician model underlies many of the representations of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. Signalled by the ancient 'gate-posts' - the *meta Romuli* and *meta Remi* - these representations, as we have seen, demonstrate the remarkable continuity of symbolic and topographical references that could respond, through their appropriate deployment in pictorial representation, to changing political and territorial priorities of the papacy.

In the chapters that follow we will see how humanist interests in Rome's topography, and its mytho-historical background, mobilised a form of conscious urban planning that was to profoundly influence the representation of the city. The example of the Chigi Chapel gives an indication of how this topographical overview of the city could serve metaphorically as a spatial matrix for memorialisation and religious observance.

Chapter 2

VIA GIULIA & PAPAL CORPORATISM:
The Politics of Order

The Julian 'Lapide'

Located on the facade of a house in the 5th *rione* (district) of Rome called Ponte is an inscription installed in 1512 by the builders Domenico Massimo and Girolamo Pico for the building magistrates of the city (*maestri di strada*). Translated from the Latin, the inscription reads as follows:

> "Julius II Pontifex Optimus Maximus having liberated Italy and enlarged
> the dominions of the Roman church embellished the city of Rome which at
> the time was more like a squatter's settlement than a properly planned
> city."[1]

The epigram is a eulogy of the achievements of Julius II, celebrating the pope's liberation of Italy from tyranny and his ambitious urban and architectural projects in Rome. The reference to "a squatter's settlement" (*occupate similiorem quam devise*) is a late Latin derivation from Livy's *History of Rome*: "ut….forma…urbis sit occupatae magis quam divisae similes" (5.55.5).[2] This relates to Livy's account of the battle that took place between the Etruscan city of Veii and Rome in 396 BCE. It was during this conflict that Veii laid seige to Rome, resulting in extensive destruction of the city. The final victory of the Romans, however, led to the Etruscan territories on the west bank of the Tiber River, including the Janiculum and the Vatican, becoming part of Rome. The city was subsequently restored, albeit in haste and without much careful planning, hence Livy's derogatory comparison to "a squatter's settlement."

Fig.15 View of the Julian 'Lapide' in Ponte *rione*, Rome (16th c.) (Photo by author)

The reasons for incorporating the Livy reference in the Julian epigram are open to speculation. As we know, attempts to emulate the achievements of ancient Roman were a familiar feature in papal eulogies. One possible source of influence, to be discussed further in Chapter 3, concerns the discovery of a terminal *cippus*, dating from the period of Claudius (41-54AD) and found near - or on - the site of the Palazzo dei Tribunali along via Giulia.[3] The ancient pillar bore an inscription which commemorated the expansion of the territories of the Roman Empire and the enlargement of the *pomerium.* The cippus was discovered about three years before the Julian *lapide* was installed nearby.[4] Given the parallels therefore between both inscriptions, in their respective commemoration of expanding imperial/papal territories and the development of Rome, it is plausible that the Claudian cippus influenced the Julian epigram.

There is, however, a further possible influence that relates to Julius II's more immediate emulation of his della Rovere predecessor, Sixtus IV. Numerous inscriptions were installed under Sixtus IV to commemorate his urban and architectural projects, whose various contents highlighted the contrast between the degradation of the earlier city and the pope's enlightened interventions.[5] Of particular interest here is a plaque located on a house in via dei Balestari in Campo dei Fiori by the *maestri di strada.* Its inscription commemorates Sixtus's initiatives to develop and enlarge the Campo dei Fiori, that included relocating the Capitoline market to this site in 1479.[6] As will become clearer later, this inter-relationship between inscription and urban space could also be applied to the Julian *lapide* which similarly invokes the urban and architectural developments within its vicinity.

As if to underline this connection, the literary content of the Sixtine inscription has striking parallels to the Julian *lapide* which J. Brian Horrigan succinctly summarises in the following terms: "a gloomy picture must first be painted before one can fully appreciate how good things have become".[7] Accordingly, the establishment or restoration of order in the city, conveyed in the rearrangement of streets and public spaces, assumes an initial state of disorder or chaos.

In the case of the Julian epigram, however, this narrative progression from disorder to order probably served a more specific rhetorical purpose, by highlighting the stark difference

between the beautification of the city under Julius II's pontificate and its earlier period of decadence during the reign of his much reviled predecessor Alexander VI. By using an ancient literary reference to underline Julius' achievements, against a backdrop of neglect and inferior workmanship, the *maestri di strada* clearly saw the legacy of ancient Rome as an effective means of legitimizing the temporal aspects of papal rule.

These various influences on the Julian inscription, whilst revealing in themselves as examples of rhetorical tropes deployed in the papal court, do not adequately explain the incorporation of the Livy reference, with its description of a particular event from Rome's distant mytho-historical past. To understand the likely significance of this reference we need to examine further its content, in relation to Livy's 5th book, and its possible relationship to the location of the Julian inscription, at the fork of via dei Banchi Vecchi (via Mercatoria) and via dei Banchi Nuovi (via Papale).

Livy's description of the battle between Rome and Veii reiterates the well-known belief that the ancient triumphal march was first performed by the semi-fictitious Roman general Marcus Furius Camillus, following his victory against the Etruscan city in 396 BCE.[8] Having been granted the title of dictator, Camillus became better known for his famous battle against the Gauls that followed his vitory at Veii. Horrigan makes a convincing argument that the *aediles* of the Julian inscription were seeking to draw comparison between Julius II and the legendary Camillus, who was similarly exiled from Rome and then brought back to lead the city in a battle against "northern invaders".[9]

This military role of both Julius II and Camillus is underlined by the location of the inscription, as it relates to the ancient topography of the city. Situated along the passage traditionally used for the papal coronation ceremony, the *Solenne Possesso*, the inscription is also in close proximity to the reconstructed route of the ancient *via triumphalis*. The significance of this ancient road in Livy's account concerns specifically Rome's early territorial ambitions. Whatever the actual history of the *via triumphalis*, what seems certain, at least from the standpoint of Renaissance humanists and antiquarians, is that the road originated in Veii and was established as a ceremonial passage for triumphant armies returning to Rome via the Vatican.[10]

Fig.16 Map of the western part of the Campo Marzio, indicating the route of *via Triumphalis* and location of the ancient *Trigarium* and Julian *lapide* (A) (After la Rocca and drawn by author).

Understood in this historical context, it is reasonable to suppose that certain triumphal associations were intended in the Livy reference. Indeed, it could be argued that the epigram served, at one level, as a *recordatio* of *via triumphalis* and its symbolism. The status of Julius II as 'reviver' of ancient Roman imperialism, albeit reconstituted in the image of a Christian empire of faith, drew upon these ancient sources in order to reinforce the much vaunted continuity between papal Rome and classical Rome. The example of Camillus would, in one sense, have provided the hagiographers of Julius II with an appropriate early Roman precursor to the quintessential model of Roman triumphalism, Julius Caesar. In each case, military triumph and repair (or embellishment) of the city's fabric are presented as interdependent aspects of the same restorative ambition. The link between conquest and city beautification was a distinctly Roman idea, given that buildings and monuments were regularly constructed from the spoils of war or conflict. By seeking to convey, therefore, continuity in the association of Rome with triumphalism, the Renaissance was consciously emulating a well-established Roman practice.

Fig.17 Map of the Ponte *rione* showing approximate relationship between the route of *via Triumphalis* (A), via dei Banchi Vecchi (via Peregrinorum) (B) and via dei Banchi Nuovi (via Papale) (C). 'D' indicates location of the Julian *lapide*; 'E' the papal Zecca; 'F' the Palazzo dei Tribunali, 'G' the *pons Neronianus* and 'H' via Giulia ((Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

The association was enhanced by the intense interest during the Renaissance in the Roman triumph; its route and its now canonic triumphator Julius Caesar.[11] As a ritual and ceremonial passage, which traditionally served to reaffirm the unity and purpose of ancient Rome and her empire, the symbolism of the Roman triumph was revivied in the 15th and 16th centuries. This formed an integral part of the humanist project of *renovatio*, or renewal of classical antiquity. During Julius II's pontificate, notions of historical continuity were cultivated by humanists on the basis that the pope was the "perpetual triumphator." Often described as "il Papa Terribile", on account of his unbending determination and belligerence, Julius II is portrayed

in sermons and eulogies as the warrior pope who sought to unite the territories of Italy to form a papal empire. More than this, the euphoric sermons celebrating the achievements of Julius II clearly anticipated a world Christian empire under his stewardship that not even Julius Caesar could rival. His brief successes in the expansion of the Holy See were the result of sometimes bloody military campaigns and complex diplomatic alliances between the papacy and the ruling families of Europe.[12] The ancient route of the *via triumphalis* formed a central feature in the hagiography of Julius II as '2nd Caesar'. Its passage to the Capitol partly traced the later route of the *Solenne Possesso* and therefore was understand by some humanists and architects as a prefigurement of the papal ceremonial.[13]

Fig.18 Arch of Titus, Roman Forum (1st century AD). Marble sculptured relief showing Titus's triumphal march into Rome following his victory in the Jewish War (A.D. 70). (Photo by author)

Attempts in the Renaissance to identify the route of the ancient road were hindered by the lack of clear archaeological evidence. Accordingly, humanists had to rely on ancient accounts of the Roman triumphal marches, such as Suetonius' description of Caesar's entry.[14] This probably served as the initial inspiration for Andrea Mantegna's celebrated series of nine paintings of the *Triumph of Caesar*, now in Hampton Court, one of a number of representations dating from the Renaissance that conflate all of Caesar's triumphs into one continuous sequence.[15] Commissioned by the Gonzaga family in Mantua in the 15th century, the depictions utilize features of other triumphs that ancient sources describe, such as that of Aemilius Paullus. Mantegna's paintings demonstrate how the reception of the triumph of Caesar effectively becomes the Roman triumph *par excellence*.

Fig.19 Andrea Mantegna (1431-1506), *Triumphs of Caesar* (c1486-94), Canvas 7; 'the Captives'. Hampton Court, London.

In terms of identifying and representing key topographical features along the route, these depictions were also probably influenced by the well-known 15th century reconstruction of the *via triumphalis* by Flavio Biondo, from his *Roma Triumphans, Book X*. The account is unique in Renaissance antiquarian literature in the way it attempts to trace systematically the ancient road, from the Vatican to the Capitol, by highlighting the principal buildings and monuments that delineate its path:

> "The triumphal procession, then, was made ready in that triumphal territory (Vatican) and proceeded along the triumphal way, a small portion of which paved with flint is still seen beneath the church of Santo Spirito in Sassia, in the hospital stonework (Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia), so as to be led into the city and towards the Capitol over the now demolished triumphal bridge (pons Neronianus) over the Tiber next to it, and through the triumphal gate (Porta Triumphalis) connected to the bridge likewise demolished though substantial foundations of it are still to be seen. The triumphal way continued to what is now the rear porch of the church of S. Celso; beside this portico which consists of a marble arch straddling the way itself there is another portico made of brick which has a corroded marble statue of colossal size (Arch of Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius). The way then bends back and heads toward the church of S Lorenzo in Damaso and then Flora's field (Campo dei Fiori). Here particularly in most recent times it has been possible to see that in the stretch of houses built over it those working to lay foundations or excavate wells have come upon an ancient and extensive way made of flint, and under new houses and ruins a way has been found by the excavators which proceeds from Flora's field (Campo dei Fiori) to what is now the piazza of the Jews (Piazza Giudea) and from there to the temple of Juno now the church of Sant' Angelo in Pescheria and after that to S. Giorgio in Velabro as far as the vicinity of the temple of Janus (Janus Quadrifrons) and the Velabrum where it is uncovered and seen to come to a halt at the Clivus Capitolinus (Capitoline slope)."[16]

Biondo's description indicates the route of the ancient road from the bridgehead of the Tiber River to the Capitol. This can be summarised by the following key monuments, buildings and puplic squares:

Santo Spirito in Sassia

Porta Triumphalis

Pons Neronianus

SS.Celso e Giuliano

Arch of Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius

S. Lorenzo in Damaso

Campo dei Fiori

Piazza Giudea

Sant' Angelo in Pescheria

San Giorgio in Velabro/ Janus Quadrifrons

The Capitol.[17]

The first monument that Biondo mentions on the east bank of the Tiber river is the church of SS. Celso e Giuliano. Originally located in the Piazza di Ponte, the church later became associated with the pontificate of Julius II when it was relocated further south along the Canale di Ponte. In close proximity to the inscription discussed earlier, SS. Celso e Giuliano served as the principal place of worship in the banking quarter of Rome, the Quartière dei Banchi. The Arch of Arcadius, Honorious and Theodosius, often confused with the nearby Arch of Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, commemorated Stilicho's victory against the Goths in 405. Located adjacent to the campanile of S. Celso it was thought to lead to the ancient *pons Neronianus*, perhaps in emulation of the original triumphal procession.

Fig.20 View of the Canale di Ponte looking north towards the Castel Sant'Angelo with the later church of SS. Celso e Giuliano on the right (Photo by author).

From this area of Rome, near the banks of the Tiber, Biondo's account goes on to suggest that the *via triumphalis* continued along the via Mercatoria (via dei Banchi Vecchi) to via del Pellegrino which passed the Carolingian church of San Lorenzo in Damaso. Historically, this extended street is more popularly known as via Peregrinorum on account of it being an important passage for pilgrims travelling north/south between the Vatican and S. Paolo fuori le mura. The church of San Lorenzo in Damaso was later demolished and reconstructed to form part of the monumental 15th century Palazzo della Cancelleria (formally the Apostolic Palace), which extends along the north side of via del Pellegrino. Biondo then goes on to describe the remaining route of the ancient road to the Capitol, via the Velabrum which was believed by antiquarians to be the gateway to the Roman Forum, hence the significance of the Janus Quadrifrons - a point I will return to later in Chapter 5.

Fig. 21 Plan of the area around Palazzo della Cancelleria/San Lorenzo in Damaso (A) and Campo dei Fiori (B), indicating construed route of *via Triumphalis* that retraces via Peregrinorum. (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

We will see later in this chapter (and also in Chapter 5) how the ancient monuments of the Porta Triumphalis and *pons Neronianus*, on the west bank of the Tiber River, were identified and served as key markers in delineating the route of the *via triumphalis* through the Vatican from the north.

Via Giulia

Quite how we can ascertain the influence of the *via triumphalis*, during the pontificate of Julius II, depends in part on our understanding of the symbolism of the nearby via Giulia that extended north-south in the Ponte, Parione and Regola *rioni*, roughly parallel to the route of the ancient triumphal road. To establish the possible motives behind the insertion of this monumental street, within the medieval fabric of the city, it will be necessary to explore in some detail the design of via Giulia in the context of the surrounding topography and in relation to key buildings and landmarks.

Fig.22 View of via Giulia today looking south from San Giovanni dei Fiorentini (Photo by author)

In the major collaborative study on via Giulia by Luigi Salerno, Luigi Spezzaferro and Manfredo Tafuri, the authors examine the influences of the larger urban context of the street.[18] This examination takes as its underlying premise that the street formed part of a more complex urban and political strategy that sought to unify the disparate elements within the three districts (*rioni*) of Rome - Ponte, Parione and Regola - outlined earlier.Whilst it was probably intended to serve an important infrastructural function in the area, by facilitating access between the Ponte Sisto to the south and the commercial and business districts to the north and east, the uncompromising straightness and monumentality of via Giulia - coupled with the apparent ambiguity of the street's orientation – raise a number of questions about its possible symbolic intentions and ceremonial functions.

For Spezzaferro and Tafuri, the legacy of the earlier Parentucelli *renovatio* (Nicholas V) provided a crucial background to the urban intentions underlying via Giulia and its 'twin' artery (via della Lungara) across the Tiber River.[19] At the same time, Spezzaferro identifies an inter-relationship between via Giulia and the remodelling of the east bank of the Tiber river under Sixtus IV, particularly via Sistina (via Tor di Nona-via di Monte Brianzo) to the north.[20] In this development the Sixtine legacy was treated not so much as a complete and distinct enterprise, but rather as an 'unfinished' project awaiting completion by his della Rovere successor. This idea of continuity between both popes finds expression elsewhere in the projects and initiatives under Julius II, in which the scope of intervention could be extended beyond local conditions to address new circumstances.

Fig.23 Schematic map of Rome indicating principal urban and architectural developments under Julius II: St Peter's Basilica (A), Cortile del Belvedere (B), via della Lungara (C), via Giulia (D), Palazzo dei Tribunali (E), Papal Zecca (Mint) (F), Palazzo della Cancelleria (G).

Tafuri at the same time argues that the intervention was a decisive political manoeuvre by the Pope to gain control over already existing activities in the area. In particular, Tafuri emphasises his ambition to oversee the economic activity of the Florentines in the Ponte *rione* of the city.[21] Located at the northern end of via Giulia this district of Rome, as I have already indicated, was also the financial centre of the Renaissance city. By destroying many of the properties in the area Bramante had clearly intended to assert Papal jurisdiction over the Florentine bankers and merchants, an initiative that was however to be reversed by Leo X (1513-21), Medici Pope and Julius' successor. Tafuri argues therefore that Julius sought to extend the field of influence of the Leonine city to the east bank of the Tiber River, in an area that was crucially important to the commercial and financial activities of Rome.[22]

In contrast to the larger contextual concerns of Spezzaferro and Tafuri, Arnaldo Bruschi argues, in his seminal work on Bramante, that the architect had a more specific and exclusive purpose in mind for via Giulia, namely as a triumphal passage for the "pontifice imperatore".[23] Bruschi construes the street as possessing a paradigmatic function, whose appearance and function are elevated above the hum-drum existence of everyday life in the surrounding *abitato*. He compares this paradigm with the perspectival street-scenes of Peruzzi, with their ordered sequence of monumental buildings that form a vista. The principle of a triumphal function to the street is implied in 16th century reconstructions of ancient Rome, notably those of Pirro Ligorio (1553) and Onofrio Panvinio (1565). These representations clearly show a street that closely follows the route of via Giulia along the east bank of the Tiber River, terminated by a large triumphal arch at the bridgehead to the *pons Neronianus*, to be discussed later. As partly imaginary reconstructions of ancient Rome, these representations suggest that both Ligorio and Panvinio saw via Giulia – by then an established thoroughfare in the late 16th century - as a remodelling of the ancient *via triumphalis*. Given this connection, could we not construe that Bramante himself saw the potential for such a reference in his original design for the street?

Bruschi's argument, however, raises a number of issues, not least the specific ceremonial purpose of via Giulia and whether the ancient triumphal route gave Bramante opportunities to exploit the status of Julius II as 2nd Caesar. Whilst however Biondo's description of *via triumphalis* clearly demonstrates a topographical link between the Vatican and the Capitol, via Giulia terminates to the south at Ponte Sisto, out of range of this extended route. This

leads one to wonder whether any intended procession would have rejoined the ancient route, or whether via Giulia was conceived as an isolated urban gesture.

The arguments outlined so far give an indication of the diversity of opinions, among scholars, about the various functions and symbolic meanings of this enigmatic street. One need not, however, assume that these various hypotheses are irreconcilable. Indeed, the political, economic, ceremonial and administrative aspects of this thoroughfare may have formed part of a larger vision that sought to bring temporal and sacred matters into a closer dialogue. The present chapter, and Chapter 3 that follows, will re-examine some of these arguments about via Giulia, and will include hitherto unexplored issues relating to the symbolism of topography and of papal/civic procession.

The Legacy of Sixtus IV

As already intimated, a crucial aspect of the urban projects of Julius II's pontificate concerned the architectural legacy of his venerated della Rovere uncle. This is apparent in the route of via Giulia, which connects two important monuments of Sixtus IV's pontificate, Ponte Sisto to the south, referred to earlier, and the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia to the north and located across the Tiber River in the Borgo. Significantly, the re-development of via della Lungara under Julius II was first initiated by Sixtus IV who sought to secure a route to the Vatican from Ponte Sisto for pilgrims during the 1475 Jubilee.[24]

Sixtus' urban programme attached great importance to the Borgo, as a confluence of different routes to the Vatican for visiting pilgrims; from the east via the Ponte *rione* of Rome across the Ponte Sant'Angelo, from the north via Monte Mario, and from the south from Trastevere. Indeed, according to contemporary sources, Sixtus IV had initiated between 1472 and 1475 a number of projects that entailed the construction or repair of streets in the Borgo:

> During these years [of Sixtus IV's pointificate] only payments were registered for the opening of the borgo Sant'Angelo, for repair works to via Santa (borgo Vecchio), for the construction of the road that stems from Monte Mario and arrives at the Porta di Borgo, and finally for the completion of repair work to via Pubblica [borgo Santo Spirito]".[25]

These initiatives advanced the 'trivium' of streets first envisaged by Nicholas V in this area, and sought to give greater clarity to the connection between the Piazza di Castel Sant'Angelo and the old Basilica of St Peter's.[26] For Sixtus IV, however, this programme of *renovatio* effectively extended the Parentucelli scheme to the east bank of the Tiber. The first and most important project in the Sistine scheme was the introduction of the new river-crossing, the Ponte Sisto. Its construction was in direct response to a catastrophe that had occurred at Ponte Sant'Angelo during the 1450 Jubilee, which necessitated the creation of an alternative river-crossing for the Jubilee of 1475.[27] Located on the site of a number of ancient bridge-crossings, the Ponte Sisto was in effect a 'reconstruction' of Ponte Rotto that was also called the 'Ponte Janiclensis', presumably because it formed the crossing to the Janiculum hill in antiquity

Fig.24 View of Ponte Sisto today (Photo by author)

Begun in 1473, the construction of this bridge formed one of the themes in the famous fresco-cycle in the main hall of the Ospedale di Santa Spirito that was part of the Sistine project for this complex. These frescoes could be described as an 'apotheosis' of the life and achievements of Sixtus IV. In the scene of the Ponte Sisto, the Pope is represented standing in papal regalia, giving a formal blessing to the construction of the bridge.[28] Behind the Pope is a group of people, including a figure generally thought to be a representation of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere, future Pope Julius II.[29] His presence in this scene suggests that Giuliano was involved in some way in the construction of the new bridge, a role that the young cardinal may have used to good effect - as is the case with other Sistine projects - in anticipation of his own programme of *renovatio Romae* as a future pope.[30]

Fig.25 Sixtus IV Blessing the Ponte Sisto. Part of a 15th century fresco cycle of the life of Sixtus IV in the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia.

Before the construction of Ponte Sisto only the Ponte Sant'Angelo, and the two bridges connecting the Isola to the Ponte Santa Maria (which led to Santa Maria in Trastevere further

down river), were still accessible. Whilst Nicholas V embarked on a programme of restoring bridges, popes were generally not productive in commissioning the construction or restoration of bridges. This is in spite of their venerated title 'Pontifex Maximus' (pontifex meaning "bridge-builder"). Nevertheless, like his della Rovere uncle, Julius II clearly sought to revive the ancient tradition of bridge-building by reinstating the *Pons Neronianus*, an initiative that was to have important ramifications in the symbolism of the Pontifex Maximus, a point I will explore later in this chapter.

It is likely that Bramante had intended to create a piazza at the bridgehead to Ponte Sisto, echoing a similar arrangement that was probably planned – but not executed - for the northern termination of via Giulia.[31] An obvious model for both initiatives would have been the Platea Pontis (Piazza di Ponte referred to earlier in the context of S. Celso) at the entrance to Ponte Sant'Angelo, which was altered during the Pontificates of Nicholas V and later by Sixtus IV himself.[32]

Besides the Ponte Sisto, the other important Sistine reference in Bramante's scheme is the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia referred to earlier.[33] Located on the west bank at the bend in the Tiber River, and overlooking the ruins of the *Pons Neronianus*, this Anglo-Saxon foundation was constructed on the site of an earlier hospital established at the beginning of the 12th century by Pope Innocent III.

Fig.26 Plan of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia in relation to the Tiber River and Porta Santo Spirito (A). (Based on anonymous 17th c. plan and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

According to Andrea Fulvio, writing in 1527, the project of Sixtus IV entailed, in part, a restoration and enlargement of the original buildings of Pope Innocent III which had fallen into disrepair. The most celebrated aspect of the Ospedale, the cycle of frescoes, provides a useful indication (through the chronological sequence of events represented) of the close relationship between the Ospedale and Ponte Sisto. As Eunice Howe notes:

"…..their sequence reflects a conscious grouping of the events which implies that the construction of the ponte Sisto took place concurrently with the reconstruction of the hospital...neither building is represented completed but depicts the Pope observing the workers."[34]

The likely contemporaneity of both monuments is reinforced by the possibility that they formed part of a larger urban scheme during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, conceived specifically to commemorate the Holy Year of 1475. The network of interventions on the west bank of the Tiber - comprising the bridgehead to Ponte Sisto, the Ospedale and connecting road of via della Lungara - formed arguably a coherent urban intervention made legible to pilgrims in their procession to St Peter's Basilica from Trastevere to the south and the Ponte, Parrione and Regola *rioni* to the east across the river.[35]

An important feature in Sixtus IV's redevelopment of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia, was a lofty octagonal drum over the entrance to the main hall. This provided a prominent landmark, signalling the entrance to the Leonine City from the bend in the Tiber River. The architectural feature later became a familiar motif in representations of the Borgo and Vatican in the 16th century, as seen for example in one of the famous tapestries designed by Raphael for the Sistine Chapel, the *Miraculous Draught of the Fishes*. According to John Shearman, the background scene shows an exaggerated representation of the octagonal tower of the Ospedale, only here transported to the banks of the Dead Sea.[36] In this topographical translation, the Vatican (or more generally the territory of Etruria extending further north) becomes the new Holy Land, whilst the Tiber River becomes in abbreviated form the Dead Sea. Hence, the site of St Peter's burial is mystically transplanted to the place of one of Christ's most celebrated miracles. The contrived relationship, underlying Raphael's tapestry, was doubtless a rhetorical gesture to emphasise both the status of the pontiff, as legitimate descendent of the first vicar of Christ, and of Rome as the *altera Jerusalem*.

Fig.27 View of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia today, showing prominent octagonal drum over the crossing of the great hall facing the Tiber River (Photo by author)

This interpretation of the significance of the Ospedale probably played a part in Bramante's developments of the east and west banks of the Tiber River; in particular it suggests the Ospedale as a symbolic 'prelude' to the new Temple of Solomon, promised in Biblical text and fulfilled in the later rebuilding of St Peter's Basilica by Julius II.

In spite of these allusions to Rome (or more specifically the Vatican) as the *altera Jerusalem*, the apparent continuity between Sistine and Julian *renovatio* was far from seamless. Indeed the siting of the Ospedale led to almost insurmountable problems in regard to facilitating access to the Borgo from Bramante's planned reinstatement of the *pons Neronianus*, a subject I will return to later. Whilst the programme of *renovatio urbis* in the Julian age clearly built upon the initiatives of both Nicholas V and Sixtus IV, it also signalled a significant departure from its 15th century predecessors. This is evident by the particular emphasis placed on a new and unprecedented scale, and monumental (imperialising) character, of the architecture. The departure, moreover, was motivated by exceptional cultural, political and artistic circumstances that collectively laid the foundations for the much vaunted Golden Age of Julius II's pontificate.

Given the significance of this larger vision, there arises the question of how these various urban and architectural projects were actually conceived, indeed whether they were underscored by some over-arching 'masterplan'. What seems apparent is that the stark disjunction between the *impresa* - or notional synthesis of the symbolic meanings - and the reality of a fragmentary and unresolved layout of interventions leads us to speculate whether there ever existed a masterplan as such, at least in its modern sense. Instead did Julian *renovatio* constitute a process of aggregation of distinguishable - but nonetheless related - projects, many of which were left incomplete or altered by successive popes? We will return to this question later in this investigation.

Quartière dei Banchi

In 1508 an important announcement was made in Piazza di Ponte, on the steps of the old church of SS. Celso e Giuliano facing the Tiber River:

"In the name of the Banchi, we hereby announce proposals for *Vicolo del Pavone* near the Cancelleria palace [Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini] along *Strada Diritta di Banchi* and up to Ponte, and from San Biagio palace [Palazzo dei Tribunali] along *Strada Giulia* and *Via Florida*; from *Vicolo del Pavone* along the road of Monte Giordano that arrives at Zecca; and from Monte Giordano, from the the *Strada di Panico* up to Ponte also including *Piazza dell'Altoviti* and the other *strada* that goes towards Torinona."[37]

Issued during the pontificate of Julius II, this announcement refers to important urban developments in the 'Banchi' that consist of alterations to existing streets delineated by prominent buildings. Among these alterations were the incorporation, or addition, of institutional/administrative buildings that were to play a central role in Bramante's urban scheme for the east bank of the Tiber River; the Palazzo della Cancelleria (Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini), Palazzo a San Biagio (Palazzo dei Tribunali) and the Zecca (papal mint). The description also indicates that the developments included the territory between via Giulia and via Florida (via Mercatoria referred to earlier) which was to be the location of the new *foro Iulio* fronting the Palazzo dei Tribunali.

Bounded by the river to the west and via dei Banchi Nuovi to the east, the Quartière dei Banchi was one of the busiest areas of the city during the Renaissance and served as the termination of via Giulia. This gave it a strategic importance in Bramante's larger urban proposal to connect the Borgo and Vatican with the *abitato*. The Banchi consists of a dense maze of narrow streets, whose principal square, the Piazza di Ponte (Platea Pontis), formed the bridgehead to the Ponte Sant'Angelo. Occupying approximately a third of the overall area of the Ponte *rione*, the Banchi functioned as both a financial and commercial district during the 15th century. Furthermore, the Platea Pontis played a particularly crucial role throughout the Middle Ages and Renaissance as the gateway to the Borgo and St. Peter's Basilica for pilgrims attending Holy Year celebrations.

Oriented on the north/south axis, the principal street of the Banchi, Canale di Ponte (via di Santo Spirito), linked, as we have seen in the context of the route of the *via triumphalis*, the Platea Pontis with the territory of the ancient Campus Martius to the south.[38] The street also delineated the eastern fringe of the Florentine quarter of Rome that extended to the river to

the west. A number of prominent 'banchi' and merchant houses were located along this street, including those of the famous Sienese banker, Agostino Chigi.[39] As already pointed out, during the pontificate of Julius II attempts were made to subjugate much of the financial activity of the Florentines to papal control. This, as Tafuri suggests, was probably one of the motivations for the demolition of many of the merchants houses and the Florentine Confraternity in this area, that in turn facilitated the formation of a new piazza at the northern end of via Giulia.[40] The creation of such a piazza would have provided a much needed terminating space for both via Giulia (from the south) and via del Consolato (the western extension of via dei Coronari from the east). In addition, the piazza was to serve as the bridgehead to the reinstated Ponte Trionfale (*pons Neronianus*), thereby facilitating a direct connection between via Giulia and the Borgo across the river. From this strategy we can begin to see how Biondo's 15th century description of the route of the *via triumphalis* may have influenced Bramante's scheme.

The historical importance of the Quartière dei Banchi, as the financial hub of the city, is reinforced by the location of the old medieval Zecca (or mint), along via dei Banchi Vecchi. During the pontificate of Eugenius IV, however, this mint was re-located to the Vatican, leaving the existing building disused until it was sold by the Borgia Pope, Calixtus III, to his nephew and future pope, Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia. He subsequently incorporated part of this older building in the construction of a lavish palace on the site, later known as the Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini.[41] When Rodrigo was appointed to the lucrative post of Vice-Chanceller of the Roman Church, he used the palace as his headquarters. It thus became known as the 'Old Chancery', to distingiush it from the Palazzo della Cancelleria (Palazzo Riario) further south.

Fig.28 View of the Papal Zecca (Mint), as later remodelled by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1525) (Photo by author).

A key priority in Julius II's programme of *renovatio Romae* was the construction of an exclusively papal mint in the banking quarter, in a territory outside the enclave of the Leonine City and close to the principal river-crossing - the Ponte Sant'Angelo.[42] Its location, at the end of the via dei Banchi and adjacent to the Julian inscription referred at the beginning of

this chapter, was possibly determined in part by its proximity to the relocated church of SS. Celso e Giuliano; "Not far from the church of S. Celsus your holiness [Julius II] built a workshop for coining money..."[43]

Besides coining money, the papal mint (Zecca) also served as the 'Monti' for public loans and for selling precious metals. It periodically struck commemorative medals, a crucial propagandist activity of the Julian Pontiff as confirmed by the numerous medals issued during his pontificate to celebrate important urban or architectural commissions.[44] Importantly, Julius II imposed strict monetary reform that included the introduction of the 'giulio' currency in 1508. These financial initiatives were supported by the presence of the powerful and influential Cardinal Raffaele Riario, a cousin and one time rival of the Pope, who was the 'camerlengo' - or papal chamberlain - at the Camera Apostolica.

It is conceivable that Julius II identified in Julius Caesar a suitable model in the administration of Rome's financial matters. Caesar's control over the Roman mint is well known, having formed an integral part of his style of rulership.[45] An inference of this ancient model can be seen in the famous Bufalini map of Rome, dated 1551, which suitably names the street of via dei Banchi as the "Forum Nummulariorum Banchi", a term presumably referring to the ancient quarter of money-changers located near the Janus Arch - or 'Janus Medius' - in the Roman Forum and close to the Roman Senate.[46]

From the evidence that we have, it is clear that the Quartière dei Banchi formed a crucially important part of Julian developments in the *abitato*, and that the northern termination of via Giulia in this quarter was intended to impose a new urban and political structure to the area. In the process, the intervention would have underlined the absolutist style of ruleship of Julius II, which directly impacted on the commercial and financial activities of the rest of Rome.

Via del Pellegrino, via Papale and via Recta
From our initial investigations of the area of the Banchi we can see that three important arteries converged at the southern end of the Canale di Ponte (via di Santo Spirito), at the gateway to the Borgo and Vatican via the Ponte Sant'Angelo. These thoroughfares - which can broadly be named via Recta, via Peregrinorum and via Papalis - traversed the *abitato* and

extended to different destinations of the city, well beyond the enclave of the Quartière dei Banchi. The ceremonial functions, moreover, of these three streets would have fulfilled what Charles Stinger describes as "..a ritualising means of proclaiming political and spiritual purpose".[47] The first, via Recta (later via dei Coronari referred to earlier) is an ancient thoroughfare, oriented almost perpendicular to via de'Banchi, to which it terminates. Paved by Sixtus IV, the street originally extended eastwards as far as the Corso, passing between the church of S. Apollinare and the northern edge of the Agone (Piazza Navona) along its route. The famous triumphal ceremony of Julius II on Palm Sunday in 1507, following his victories in Bologna and Perugia, probably passed along this street to the Vatican via the Ponte S'Angelo.[48]

The other two routes, the via Papale (via dei Banchi Nuovi) and via Peregrinorum (via dei Banchi Vecchi/via Mercatoria/via Florida/via del Pellegrino), converge at a fork-junction, at the southern end of the Canale di Ponte/via dei Banchi. The former extended eastwards across the ancient Campus Martius, connecting with the southern end of the Agone (Piazza Navona), whilst the latter (that traces the ancient *via triumphalis*) passed southwards roughly parallel to via Giulia. The via Papale, as already mentioned, formed part of the more extensive ceremonial route for the papal *Possesso*, that passed between St. Peter's Basilica and St. John the Lateran.

Fig.29 Map of the Ponte *rione* indicating the routes of via del Pellegrino (A), via Papale (B) and via Recta (C) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

We have already seen that via Peregrinorum assumed many names since late antiquity. It followed the present via dei Banchi Vecchi, forking left along via del Pellegrino to Campo dei Fiori. From here, it continued along via de'Giubbonari, via del Pianto and via del Portico di Ottavia in the Jewish Quarter further south. This was an important commercial thoroughfare during the Middle Ages and Renaissance, as indicated by the other names given to the streets that make up its route.[49] A 15th century description of this ancient thoroughfare, from the pontificate of Sixtus IV, gives some indication of its most salient features:

> "This is where you might see so many shops on the right and on the left. It
> is here Golden Rome that you lay your wealth where gleams the immense

road now very beautiful and covered with a line of porticoes recently on the left. I said that the porticoes were numerous with hovels and flith and recently I had ordered these to be demolished….Hence a road leads to the money changers' benches [the Banchi] and a splendid citadel [Castel Sant'Angelo] and thence to the Forum Romanum. In this space are whatever is hidden in the earth may be seen."[50]

The porticoes are actually the ancient 'Porticus Maximae' that consisted of a conspicuous covered-way along via Peregrinorum. The passageway, as Cesare D'Onofrio has pointed out, has been identified as via Tecta (covered street), described by Seneca and later restored by the emperors Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius around 380 AD.[51] As outlined in the Sistine description, these porticoes were demolished as part of the Pope's programme of *renovatio*, which probably entailed widening, straightened and paving the street. The appropriation, during the Middle Ages, of the ancient porticoed street into a pilgrimage route and commercial quarter of the *abitato* further underscores the sense of continuity between ancient and Medieval/Renaissance urban life, a point echoed in the message underlying the commemorative Julian *lapide* discussed at the beginning of this chapter.[52] Extending as far south as the ancient Portico Ottavia (beyond Piazza Giudea), this busy thoroughfare underlines the interdependence between the commercial life of Rome and the presence of visiting pilgrims, the precursors to modern-day tourists.

Solenne Possesso **and** *via Triumphalis*

These streets also periodically acquired a ceremonial function during the Renaissance that evidently emulated the Roman triumph. I have already mentioned Julius II's triumphal entry into Rome on 28th March 1507 that passed along via Recta (via dei Coronari) and processed up the Canale di Ponte towards the Ponte Sant'Angelo. Roman citizens, suitably dressed in ancient Roman attire, thronged the route of the procession to the Vatican, which was also adorned with a number of temporary triumphal archs. One of the most impressive was commissioned by Agostino Chigi and executed by Bramante, located in the Quartière dei Banchi on the site formerly occupied by the arch of Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius.[53]

Before this famous procession of the 'warrior pope' allusions to triumphalism could also be traced in his *Solenne Possesso* of 1503, highlighted in an account by an eye witness:

"On 5th December [1503] the pope arrived at San Giovanni [in Laterano] to have himself crowned….from Castel Sant'Angelo to Campo dei Fiori seven triumphal arches, the most beautiful that had ever been made in Rome, were constructed…and there was a "gran macchina" with a man inside; when the pope passed, it opened up; it was one of the most beautiful things ever made in Rome….Many old timers exclaimed that never before had so many triumphal arches bene created for the pope."[54]

The account indicates how the paraphernalia of triumphal symbolism formed an integral part of Julius' papal coronation. The procession to the Lateran, as we know, would have partly traced the ancient route of the *via triumphalis*. Seven triumphal arches were built across the full width of the narrow streets of via Papalis, abutting the houses on either side.

Evidence of the importance of Roman triumphal symbolism in the cultivation of the temporal (military) authority of the papacy can be seen on the façade of a small palace (Palazzo dei Pupazzi) along via dei Banchi Vecchi (nos. 22-24).[55] Dating from 1540, the façade is adorned with elaborate reliefs, inscriptions and coats of arms to Julius II, Paul III (1534-1549) and Urban III (1185-1187), with less discernible reliefs of narrative scenes depicting Paul III, Charles V and Francis I on the upper floor.

Fig. 30 View of the Palazzo Pupazzi along via dei Banchi Vecchi looking north (Photo by author)

The combination of the three popes, to inform the iconography of the main part of the façade, may not have been entirely arbitrary. The owner of the property, a Milanese goldsmith by the name of Gian Pietro Crivelli, was probably distantly related to Urban III who was also from a noble Milanese family named Crivelli. The ancestral links to a pope would almost certainly have given the goldsmith some social standing in Renaissance Rome. Paul III (Alessandro Farnese), who came from a professional military family, was the incumbent pope when the residence was built. In each case, we witness popes who had a decidedly military outlook on their papacy. For Urban III, the papal territories were being defended against the belligerent

power of Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. The campaign however was short-lived when Urban died in Ferrara after less than two years as pope. Paul III had much military experience, having ridden as a cardinal alongside Cesare Borgia in a triumphal ceremony into Rome in 1500, following a compaign in the Romagna. Later he accompanied Julius II on his expeditions to Perugia and Bologna. This second campaign culminated in the famous triumphal entry of Julius II and his army into Rome on Palm Sunday in 1507.[56] Moreover, as D.S. Chambers explains: "Papal authority was forcefully reasserted and extended in central Italy under Paul III, as one would have expected from one who, as a young cardinal, had followed the standard of Julius II."[57] This entailed spending a week in Perugia, "setting off, Julius-like, with some of his cardinals, and intending – so it was believed in Rome – to subject it in such a way that it would no longer rise against the papal state."[58] The choice of these three popes to inform the iconographic programme of the façade of Crivelli's house - even allowing for ancestral bias - was almost certainly motivated by the cultivated links between Roman triumphal symbolism and papal military exploits, and more importantly by the location of the Palazzo dei Pupazzi - along the ancient route of the *via triumphalis*.

The *Possesso* of Leo X in 1513 provides perhaps a more self-conscious attempt to emulate the ancient triumphal procession.[59] The ceremony formed a loop that connected via Papale, the usual route of the *Possesso*, with via Peregrinorum. The second street served as the route for the return journey from the Lateran to the Vatican.[60] This part of the procession passed the Capitol to the Porticus of Ottavia which, as we know, Biondo identified as one of the key ceremonial markers along the route of the *via triumphalis*. Like its Julian predecessor, the *Possesso* of Leo was also characterised by a profusion of temporary triumphal arches. The most distinctive of these was probably the double arch at the Banchi, located at the fork between via Papale (via dei Banchi Nuovi) and via Mercatoria (via dei Banchi Vecchi/via Peregrinorum), screening what would latter be the remodelled papal Zecca by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. Attributed to Baldassare Peruzzi, the double arches of this temporary structure framed the outgoing and return processions of the *Possesso*.[61]

Fig.31 Schematic map of Rome indicating route of the *Solenne Possesso* of Leo X in 1513, and highlighting landmarks along its route: 1) St Peter's Basilica; 2) Papal Zecca; 3) via

Papale; 4) via Peregrinorum (*via Triumphalis*); 5) Capitol; 6) Colosseum; 7) St. John the Lateran. (After Ceen and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

Fig. 32 Plan of the temporay triumphal arch by Baldassare Peruzzi (1481-1536), to commemorate the *Possesso* of Leo X, spanning between via dei Banchi Nuovi and via dei Banchi Vecchi and indicating location of Julian 'lapide'. (after Fagiolo and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

The *Possesso* of Leo X formed part of a more explicit attempt to revive Roman triumphalism during his pontificate. This is affirmed in a lavish theatrical event that took place on the Capitol in 1513, soon after the Pope's coronation. Celebrating the admission of his nephews Giuliano and Lorenzo de'Medici to the Roman patriciate, a temporary theatre was constructed in the form of a monumental triumphal arch.[62] What seems clear from this event, and the associated 1513 coronation procession, is that the Medici pope consciously sought to emulate the symbolism of the Roman triumph by linking topographically the Capitol with the Vatican, via the route of the papal procession. No doubt, the imperial symbolism of his predecessor, Julius II, exerted a powerful influence, even if the Medici Pope sought to distance himself from his belligerent reputation and military legacy.

What is important however to recognise, in the symbolic signififcance of the Capitol in the topography of papal Rome, is that unlike Leo X, Julius II's political initiatives entailed a systematic neglect of the monuments on this venerated hill. This policy formed part of an attempt to usurp the authority of the Popolo Romano, whose seat of power on the Capitol was seen as a hindrance to papal ambitions to achieve absolute jurisdiction over Rome and her outlying regions. Whilst drawing upon the ancient symbolism of Jupiter Capitolinus in the hagiography of the warrior pope - in particular the *robur* (oak tree) that was sacred to the deity and served as the armorial motif of the della Roveres - Julius II claimed the Vatican (and its satellite administrative complexes across the Tiber) as the new centre of an expanding Christian empire, at the expense of the Capitol.[63] We shall see in Chapter 3 how

this strategy was implemented and its impliciations in the larger symbolism of Julian *renovatio*.

Fig 33 View of the armorial shield of Julius II, with della Rovere coat of arms (oak tree and acorns) on the south-west corner of the Palazzo della Cancelleria (Photo by author)

What underlies however this 'quarrying' of Roman triumphal symbolism at the Capitol, to legitimise and reinforce papal supremacy, is the idea of a ritual analogy between the *adventus* of the Emperor - which culminated in the sacrifice at the Temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus - and the *Possesso* of the Pope that momentarily drew the Vatican and Lateran into a unified topography.[64]

The implication here of a symbolic affinity between papal and Roman imperial ceremonies should, in one sense, be understood as a ritual *inversion* between the Capitol and the Vatican; the construed direction of the procession of the Roman triumph from the *mons Vaticanus* - the marshalling area for triumphant armies (an attribution we now know to be untrue) - to the Capitol (the destination of the ceremony) is reversed in the return journey of Leo X's papal coronation ceremony that passes the Capitol, en-route to the Vatican.[65] As we shall see in Chapter 3, the idea of 'ritual reversal' acquires a deeper symbolic significance, in the context of the crossing of the *pons Neronianus*, that centres on the relationship between military triumph (Caesar) and martyrdom (St Peter).

As if to pay tribute to the memory of the Roman triumph, as a latent condition in a revived urban topography of Renaissance Rome, the terminating points of the route of the *via triumphalis* along the Ponte, Regola and Parione *rioni* were defined by two inscriptions installed by members of the Maestri della Strada during Julius II's Pontificate. The first, the famous *lapide* described at the beginning of this chapter and located in the Quartière dei Banchi, is sited at the northern end of the construed triumphal route near the river crossing. The second, dating from 1508, is located at the corner of Piazza Giudea and via Rua, along the southern route of *via triumphalis* before it passes the Porticus of Octavia. Allan Ceen questions the commemorative function of this second plaque, stating that: "[this inscription]

refers to the widening of the street leading into the Piazza Giudea ("....angustia viae adfor[um] iud[eorum]...."). Unless Julius II had a much vaster urban plan than we suspect, this was an individual adjustment of the local street network."[66]

The idea of a "vaster urban plan" would seem plausible considering the scope of the political ambitions of Julius II that underpinned his urban proposals. Whilst fragmentary in nature, the medieval streets that extend between the Canale di Ponte to the Campo dei Fiori provided a crucial commercial and ceremonial function for the papacy, and at the same time served strategically as a channel for progressive intervention and control in the city of Rome. Further, Ceen's allusion to the possibility of larger intentions in this part of Rome is at least suggested by the year of the inscription in Piazza Giudea (1508), which is the same year when the formal announcement was made about the urban transformations in the Quartière de'Banchi to the north, discussed earlier. These transformations, it should be remembered, incorporated developments at the northern end of via Giulia and in the vicinity of the Zecca (papal mint) directly adjacent to the Julian *lapide*.

Sixtus IV's earlier programme of restoring via Peregrinorum – by paving and clearing unwanted obstructions – was to ensure both the continuing commercial viability of the area and to facilitate better access for pilgrims travelling to the Piazza di Ponte from the south. These earlier alterations by Julius II's beloved uncle and fellow della Rovere pope, would no doubt have served as an important precedent for Bramante's plan to bring via Peregrinorum, and other streets in the *abitato*, into closer dialogue with via Giulia, through a combination of urban demolition and incremental adjustment. However, when compared to the congested layout of the medieval *rioni* of Ponte, Regola and Parione, the insertion of via Giulia along its western fringes was in every sense a radical and unprecedented move, to impose a visibly coherent order upon an otherwise disordered riverscape. Indeed, via Giulia is perhaps the first example of a systematic and uncompromising urban insertion that consciously subordinates the surrounding urban morphology. However, as I have already intimated, the topographical and symbolic influences that define the passage of via Giulia seem to be based as much upon hidden archaeological references as on the visible context of prominent monuments and streets. One of the most conspicuous ancient monuments was the *Meta Romuli*, whose relationship to via Giulia will be discussed later in this chapter.

A key feature of via Giulia was the proposal to create a large piazza - the so-called *foro Iulio* - in front of the Palazzo dei Tribunali. As if carved out of the residual urban fabric of the *abitato* the piazza would have functioned, in one sense, as an urban 'lung' connected to the surgically inserted via Giulia. It would have provided a major public interchange between different routes that extend to locations outside the enclaves of the Ponte, Parione and Regola *rioni* of Rome. These destinations include the Borgo, located beyond the reinstated *pons Neronianus*, and the Castel Sant'Angelo, accessed from Piazza di Ponte. The idea of an interchange is suggested in a freehand sketch - attributed to a pupil of Bramante - which outlines the territory of the piazza and adjoining Palazzo dei Tribunali, and shows the various streets extending from its boundaries.

Had the *foro Iulio* been executed, it would have resulted in the exposure of the west facade of the 15th Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini (Old Chancery) on the east side of the piazza, earlier concealed behind the narrow street of via dei Banchi Vecchi. Its visual prominence, in relationship to the monolithic Palazzo dei Tribunali opposite would probably have required Bramante to remodel its plain facade to form an integral part of the new architectural enclosure of the *foro Iulio*.[67] Whilst via Peregrinorum served as the commercial extension of the new forum, via Giulia was almost certainly designed to fulfil other more ceremonial functions as I will argue later.

Fig.34 View of the 15th century Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini (Old Chancery) on right, along via dei Banchi Vecchi (Photo by author)

From the examination so far of via Giulia and its surrounding area, it seems clear that Bramante's urban proposals were influenced by two main criteria: 1) the legacy of Sixtus IV's programme that included the alteration of existing streets on the east bank of the Tiber river to support the existing commercial and religious activities of the area, and 2) the route and symbolism of *via Triumphalis*. Whether via Peregrinorum was intended to play a specific ceremonial function under Julius II remains conjectural. Nevertheless, it would seem inconsistant with Julius II's ambitious political agenda that a more formal connection was not at least envisaged between the Vatican and Capitol. This is also given by the fact that the

symbolism of the latter played a pivotal role in the identity of the pope.[68] Moreover such a connection, as I will explain further in Chapter 3, is reinforced topographically by the location and scale of the new *foro Iulio* and adjacent Palazzo dei Tribunali that collectively form an urban fulcrum roughly midway between the Vatican and Capitol.

Papal Corporatism

One way in which the political priorities of Julius II's pontificate manifested themselves in the urban developments of Bramante was through the establishment of 'extra-territorial' centres of papal activity in the most densely populated part of the *abitato*. Collectively, these centres constituted an effective 'extension' of the administrative functions of the Vatican, by incorporating them within the existing urban fabric of the east bank of the Tiber River. Functioning as 'satellites' to the centre of papal authority, these complexes could be said to form part of a larger programme of 'papal corporatism' as summarised in the following arrangements:

a) The Palazzo Riario (Camera Apostolica) and San Lorenzo in Damaso

b) The Papal Zecca (Mint) near SS. Celso e Giuliano

c) The Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini (Chancery)

d) The Palazzo dei Tribunali (Palace of Justice) and San Biagio della Pagnotta

Fig.35 Map of the Ponte, Parione and Regola Rioni indicating the principal landmarks/developments: Palazzo dei Tribunali (A); Foro Iulio (B); Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini (Old Chancery)(C); Papal Mint (D) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

Located along via del Pellegrino (via Peregrinorum) is the imposing 15th century Palace of the Camera Apostolica (or Palazzo Riario) that was completed during the pontificate of Julius II, possibly by Bramante himself.[69] As chief financial officer of the papal state and cousin to the della Rovere pope, Cardinal Raffaele Riario was responsible for the construction of this vast palace where he resided throughout his long career in the papal service.[70] Further north, along via dei Banchi Vecchi, is the Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini, referred to earlier, whose prominent west facade would have faced the new Palazzo dei Tribunali. The successive appointments of two nephews of the Pope to the post of vice-Chancellor of the Roman

Church - Cardinal Galeotto and Cardinal Sisto, - suggest an intention to continue the practice of nepotism that became synonymous wih Sixtus IV's pontificate. Julius was clearly intent on maintaining absolute authority over the running of the Chancery. Nearby, at the fork of the roads of via Mercatoria/via dei Banchi Vecchi and via del Papa, is the papal Zecca (mint), founded by Pope Julius II and run by his appointed German bankers from Augsburg, the powerful Fugger family.

Fig.36 View of the west side of the Palazzo della Cancelleria along via Peregrinorum (Photo by author)

Fig. 37 View of the papal Zecca (on right), at the fork of via dei Banchi Vecchi and via dei Banchi Nuovi (Note location of the Julian 'lapide' on the palace on the left) (Photo by author)

What is implied from these Julian interventions is the idea of a 'consortium' of administrative/financial centres which Luigi Spezzaferro summarises below:

> "It is evident therefore how such buildings, that delimit the zone of the Banchi (Rome's financial and economic centre), facilitated the neighbourhood's other function: namely administration. If the works of the previous pontiffs had already secured a good connection between the Camera Apostolica and the Palazzo della Cancelleria palace (Old Chancery), the construction of the "forum nummulariorium".......which in reality would have had to extend as far as the Cancelleria, secured a renewed connection between this area and the Zecca."[71]

The organization of these administrative buildings, situated along the sequence of streets that comprise via Mercatoria, via dei Banchi Vecchi and *foro Iulio*, reveals certain parallels in regard to their attached (or proximate) places of worship and to their adjacent public spaces. The integration, for example, of the church of San Lorenzo in Damaso with the Palace of the

Camera Apostolica, whilst conceived during the 15th century, probably influenced the design of the Palazzo dei Tribunali with its similar incorporation of a church within the building enclosure - a topic for further discussion in Chapter 3. The adjacent piazza, moreover, of the Camera Apostolica was the setting for a production of Seneca's *Phaedra* in 1486 that became a lasting testimony to Cardinal Riario's patronage of theatre as public spectacle.[72] The church of S. Biagio, on the other hand, opens onto the courtyard of the Palazzo dei Tribunali and would have been partly visible from the *foro Iulio*, via the Palace's principal entrance. Finally, the relocation and reconstruction of the church of SS. Celso e Giuliano during Julius II's pontificate - along the Canale di Ponte - was probably undertaken so that it would form an integral part of the *forum nummulariorum* referred to earlier in the Quartiere dei Banchi. Like the other places of worship, this new church would have served a specific papal institution – the nearby papal mint - and also provide a place of worship for the surrounding banking district.[73] We can identify in these arrangements a discernible paradigm – loosely defined as a 'temple/palace' complex - that was probably intended to visibly demonstrate religious observance in the temporal world of administration and finance.

The alliance, moreover, between church and institutional palace is underscored by certain formal similarities between SS. Celso e Giuliano and S.Biagio. These are highlighted in the spatial configurations of the plans which could be compared to the layout of the new St Peter's Basilica, albeit on a much smaller scale. Adopting a series of rotating geometries the layouts are articulated around a predominately centralised plan, reflecting Bramante's famous parchment plan for new St Peter's. It is arguable that Bramante intended to use these relatively modest church projects as experimental 'prototypes' for his design for St. Peter's Basilica which was in a constant state of revision and adjustment. Such an assertion leads us to the intriguing possibility that these sanctuaries, and their adjacent administrative palaces, constituted 'microcosms' of Bramante's ambitious scheme for the Vatican, with its similar arrangement of basilica and adjoining palace.

Fig.38 Anonymous. Plan of Bramante's scheme for the new church of San Biagio. Folio 11 of the Codex "Coner" (Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

Fig.39 Anonymous. Plan of "Santi Celsi" (SS. Celso e Giuliano) from a 16th century copy. Folio 18f from the Codex "Coner" (Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

Seen in the larger context of the urban developments of Bramante, Spezzaferro's inference of an intended strategy of papal corporatism in the Ponte, Parione and Regola *rioni* highlights the further idea of a more extensive topographical and symbolic relationship between these adminstrative centres and the two politico-religious poles of the city - the Vatican and the Capitol. Like beads on a chain, the route of via Peregrinorum connects the papal institutions into a recognisable sequence; Palazzo Camera Apostolica, Old Chancery/Palazzo dei Tribunali and the Zecca. At the same time, the street constitutes historically an 'umbilical link' between the Capitol and the Vatican, as implied in Flavio Biondo's description of the route of the *via Triumphalis* referred to earlier.

The model of the 'temple/palace' complex that underpins the papal institutions in the *abitato*, and which culminates in the Vatican complex, could equally be applied to the arrangement of buildings on the Capitol, with the juxtaposition of the church (S. Maria in Aracoeli) and communal palace (Palazzo Senatore/Palazzo dei Conservatori). This physical adjacency is reinforced by certain functional relationships between church and palace. During the Middle Ages the Capitol was occupied by only two buildings, the Senate and the Church of S. Maria in Aracoeli. Ceded to the Franciscans in 1250, the church quickly acquired a distinctly civic function, as Richard Krautheimer suggests; "edicts were publicised in front of the church and the city council, which assisted the senatore, met at the convent, possibly in one of the cloisters."[74] The connection between the Franciscans of the Aracoeli and the city council may well have prompted the Franciscan Pope, Julius II, to bring their services into line with his new political structure of pontifical rule which necessitated destroying the authority of the Senate. It is likely, therefore, that this stance conflicted with the historical involvement of the Franciscans with the affairs of the Commune. Coupled with the important developments of the Capitol under Nicholas V and Sixtus IV, that transformed the hill into a major ceremonial and civic centre, it would seem incomprehensible that Julius II did not envisage incorporating the hill in some way into his programme of *renovatio Romae*.

As I will outline in Chapter 3, the likely reason why there is no evidence to support such a plan is because it never became official papal policy. Whether or not he had intended to continue the initiatives of his uncle on the Capitol, it is clear that Julius II's first priority was to establish – once and for all – papal jurisdiction over all of Rome. Ironically, this objective necessitated, as indicated earlier, a prolonged period of neglect of this venerated hill during his pontificate. Had Julius II's ambition been realised, however, it may have led to the redevelopment of the Capitol and the establishment of a more formal connection between the ancient *caput mundi* and the Vatican.

Pons Neronianus **and** *Porta Triumphalis*

Following the destruction of the *pons Neronianus*, most probably in the early 5th century AD, the route of *via Triumphalis* was probably redirected to connect with the nearby Ponte Sant'Angelo, thereby retracing the later street of the Canale di Ponte. The plan to reconstruct the *pons Neronianus* is highlighted in a description by the Florentine, Francesco Albertini, who states in his well-known guidebook of Rome:

> "The sixth bridge of the Tiber was called 'Triumphal' and is situated close
> to the Church of S. Spirito, as still highlighted by its ancient remains. The
> more ancient bridge was called the 'Vatican' and which now your Holiness
> [Julius II] wants to restore and which is already called the 'Julian Bridge'
> by the Roman People."[75]

It is likely that the idea of a conscious "restoration" of the *pons triumphalis* (pons Neronianus) was supported by Bramante's enduring interest in the symbolic associations of Julius II with his imperial namesake and first *triumphator*, Julius Caesar. The question of the degree - and manner - of influence of these imperial associations on the political life of the della Rovere Pope has recently been the subject of much debate and speculation. Charles Stinger, for example, argues that imperial symbolism helped shape the political profile of the Julian papacy, enriching the much vaunted continuity between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*. He bases his argument on a number of literary sources, such as the writings of Giles of Viterbo.[76] This assertion, however, is challenged by Christine Shaw in her recent book *Julius II: The Warrior Pope*.[77] She refers to a famous medal struck for the occasion of Julius II's triumphal entry into Rome on Palm Sunday in 1507, following his victories in Bologna and

Perugia. Inscribed on this commemorative medal are the words "Julius Caesar Pont [ifex] II".[78] The Pope, however, is represented in the conventional papal cope, inferring that he simultaneously fulfils the roles of emperor and pope - of prince and priest. Shaw dismisses this medal as an isolated example of this association of the Pope with the first *triumphator*, suggesting that there is no conclusive evidence to support the view that Julius himself was actively cultivating this 'caesaro-papal' connection.[79] Whilst we do not have documentary evidence, as such, to confirm these intentions, it is abundantly clear from the examples highlighted in this investigation that Bramante, and others in the papal court, viewed these caesaro-papal connections as fundamental to the symbolism of papal *renovatio*. It seems clear, moreover, that Julius II did not oppose the imperial/triumphal connotations that pervaded Bramante's projects, as will become more apparent latter in this study.

It was believed that the *Porta Triumphalis* - the ritual triumphal gateway into Rome - was located adjacent to the bridge on the west bank of the Tiber, somewhere in the vicinity of the later Ospedale. This commonly held view may have been supported in part by the existence of ancient ruins in this area, as recorded in the following account:

> "At the end of this wall (Leonine Wall around the Ospedale) one can see,
> on the banks of the Tiber River, the ancient ruins of one of the gates of
> Rome which was called "Porta Vaticana", and which some antiquarians say
> was previously known as the "Porta Triumphalis" from where one still sees
> several remains nearby of the Ponte Triumphalis (pons Neronianus)."[80]

The attribution of these ruins to the *Porta Triumphalis* further underlines the likely symbolic significance that Bramante attached to the reinstatement of the ancient triumphal bridge. The connection between arch and bridge persisted at least up to the early 18th century, as indicated for example in Piranesi's famous representation of the *Porta Triumphalis* along a bridge. An early attempt to describe the relationship, using a combination of guess-work, some archaeological evidence and ancient sources, can be found in Flavio Biondo's 15th century *Roma Instaurata*, Book 1. In this account Biondo highlights the remains of piers of the Triumphal Gate on the "inmost" bank of the Tiber River, next to the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia and facing the still visible foundations of the *pons Neronianus* in the river below.[81]

Fig. 40 View of the ruins of the *Pons Neronianus*, Tiber River, Rome (Photo by author)

Fig. 41 Anonymous (18th century). View of the Porto Leonino on the Tiber River with the northern termination of via Giulia (left), the remains of the pons Neronianus in the river and the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia (right).

At one level, therefore, Bramante's proposal to reconstruct the *pons Neronianus* could be interpreted as a direct acknowledgement of Julius II as *triumphator*, by evoking iconographically the triumphal passage of Julius II to the Campus Martius from the Vatican (*territorium triumphale*). We will see later how the 'memory' of the *Porta Triumphalis*, and its associations with the *pons Neronianus*, presumably played role in Bramante's various proposals for the river crossing. As was common with bridges from Roman antiquity, the original form of the *pons Neronianus* would probably have incorporated flanking triumphal arches at either end.[82]

Perhaps the most problematic aspect of Bramante's urban scheme was the connection between the new 'Ponte Trionfale' and its adjacent banks. The existing buildings of the Ospedale on the west side, through which the original triumphal route would have passed, would clearly have obstructed access to the bridge. To complicate matters further, neither via Giulia nor the Borgo di Santo Spirito - the two principal streets on the east and west banks of the Tiber respectively - are on axis with the bridge; the extant ruins of the *pons Neronianus* are almost at right-angles to via Giulia and roughly align with the less prominent extension of via Recta (via di Coronari).

The problems arising from the awkward relationship between streets on the bridge's east bank would have been partly ameliorated by the creation of a large piazza, to which both via Recta (via dei Coronari) and via Giulia would have terminated. Arnaldo Bruschi suggests that Bramante had planned to construct a monumental polygonal arch in this piazza, at the bridgehead to the Ponte Trionfale, whose design was probably intended to reconcile the relationship between the streets and the reconstructed *pons Neronianus*.[83]

There is however a problem in Bruschi's theory; a glance at a map of the area clearly shows that the point of covergence of both streets - via Giulia and via Recta (via dei Coronari) - lies somewhere beyond the edge of the river bank, rather than in the area designated for the piazza at the bend in the Tiber. Consequently, in order for the arch to align with both streets it would have been necessary to significantly alter the edge of the river bank, and even perhaps to extend the polygonal arch beyond the bridgehead of the original *pons Neronianus*. In spite of these significant adjustments to the existing terrain, to accommodate this structure, it would be rash to assume that such proposal was not considered by Bramante. Late 16th century archaeological reconstructions of this area typically indicate a triumphal arch at the bridgehead to the triumphal bridge. The celebrated - but largely fantastical - version by Pirro Ligorio (1553) actually shows the arch in polygonal form, presumably in response to the oblique relationship between *via Triumphalis*, whose route at the bridgehead approximately coincides with the axis of via Giulia, and *via Recta*.

Fig 42 Hypothetical plan of the northern termination of via Giulia (A) and via Recta (via dei Coronari) (B), with Castel Sant'Angelo (C), foundations of *pons Neronianus* (D), new piazza (E) and Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia (F) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

The use of such polygonal arches, to reconcile non-aligned - or obliquely related - streets, finds a near-contemporary example in the celebrated double triumphal arch designed by Peruzzi in 1513 for Leo X's coronation procession referred to earlier. Located at the nearby fork of via Peregrinorum and via Papale, and extending across the remodelled façade of the Zecca, the design of this temporary structure may well have drawn influence from Bramante's unexecuted proposal, if indeed this was envisaged.

Early Christian Precedent

Whilst there is no documentary evidence to support Bruschi's claim of a polygonal arch at the northern termination of via Giulia, the Ponte *rione* was noted for its legacy of ancient triumphal arches that variously related to *pons Neronianus* and *via Triumphalis*. In particular the *Arcus Arcadii, Honorii et Theodosii*, discussed earlier and confused in the *Mirabilia* with another nearby arch (*Arcus Gratiani, Valentiniani et Theodosii*), would have provided an

obvious ancient precedent.[84] Like other commemorative arches of the Early Christian period that aligned with ancient bridges, such as the *Arcus Valentiniani* on the west side of *pons Agrippae* (later Ponte Sisto), the *Arcus Arcadii, Honorii et Theodosii* may well have been an attempt by Christian emperors to revive the ancient Roman tradition of celebrating/ritualising river-crossings that at the time had gone into decline. The monument may even have been a reconstruction of an earlier triumphal arch on the site, adjacent to the ancient *Trigarium* (Fig.16) which was "an open space where horses were exercised, originally no doubt in teams of three, *trigae*."[85] By the 5th century, however, the *Trigarium* had either disappeared or was in a state of ruin.

This Early Christian revival however should be seen in the context of the changing symbolism of the *pons Neronianus*. From ancient sources, the term triumph was applied to a way (*via triumphalis*), a gate-way (*Porta triumphalis*) or a special honour (*ornamenta triumphalia*). However, there is no evidence that a bridge was given the title *pons triumphale* in antiquity, or would have figured in the route taken by a triumphing general when he entered Rome.[86] As we know, the triumphal procession began in the Campus Martius rather the Vatican. It is likely that the area of the *ager Vaticanus* acquired the status of the *territorium triumphale* from 4th century CE, a point I will return to in Chapter 5. As a potent symbol of imperial renewal, that celebrated the domination of a foreign territory by military means, the Roman triumph was probably appropriated by Early Christian emperors through the sanctification of the places of martyrdom and burial of St. Peter.[87]

The ritual function of the late antique Arch of Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius may have been intended, at one level, to serve as an Early Christian testimony to this transformation. Whilst it was indeed a commemorative arch, celebrating the victories against the Goths by Honorius' army general Stilicho, it is unlikely that it was never used as a triumphal gateway into Rome along the ancient *via Triumphalis*. By the late 4th century AD, the imperial Roman triumph to the Capitol had become an anachronism. We know that the route of Honorius's and Stilicho's triumphal in 403-4 (like other late Antique and Early Christian triumphs) followed via Flaminia, passing through the eastern part of the Campus Martius and along the via Lata to the Forum. Coincidentally, the first stage of this journey also served as the triumphal route for Julius II to the Vatican on Easter Sunday in 1507.[88] Thus, the ancient *via*

Triumphalis had by the 5th century become redundant as the ceremonial passage into Rome from the north. It would therefore seem that the Arch of Arcadius, Honorius and Theodosius was intended to serve as an entry gate to St. Peter's Basilica , via the ancient *Trigarium* and *pons Neronianus,* rather than operating as a triumphal entry to Rome - in reverse. It should be re-emphasised that the main destination in Rome for pilgrims or Christian emperors in Early Christian times was not the Capitol but the shrines of the martyrs, most especially that of St. Peter. By the end of Constantine's reign, the Capitol had declined in all but memory as the focus of triumphal marches.[89]

The persistent imperial associations of the *pons Neronianus*, as the original crossing-point to the Circus of Caligula and its adjacent imperial gardens and fields, would seem to have persisted in Early Christianity, as indicated by the location of the Mausoleum of Emperor Honorius (395-423 CE) adjoining the south transept of the old St. Peters Basilica. We can only speculate however if the Honorian arch, and its adjacent bridge, was intended to function as a funerary rite-of-passage to the Emperor's future Mausoleum. In any case, the likely demolition of the bridge crossing, after the Sack of Rome in 410 CE, would have made such relationship merely a symbolic one.

It is worth considering the possibility, however, that this amended ceremonial passage, from its earlier imperial Roman model, influenced Bramante's proposal to reinstate the triumphal bridge. We know that Julius II's propensity to re-tracing ancient ceremonial routes was also characteristic of his uncle, Sixtus IV; the reinstatement of the *pons Aggrippae*, as the Ponte Sisto, and the paving of the ancient road of via Settimiana (later the via della Lungara) seem to anticipate, in part at least, the urban plan of Julius II.[100]

Certainly, a likely motivation for re-instating the *pons Neronianus* can be found in the possible circumstances, referred to earlier, behind the demolition of the bridge.[101] As a poignant reminder of the humiliating Sack of Rome, the reconstruction of the *pons Neronianus* would no doubt have provided the pope with an effective symbol of his expulsion of foreign forces from the peninsula of Italy, an ambition that was commemorated in the nearby Julian *lapide* discussed at the beginning of this chapter. We should remember that the Sack caused such distress to Romans and non-Romans alike, as recorded by Saints Jerome and Augustine, and was seen as the most humiliating episode in the precipitous

decline of Imperial Rome and her empire. Immortalised in St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei,* the subject curiously enough was not mentioned by the Theodosian historian Rutilius Namatianus, a favourite of the Julian court.[102]

Given the illustrious background to the *pons Neronianus*, it is easy to see why its reconstruction formed such an important part of Julian *renovatio*. Quite how this was planned, in relation to the existing urban terrain on either side of the Tiber River, is explored by Manfredo Tafuri:

> "Elsewhere I have argued that the axis described by Via Giulia, dominated by the emerging Palazzo dei Tribunali and its piazza, only could have crossed a second road, as both converged in a *platea*; the via recta (Via dei Coronari), which was identified in the Nicoline statutes of 1452 as one of the three main axes of secular Rome (subsequently reorganised by Sixtus IV).....The demolition of a few houses would have allowed this road to open into the *pons triumphalis* in almost perfect accord with the axis of the bridge whose restoration Albertini attributes to Julius II. By contrast, Via Giulia is situated at an obtruse angle to the bridge's alignment. In accordance with this hypothesis, we can suggest that Bramante originally intended to introduce a monumental *bivium* into the city, formed by axes associated with projects undertaken by the first Della Rovere pope (ie., the Ponte Sisto and Via dei Coronari). This, in turn, would have provided a model for plans that had to wait for Leo's pontificate to be realized...."[103]

Tafuri's reconstruction, however, overlooks an important issue; the landing stage of the reinstated bridge across the river in the Borgo coincides with the complex of buildings of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia. Just as there were difficulties in identifying an appropriate resolution in the connection between via Giulia and the bridge-crossing on the east bank of the Tiber, the location of the Ospedale on the west bank presented similar problems. It is worth remembering that remains of *via triumphalis* were found during the reconstruction and enlargement of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito under Sixtus IV.[104]

In order to provide access to the Vatican, the orientation of the reinstated bridge would have necessitated substantial demolition of the Ospedale, an unlikely scenario given the importance of the legacy of Sixtus IV in the Julian *renovatio* as indicated earlier. We should recall the scene of the construction of Ponte Sisto in the cycle of frescoes in the main hall of Santo Spirito, that shows Giuliano della Rovere standing directly behind Sixtus IV who is represented blessing the new bridge. This scene clearly underlines the close symbolic connection between the Ponte Sisto and the Ospedale that defines the two ends of the looped network of streets (via Giulia and via della Lungara) and by implication the partnership between the two della Rovere popes. The Ospedale and its contents would no doubt have provided an important - indeed essential - point of reference in the Julian *renovatio*. Given the significance therefore of Santo Spirito we have to ask if Tafuri's reconstruction of the *Pons Neronianus*, on the axis with via Recta (via dei Coronari), reflects Bramante's original idea.

There is however an alternative to this arrangement which would have preserved most of the Ospedale, but necessitated a re-alignment of the bridge crossing. To explain the reasons for this alternative it would first be helpful to return to the issue of the orientation of via Giulia.

Meta-Romuli and Serlio's *Scena Tragica*

If we consider the pre-existing urban context of the Ponte, Parione and Regola *rioni*, it is evident that the only specific and defining reference in the urban topography was the landing-stage of the Ponte Sisto that signals the southern termination of via Giulia. All other topographical references - such as the Old Chancellery - were largely negotiable in terms of 'pinning down' the axis of via Giulia. This leaves us with an interesting question; how was the orientation of the street ascertained if we assume that its southern termination was already pre-determined? The question, I would argue, has an important bearing on the access across the Tiber River to the north. It may have been the case that the orientation was the product of a combination of factors; such as the alignment and straightening of existing streets and buildings to comply with the overall layout of via Giulia and its related spaces. One monument, which may have played a part in the orientation of via Giulia, is the *Meta Romuli* referred to earlier in this chapter and examined in Chapter 1.

Fig 43 Hypothetical plan of the northern termination of via Giulia (A) and via Recta (B), with Castel Sant'Angelo (C), Meta Romuli (D), Ospedale di Santo Spirito in Sassia (E), foundations of *pons Neronianus* (F) and re-alignment of the bridge-crossing with the *Meta Romuli* and via Giulia (G) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

The treatment of this venerated monument during the Renaissance has a rather unfortunate history, as we see initially during the pontificate of Alexander VI. In December 1499, via Alessandrina-Borgo Nuovo was formally opened in the Leonine City, in time for the Jubilee celebrations of 1500. Executed under Alexander VI, its layout was a partial implementation of the unexecuted urban scheme for the Borgo envisaged by the earlier Parentucelli Pope, Nicholas V. The purpose of via Alessandrina was to facilitate direct access to the Borgo and St. Peter's Basilica for pilgrims coming from the east bank of the Tiber river.[105] The street was also to function as the first stage in the processional route of the papal coronation (*Possesso*).

In order to implement the new urban intervention of Pope Alexander VI, it was necessary to undertake substantial demolitions of existing buildings close to Castel Sant'Angelo. Included in these demolitions was the partial removal of the ancient pyramid, the *Meta Romuli*, whose location was in the path of the new street. Described in a 16th century account, this colossal structure is thought to have been built in the Augustan period.[106] The association of the monument to Romulus, as the name 'Meta Romuli' implies, relates to a long-held belief that the mythical founder of Rome was buried here.[107] As I outline in Chapter 1, the monument acquired a special symbolic significance in Early Christianity when it became linked to the nearby tomb of St. Peter. This relationship formed part of a contrived ancestry between Romulus and St. Peter that was cultivated for the purpose of emphasizing a special concordance between the origins of ancient Rome and the beginnings of the Roman Church.[108]

We know, from textual and pictorial sources, that a large portion of the pyramid remained standing until the second decade of the 16th century, when it was finally removed under Leo X.[109] Set in the broader context of urban developments in the early 16th century, the *Meta Romuli* would have maintained - at least in part - its historical function as a 'beacon' to the Petrine basilica for visiting pilgrims. This association is suggested by the orientation of via Giulia which roughly aligns with the ancient monument to the north. Moreover, according to

archaeological evidence the axis of the northern part of *via Triumphalis*, on the east bank of the Tiber, also roughly aligned with the ancient pyramid across the river. It may be that the martial symbolism of Romulus played a part in this axial relationship.[110]

Whilst, as we know, attempts were made during the Renaissance to locate the original path of the *via triumphalis*, in relation to existing streets and buildings, it is likely that Bramante would only have had a general idea of its precise route. Whilst the *meta Romuli* is not mentioned by Biondo, in his description of the route of the *via Triumphalis*, it was clearly an important sign-post in reconstructions of the ancient road, as we see for example in the seventh canvas ('The Captives') of Andrea Mantegna's *Triumphs of Caesar*. Given this relationship, and the visual prominence of the *meta Romuli* in the topography of Renaissance Rome, it is conceivable that Bramante sought to orientate via Giulia towards the ancient monument.[111] Not all commentators however concur with this view, as seen for example in Manfredo Tafuri's examination of modern archaeological evidence.[112]

According to excavations carried out in 1948, the *meta Romuli* was located under the 'Casa del Pellegrino', at the opening of the via della Conciliazione. This position however is not completely on the axis of via Giulia, although the pyramid would have been clearly visible from the street; the colossal size of the structure - even in its ruined state - would have created a monumental focus along the passage of via Giulia.[113] Considering therefore the limited options available to Bramante, in defining the axis of the street, it would seem unlikely that he would have simply ignored this venerated monument.[114]

The axis of the earlier via Alessandrina-Borgo Nuovo may well have provided a precedent for Bramante, since this street terminated at its east and west ends at the monumental Castel Sant'Angelo and St Peter's Basilica respectively. In the specific case of via Giulia however the inclined walls and truncated apex of the pyramid would have served as effective visual devices for closing the perspective of the street, even taking into account its eccentric position and its ruined state. It is plausible moreover that, given the veneration of the *meta Romuli*, this visual apparatus (as I indicated in Chapter 1) may have been invested with a special symbolic function by invoking the meaning of pilgrimage as redemptive passage from 'old Rome' (*civitas terrena*) to the Petrine sanctuary across the Tiber (*civitas sancta*). More explicitly conveyed in the enclosure of the Cortile del Belvedere, attempts to endow

perspective space with redemptive meanings increasingly involved the larger city during the Renaissance. At one level, this became a matter of internal coherence, in respect of the inter-relationships between parts (buildings) and the whole (the city). Drawing example from the classical canons of architecture, it is as if Bramante was attempting to treat Rome as a series of constituent entities, rather than merely an accumulation of elements.

Perspective provided, in this macro-urban context, an effective means of facilitating a semblance of visual coherence from certain pre-determined locations. This of course touches on the issue of the relation between real and ideal space, and the manner in which perspective seeks to bridge both realms. Such a dialogue, as we know, was an implicit feature in the familiar theatrical street scenes of Serlio and Peruzzi.[115] In particular, one can identify in Serlio's famous Tragic Scene an arrangement of monuments that could be considered as an idealization of the actual ceremonial passage of via Giulia. Located in the scene, behind a triumphal arch, is a landscape of ancient ruins (comprising an obelisk and a pyramid), both of which form important visual markers in the inscribed perspective procession of the passage. Set eccentrically, in relation to the axis of the street, these monuments closely resemble, in their distinctive proportions, the famous obelisk of the Vatican and the *Meta Romuli* in the Borgo.

Fig. 44 Serlio, Sebastiano (1475-1554). Tragic Scene, from *Tutte l'opere d'architettura* (Venice, 1566), bk.2, p.47v.

It will be remembered that the Vatican Obelisk was originally sited on the south side of St. Peter's Basilica prior to its relocation under Sixtus V to the new piazza of St. Peter's in the late 16th century. Moreover, the pyramid in Serlio's perspective is represented in what appears to be exposed brickwork, or perhaps rough stone coursing, reminiscent of Renaissance descriptions of the *Meta Romuli* following the removal of its marble relief in the Middle Ages.[116] Taken collectively, the sequence of elements that make up Serlio's Tragic Scene could be construed as an attempt to give spatial and visual continuity to the otherwise fragmented topography of the Borgo and Vatican. Consequently, perspective in this context

functions as a univocal construct, drawing together disparate monuments located outside a single perspective frame, an reordered within an idealized urbanscape.

How far we take this comparison between Serlio's scene and via Giulia depends in part on our understanding of both as examples of a common ideal model, as it pertains to Renaissance sensibilities of *renovatio urbis*. The theme of triumphalism was central to this model as I have sought to highlight in this chapter.[117] It is no coincidence, therefore, that the noble setting of the Tragic Scene should be closed off by a monumental triumphal arch, behind which a landscape of ancient ruins is revealed as if invoking the *ager Vaticanus*. This perspective arrangement of monuments, both pyramid and obelisk, serve as evocations of the *civitas sancta* of the Vatican (the *territorium triumphale*), whilst the triumphal arch signals the triumphal threshold to Rome the city, embodied in the axial passage of via Giulia.

The prominence given to the triumphal arch in Serlio's Tragic Scene may partly be an acknowledgement of a similar intention by Bramante to terminate via Giulia. Indeed, as part of the initiative to reconstruct the Neronian Bridge under Julius II, it is conceivable that plans were in place to incorporate triumphal archs at both ends of the river crossing as, thereby emulating ancient Roman precedent. The idea, moreover, of a triumphal gateway mediating between two distinct territories, as Serlio's Tragic Scene indicates - one axial and formal and the other an open landscape punctuated by ancient ruins - provides a powerful symbol *renovatio urbis*.[118]

Crossing Thresholds: Peter and Caesar

The protracted issue of the resolution of the reinstated *pons Neronianus*, and its implications in the orientation of via Giulia, should be further considered in the context of the earlier history of the ancient bridge, at least as it was understood by Renaissance antiquarians. One aspect of the bridge's history, which seems to have escaped the attention of scholars, concerns its associations with St Peter. Again, Biondo gives us some helpful guidance on this point in his *Roma Instaurata*, Book 1:

> "Our own age retains a consistent report that the bridge of which we have spoken was among the noble ones, and that the country folk never crossed by that bridge. Also recorded incidentally in the accounts of the crossings made on the Kalends of the month August or Sextilis from the memory of the victory of Caesar Octavian Augustus over Antony and Cleopatra to the freeing of the blessed Peter from the prison and the chains of Herod (which is why we celebrate the Feast of St Peter in Chains) is the story that the ashes of Caius Caesar were placed in the obelisk which is seen in the triumphal territory {Vatican}."[119]

From this account we can construe that the *pons Neronianus* was considered special, even sacred, which "country folk" were forbidden to cross. This, it seems, was based on two associations; firstly that the bridge served as the triumphal threshold for victorious armies - and their emporers/generals - entering the ancient Campus Martius; secondly it was believed to be the bridge that St Peter crossed to the Vatican, and from which he was "freed" from "the prison and chains of Herod". We will see in Chapter 3 how 'St Peter in Chains' carried a particular resonance in the symbolic understanding of this part of Rome, especially in the context of the Palazzo dei Tribunali along via Giulia. Specific to this enquiry is the symbolic implication of the twofold history of the bridge, as both the crossing point of triumphant emperors and of the founder of the Roman Church. Given this assumption, its planned reinstatement by Bramante may have been prompted in part by the opportunities such a double meaning would have created in enhancing Julius II's dual roles as key-

bearer of the Church and warrior pope. We know that during Julius's triumphal entry into Rome on Palm Sunday in 1507, after his military campaigns in Bologna and Perugia, he processed along via dei Coronari, Canale di Ponte and the Ponte Sant'Angelo to the Vatican. It may be that the reinstatement of the ancient 'Ponte Trionfale', with its near alignment with via dei Coronari, was intended to provide a more direct ceremonial access to the Vatican for the pope's future triumphal processions as a warrior pope.

It is easy to see how Bramante would have recognized the symbolic significance of this project and how it was aided and abetted by the pope's ancient title: Pontifex Maximus. Implicit in the term, as I indicated earlier, is the allusion to the Pope as a 'bridge–builder' (Pontifex transposed as 'pontifice'). Through the reinstatement of the triumphal bridge, with its connections with Caesars/Emperors and St Peter, the idea of the pope 'bridging' the temporal and eternal worlds (Rome and the Vatican) becomes concretised. It is as if the pope himself, in the act of traversing the river, is transformed from military ruler to key-bearer of the Church.

The belief that Peter crossed the *pons Neronianus* to his martyrdom in the Vatican, where (as Biondo states earlier) he was "freed" from his chains, suggests that his martyrdom was a form of liberation or release, a characteristically Christological idea found in the cults of the martyrs. This connection should moreover be considered in the context of the varying interpretations about the location of Peter's martyrdom. As I pointed out in Chapter 1, there was some disagreement on this point during the Renaissance, reflecting the complex and sometimes conflicting relationships between religious belief and the increasingly important role played by historical/humanistic enquiry.[120] The long-held view that Peter was martyred somewhere in the vicinity of the Circus of Caligula was disputed in the early 15th century by Mafeo Vegio who claimed that the Apostle was executed on the Janiculum, on the site that was later commemorated by Bramante's Tempietto. By the early 16th century, however, the territory of the Vatican became the more generally accepted location. Whatever disagreements ensued during the Renaissance, about the precise location of Peter's

martyrdom, what is fairly certain is that the Apostle could only have crossed the *pons Neronianus* to his execution.[121] The only other bridge in the area of the *ager Vaticanus* - the *pons Aelius* (Ponte Sant'Angelo) - had not been constructed at the time of Nero's rule.

Closely allied to this apparent connection between St Peter and the *pons Neronianus* is the symbolic association of Julius II with the incarcerated Apostle. This is highlighted in the title, 'Vincula'(or 'in Vincoli'), meaning "in chains", which is taken from the titular church of San Pietro in Vincoli. We will later see in Chapter 3 the significance of the title 'Vincula' in the Julian concept of justice - and hence the symbolism of the Palazzo dei Tribunali. San Pietro in Vincoli holds the chains that are said to have bound St Peter during his imprisonment under Herod. Consequently, 'Vincula' was conferred as an honorary title on members of the della Rovere family, following the appointment of Cardinal Sixtus (later Sixtus IV) as its titular head by Paul II. In 1477, Cardinal Giuliano (later Julius II) was given this honour, thereby re-affirming the close associations of the della Rovere family with St. Peter's incarceration and martyrdom.[122]

Fig. 45 The Chains of St Peter, in San Pietro in Vincoli, Rome (Photo by author)

Could the proposal, therefore, to reinstate the triumphal bridge, across which both the Apostle Peter and triumphant emperors are believed to have crossed, have been a conscious attempt to conjoin the twofold status of Julius II - as 'Vincula' (the chained Peter) and *triumphator* the second Caesar? On the basis of Biondo's interpretation of the triumphal bridge, the connection between Peter's martyrdom and military triumph seems consistent with another aborted plan by Bramante, to be discussed in Chapter 5; to orientate the burial-place of St. Peter with the cinerary urn of Julius Caesar (at the apex of the Vatican Obelisk), and the Mausoleum of Julius II.

If we accept the plausibility of such an historical connection with the *pons Neronianus* – at least as it would have been understood in early 16th century Papal Rome - then it brings into question how the two-fold memory of martial and spiritual triumph (that resonates in the ruins of the original bridge) could have been preserved in its reconstruction, or re-alignment.

Confronted by the combined significance of this legacy of the *pons Neronianus*, and the obstruction of the river frontage of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito across the Tiber, it is conceivable that Julius II decided to abort the project on account of the insurmountable problems to be overcome in the bridge's reinstatement or reconstruction. Whatever conclusion one can draw from this impasse we should recognise Bramante's notorious reputation for demolishing many buildings in Rome, including houses and the Florentine Confraternity in the Ponte Rione quarter. Called with derision "il rovinante", by the Papal Master of Ceremonies Paris de Grassis, Bramante clearly felt justified in appropriating substantial parts of the existing urban fabric to achieve his vision of '*Instaurata Romae*'.[123] Whilst these ambitious projects were countenanced by Julius II, it seems apparent that the inventiveness and boldness of Bramante's architectural proposals were considerably ahead of his Pope, both in respect of practical responsibility and in the scope of papal patronage. It may be that this ambition led Bramante to propose a solution to the reinstated *pons Neronianus* that was not to the Pope's liking. We can only speculate which solution this would have been, but in any case would have required either the substantial demolition of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito or the re-alignment of the bridge with via Giulia - with the resulting loss of connection with the original venerated bridge.

Given Bramante's propensity to perspectively align monuments or spaces, it is conceivable that the approximate axial relationship between via Giulia and the ruins of the *Meta Romuli* – the fabled mausoleum of Romulus - was sufficient reason to realign the triumphal bridge along the same axis, with all the implications this decision would have created.

The Papal 'Hierogyph and the Festa di Agone

The examination of the design and symbolism of the reinstated *pons Neronianius* brings us back to the contentious issue of the intended function (or functions) of via Giulia. It seems that we should interpret the street at two inter-related levels. Firstly as part of a larger constellation of streets, that converge on the *foro Iulio*, via Giulia would have functioned as an important access from the territories of Trastevere, across the Tiber River, to the commercial and financial hub of the city in the Ponte, Parione and Regola *rioni*. This connection, moreover, is also closely related to the traditional pilgrimage routes formalised by Sixtus IV in his earlier urban developments. Bramante's design of a loop of inter-connected passageways and river-crossings was largely configured around the principal thoroughfares of via Giulia and via della Lungara, connecting the Vatican to the main residential and commercial areas of the city. This contextual understanding of the street provides the basis for the argument that the northern part of via Giulia (via the new *foro Iulio*) would have 'redirected' the principal procession route of via Peregrinorum to the ancient crossing point (pons Neronianus), thereby echoing the construed passage of the *via Triumaphalis*.

Secondly, via Giulia requires consideration as a ceremonial street that specifically aimed to affirm papal authority in the *abitato*. Whilst it would be difficult to support the view of Bruschi that this street served exclusively as a 'triumphal' passage, since it does not appear to form part of a larger ceremonial route such as the *Possesso*, it is clear that the monumental scale of via Giulia and planned connection to the *pons Neronianus* would have given it a certain decorum of ceremony. This allusion, moreover, can be understood at two levels. The first relates, as I have already suggested earlier, to the status of Julius II as 2nd Caesar. The second concerns the specific role of the Palazzo dei Tribunali in the function and symbolism of the street. I will argue in Chapter 3 that this latter association points to the idea of via Giulia as a 'via Magistralis', by which notaries and members of the Curia would access the palace of justice from the Borgo and Vatican via the *pons Neronianus*.

Regarding the first association – concerning the status of Julius II as 2nd Caesar - we get a clearer sense of the topographical implications of this symbolism by examining two related projects, both of which underline the central importance of imperial symbolism in Bramante's vision of Julian Rome. The first is an unexecuted relief destined to adorn a frieze over the entrance portal of the lower courtyard in the Cortile del Belvedere. Described briefly by Giorgio Vasari, it was conceived by Bramante who sought to encapsulate the pontifical title of Julius II in the form of a pictogram, or hieroglyph.[124] The relief consisted of a profile of Julius Caesar, a bridge with two arches and an obelisk. These were to stand for the title JULIUS II PONT[IFEX] MAX[IMUS], by which the bridge refers to 'pont' and the obelisk alludes to 'max'.[125] We know that, like Bramante's earlier proposal to re-orient St Peter's, this more modest idea was also rejected by Julius II. Nevertheless, the iconographic content of the hieroglyph provides a fascinating example of the way Bramante sought to encapsulate the identity of the Pope by means of triumphal and topographical references. The representation of a bridge, with triumphal arches at both ends, may well allude in part to the proposed reinstatement of *pons Neronianus*, whilst the motif of the obelisk is self-explanatory - re-affirming the veneration of the *Agulia Caesaris*. The adoption, finally, of a profile of Julius Caesar clearly reinforces the role of the della Rovere pope as second *triumphator*. As the most explicit reference we have to the symbolism of the bridge in the identity of Julius II this relief is highly significant in underlining the importance of architectural metaphors in papal symbolism.

Fig 46 Hypothetical reconstruction of Bramante's 'hieroglyph' (Drawn by author)

The hieroglyph reflects a mode of symbolisation where a programme of *renovatio* can be understood by an inner circle of humanists, cardinals and artists. It communicates a domain of understanding that conjoins the concrete particulars - of monuments and topographical features - to such universal claims as caesaro-papal rule. In doing so, it seeks to attain a fusion of meanings that embody the Golden Age.

In the pictorial and verbal sophistication of the *impresa*, praxis – and issues of representation - attains synthesis at the level of contemplation. One of the working hypotheses of this argument is that Bramante's acknowledged creativity with architectural *imprese* is one of the significant elements of the larger papal project, where the intentions are clearest as representational sytheses. Indeed, it is only in such a representational domain that the elaborate ambitions of the Golden Age – succinctly defined as the vivid communication between living praxis and the *eschaton* (consummating or final stage in human redemption) – attain concreteness. At the same time, it is important to recognise that the concreteness is only the initial horizon of involvement; that the fusion of meanings takes place in a contemplation removed from the demands of *praxis*. The special character, therefore, of this contemplation and that of the Golden Age mutually inform each other.

The second initiative, in regard to the theme of triumph, concerns an important ceremony that took place in 1513 during the waning months of Julius II's pontificate. Conceived as an 'apotheosis' of the della Rovere Pope, it lauded his achievements and championed his territorial claims. Popularly called the 'Festa di Agone' in the Renaissance, the event was traditionally celebrated on three sites; the Capitol, Stadium of Domitian (Piazza Navona) and Monte Testaccio. It derived from the ancient Roman festival, the *Agon Capitolinus*, which was established by Domitian in AD 86 in honour of Jupiter Capitolinus.[126] In Christian times, it acquired distinctly eschatological connotations, presumably because of the close associations of Domitian's Circus with Christian martyrdom, notably of Sant Agnese. During the Renaissance, however, the festival became an opportunity to re-awaken the mythological traditions and ceremonial practices of antiquity. With vivid depictions of the Olympian deities, or 're-enactments' of such spectacles as the triumphal procession of Vespasian and Titus, the festival was reinterpreted as an elaborate pageantry of classical themes.

In 1513 the procession passed along via Giulia, following a route that started at the Capitol and terminated in the 'Agone', the Piazza Navona. Unfortunately, we have

no detailed record of the actual route, and therefore can only speculate as to whether the ceremony followed the whole passage of via Giulia from the south. The parade, moreover, consisted of elaborately adorned *carro trionfale*, each based on a distinct theme:

> Among these was one showing a map of Italy with mountains, cities, and regions, a palm tree above it, and the explanatory caption, "Italy liberated." Another bore an obelisk with inscriptions in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and "Egyptian hieroglyphics" proclaiming "Julius II, liberator of Italy and expeller of the schismatics." Both floats alluded to the pope's anti-French policy, while other *carri*, depicting the Romagna, Bologna, Reggio in Emilia, Parma, and Piacenza, represented cities and regions reovered by the papacy since the formation of the anti-French Holy League (1511). Other allusions to the same theme were a temple of Apollo from which the god had destoryed giants with his arrows, an angel cutting off the Hydra's heads with a sword, a mounted St. Ambrose driving out heretics...., and an oak (symbol of the Della Rovere, Julius's family), with the pope and other members of the Holy League seated in its branches. A large snake with a flayed Turk in its mouth and an inscription "Moses raised up the serpent"....and another float showing Aaron sacrificing at an altar presented the two Old Testament "types" of religious leadership combined in the person of the pope.[127]

What is most evident here is the now familiar form of unification of classical, Old Testament, Christian and contemporary motifs. The allusion to the triumphalism of the "pontefice imperatore", in which the conquered territories of Italy and the much anticipated conquests of the infidel, are dramatically represented allegorically, gives some credence to the argument that via Giulia was intended to fulfil, partially at

least, the role of a papal triumphal passage. Underlying, moreover, this "apotheosis" of Julius II's pontificate was, it seems, a latent form of nationalism, or 'Italianità'.[128] This was a conspicuous theme in hagiographical representations of the Pope, as conveyed by the *carro* carrying an illustrated map of Italy with the caption "Italy liberated". As a potent symbol of 'Italianità', this cartographical representation may well have been inspired by an earlier map of Italy that is thought to have been destined for the private library of the Pope, a subject reserved for later discussion in Chapter 6.[129]

The significance, furthermore, of the palm tree that adorns the same *carro* in the 1513 festival was clearly a reference to the recovery of the papal territories in Italy during Julius II's pontificate, and his subsequent triumphal entry into Rome on Palm Sunday in 1507. It should be remembered that this latter ceremony, in which palm leaves were laid in the path of the pope's procession, was presented as a triumphal version of Christ's entry into Jerusalem.[130] The association of Palm Sunday with military triumph was not however unique to the Julian age. Indeed, it can be traced back to the period of Charlemagne. The theme of conquest is further reiterated in the *carri* representing the papal territories themselves, of Romagna, Bologna and Reggio. The *carro* holding the obelisk, however, was doubtless intended to evoke the *Agulia* in the Vatican, with its poignant reminder of the first *triumphator*. Understood in general terms, the Festa di Agone of 1513 could be said to constitute a dedicatory ceremony, perhaps even a *consecratio*, of the Pope at the end of his reign. The rich narrative of the festal iconography served as a ritual re-enactment of Julius II's achievments that in turn invoked the Julian Golden Age.

In conclusion, the political context of Bramante's scheme for via Giulia could be summarised in the following terms, as described by Manfredo Tafuri: "Translated into urban activity, such political control entails the insertion of private initiative into a scheme formulated by public power and represented by the pontiff's will."[131] This convergence of private initiative, public power and pontifical will served as the ideal vehicle for papal *renovatio Romae*, whereby the pragmatic and operational concerns

of urban transformation supported a larger universal vision of a unified symbolic order centred on the providential city. If, however, the content of *renovatio Romae* was most clear at the level of the *impresa* – as representational synthesis – and if this form of synthesis itself characterised the Golden Age as a paradigm of the fulfilment of meaning, then the effort to formulate culture as a project inevitably ran into conflict and resistance by the reality of the actual conditions.

The resulting picture of brilliant intentions and fragmentary realisations is evident in the ambiguity displayed by via Giulia, as both visually spectacular yet somewhat residual. If indeed it was intended to become a processional route, via Giulia and its surrounding developments must be seen as embodying the political aspirations of the Pope. Here, both ceremony and architectural representation converge, enabling a fusion of actual and festive time. This two-fold reading of time constituted the basis of what I described as 'golden time', when all significant human actions culminate in the Golden Age. This process of synthesis, moreover, was played out in the larger arena of military and political action. It seems that the recovery of the original Holy Land from the infidels, and the ultimate establishment of a new world order ruled by the pope, was conditional upon the union of Italy, the 'new Holy Land'.[132]

Chapter 3

PALAZZO DEI TRIBUNALI
and the meaning of justice

sedes Iustitiae

The political objectives underlying the design of via Giulia become fully explicit in the Palazzo dei Tribunali. Sited on the west side of via Giulia, and located approximately one third along the axis of the street from its northern termination, the new place of law-giving constituted one of the cornerstones of the religio-political initiatives of Julius II. As a testimony to the aspiring hegemony of his pontificate, in which both civic and canon law were to be unified, the Palazzo dei Tribunali provided a further opportunity for Bramante to cultivate symbolic alliances between classical and Christian themes. Such was the splendour and scale of this project that Francesco Albertini considered it one of the Seven Wonders of the New Rome.[1] Abandoned however in 1511, after only three years in the making, the project was left substantially unfinished with remains of the ground-floor rusticated base still visible today, incorporated into later buildings.

Fig.47 View of the rusticated remains of the Palazzo dei Tribunali along via Giulia (Photo by author)

Recent scholarship on the Palazzo dei Tribunali has largely assumed that one of the principal motives behind the project was to establish a papal foothold in the most populated part of the Rome at the time - on the east bank of the Tiber River. This foothold, moreover, would have enabled Julius II to further strengthen papal jurisdiction over the whole of the city. As I explained in Chapter 2, this initiative was

undertaken as part of an attempt to usurp the legal and political authorities of the Popolo Romano that was centred on the Capitol throughout the Middle Ages. Whilst the seminal studies of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, by Arnaldo Bruschi, Christoph Frommel and Franco Borsi, generally concur with this view they disagree on matters relating to the specific influences on the design of the Palazzo dei Tribunali.[2] The present chapter will revisit this debate in an attempt to evaluate the wider political and religious objectives of the project. In the process, I aim to broaden the current discussion on the Palazzo dei Tribunali, by including investigations on topographical, archaeological, numismatic and textual sources. The study takes as a basic premise that the new palace of justice was conceived as part of a much larger – albeit unresolved - vision of Julian Rome, of which the other papal initiatives in the *abitato* formed part.

To begin with, I will briefly outline some of the arguments of Bruschi, Frommel and Borsi. Following on from his discussion of the imperial symbolism of via Giulia, Bruschi asserts that the new palace of justice was intended to emulate ancient imperial models, such as the Forum of Augustus.[3] Whilst he acknowledges that the design of the Palazzo dei Tribunali was probably also influenced by more recent models, such as the communal palace, Bruschi emphasises the imperial status of the project. He further suggests that this influence drew upon Platonic principles of *justitia cosmica* that underpinned the universalist/humanist vision of the Pontiff.

Borsi broadly agrees with this imperial theme, as one of the main sources in the design of the palace, although he makes a more specific suggestion that the project was influenced by the basilica of the *sedes Iustitiae* under Constantine.[4] In this model, the *Roma instaurata* of Julius II is likened to the establishment of the 'second Rome' by Constantine along the Bosphorus. The comparison could be justified on the grounds that the centralising policies of Constantine, where *imperium* and *sacerdotium* coalesce, served as an exemplar of the caesaro-papal initiatives of Julius II, a point that probably also informed the design of the new Peter's Basilica as I outlined in Chapter 5. Such direct comparisons however, between the Julian

enterprise and that of the first Christian emperor, should be treated with a degree of caution. Constantine's legacy was condemned by Giles of Viterbo, Julius II's chief-spokesman, on the grounds that the institutionalisation of the Church under his stewardship marked the beginnings of the abandonment of the traditions of primitive Christianity, a key objective of both the Augustinian and Franciscan Orders during the Middle Ages and Renaissance.[5]

In contrast to the imperial emphasis of Bruschi and Borsi, Frommel examines more recent models. He suggests that the design follows neither the curia nor the "basilica forense", as Borsi asserts, but rather the communal palace and the cardinal's palace. He identifies specific buildings as possible models for the Palazzo dei Tribunali: the Palazzo Pubblico at Montepulciano and the Palazzo Riario in Rome.[6] While references to both buildings can be identified in the overall form and spatial articulation of the 'Palatium Iulianum', the influence of the communal palace may relate to more specific symbolic concerns. As I have already indicated, it is likely that one of the principal motives for constructing the Palazzo dei Trbunali was to usurp the political and judicial authority of the Roman Senate. In order to legitimise this initiative it would seem appropriate that Bramante had sought to emulate the communal palace on the Capitol in his design for the Palazzo dei Tribunali. We will see later how this political objective found expression in Bramante's design.

The three studies of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, outlined above, highlight four main influences: the imperial forum, the basilica, the communal palace and the cardinal's palace, all of which probably had some bearing on Bramante's project. However, as will become clearer later in this study, the process by which Bramante undertook this project was more concerned with problems of representational synthesis, implemented through dialectical relationships, rather than merely appropriating/adapting available models. In other words, the borrowing of symbolic elements was underscored by a larger reading of justice, whose meanings were deemed both eternal and divine in spite of a backdrop of shifting political circumstances and agendas.

As one of the cornerstones of the Julian Golden Age, the institution of justice was understood by early 16th century humanists at three levels, each underpinning caesaro-papal rule. The first operates at the level of Platonic *paideia* - or enlightened education – that shapes the political human being by cultivating his philosophical nature. Applied to the papal state this model of the 'harmonious human being', which Giles of Viterbo recognised as key to the Golden Age, ensures both participation in - and experience of - the just society.[7] The second paradigm concerns the status of Julius Caesar, Julius II's ancient Roman 'predecessor', as initiator of the Roman political state and reformer of institutional justice. The third model concerns the idea of Christian martyrdom as a sign of corporate redemption and therefore anticipatory of divine justice.

The relation between the first two models touches on the principle that Caesar himself claimed the Greek inheritance.[8] Accordingly, Caesar was portrayed as the 'fountainhead' of Imperial Roman justice in the same way that St Peter embodied Roman Catholic faith. This status of Caesar provided the basis of a number of relationships that underpinned Julian Rome; Rome as the 'new Athens' and Caesar's *Iustitia* as a version of Plato's concept of the good statesman. We will have occasion to explore these relationships further in the context of the frescos in the Stanza della Segnatura in Chapter 6.

The Four Tribunals

The location of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, and its adjoining *foro Iulio*, could be said to demarcate an important intermediary zone, between the bridgehead to the Borgo and Vatican across the river and the area of the ancient Campo Marzio to the east, the most populated area of Rome during the Renaissance. This strategic connection would seem to be confirmed by the planned redevelopment of the streets and urban spaces to the east and north of the Palazzo dei Tribunali. Had these developments been realised, they would have served as the administrative/judicial arm of the Vatican across the river.

At the edge of the Borgo, and overlooking the new urban developments across the Tiber River, is the Castel Sant'Angelo - the pope's frontier fortress. From the privileged vantage point of the fortress's southern loggia, attributed to Giuliano da Sangallo, the pope would be able to witness the urban transformations taking place across the Ponte Sant'Angelo within his foot-hold in the secular city. As Manfredo Tafuri explains:

> "From this elevated platform the pope's sovereign gaze penetrated into the space of the secular city. The axis established by the Ponte Sant'Angelo and the Via del Banco di Santo Spirito dominated the entire area; in effect, the pope's gaze rationalized it, subjugating it to his will. The efficacy of this device becomes even more apparent when we realize that the pope's gaze would have been directed towards a destination that was not yet consummated in architectural terms; Bramante's piazza in front of the Palazzo dei Tribunali. The Fortress-Della Rovere Piazza complex, then – a locus where papal authority could triumphantly affirm *Iustitia* – formed a bipolar unit as solid as the political will it represented."[9]

In one sense the new *foro Iulio* served as the secular counterpart to the new religious square fronting St Peter's Basilica across the Tiber River, which Bramante had planned to include a colonnade on all sides. The visibility of Bramante's planned urban developments in the Ponte, Parione and Regola quarters of the city, from the loggia of Castel Sant'Angelo, could be likened to the north loggia of the Villa Belvedere discussed in Chapter 4; each served as important strategic and symbolic points of reference from which the pope could 'command' his expanding dominions – of Rome (the 'old city') and the Italian Peninsula (the Holy See) respectively.

Fig. 48 View of the south side of the Castel Sant'Angelo with the Julian loggia clearly visible. (Photo by author)

Fig.49 View from the loggia of the Castel Sant'Angelo looking south across the Tiber River towards the Ponte Rione (Photo by author)

By seeking to unite all acts of justice, of both church and state, the Palazzo dei Tribunali was probably intended, at one level at least, to act as a symbolic and ritual threshold to the new 'Temple of Solomon' in the Vatican.[10] The separation by the passage of the Tiber River between the places of judgement and salvation reminds us of certain Biblical narratives. We need only refer to Giles' description of the Tiber as the 'new Jordan' and the Vatican as 'Mount Zion' to appreciate the significance of this association. It gave further legitimacy to the much trumpeted claim that Rome was the '*altera Jerusalem*' and ancient Etruria the Latin 'Holy Land'.[11]

Begun in 1508, the construction of the new papal *praetorium* was partly anticipated by the circumstances arising from the creation of the new Basilica of St Peter. In order to realise Bramante's project for the new sanctuary, it was necessary to demolish not only the old Constantinian basilica but also the atrium and its adjacent buildings. One of these included the so-called "Palatium Innocentianum" which contained the "Rota" (the papal judicial tribunal), the offices of the Camera Apostolica and the "Registra bullarum et supplicationum".[12] It was therefore necessary to relocate these important papal offices in the vicinity of the Vatican.[13] The siting of these facilities on the east bank of the Tiber precipitated the reorganisation of the whole tribunal system in Rome, with the probable involvement of Bramante. Julius's attempt, furthermore, to amalgamate civil and canon law, under the sole control of the Roman Church, was hastened by the growing authority of the pontiff in the jurisdiction of Rome that was first initiated by Nicholas V in the 15th century.[14] As I have already pointed out, the location of the Medieval institution of the Commune on the Capitol almost certainly had a bearing on Julius's policies of

political/judicial reform and its influence on Bramante's urban/architectural developments.[15]

We can see moreover this background to Julius II's programme of political and judicial reform in Nicholas V's earlier initiatives, as Tafuri outlines:

> "Although the restored Capitol [under Nicholas V] was designed to embody a conciliatory spirit toward the Commune, in it allusions to papal primacy abounded. Evidence for this can be found in Nicholas's policy designed to increase the authority of the Curia over the Commune – one that developed tendencies initiated under Martin V…..Nicholas's cleverly concealed strategy had one main purpose: the extension of Curial control over municipal government."[16]

During the pontificate of Julius II, however, this "cleverly concealed strategy" of the Parentucelli Pope becomes a full-blown political confrontation against both the ruling Commune and the baronial families. The Palazzo dei Tribunali is perhaps the clearest testimony to this political project of 'Il Papa Terribile'. To this extent, Julius II's policies represent a decisive shift away from those of his predecessors, a point that is underlined by the pope's systematic neglect of the Capitol. In its place Julius gave unprecedented emphasis to the *mons Vaticanus* as both the powerbase of papal Rome and the symbolic fulcrum of the Christian world. From here extended a new network of streets and bridges - straddling the east and west banks of the Tiber River - that supported a complex of papal administrative buildings that migrated to the east bank of the Tiber River, including the Palazzo dei Tribunali. Through these actions, Julius II assigned to the papal enclave a religio-political authority that would effectively act, in its capacity as the seat of the vicar of Christ, and as a sacred counterpart to the predominantly 'secular' city (*civitas terrenas*) across the Tiber river. In a similar way to the della Rovere's initiative to expand the Holy See, Rome itself was also subject to territorial claims by the warrior pope.

Fig.50 Antonio di Pellegrino (attrib.), Plan of the Palazzo dei Tribunali and Church of S. Biagio della Pagnotta (16th c.). Florence, Galleria Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe. Uff. 136Ar.

Besides amalgamating the four tribunals of Rome - the "Rota", Camera Apostolica, the Roman Senate and the "Segnatura di Giustizia" - the Palazzo dei Tribunali was also probably to provide additional administrative facilities for judges and administrative staff.[17] The idea of grouping these facilities under one roof largely determined the layout of the building, as highlighted in a sketch of the *piano nobile* attributed to Antonio di Pellegrino, from the circle of Bramante.[18] The drawing shows the arrangement of four identical, yet relatively independent, suites of rooms that surround a central courtyard.[19] The upper floor was probably intended to accommodate the "famiglia"; that is the clerics, clergymen and administrative staff. The ground floor, on the other hand, was almost certainly to comprise shops and perhaps offices and archives for the notaries assigned to each tribunal.

Fig.51 Plan of northern part of via Giulia indicating outline of the Palazzo dei Tribunali and adjacent Foro Iulio in relation to remains of buildings in the vicinity including the unfinished S. Biagio della Pagnotta (Based on the Nolli Plan of Rome and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

These four tribunals would have shared a common place of worship - the church of San Biagio. This is located, as Pellegrino's drawing indicates, on the west side of the Palace along its central axis. Flanking the church, on the north and south sides, are large rooms that were probably intended to serve as audience halls, or "luogo delle disaminatione". The proportions and scale of these suggest that they may have been influenced by the Roman basilica, thereby giving some credence to Borsi's argument outlined earlier. In a later plan of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, by Baldassare Peruzzi,

the configuration of the church is more clearly demonstrated, comprising a complex octagonal plan with extended nave. Measurements indicated on this drawing confirm the rectangular layout of the plan of the Palace, with an approximate ratio of 5:4 of width to depth, and with an overall frontage measuring 96 metres.

Fig.52 Survey plan of remains of the rusticated wall of the Palazzo dei Tribunali (highlighted in heavy black) along via Giulia in relation to later streets and churches: (1) S. Biagio della Pagnotta and (2) S. Maria del Suffragio (Drawn by Peter Baldwin).

These proportions are also re-affirmed in the 18th century Nolli plan of Rome that reveals the footprint of the Palazzo dei Tribunali in its alignment to later buildings and streets off via Giulia. The late 16th century church, moreover, of SS. Faustino e Giovità (or S. Anna dei Bresciani) directly coincides with the siting of the earlier San Biagio in Bramante's design, and coincidently closely follows its layout. Curiously, for much of the 16th century, the incomplete structure of St Biagio was used as a setting for comic productions.[20]

The layout of the palace, with its inner courtyard and concealed church facing the entrance opposite, has often been compared to ancient Roman precedents, notably the palatial house as interpreted by Fra Giovanni Giocondo in his famous edition of Vitruvius (printed in 1511 and dedicated to Julius II).[21] The comparison with domestic Roman architecture, however, seems to contradict the palace's external fortified and rusticated appearance. This is punctuated by four corner stair-towers and a monumental central tower over the entrance as highlighted in the famous Foundation Medal (ca. 1509) attributed to Pier Maria Sebaldi.

Fig.53 Pier Maria Serbaldi ('il Tagiacarne'). Foundation medal of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, verso (1509-10). Md.Pont.Iulius II.15, © 2010, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

The Capitol and Communal/Cardinal's Palace

The remains, that can be seen today of the cyclopean rustication of the Palace's 'pienterreno', were built into the facades of later - more modest - buildings along via Giulia. The adoption of this bold wall treatment 'alla rustica' is characteristic of Bramante's other grand projects under Julius II, notably the Porta Julia which is the entrance to the lower courtyard of the Cortile del Belvedere. Inspiration for these huge rough-hewn block walls can be found in the ruins of antiquity in Rome, most notably the Porta Maggiore, the Forum of Augustus and Tabularium.[22]

From the perspective of the function and symbolism of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, the Tabularium would seem to have been the strongest influence in this regard, for reasons that extend beyond the physical resemblance of its rusticated wall treatment. In Chapter 5 I outlined the associations between the Capitol and Julius II, and hence with the Julian Golden Age (*aurea aetas*). Indeed, the relationship formed a central theme in court hagiography; the della Rovere's armorial oak was frequently likened to the oak of Jupiter on the Capitol, whilst the status of the warrior Pope as '2nd Caesar' was underscored by the crowning of the triumphant Caesar, according to the *Mirabilia*, on the Capitol in the garb of *Iuppiter*.[23]

Fig.54 View of the Capitol today from the Roman Forum, showing the east façade of the medieval Senate above the ancient Tabularium (Photo by author).

Julius's plan to incorporate the judicial functions of the Commune in the new papal *praetorium* (the Palazzo dei Tribunali) probably set the context for the influence of

the ancient Tabularium and later medieval developments on the Capitol. The remains of the Tabularium were altered in the 11th century to form a fortress for one of the baronial families of Rome, the Corsi. During the mid-12th century the medieval Senate was installed in its ruins. Its later renovation in the 13th century established the familiar form of the structure as a turreted building which was "...built by Boniface IX [1389-1404] on the classical ruins, for the use of senators and judges, such as even a private citizen would have spurred to inhabit."[24]

Fig.55 Outline plan of the Tabularium, at the level of the gallery and indicating the building beneath the medieval Palazzo del Senatore. The row of rooms on the right probably belonged to the State Mint. (After Delbrück and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

The superimposition of the Roman Commune, upon the ruins of the ancient repository of the state archives and *tabulae*, could well have served as one of a number of models in the design of the facade of the Palazzo dei Tribunali; like the rusticated colonnade of the ancient Tabularium, which overlooks the Roman Forum and Comitium, the cyclopean 'pienterreno' of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, with its superimposed *piano-nobile*, similarly addresses a forum space - the so-called *foro Iulio* referred to earlier.[25] Hence, the new Palace of Justice, and its adjacent piazza, would have evoked the ancient centre of judicial and political activity, with its Curia to the north and the Rostra and Graecostasis (where foreign ambassadors were received by the senate) to the south, subsequently remodelled by Caesar.[26]

A suggestion of the influence of the Tabularium can be found in a sketch by Fra. Gioncondo, thought to represent the ground floor portion of the facade of the Palace during its construction. This clearly indicates the large rusticated archways which were probably intended to serve as entrances to the shops and offices of the notaries referred to earlier. The accommodation around the corner staircases, moreover, was likely to have functioned as the repositories for archives and records, to service the

respective tribunals on the *piano-nobile* above. By forming a monumental plinth, upon which the principal tribunal facilities of the Julian *praetorium* were to be placed, the east façade of the Palazzo dei Tribunali could be construed as a more articulated remodelling of the superimposed arrangement of ancient Tabularium and the fortified Medieval town hall.[27]

The comparison between the historical layering of the Tabularium/Senate and Bramante's hierarchical arrangement of functions for the Palazzo dei Tribunali allows us to consider a broader symbolic and topographical relationship between the Capitol and the new palace of justice; namely the idea of the Julian *praetorium* as the legitimate 'inheritor' of the political and judicial roles of its ancient and Medieval predecessors. It is in this context that we should recognise the likelihood that Bramante was seeking to draw comparison with the Capitoline Senate in his design for the Palazzo dei Tribunali.

In the course of these politically and symbolically charged influences of the Capitol on Bramante's scheme, other references were brought into play, most notably the communal palace and cardinal's palace outlined earlier. In Chapter 2 I suggested the influence of the 15th century Palazzo della Cancelleria (Riario), originally the residence of the powerful Cardinal Raffaele Riario, a point that seems plausible given that Bramante may have been involved in the completion of the Palace at the beginning of the 16th century.[28] Whilst the scale of the Palazzo della Cancelleria could be compared to the Palazzo dei Tribunali, there are obvious differences in the layout of both buildings - notably the absence of corner stair-towers in the former and the different locations of their respective places of worship. San Lorenzo in Damaso is positioned asymmetrically in the plan of the Palazzo Riario, and is accessed directly from the street rather than from the inner cortile, as is the case with San Biagio in the Palazzo dei Tribunali. It may be the case that Bramante's scheme for the new 'Palatium Iulianum' drew some inspiration from the earlier foundation of San Lorenzo in Damaso. In a recent excavation in the Palazzo della Cancelleria in 1987, under the guidance of Richard Krautheimer, the remains of the earlier

Carolingian church were unearthed directly beneath the courtyard.[29] Its demolition and relocation in the 15th century, to make way for Cardinal Riario's monumental palace, may have partly inspired Bramante's proposal to position the early Medieval church of San Biagio so that it could be accessed from the courtyard rather than directly   from   the   street.

I also mentioned in Chapter 2 that the Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini (Old Chancery) probably had a bearing on the location of the Palazzo dei Tribunali.[30] Originally constructed by Cardinal Rodrigo Borgia - future Pope Alexander IV - the palace became the residence of the vice Chancellor and was later occupied by Galeotto followed by Sisto della Rovere, both nephews of Julius II. Their successive appointments by Julius to the post of the vice-Chancellor, and their residency in this palace, were clearly intended as deliberate political gestures to assert control by the della Rovere family of important institutions of the papacy within the city. They also probably reflected a desire to 'expunge' all memories and associations of the Borgia pope, who was regarded by Julius II as wicked and decadent.[31]

Some remains of an old fortified mint, which once existed on the site of the Old Chancery, were still standing at the time of the construction of the Borgia palace. This is indicated on the Tempesta map of Rome (1593) where the tower, as well as parts of the west façade of the old mint, are shown incorporated into the 15th century Chancery. One can only speculate as to whether these remnants from the earlier building had any influence on Bramante's design for the fortified east facade of the Palazzo dei Tribunali opposite which, as we have noted contained corner stair-towers and a large central tower over the east entrance. Notwithstanding this possible influence, it is likely that Bramante had planned to remodel the existing façade of the Old Chancery, along with other existing buildings facing (or in the vicinity of) the new *foro Iulio*, in order to create a unified architectural ensemble appropriate for such a major public space. [32]

St Blaise and Justice

Besides the imposing 15th century Palazzo Sforza Cesarini another existing building, in the area of the *foro Iulio*, almost certainly played a part in determining the location of the new Palazzo dei Tribunali. This is the original church of St Blaise which is mentioned in Giles of Viterbo's *Historia XX Saeculorum*. In initially describing the two roads of via Giulia and via della Lungara, which Bramante "made straight and wide", Giles goes on to highlight the project for the Palazzo dei Tribunali:

> "For on the left bank of the Tiber at the temple of the late Blasius,
> he laid the foundations of a huge building which he decreed was to
> be a place of lawgiving that both those involved in case and those
> who were free of litigation did not need to run hither and thither,
> that all who were to give judgement should wait together in the
> same place."[33]

As Giles clearly states, the Palace was intended to bring together in one place the facilities of lawgiving in Rome. This centred on the site of the "divi Blasii aedem", or church of San Biagio, and adjacent monastery that dates back to early Medieval times. Dedicated to the Armenian/Cappadocian bishop and martyr, St Blaise, the church was, as I mentioned earlier, to be relocated and integrated into the new Palace.

Bramante's scheme for the new church of San Biagio della Pagnotta, ("of the loaf of bread"), was clearly intended to function as the focus of worship for the tribunals, both for those "involved in case and those who were free of litigation."[34] Underlying Giles' description is arguably a particular relationship between San Biagio and the new palace of justice than merely their common locations. Indeed, the connection may have been underpinned by symbolic intentions that justified the older church being 'absorbed' into the palace as its symbolic and visual focus.[35]

One clue to evaluating the significance of San Biagio can be seen in the history of the church. Nick-named *de Cantu secutu,* this modest medieval abbey church was, according to Francesco Albertini and Fra. Mariano, built on the ruins of a temple to Neptune. In the course of the Middle Ages it became "one of the twenty most privileged abbeys in Rome."[36] The topographical and religious importance of the church was recognized by Eugenius IV in the early 15th century when the Pope transferred the control of the abbey and its property to St. Peter's.[37] There are, moreover, contractual documents dating from the Renaissance that show that plots of land (later demarcating the site of the Palazzo dei Tribunali) were rented by the Vatican.[38]

These documents suggest that probably the whole riverside of via Giulia - from the later San Giovanni dei Fiorentini to the north to via del Gonfalone to the south - originally belonged to the abbey of San Biagio. It is not surprising therefore that the remains of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, still visible today in the form of the cyclopean 'pianterreno', extend as far south as the corner between via Giulia and via del Gonfalone.

Besides Julius's ambition to unseat the judicial authority of the Popolo Romano the construction of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, along via Giulia, was also probably motivated by a desire to undermine the territorial claims of the baronial families and civic nobility. As Linda Pellecchia explains, "With surgical precision Via Giulia slices through [the *monte* of the Planca Incoronati family], which ran from Via di Monserrato to the Tiber."[39] Further north, off via dei Coronari, was the Monte Giordano, the legendary fortress of the Orsinis. Hence the historic quarters of the Regola and Ponte formed the contested powerbases of rival ruling families in Medieval and Renaissance Rome. According to Flavio Biondo Cardinal Orsini resided in the abbey of San Biagio della Pagnotta, dying there in 1438 at the time of one of Biondo's extended visits.[40] This historical connection between the Orsini family and San Biagio may have given Julius II further impetus to assert his control over this site as the new Palace of Justice.

We should be reminded, of course, that Julius's attempt to undermine the authority of the ruling families in the area of via Giulia involved initiatives further north - along the Canale di Ponte - to take control of the financial district of the city that was traditionally dominated by the Florentine community. In a similar fashion to the destruction wrought by the new Palazzo dei Tribunali other buildings in the area, notably a Florentine confraternity, residences and offices, fell victim to papal developments.

The choice of location of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, and its symbolism, may also have been informed by the ancient history of the area. According to Albertini, a terminal *cippus* was found in an ancient cloaca in the area of the Claudian extension to the *pomerium.*[41] Outlined in Chapter 2 the site of the discovery was, according to Albertini, near the 'Cancelleria' (ie. Palazzo Sforza-Cesarini or 'Old' Chancery) located opposite the Palazzo dei Tribunali. According to Philip Jacks, however, the actual spot of the discovery is more likely to have been closer to the foundations of San Biagio along via Giulia, suggesting that it was probably uncovered during the construction of the new Palace.[42] This is supported by another report by Raffaele Volterrano that refers to ancient remains being uncovered during the works on the foundations of the Palazzo dei Tribunali in 1509.[43] If this was the case then the church of San Biagio was located in the direct path of the Claudian extension to the *pomerium.*

Furthermore, an examination of the inscription on the *cippus* suggests that its location may have carried further significance in the symbolism of the Palazzo dei Tribunali:

> "Tiberius Claudius, son of Drusus, Caesar, Augustus, Germanicus
> Chief Priest, in theeighth year of his Tribunician Power, hailed as
> General (Conqueror) sixteen times, consul four times, Censor,
> Father of his Country, having increased the boundaries (empire) of

the Roman people, he enlarged the Pomerium and fixed its boundary."[44]

The epigram commemorates both the expansion of the territories of the Roman Empire and the enlargement of the *pomerium* of Rome, under the ruler-ship of "Tiberius Claudius, son of Drusus, Caesar, Augustus." I have already suggested in Chapter 2 that the ancient *cippus* may have influenced the commemorative epigram on the nearby Julian *lapide*. Located in the nearby via dei Banchi Vecchi, this latter inscription similarly extols the achievements of its ruler (Julius II), by commemorating his military conquests and urban developments. The use of inscriptions, coins and commemorative medals to emulate ancient imperial precedents was commonplace during the Julian pontificate, providing one means of enhancing the status of the pope as rightful inheritor of the temporal authority of the Roman emperors.[45]

The discovery of the ancient *cippus* along the sacred boundary of Rome, in the area of San Biagio, may have been construed by both architect and pope as an auspicious sign that reaffirmed the symbolic potency of the Palazzo dei Tribunali as a 'gate of judgement' to the *civitas sancta* (Vatican) - situated on the other side of the ancient boundary *extra-muros*. Taking this argument further, the inference of a territorial demarcation in the siting of the *cippus* could be said to have a certain resonance in the uncompromising intervention of via Giulia at the western limits of the ancient Campus Martius. It is worth noting that the north-south axis of the street slices through the *abitato* of Medieval Rome, redefining the territory of the 'lungotevere' as a frontier to the Vatican across the Tiber River.

Curiously, in the recent studies of the Palazzo dei Tribunali no reference is made to the old church of San Biagio as a possible source of influence on both the symbolism and location of the building. This omission becomes more significant when we consider the potential impact of the life and attributes of San Biagio (St Blaise) on

the creation of a particular blend of Neo-platonic and Christological concepts of justice underlying the Julian court.

As a martyr and bishop, St Blaise's life is shrouded in mystery. Although Christianity had been adopted as the state religion under Constantine in the early 4th century, his co-emperor, Licinius, embarked on a ruthless campaign of persecution of Christians during this period. Elected Bishop of Sebastea in Armenia - one of the provinces under the rulership of Licinius - St. Blaise had previously been, according to popular legend, a doctor who had performed a number of miracles. It was in AD316, three years after the Edict of Milan, that St. Blaise was arrested and tortured before finally being beheaded.[46]

The method by which he was tortured, which entailed his flesh being torn by iron wool-combers, became closely associated with his cult especially during the Middle Ages. In the course of time, many of the alleged relics of St Blaise were brought to the West and his cult was enhanced by claims of numerous miraculous cures. These miracles, it seems, made him one of the most venerated saints in the Middle Ages, with numberless churches and altars dedicated to him across Europe. He is traditionally seen as the patron saint of wool-combers, of wild animals and all who suffer from afflictions of the throat. Furthermore, a ceremony called the "Blessing of St. Blaise" was initiated in the 16th century and enacted on his feast day (3rd February), a reflection of his continued popularity in the Renaissance.[47]

The almost idiosyncratic assortment of attributes and emblems, ascribed to this obscure saint, seems however somewhat incongruous with the grandiloquent and humanistic concerns associated with 'Il Papa Terribile' - promulgator of Renaissance *renovatio imperii* and initiator of the new Golden Age. In spite of this apparent incongruity, it is possible to account for St Blaise's prominence at this time by referring to the famous 13th century text, *The Golden Legend,* by Jacobus de Voragine:

"Blaise comes from *blandus*, sweet; or it comes from *bela*, robe, and *sior,* small. For he was sweet in his speech, clothed with the robe of virtue, and small through the humility of his actions. Blaise had won such fame by his gentleness and holiness that the Christians of Cappadocia elected them their bishop; and when the persecutors of Diocletian compelled him to quit his bishopric, he took refuge in a cave, and lived there as a hermit."[48]

This perceived correlation between what was thought to have been the likely etymological roots of the saint's name - assigned to sweetness or tenderness - and his gentle personality and small physical appearance, reveals characteristics that may have been considered pertinent to the concept of justice by the Franciscan Pope. As one of the four virtues, Justice was elevated to a special status in Platonic thought, and its role in the shaping of *humanitas* was inexorably connected to *spiritus*. It may have been the case that the figure of St. Blaise was regarded by Julius II as an appropriate Early Christian 'precursor' to St. Francis (patron saint of the Pope) and that Blaise's qualities of humility and gentleness were perceived as exemplifying a virtuous existence.

The implication here of a conscious association of St. Blaise with the venerated St. Francis has some historical validity. During St. Francis's sojourn in Rome in 1219, when he dwelt with beggars on the steps of St. Peter's Basilica, the saint resided at the old hospice of San Biagio in Trastevere. This establishment was later rebuilt in 1231, re-dedicated to the 13th century saint and re-named as San Francesco a Ripa.[49] The decision by Saint Francis to dwell at this humble abode during his stay in Rome was perhaps due to his sense of affinity with St. Blaise, in whom he probably identified an appropriate model for his own particular preaching of poverty and humility. Indeed, Francis's prominent role in the renewal of hospital care in the 13th century led him to the Ospedale di San Biagio in Assisi where he purportedly cured many sick and dying. It is not difficult, moreover, to detect other characteristics of St.

Blaise - notably his affinity with animals - that contributed to the establishment of this saintly alliance with St. Francis.[50]

We know that much emphasis was placed on the triadic relationship between peace, justice and divine faith during Julius's pontificate, as conveyed in the iconography of the Stanza della Segnatura.[51] At the same time, however, the curious juxtaposition of a church dedicated to the humble St Blaise and the assertion of absolute judicial authority, manifested in the fortified façade of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, highlights two ostensibly antithetical facets of the building's iconography. It would be easy to construe from this juxtaposition an attempt to legitimise the imperial (or princely) ambitions of the Franciscan pope by contriving a particular concordance between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*; the latter conceived on the basis of the humble, ascetic, origins of the Apostolic Church - exemplified in the life of the Early Christian Blaise and subsequently 'revived' in the preaching of poverty of St. Francis - whilst the latter is more explicitly affirmed through the caesaro-papal authority of Julius II. The resulting dialectic between both 'versions' of Justice echo Giles' reading of providential history. This sought to locate the 'fullness of time' in the Julian age by establishing a concordance between the primitive forms of the Church, as a domain of eremitic existence, and its role as a corporate institution with universal authority.

By casting therefore St. Blaise as an Early Christian precursor to St. Francis the Palazzo dei Tribunali provides the backdrop to a symbolic lineage between human piety and divine grace that ascends from the deeds of saintly asceticism (embodied in the lives of both saints) and culminates in the Passion of Christ. The resulting relationship could be said to form the basis of continuity between papal jurisprudence and divine justice, in which Julian Rome becomes a 'type' of Jerusalem.

Understood in the context of both the fortified appearance of the Palazzo dei Tribunali and Julius II's role as 'warrior pope', the significance of St. Blaise in the symbolism of the former and in the identify of the latter may seem surprising. The military aspect of popes, and Julius II in particular, was not exclusively derived from

ancient imperial models, as some would suppose, but also drew upon the symbolism of the Church Militant, or *ecclesia militans*. As D.S. Chambers points out:

> "…it was not a new fashion at all in the early sixteenth century for popes, let along cardinals, to participate actively in war…..Even if the Gospels on the whole enjoin peace, the cause of defending the Church by force had plentiful sanctions, metaphorical or otherwise, in the Old Testament and was all too compatible with the idea of a 'just war' formulated by St Augustine and developed by many later writers."[52]

It is important to consider the military iconography of the Palazzo dei Tribunali in the light of this tradition. In being seen to 'defend' justice the castellated palace also 'safe-guards' the Christian faith, as it is embodied in the Church of St. Blaise. This also finds expression in court eulogies that often urged the Pope to initiate a new crusade - or just war - to the Holy Land to overthrow the Muslims. Examples of large papal fortifications were commonplace during this period, as amply demonstrated at Grottaferrata, Ostia and Civitavecchia.[53] It is not surprising therefore that the fortified appearance of the new Palazzo dei Tribunali, where both civic and canonic law were brought under the one roof, should partially reflect this military iconography.[54]

Concealed within a monumental fortified building, the church of San Biagio was described by Vasari as "a Corinthian temple left incomplete, a very rare thing", underlining the contrast between the robustness of the exterior of the palace and the delicate architectural treatment of its place of worship.[55] In contrast to the sober nobility invoked by the Tuscan Doric order of Bramante's scheme for new St Peter's Basilica, with its inner Doric 'triumphal arch' of the Tegurium shrouding the altar, the Corinthian Church of San Biagio commemorates the meek and humble saint against a background of papal power and hegemony. It is as if the architecture of the Palazzo dei Tribunali speaks both of the administration of civic and canon justice and

of the personal experience of the plaintiff/defendant in their procession from *civitas terrena* to *civitas sanctus*.[56]

The relationship between canon and civic justice can be found elsewhere in the iconography of Julian Rome, notably in the fresco of *Jurisprudence* in the Stanza della Segnatura to be discussed in Chapter 6. Here, the flanking scenes of the Gregorian *Decratals* and Justinian *Pandects*, with their respective symbolic alliances to the flanking frescoes of the *Disputa* and *School of Athens*, demonstrate a similar attempt to reconcile acts of justice with Platonic principles and divine faith. Moreover, the allusion to an imperial tribune, in the architectural arrangement of the fresco, serves as a fitting abbreviation of the political and religious themes underlying the Palazzo dei Tribunali.

The varied symbolic themes of justice can also be found in numismatics during this period; a number of commemorative medals were produced to celebrate Julius II as restorer of peace, justice and faith. A good example is one struck around 1506, the reverse of which displays the following image:

> "....a female holding an olive branch in her hand, and grasping with her right hand the right hand of another female figure who is holding scales in her hand and cornucopiae in her left. What looks like a fire is burning on the ground and OSCVLATE SVNT is inscribed in the exergue [small space on the reverse of medal below principal motif]. "osculate sunt" is of course a quotation from Psalm 1xxv, 10: "justitia et pax osculatae sunt". Here the figure with the olive branch clearly represents Peace, while the other has the traditional attributes of "Aequitas", that is to say a synonym of Justice....What, on the other hand, seems quite clear is that the scene does not refer to a specific event, but rather to the union between Peace and Justice."[57]

What Roberto Weiss can discern from this medal is that the union between peace and justice constituted a central theme of the Julian Golden Age. It is further likely that court panegyrists drew upon Roman imperial models in this concordance; likely examples would have been the *Pax Romana* of Augustus and the Temple to Peace executed under Vespasian.[58] Understood in the context of this medal, the Church of San Biagio could be said to embody the union between peace and justice, that is instituted elsewhere through the administration and enforcement of law.

Another Julian medal articulates what appears as a symbolic connection between justice and sacrifice, embodied in the incarcerated or martyred saint. Struck in 1509-1510, the scene commemorates the foundation of the Palazzo dei Tribunali. On the reverse is displayed an elevation of the Palace, with its characteristic representation as a turreted fortification. In the foreground, flanking the building, are two figures; on the left is a personification of Justice holding scales and a sword, whilst on the right hand side is a blacksmith seated and hammering on an anvil. Weiss provides the following interpretation to this scene:

> "...the figure of justice is in keeping with the subject; but the blacksmith is unexplained unless he is forging fetters. Whatever the blacksmith represents one may assume that the two figures may be connected with what the building stood for."[59]

Weiss's suggestion of a connection between the intended symbolic meanings of the Palazzo dei Tribunali and the two figures in the medal would seem to state the obvious, although the purpose of the blacksmith in this symbolism seems to have eluded scholars. Whilst the idea of forging fetters cannot be dismissed, the motif should be seen in a wider context of religious faith, rather than understood simply as an effective allegorical motif of papal authority through the enforcement of law.

Fig.56 Pier Maria Serbaldi ('il Tagliacarne'). Commemorative medal of the Palazzo dei Tribunali showing the personification of Justice and a Blacksmith. verso (1509-10). Md.Pont.IUlius II.14, © 2010, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Indeed, there are I believe two possible associations that provide a plausible explanation for the representation of the blacksmith, both of which relate to the instruments of saintly passion. The first concerns the iron wool-combers that were used to tear the flesh of St. Blaise. Rather than evoking 'human' justice through evocations of punishment, as Weiss's hypothesis infers, the blacksmith may represent human faith in 'divine' justice, affirmed by the forging of the implement of the saint's martyrdom.[60]

The second association relates to the relics of St. Peter. As the place of judgement, instituted through papal intercession, the Palazzo dei Tribunali should be seen, in both topographical and symbolic terms, as a stage in the penitent's path to salvation that culminates in the participation of the Holy Eucharist in St. Peter's Basilica. Understood in these terms, it is clear why Julius II sought to emphasise his judicial role as the 'adjudicator' of the Roman Church, sanctified through his office as vicar of Christ and inheritor of the keys of St. Peter. It was after all through the martyrdom of St Peter - the *claviger* of the Roman Church - that the stewardship of divine *Iustitia* by the pope was 'assured'. St. Blaise could be interpreted in this context as Peter's 'gate-keeper', foreshadowing the site ruled by the archaic key-bearer of Janus – the Vatican across the river.

The connection between martyrdom and justice finds some support in the varying interpretations of the setting in which the 'Princes of the Church', Peter and Paul, were convicted prior to their martyrdom. The well-known legend of their imprisonment at the Mamertine Prison (*Tullianum*), at the foot of the Capitoline, is challenged by an alternative claim that Peter and Paul were incarcerated on the Esquiline Hill, in the vicinity of the present church of San Pietro in Vincoli.[61] Under

Nero, this area contained a number of important administrative and judicial buildings:

> "Because it is just in the Carinae area [of the Esquiline Hill] that extend the policing and juridical powers of the offices of the magistrate. It is also where we find the tribunals, which in the "Acts of the Martyrs" (Atti dei Martiri), is often cited as a place of sentence."[62]

I mentioned in Chapter 2 that the titular church of Julius II, San Pietro in Vincoli (meaning literally 'in chains'), was especially significant to the Pope. During his years as a cardinal under the pontificate of his uncle Sixtus IV, Julius embellished the basilica and constructed the adjacent palace. The church, as already pointed out, contains the chains that are reputed to have held St. Peter captive during his imprisonment under Herod. Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere even commissioned Antonio Pollaiuolo to make some doors of gilded bronze, with reliefs that represent the imprisonment of St. Peter and his miraculous release by an angel. Executed in 1477, the work bore the papal arms, an inscription with name of Sixtus IV, as well as the arms and name of Giuliano.[63]

The close association, therefore, of Julius II with the memory of Peter's incarceration and imprisonment, and the contested location of the Apostle's trail in a tribunal in the vicinity of the titular basilica of the della Rovere, throws some light on the possible symbolic meaning of the black-smith on the commemorative medal. This further relates to the hypothesis, outlined in Chapter 2, of a connection between the re-instatement of the 'Ponte Trionfale' (*pons Neronianus*) and the route taken by St. Peter to his martyrdom. Give these possible influences, it seems plausible that the anvil in the representation was intended to serve as both a reminder of the relic of Peter's incarceration, emblematic of his trial and passage to martyrdom across the *pons Neronianus*, and more locally as a reference to the instrument of St. Blaise's torture.

Given the potential importance of San Pietro in Vincoli in the symbolism of both the Palazzo dei Trbunali and the nearby reinstated Ponte Trionfale, it would not be surprising to identify that a number of confraternities in the Rione di Ponte (via di Panico and vicolo di S. Celso) were owned by the abbey church of San Pietro in Vincoli.[64] These modest buildings, which provided accommodation for visiting pilgrims at the bridgehead to the Borgo and Vatican, further underline the territorial claims of the della Rovere Pope in this strategically important quarter of Rome.

The connections outlined above, in the context of the influence of St Peter and St Blaise on the iconography of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, suggest that the martyr who recapitulates Christ's sacrifice is deemed a 'type of Christ' and therefore paradigmatic to ordinary mortals. To this symbolism are added the miracles of St. Blaise and St. Francis, whose sainthoods constituted a continuation of the apostolic tradition. It could be argued in this lineage that the criminal represents the sinner par excellence, and is made into a good Christian through his forced penance/sacrifice consequent to trial. Curiously, the implications in this reading of a parallelism between Roman persecution of Christians, where law is a miscarriage of justice, and papal law, are suppressed on the grounds that penance or death creates Christians whether the law is good or bad. This paradox highlights the deep divisions between imperial Roman *Iustitia* and Christian justice which such 'caesaro-papal' projects - as the Palazzo dei Tribunali - sought to reconcile.

Seen in this context, therefore, the representation of the anvil in the medal signifies faith, whose allusions to punishment are supported rather than purged by the scales of justice shown opposite. This alliance between the quintessential virtue and personal sacrifice culminates in the Platonic notion of *Iustitia cosmica*.

Iustitia Cosmica

The uncompromising authority, emanating from the monumental project for the Palazzo dei Tribunali, masks a more subtle topographical relationship that situates

the palace roughly midway between the Capitol and the *Mons Vaticanus*. I outlined in Chapter 2 that the historical relationship between the two hills is underscored by the route of the *via Triumphalis* which forms an 'umbilical connection' between both territories.[65] Long after the abandonment of the *via Triumphalis* as the main triumphal procession in Late Antiquity, and its subsequent reuse as a pilgrimage route into the city, the Capitol and Vatican hills acquired a dialectical relationship that oscillated between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*, municipal and papal rule and civic and canon law.

During Early Christianity, the Capitol endured extensive destruction of its pagan temples and monuments, followed by the erection in the 6th century of the Church of Santa Maria in Aracoeli. This was built on the Arx where, according to tradition, the Tiburtine Sibyl foretold the imminent coming of Christ to the Emperor Augustus. The subsequent establishment, in the Middle Ages, of the seat of the Roman Senate on the Capitol gave the hill a distinctly civic role that seemed to nullify its earlier sacred character as the most venerated territory in ancient Rome. Nevertheless, the connection between the Church of the Aracoeli and the Medieval Commune maintained a particular symbolic relationship with respect to ancient Rome; the Commune recapitulates the ancient Senate of the Roman Forum, whilst the Church serves as an enduring testimony to Augustan Rome and therefore to the origins of Christianity. Accordingly, the Capitol could be said to communicate between two Romes; the imperial and the Christian.

Whilst Bramante clearly did not intend to simply recreate this symbolism in the new palace of justice, he almost certainly sought to embody the idea of a caesaro-papal state:

> "Bramante set the Palazzo dei Tribunali, the symbolic new centre
> of the imperial and pontifical state of Julius II, *liberator urbis et*
> *ampliator imperii.* The just State, as conceived by humanistic
> thought was to be symbolised in the centre of the New Rome by the

castellated image of the great Palace of Justice; the State was just because it was 'rational' and therefore capable of ensuring the peace and concord of the *res publica*, which was an affirmation in the urban community of the same order which lay at the root of cosmic harmony. Julius might be hailed as 'Father of the Heavens and the Planets', in courtly style, but the *justitia cosmica* of Plato and the humanists was now the Pope's justice, serving an ambitious political plan."[66]

At the centre of this model of cosmic (universal) justice, in which Julius II asserts papal jurisdiction over the Medieval Senate, was the deliberate emulation of Julius Caesar's transformation from Republican to Imperial rule. At the same time, the idea of a concordance between the 'just State' and cosmic harmony lay at the root of humanistic thought, in which the *justitia cosmica* of Plato was treated as a foreshadowing of divine (Christian) Justice.

As already stated, the term 'justice' is commonly identified as one of the four virtues, whose particular qualities underlie all civic order in the *res publica.* The relationship between *iustitia* and *civitas* is built out of a shared orientation towards a common good, whose realisation is achieved through the rule of a divinely-sanctioned law. Such a belief presumes the existence of an absolute and undivided corpus of knowledge that constitutes justice. Understood in these terms, justice was perceived as possessing a paradigmatic form that shapes the political human being. This is achieved, according to Platonic principles, through *sophrosyne* (temperance) where one can acquire true self-knowledge which accordingly teaches us "to correct what we discover to be amiss." [67]

Whilst contemporaries of Plato, such as Isocrates, had a more favourable view towards "personal rule", where the tyrant is seen as a practitioner of *sophrosyne* and justice, it is nevertheless the case that Plato identified in the true political human being a unification of philosophical and martial natures.[68] This fusion has clear implications in the initiatives of the warrior pope, where, to borrow a quote from

Hans-Georg Gadamer, "conflicting elements in man are to be rectified and unified without robbing him of his power."[69] Such a delicate process of negotiation between the different and conflicting facets of the statesman is precisely what Julius II sought to achieve in his manifold roles as *liberator urbis/ampliator imperii*, Franciscan pope and patron of the arts and humanist scholarship. This was conveyed in a multitude of ways, from court ceremonial to architectural representation, which collectively were conceived as the project of *renovatio Romae*. The Palazzo dei Tribunali, with its complex iconography and larger topographical relationships, is perhaps the clearest testimony to this search for reconciliation between religious, political and military initiatives.

As I have indicated elsewhere the chief promulgator of Platonic/Neo-platonic thought in the court of Julius II was Giles of Viterbo. His integration of Augustinian and Neo-Platonic ideas earned him the reputation as one of the great synthesisers of his age. Of all his writings, there is one particular text that is likely to have had some influence on Bramante's urban and architectural projects for Rome. This is a commentary on a philosophical study by the 12th century theologian Peter Lombard, called the *Sententiae ad mentem Platonis*.[70] Composed during Julius II's Pontificate, Giles' interpretation seeks to address two objectives: 1) to reconcile the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato, and 2) to apply Greek and Latin fables to the scholastic theology of Peter Lombard.[71]

In the *Sententiae* Giles identified the attributes of the archaic god of Etruria, Janus, in the Biblical Noah, whose doctrine of divine justice was identified as rooted in Platonism. Called the *praeco iustitiae*, or 'proclaimer of Justice', the doctrine was believed to have disseminated from Persia and Armenia, at the time of the Biblical Flood, then extending to Egypt before finally becoming established in Etruria.[72] Hence, divine law was handed down through the ages of man, before finally being inherited by the papacy on the Etrurian bank of the Tiber river.

The question of whether Giles' philosophy had a direct bearing on the design or location of the Palazzo dei Tribunali is difficult to prove without clearer documentary evidence. Beyond his passing comment in the *Historia Viginti Saeculorum*, quoted earlier, about the location of the new place of law-giving on the site of the "divi Blasii aedem", there is to my knowledge no other reference to the new palace of justice in Giles' writings. Nevertheless, the notion of such a connection warrants further examination since there exists a core of ideas in Giles' writings that sheds some light on the underlying symbolic intentions of the Palazzo dei Tribunali. We should, moreover, be reminded of Giles' reputation in the early 16th century as the most influential scholar and orator in the Julian court, whose particular interest in the providential history of Rome would have provided a rich source of ideas in the development of the urban and architectural projects of Julian Rome.

To highlight Giles's possible influence in this project we need to refer to the foundation medal of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, struck in 1509, that represents on its obverse a representation of the facade of the palace. Like the smaller medal referred to earlier, this more detailed representation similarly exudes militaristic associations, with its castellated towers, battered walls and raised flag. What is particularly striking about this representation of the Palazzo dei Tribunali is that it seems strangely archaic, even incongruous, when compared to Bramante's other building projects in Rome during this period.

As I have suggested earlier, the blatant 'defensive' appearance of the east facade was probably intended, in one sense, to 'mask' the *inner sanctum* of the courtyard and sanctuary of San Biagio from an area of Rome dominated by such secular activity as finance and commerce. It is this apparent disjunction between the building's external view and its 'inner content', by which both convey complementary aspects of justice, which could provide a clue to Giles's influence on the project.[73]

In particular, the location and form of the prominent tower that frames the central entrance highlights certain issues pertinent to Egidian philosophy. Represented in the

medal as two stacked drums, each with castellated walls battered on their underside, the turret of the tower is in the form of a castellated octagon which terminates the lofty structure. According to Christoph Frommel, this was to serve as a campanile to call the people to the "udienze" (audience halls) during public court-hearings. Borsi, on the other hand, suggests that its shape may be a reference to the Vitruvian "torre dei Venti", and that "…the corbelled battlements, that crown the towers, demonstrate the importance given to the symbolic/representational function as it relates to its actual effectiveness in modern defence."[74]

Whatever function was intended for this tower, its axial relationship to the church of San Biagio, and the adoption of the octagonal form for both structures, implies a more specific symbolic intention than simply a desire to construct a consistent architectural vocabulary. Whilst spatially detached, the effect of a visual dialogue between church and tower, as perceived in the effect of the perspectival vista from the *foro Iulio* to the inner cortile, would have given a sense of unity to the whole palace. This horizontal projective axis, which in effect extends from palace entrance to church altar, is counterpoised by an equally dominant vertical relationship of solid and void, between the lofty octagonal turret that surmounts the tower and the octagonal, domical, interior of the church beyond. The clear separation of church and belfry is more typical of Romanesque architecture than the integration of architectural elements that characterise Renaissance models, as exemplified for example in Bramante's final scheme for St. Peter's Basilica. Accordingly, the 'attached' fortified tower that embodies the institutional functions of law-giving serves appropriately as a prelude to the church's inner sanctum, the latter serving as the place of final judgement of the sinner in the eyes of God. In each case, the common octagonal form could be said to allude to the eschatological symbolism of the eighth day of Christ's passion when He rose from the dead.

A further indication of possible symbolic influences behind this juxtaposition of motifs can be found in the story of St. Blaise in the wilderness, as portrayed by Jacobus a Voragine:

"..the persecution under Diocletian obliged him to flight, and he took refuge on a mountain named Argea, where he dwelt in a cave, and was fed by birds... This mountain was likewise the haunt of wild beasts, lions and tigers, which animals were so completely subdued by the gentleness and piety of the aged Saint, that, far from harming him, they came every morning to ask his blessing."[75]

This evocation of the saint's abode echoes Giles's allusion to the cave as a metaphor of eremitic existence, particularly as it relates to the primordial landscape of Etruria.[76] At one time, Giles urges Bramante to surmount a 'high tower' on the dome of the new St. Peters Basilica so that Peter's tomb, otherwise concealed to the outside world by the monumental enclosure of the sanctuary, may be visibly expressed as the fulcrum of the Christian world.[77] Understood in these terms, the spatial and symbolic relationship between the tower and San Biagio in the Palazzo dei Tribunali could be construed as a precursor to the synthesis of tower and dome in Giles' own vision of the new St. Peter's Basilica on the west bank of the Tiber river.

The relationship between the Palace and the Petrine shrine is further underscored by the projection of the apse of San Biagio, beyond the west face of the Palace, creating a prominent feature along the banks of the Tiber. Indeed, the main body of the sanctuary, including its dome, would have been clearly visible from the Borgo across the river, in much the same way as the later monumental church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini at the end of via Giulia. Added to this is the orientation of St. Biagio, due west like St. Peter's Basilica. It seems fairly evident therefore that the former was intended to be seen as a 'precursor' to the latter.

What we can identify in the church of San Biagio and 'belfry' of the Palace are the two central metaphors of Giles's writings; of the cave as embodiment of eremitic existence and territory of Etruria, and the tower as an outward symbol of the Roman Church. Accordingly, the iconographic content of the Palazzo dei Tribunali prepares

the way for the 'just' to enter the new 'Temple of Solomon' across the *pons Neronianus* in the 'New Holy Land'.

Caesar and *Iustitia*

For Julius II, the belief in a just State was closely allied to the idea of a 'just war', which aimed at achieving noble ends and ultimately the creation of a Christian empire. One can identify in this equation an ancient Roman precedent - the *bellum iustum* - where war arises from the need for self-defence or in the defence of treaties, to ensure the protection of citizens and their property.[78] The Roman belief in the just war, as a necessary precondition to peace, was stressed by numerous Roman historians, especially Polybius, and led to the concept of the *iustum imperium* of the Roman state. This philosophical concept, according to Stefan Weinstock, was derived from the discussion of Justice in Plato's *Republic*, which in turn led to *iustitia* becoming one of the Four Virtues.[79]

It is inevitable perhaps that this gift of justice, which was formerly a collective attribute of the State in pre-imperial times, should later be identified with the true statesman, the Roman emperor. It is here that the combined effects of military campaigns and civic initiatives during Julius Caesar's reign became most important in the iconographical representations of Julius II's pontificate. As the *de facto* first *imperator,* Julius Caesar instigated the first authentic and conscious *renovatio.* A central aim of this enterprise of renewal was, as Cicero emphasises, the reconstitution of justice:

> "At about the same time, in 46, Cicero praised Caesar's *iustitia* and *lenitas* and said that they had a lasting effect. He thus alluded to Caesar's promises made at the beginning of the Civil War and acknowledged that he had succeeded. But he wanted more: the law-courts should be reconstituted, loyalty restored, decay stemmed with the help of severe laws. There is no doubt Caesar meant to do this and would then have become a man of justice."[80]

Presenting himself as descendent of Romulus, the archetypal military hero, Julius Caesar claimed the virtue of justice as his own. It later appeared among other virtues on the golden shield of his successor, Augustus. The demand, moreover, by Cicero for the restructuring of the law-courts, and its implications in the creation of a more integrated urban space, finds expression in Caesar's architectural enterprises. Focusing on the Comitium and adjacent Forum of Caesar, these projects sought collectively to unite, under the auspices of the *triumphator*, those attributes of justice, integrity (embodied in the presence of the emperor), rule of law and civic sense.[81] We are given an impression of this enterprise in a description of the Forum of Caesar by Appian:

> "Caesar built the Temple of Venus Genetrix, as he had vowed to do
> before the battle of Pharsalus. He also built a precinct around the
> Temple, intending it to be a forum for the Roman people, not for
> commercial use, but rather for the transaction of public business,
> and like the public squares of the Persians, where people assemble
> to seek justice or learn the laws."[82]

The idea of the forum possessing both a civic and pedagogical role, by which justice is implemented through the act of law-giving and exemplified in the *lex,* or statute, formed an important aspect of the identity of the first *imperator* as personification of *Iustitia.* Later codified in the cult of the emperor, this quintessential Roman idea of civic identity, through the constitution of justice, clearly differs from Plato's understanding of its essence, or *Dikaiosyne,* exemplified in the 'philosopher-ruler'.[83] Nevertheless, Plato's acceptance of the presence of tyranny in the human condition, and Caesar's proximity to a philosophical notion of *iustitia* and *aequitas*, suggests, at least hypothetically, that both notions of justice were not irreconcilable, at least not in the eyes of Renaissance humanists.[84]

Fig.57 Plan of Julius Caesar's Forum and adjacent Senate as remodelled by Caesar (After Coarelli and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

What is especially significant in this allusion to a 'caesaro-Platonic' reading of justice is that it initially assumes a situation of conflict rather than one of harmony:

> "The just state is not to be found in this condition of 'good health'. *The question of justice arises only once injustice has also become possible,*i.e., once society has progressed beyond merely regulating and organising the production of necessities. It arises in a state where there are lords and servants, where there is the beautiful and noble..., and where there is the desire to invade the sphere of another..., where there is war. The just state is the state which has been *brought back* to moderation...from a historical excess."[85]

The notion of "historical excess", resulting from prolonged conflict or tyranny, could equally be applied to Renaissance Italy as to ancient Greece or Rome. It was doubtless intended that Julius II's military campaigns in Perugia and Bologna should form an integral part of his reconstitution of justice. Like the classical precedents of antiquity, the notion of peace in the Julian court was not deemed an alternative to war but rather seen as its reward through the legitimacy of *bellum iustum* of 'occupied' territories of the Holy See. The example of Caesar is again instructive here. The place of concord in his role of statesman was integrally related to the work of peace. It has been suggested by Stefan Weinstock that the cult of Pax was established before the Ara Pacis Augustae, under the auspices of the first triumphator, a point that may have been recognised in the cultivation of Julius II as 'caesaro-papal' law-giver.[86] Whilst it would perhaps be overstating the point to suggest that Julius II was consciously reviving the ancient Roman idea of a 'martial' peace, it is nevertheless apparent that the imperial concept of peace, as a condition of territorial expansion,

could be applied to the Pope's aspiring role as ruler of a reunited Italy, and ultimately of a Christian world.

Pax Romana

The period between 1510 and 1511 finds the Julian papacy in a state of turmoil. The Pope's declining health further destabilises what was already a volatile situation both in Rome and in the papal territories; social and political upheavals, precipitated in part by the Pope's increasing unpopularity, led to civil unrest and in some cases open hostility between factions of the baronial families. Such a situation was, however, the result of more prolonged papal policies:

> Since the return of the papacy to Rome in the early fifteenth century, after the Schism, the powers of the communal government had been eroded by the papal government, and little of significance remained of its powers of raising revenue or administering justice. The prosperity of Rome may have been dependent on the crowds of outsiders who came to work in or around the papal court and administration, or came to transact business with them, but this made it no less galling for prominent citizen families to have so little effective part in the running of their own city. Julius had done nothing to appease these grievances....in general, he did not pay the Romans much attention.[87]

In addition, the protracted conflict between the Pope and the French monarchy, following the latter's re-capture of Bologna from papal control, threatened to escalate into a full-scale war. This was fuelled by the alliance of the Orsinis with the French which sought to undermine the influence of the Spanish in the Julian Papacy, and their alliance with the Colonna clan. Throughout his papacy Julius sought to tread carefully in his relations with the baronial families, seeking to avoid political dependency on either faction. Up until 1512, the Pope steadfastly refused to appoint any cardinals from the four major baronial families, including the Conti and Savalli, nor, it would seem, even from the families of prominent Roman citizens.[88] This reflects a persistent fear of Republican uprising against the authority of pontifical

rule in Rome, a concern that was doubtless a major factor in Julius's programme of *renovatio.*

The near-fatal illness of Julius II, during the summer of 1511, led to speculation in the curia about his pontificate, resulting in preparations for a conclave to decide on his successor.[89] This critical period also resulted in an unexpected alliance, between the Orsinis and Colonnas. As Christine Shaw explains; "..instead of the Colonna and Orsini squaring up to each other as usual, they and their baronial families swore to put aside all disputes, ill-will, and "the pernicious names of Guelfs and Ghibellines", to defend the 'Roman republic'."[90]

The ensuing oaths taken by both families in August of 1511 established, at least in the public sphere, a reconciliation between the two most powerful and embittered rivals in Medieval and Renaissance Rome. Ironically, the documents that record this *pax Romana*, as it became known, placed much emphasis on the "glory" of the Pope and to the Apostolic See.[91] But such flattery would hardly have reassured the Pope and his curia who must have felt a certain disquiet about the political ramifications of this alliance. Indeed, according to Manfredo Tafuri, the underlying motives of this 'treaty' have long been misinterpreted:

> "It has recently been clarified how the Pax Romana of 1511 was
> not ratified between the barons and the roman people in favour of
> Julius II but rather, contrary to general belief, was instigated with a
> clear anti-papal purpose."[92]

The immediate repercussions of this anti-papal stance can be found in the casualties of Julius's urban initiatives, namely the Palazzo dei Tribunali and adjacent *foro Iulio*, both of which were abandoned soon after the political accord. As a clear political statement, designed to usurp the role of the Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitol, the corporate palace of justice simply became unacceptable under the *pax Romana.*[93]

As a necessary papal concession, the abandonment of this ambitious project effectively signalled the demise of Julius's programme of *renovatio imperii*. In fact, it marked the end of the age of Julian Rome as such. It would not seem surprising, therefore, that the proposal to re-instate the ancient *pons Neronianus*, to connect via Giulia with the Vatican, was also left unexecuted, highlighting the inter-connection between this project and the Palazzo dei Tribunali.[94] The *pax Romana* serves as a reminder of the mixed fortunes of papal rule during the Renaissance. As Tafuri states: "The civil disorders of 1511 and the subsequent *pax Romana* destabilized this premature symbol of absolutism [Palazzo dei Tribunali]. Via Giulia lost its role as supporting element in the Julian *nuovo Campidoglio* (new Capitol)."[95]

These events reflect the long-standing conflict in Rome's political history between absolutist rule, whether Roman imperial or papal, and the Senate. Accordingly, the transformations of Republican Rome under Julius Caesar would have provided an appropriate precedent for Julian *renovatio*. In his political and judicial reforms, Caesar sought to transform the administration of Republican Rome into a quasi-imperial structure. Central to this task was the manipulation of key buildings and the creation of personal titles and imperial regalia. The centre-piece of this enterprise was the construction of the Forum Iulium, whose insertion immediately adjacent to the Comitium disturbed the cosmic setting of the Senate.[96] This imposition could be said to be the most visible sign of the demise of the Republican Consul and its replacement with the Princeps.

Echoes of Caesar's reform programmes can be found in Julius II's attempt to usurp the authority of the Medieval Senate by constructing the 'Palatium Iulianum' and adjacent *foro Iulio*. This chapter has outlined the likely influences on this development and the manner in which these varied influences were synthesised to reinforce the status of Julius II as guardian of divine justice. It seems clear, nevertheless, that the most important symbolic references in Bramante's project were the Capitol and Caesar's Forum Iulium; whilst the former functioned as the seat of the Medieval Senate and fulcrum of the Roman empire, the latter constituted the

quintessential paradigm of an emerging *imperium*, commemorative of military victory and political reform. The manner in which both sites affirmed the imperial status of the first *triumphator* provided a fertile source of symbolic references for cultivating caesaro-papal identity. Seen from this perspective, the new church of San Biagio in the Palazzo dei Tribunali could even be compared to the Temple of Venus Genetrix in Caesar's forum; both centres of worship serve in their respective contexts as places of divine judgement from which emanate justice.[97]

Whilst not exclusively reliant on the Caesarian paradigm, the Julian associations with the first triumphator seem sufficiently deep-rooted and extensive to constitute the overarching model in Bramante's scheme. Caesar's attempt to conjoin authoritarian rule with a particular philosophical view of justice (in the sense articulated by Cicero) clearly served as one model for Julius II's style of ruler-ship. The feeble remains of the Palazzo dei Tribunali are an enduring testimony to this failed initiative.

Chapter 4

CORTILE DEL BELVEDERE, VIA DELLA LUNGARA
and *vita contemplativa*

"The Beautiful View"

> "There is a second work consisting of that road along which priests go out from their great houses for the sake of mental relaxation, and betake themselves to what they call the place with the beautiful view, a work made up of triple layers which may appear either in its construction or splendor to surpass…the works of the ancients"[1]

Following his description of via Giulia, Giles of Viterbo (the 'solemnis praedicator' of the Pope) provides an account of the activities that took place on the west bank of the Tiber River. The location of suburban villas since antiquity, the strip of land wedged between the ridge of the Janiculum Hill and the river, became the focus of urban improvements under Julius II, in particular the upgrading of via della Lungara that connected the Vatican to the north to Trastevere to the south.

Fig.58 View of the Janiculum, looking west from the corner of via della Lungara and via di S. Francesco di Sales (Photo by author)

The street runs roughly parallel to via Giulia across the river, and serves as its counterpart in both the location (extra-muros) and its intended purpose; a suburban as opposed to an urban street.   Retracing the route of an ancient road, the via Septimiana, via della Lungara was called *via sancta* in the 14th century, along which pilgrims travelled between Trastevere and St Peter's. In the 15th century, the street was repaved under Sixtus IV as part of an ambitious programme of urban

improvements in Rome in preparation for the 1475 Jubilee. This also included clearing streets of obstructions such as ancient ruins. Under Julius II, via della Lungara was widened and straightened with further plans to extend the street further south.

Giles' description was presumably a conscious allusion to the ancient Roman practice of *otium*, where the "great houses" (in this case the *villa suburbana*) served as a summer retreats for wealthy Roman families. The principal function of the ancient via Septimiana was probably to provide access to these palatial villas and to the marshy fields of the *Ager Vaticanus* further north. Giles' reference to priests (or 'guild of priests' – "pontifices") is probably a generic term to indicate cardinals and other dignitaries who were associated with the papal court. Indeed, Alberto Pio da Carpi, Filippo Adimari, Baldassarre Turini, Raffaele Riario and Agostino Chigi all built suburban villas and palaces along via della Lungara.[2] By the late 16th century the district had counted among its influential residents the Salviati, Massimo and Farnese families.[3]

Fig.59 Tempesta, Antonio (1555-1630), Map of Rome (engraved 1593) with north to the left. Detail of the banks of the Tiber River showing axis of via della Lungara, and indicating the villas/palaces along its route. Milan, Civica Raccolta Stampe Bertarelli.

Fig 60 Outline map of via della Lungara with villas and other buildings highlighted along its passage. Porta Santo Spirito (A), Palazzo Corsini (originally built by Cardinal Domenico Riario in 15th c.) (B) and Villa Farnesina (originally built by Agostino Chigi in early 16th c (C) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin).

There is however an ambiguity in Giles' account that requires further investigation. Whilst the description refers to a road where priests can indulge in "mental relaxation", which is consistent with the historical associations of via della Lungara outlined earlier, it also highlights a "place with a beautiful view" where the priests gather. Could Giles' account suggest that the via della Lungara has a pre-determined destination, which he describes as a work made up of "triple layers"? This could only be the Cortile del Belvedere, with its three tiered construction of porticoes connecting the Vatican Palace to the Villa further north, the latter built by Pope Innocent VIII.[4] Likened by Giles to the great buildings of antiquity, the monumental linear structure of the Cortile is oriented north-south and projects beyond the Medieval fortified enclosure of the Vatican and Borgo, extending into the *prati*, or open fields.[5]

Given Giles' seeming juxtaposition of both via della Lungara and the Cortile del Belvedere in this account, it may be that he saw both passages as integrally related in some way. But such an assumption seems curious given that the Cortile is geographically disconnected from the northern termination of via della Lungara at Porta di Santo Spirito. There would also, moreover, have been little visual relationship between both; the view of the Belvedere from the street was partially blocked by the Leonine wall.

Fig.61 View of via della Lungara looking north towards Porta Santo Spirito at the entrance to the Vatican, with the campanile of Santo Spirito visible (Photo by author)

Fig. 62 View of Porta Santo Spirito and adjacent Leonine Wall (Photo by author)

Fig.63 Schematic plan of the west bank of the Tiber River, indicating topographical relationship between via della Lungara and the Cortile del Belvedere to the north (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

Considering this absence of any direct topographical or visual connection between via della Lungara and the Cortile Belvedere, we have to question the underlying premise of Giles' description. One possible explanation concerns their common associations with *vita contemplativa*, where both passage and view are brought to a culminating destination; the place with "the beautiful view" (belvedere). Situated along the suburban street of via della Lungara, the palatial villas of the "priests" could be seen as being symbolically and ritually linked to the Villa Belvedere, the location of *otium* for the *Pontifex Maximus* and his court.

Such an explanation would naturally assume that the Cortile itself constituted part of the journey, along which the dignitaries would pass to gather with their pontiff. In order to establish how this journey was understood in symbolic and topographical terms it will be necessary to examine both Bramante's scheme for the Cortile del Belvedere and the topographical layout of via della Lungara. In particular, did the design and location of the Cortile provide an appropriate sequence of spaces for concluding the extended passage of *vita contemplativa*?

The construction of the Cortile del Belvedere, which was begun in 1505, was primarily to facilitate access for the pope and his court between the Vatican Palace to the south and the Villa Belvedere to the north; between the domains of *vita activa* (as it pertains to papal and courtly matters) and *vita contemplativa* (concerning philosophical and theological reflection). It would seem plausible, moreover, that Giles' reference to the "beautiful view" refers to the view, as seen from the Villa Belvedere itself towards Monte Mario and the more remote *paesaggio* further north. But Giles describes this place as a work made up of "triple layers", implying that the beautiful view lies *within* the Cortile itself. Bramante's scheme however for the three-tiered courtyard would have meant that the landscape beyond would not have been visible within the enclosure of the Cortile.[6] At the same time, moreover, the formality of the linear configuration of Bramante's design reinforces the notion of a

pre-disposed perspective view, attained from a fixed vantage point somewhere along its longitudinal axis.

Fig.64 Plan of the Cortile del Belvedere. Buonanni, Filippo (1638-1725), *Numismata summorum pontificum Templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia, chronologia ejusdem fabricate narratione, ac multilici eruditione explicate, atque uberiori numismatum omnium pontificorum lucubrationi veluti prodromus praemissa a patre Philippo Bonanni* (Rome, sumptibus Felicis Caesaretti, & Paribeni,1696), Tabula 86 (fold-out facing page 225).

One possible clue to the location of this vantage point is highlighted in a commemorative medal, thought to have been struck between 1504 and 1508. On the reverse is a perspective representation of the Belvedere, taken from the *bosco* on the west side. Below this representation is the following inscription: "..VIA./ .IVL . III .ADIT./ . LON . M./ . ALTI . L . XX./ . P.", with "VATICANUS/. M." indicated below. This was interpreted by Filippo Bonanni in the 17th century as an abbreviation of the following: VIA IVLIA TRIVM ADITVVM LONGITVDINIS MILLE ALTITVDINIS SEPTVAGINTA PEDVM ("Via Iulia with three approaches [layers?], a length of one thousand feet and a height of seventy feet").[7] The length of the Cortile is defined by the locations of the Villa Belvedere to the north and the Vatican Palace to the south, both of which are represented on the medal in perspective.[8] The idea of highlighting the dimensions of a walled enclosure, particularly one such as the Cortile with its distinctive longitudinal axis, gives some indication of the importance attached to quantitative value as the basis for commemorating a monumental structure. Demarcated by two pre-existing structures, this dimensioning is also transcribed in pictorial terms as a visual frame (communicated by the spatial depth of the Cortile's longitudinal axis), whose depth is similarly calibrated.[9]

Fig.65 Unknown (16th century). Commemorative bronze medal with birds's-eye view of the Cortile del Belvedere on reverse. British Museum, London.

Such intentions moreover relate to the visual effects, and their meanings, of the Cortile, created by the telescopic passage of the extended colonnaded structure. The prominence given to the north facade of the Vatican Palace, highlighted on the right hand side of the medal, suggests that the Papal Apartments served as the privileged location from which to view the Villa Belvedere to the north.

What is inferred therefore in the medal is that the papal villa was probably intended to serve as the 'destination' of the visual and pedestrian passage. The optimum vantage-point, from which to view the longitudinal axis of Bramante's design, was almost certainly the Stanza della Segnatura, located on the 3rd floor of the Vatican Palace and roughly level with the upper tier of the Cortile. The north window of the Stanza is positioned approximately on the central axis of the Cortile del Belvedere – albeit oriented obliquely in relation to the orthogonal layout of the Cortile.

Fig.66 Dosio, Giovanni Antonio (1533-1610). View of the Belvedere Court looking north towards the Villa Belvedere. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe Uff.2559A.

In spite, however, of this visual connection it is unlikely that the Stanza della Segnatura was the 'gathering' place that Giles describes, since it was originally used as the private library of the Pope rather than as a place of assembly for priests and humanists. More probable is the garden at the north end of the Cortile. From Serlio's reconstructions of the 'nicchione', that formed the central portion of the south façade of the Villa Belvedere, it is evident that Bramante's design of a hemicycle of steps alludes to the benches for assembled priests or cardinals, more typically found in the

choirs of Early Christian and Romanesque basilicas. Set in the grounds of a semi-walled garden, this architectural arrangement would have provided an appropriate outdoor space in which the pope and his court could deliberate on philosophical and theological matters, in emulation no doubt of Plato's academy. At the same time, however, the *nicchione* may also have been designed to function as a small theatre, where the papal court could be entertained within the privacy and intimacy of the Cortile garden.[10]

Fig.67 Reconstruction of the *Nicchione* of the Cortile del Belvedere (After Serlio and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

From the elevated position of the *nicchione* - at the 'summit' of the Belvedere hill (Monte S.Egidio) - one could also view the north facade of the Papal Apartments, along the corridor of the Cortile. Given therefore the prominence and visibility of the *nicchione* in the design of the Cortile del Belvedere, and its probable function as an assembly point for the paper court, it is likely that this was the place that Giles of Viterbo describes, where the priests "betake themselves".

R. Potter has interpreted the intended design of the *nicchione* in the context of the symbolism of Fortuna, elaborating Ackerman's theory of a direct influence of the Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste on Bramante's design. Potter suggests that the design incorporated the symbolism of the 'wheel of Fortune'.[11] This idea is based initially on the premise that the Apostolic Succession played a key role in the iconography of the Cortile:

> "When the Belvedere Courtyard was designed, Peter's successor was Julius II. The 'monte Vaticanus' is the rock on which the Church was built, the renewal of which act Julius initiated. The place where Julius dwelt, the 'monte Belvedere', was the rock which symbolised his descent

from Peter when viewed from the Vatican. Julius was represented in this
scheme as the mountain of wisdom itself, through which man could attain
the kingdom of heaven."[12]

Potter refers to Boethius' description of the relationship between Fate and Divine
Providence, both central themes of the Pope as prophet and vicar of Christ. He uses
the words 'cardo' and 'circulus' to define the centre pivot and revolving wheel of
Fortuna.[13] This, Potter argues, is precisely what is expressed architecturally in the
Cortile, by which the twin-ramp, that demarcates the upper garden and the lower
arena, was probably inspired by the configuration of the Sanctuary of Fortuna
Primigenia as a 'wheel of fortune'.

At the same time, the nymphaeum of the Belvedere, sited centrally within a
triumphal arch and beneath the twin ramps, defines the hub of the wheel.[14] From the
north façade of the papal apartments, the *nicchione* (the domain of the pope) would
have appeared above the wheel of Fortune, an arrangement that can be traced to
numerous allegorical representations of the Renaissance where a king similarly sits
enthroned at the top of a wheel.[15]

Given Giles' inference of a relationship between the route of via della Lungara and
the passage of the Cortile, it is striking that the uncompromising longitudinal layout
of the latter appears almost to deny the natural topography of its surroundings, giving
rise to a largely channeled space that bridges the valley separating the *mons
Vaticanus* from the monte S. Egidio. At the same time, the conspicuously low single
storey enclosure, that frames the 'giardino segreto' on the upper level of the Cortile,
gives rise to larger topographical references. When perceived from the vantage-point
of the north window of the Stanza della Segnatura, this elevated garden could
probably be seen in the context of the distant landscape of Monte Mario and beyond
to the north. A suggestion of this relationship is indicated in a fresco of the Belvedere
Court in the Castel Sant'Angelo attributed to Pierino del Vaga. In this imaginary
representation of the Cortile as an ancient ruin we are given the impression of the

semi-enclosed garden as an intermediate domain between city and countryside.[16] Accordingly, the surrounding landscape is perceived, from certain vantage points, as a theatrical backdrop to the 'drama' unfolding within the three tiered extension of the Cortile. From this fresco it is apparent that the design of the Cortile signals a transitionary phase in the historical relationship between building and landscape; from a still discernable Medieval world view (evident in the remnants of the *hortus conclusus*) to a stage, introduced through the 'pictorialisation' of space, where the eye is directed to a pre-determined visual field.

It would seem plausible from this standpoint that Bramante had deliberately intended to create a series of spaces that could be experienced in two almost complementary ways, depending upon your location and orientation within the Cortile. The first relates to the public domain of the Cortile; located in the lower courtyard and accessed via the monumental Porta Julia. It was in this space that such spectacles as tournaments and bull-fights took place (del Vaga's fresco indicates a *naumachia*). Located in the natural depression of the site, between the Vatican Palace and the Villa Belvedere, this enclosed space would have provided very restricted views of the elevated garden to the north: "Standing in the lower courtyard at midday, looking up towards the North and the upper courtyard, figures [of the papal court] would have appeared shimmering in a blaze of light against the sky, as it were, 'transfigured'."[17] The Pope by contrast would have had more privileged positions, from his various elevated vantage points, to view the larger landscape of distant hills to the north; notably the north-facing windows of the Papal Palace and, as will become clearer shortly, the north loggia of the Villa Belvedere.

A suggestion of the privileged status of these vantage points can be seen in the inscription on the medal, referred to earlier. As I indicated earlier, Bonnini's transcription of "VIA IVLIA TRIUM" implies that the passage of the Pontiff between the Vatican Palace and the Villa was likened to a processional route, an association that is underscored by the triumphal arch that surrounds the nymphaeum - the hub of the so-called 'wheel of Fortuna'.

The triumphal connection points to a more specific aspect of the intended symbolism of the Cortile which, until now, has escaped the attention of scholars. Extending to the east of the Cortile is the route of via del Pellegrino, formerly the ancient *via Triumphalis.* It was along this road that Emperor Frederick III processed to the Vatican for his coronation in 1452.[18] This ancient road, which extended northwards beyond Monte Mario, was believed to have been used by Roman armies on their return journey to Rome following their military campaigns.

Fig.68 Modern map of the east side of the Cortile del Belvedere and Vatican Palace, indicating the route of the *via Triumphalis* (via del Pellegrino) that originally extended north to Veii via Monte Mario (Based on an archaeological survey and redrawn by Peter Baldwin)

An indication of the topographical relationship between the Cortile del Belvedere and the ancient *via Triumphalis* (via del Pellegrino) can be seen in the Bufalini map of Rome, dating from 1551. The map shows in the area of the Vatican two streets to the east of the Cortile; the first, the old pilgrimage road, extends north from the "Porta S. Petri", to which a second street connects - along its path – and originating from Porta Julia, the public entrance to the lower court of the Cortile del Belvedere.

We are given an indication of the triumphal significance of this second street (in its relation to the ancient *via Triumphalis*) by the location of the so-called 'Hieroglyph' of Julius II that Bramante had proposed to adorn the inner entrance of the Porta Julia and discussed in Chapter 2. A play on the words that comprise the abbreviated pontifical title, "Iulio II Pont Max", this pictographic/heraldic representation was intended to connect the ancient topography of Rome with the multiple identities of the pope. Like the famous Julian epigram in via dei Banchi Nuovi, also discussed in

Chapter 2, the location of the relief provides a clue to its intended meaning; namely the status of Julius II as 'triumphator'.

As I also pointed out in Chapter 2, the *via Triumphalis* is thought to have originally connected Rome to the ancient Etruscan city of Veii, to the north, and served as the earliest triumphal route into Rome. This was following the famous conquest by Marcus Furius Camillus of the Etruscan city in 396 BC. From the period of Early Christianity onwards, the road became the major pilgrimage road to the Vatican from the north – hence its more familiar name, via del Pellegrino.[19]

Fig.69 After Marten van Heemskerk. View of Cortile del Belvedere and nearby road of via del Pellegrino (*via Triumphalis*) 16th century. Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin.

Significantly, the road would have been visible from the north loggia of the Villa Belvedere. This is indicated in a drawing after Marten van Heemskerk which shows the north face of the Villa in the relation to the surrounding *prati*, and the via del Pellegrino/*via Triumphalis* visible to the left. A prominent feature of the north-east corner of the Villa Belvedere, indicated on the same drawing, is a plain rectangular tower with a lean-to roof. The structure contains the famous ramped spiral staircase designed by Bramante, to provide direct access to the sculpture courtyard of the Villa Belvedere. Curiously, the plain and unadorned rectangular brick structure conceals a circular interior which accommodates the elaborate staircase, in the form of a spiral stepped ramp with winding sequence of columns and balustrades.

Fig.70 View of the exterior of Bramante's staircase on the north-east corner of the Villa Belvedere, Musei Vaticani, Rome (Photo by author)

Following recent restorations, it was found that the staircase was built independently of the east wall of the 15th century Villa and probably conceived as an integral part of Bramante's later design for the Cortile del Belvedere.[20] Whilst the existence of the staircase was first recorded in 1512 it was probably first planned as early as 1507, the year of Julius II's triumphal entry into Rome following his conquests of Bologna and Perugia.[21] Vasari tells us that the spiral staircase could be accessed on horseback, although this seems unlikely (at least in the final design) given the restricted opening of the ground-floor entrance.[22] The orders of the columns, that follow the spiral trajectory of the staircase, seem to change almost imperceptibly as one ascends; starting with Tuscan, then Ionic and finally Composite. The transition between these three orders follows the arrangement of the "triple layers" of the Cortile, described by Giles of Viterbo, providing a vertical ceremonial passage connecting the ancient route of the *via Triumphalis* with the "VIA IVLIA TRIUM" of the colonnade above.

Fig.71   Bramante, Donato (1444-1514): Spiral Staircase, Vatican, Cortile del Belvedere.

In one sense the via del Pellegrino/*via Triumphalis* could be construed metaphorically as a kind of 'umbilical chord', connecting the Vatican to the rest of the Italian peninsula. Given this metaphor, and its implications in the more immediate topographical relationship between road and Cortile del Belvedere (or passage and view), could we not conclude that Bramante consciously sought to revive the symbolism of the Roman triumph in his design of the Cortile del Belvedere?[23] Such a revival evidently drew upon an already established antiquarian interest in the Vatican as the construed *territorium triumphalis*, through which the *via Triumphalis* passed. As I will argue in Chapter 5, in the context of new St Peter's Basilica, this imperial/triumphal symbolism of Julius II was couched in terms that

assumed an inter-relationship between the pope as providential agent and as 2nd Caesar.

The prevalence of imperial/triumphal symbolism in the Julian court was, as we have already seen, partly justified on the basis of the pope's objective to expel foreign forces from Italy, an ambition that is celebrated in his lauded title *expulsori tyrannorum.* Reflected in his military campaigns, and commemorated in his papal ceremonials and eulogies, the political initiatives of the Julian court were increasingly driven by territorial claims.[24] Underlying these objectives was a growing sense of Italian identity ('Italianità') that served the pope's wider ambitions to establish Rome as the seat of an expanded Christian empire.[25] This found expression for example in the cultivation of a dialogue between *otium* and *imperium*; between the act of learning and the 'defense of the Christian realm'. We are given an indication of this relationship in a sermon delivered in St. Peter's Basilica, in the presence of Julius II, on the Feast of the Circumcision on 1st January in 1508. The author, Battista Casali, declares that Humanist interpretations of classical texts are an effective means of meeting the threat of foreign invasion, most notably the Turks.[26] The idea is reinforced by the rhetorical claim of Rome (or more specifically the Vatican) as the 'new Athens', where learning was a way of ensuring continuity between the Greek east and Latin west. Significantly, Apollo served as the guardian of this connection between *otium* and *imperium*; the deity was represented in papal iconography as both the divine patron of poetry and mythical guardian of territory.[27]

Fig.72 Plan of the Villa Belvedere of Pope Innocent VIII, indicating the north loggia (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

An anticipation of Julius II's territorial ambitions in Italy can be seen in a series of late 15th century frescoes in the Villa Belvedere. Executed during the pontificate of Innocent VIII (1484-92), the cycle was probably initiated by Julius himself as

Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere.[28] We know that Giuliano was the most influential figure in the papal court, following his rise to prominence during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, Innocent's predecessor. The frescoes are partially preserved on the south wall of what was originally a north facing open loggia, referred to earlier. Attributed to Pinturicchio, with the possible collaboration of Mantegna, the fresco cycle comprised idealized scenes of landscapes and representations of all the major cities of Italy, including Milan, Genoa, Venice and Florence.[29] The scenes portrayed would have served as an appropriate backdrop to the splendid views from the loggia - of the *prati*, Monte Mario and Monte Soratte beyond. Consequently, panoramic view and idealized landscape become inextricably linked through the symbolic reciprocity between actual and illusory space. These representations, and their visual connections with the route of the ancient *via Triumphalis*, underline the growing authority of the pontiff over the territories of the Italian peninsula. More specifically, the underlying symbolism of the frescoes clearly anticipates Giuliano della Rovere's future ambitions as pontiff, in particular the expansion of the Holy See.

Fig.73 Pinturicchio (1454-1513) (Attr), Remains of fresco representing a city set in a landscape (15th century). North Loggia, Villa Belvedere, Musei Vaticani, Rome (Photo by author).

The pictorial and territorial evocation of papal *imperium*, highlighted in the orientation and embellishment of the Belvedere loggia, was conveyed in more sophisticated iconographic terms in the Stanza della Segnatura during the pontificate of Julius II. As the best vantage-point from which to view the perspective space of the Cortile, the north window of the Stanza della Segnatura would also have provided a private vantage point from which the Pope could reflect upon his own territorial ambitions. Famous for its cycle of frescoes by Raphael, the room was probably used as the pope's personal library.[30] An indication of the intended symbolism of these frescoes is highlighted in Ingrid Rowland's assertion that whilst the adjacent Stanza

di Eliodoro embodied the "Church in action" - with its scenes of miracles and conflict - the Stanza della Segnatura provided a setting of learning and scholarship that was conducive to contemplative existence.[31]

Fig. 74 Plan reconstruction of Bramante's original scheme for new St Peter's Basilica and Cortile del Belvedere, indicating the perspective view from the Stanza della Segnatura (A) and the locations of the north loggia of the Villa Belvedere (B), Bramante's Staircase (C) and Nicchione (D). (Plan after Letarouilly and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

Fig.75 View from the north window of the Stanza della Segnatura looking towards the *nicchione* (blocked by later library wing), indicating (at window sill level) the oblique relationship between the axis of the Cortile and the orientation of the Stanza (Photo by author)

As I will demonstrate in Chapter 6, topographical and geographical references played a key role in the location and symbolic content of these frescoes. Surrounding the north window is the famous fresco entitled *Parnassus*, which celebrates the domain of Apollo and the Muses, the guardians of poetry. Within the scene is an impressive assembly of poets set in the ideal landscape of mount Parnassus, dominated by the figure of Apollo and his Muses. Framing the north window of the Stanza, this fresco was clearly intended to enhance the perspective effect of the Villa Belvedere beyond, the domain of *otium*.

The visual connection between the Villa Belvedere and the north window of the Stanza della Segnatura is underscored by the location of the famous Apollo Belvedere in the Sculpture Court of the Villa Belvedere.[32] In addition to his dual attributes as divine patron of poetry and guardian of territory, Apollo was also god of

prophecy. According to popular belief, this archaic function of Apollo was associated with the etymology of *Vaticanus*; from its Latin derivative 'Vaticinus' meaning "to reveal the future by Divine inspiration."[33] Hence, the prophetic gift of Apollo is circumscribed by the Apollonian dialogue between the private contemplative domain of Julius's library and the semi-public setting of *otium* in the Belvedere garden and connecting sculpture court.

Fig.76 Apollo Belvedere, Roman copy (2nd century A.D), after Hellenistic original. Villa Belvedere, Musei Vaticani, Rome (Photo by author)

This chapter has so far illuminated two inter-related aspects of the symbolism of the Cortile: 1) as a concordance between the "VIA IVLIA TRIVM" of the Cortile, the ancient *via Triumphalis* and the various settings/locations of *vita contemplativa* in the Villa Belvedere, and 2) as a dialectical relationship between *otium* and *imperium* in the symbolism of Julian Rome.

Could we not construe from this initial enquiry certain parallel intentions in the settings and iconography of the Villa Belvedere and Stanza della Segnatura, by which the realms of *otium* and *imperium* (philosophical thought, political strategy and military action) are brought into symbolic and visual alignment? This connectivity, as I will explain further in Chapter 6, takes as its abiding reference the ambition to establish a united Italy (and ultimately a united Christian world) ruled by the pope. Significantly, during Julius II's pontificate the territories of the Holy See roughly coincided with the landmass of ancient Etruria which Giles of Viterbo promoted as the 'New Holy Land'[34] Understood in broader geographical terms, the roughly parallel relationship between the Cortile del Belvedere and nearby via del Pellegrino (formerly the ancient *via Triumphalis* that originally linked the Etruscan city of Veii to Rome) provided a powerful metaphor of the pope's claims of imperial authority over an expanded Holy See.

Fig.77 Map of the Papal States (Holy See) during the period of Julius II. (After Hersey and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

We can appreciate the significance of these relationships in a map of the peninsula of Italy, commissioned by Julius II in 1507 and attributed to Bramante. Copied from an original, the map is described in the following contemporary account:

> "To our dear son Agapito Geraldini our scribe, my delightful son, may good fortune be yours. Since we have heard that our dear son Bramante, our architect, is very keen on the panel on which the map of Italy is depicted and desires to see it in order that he can make a copy of it, depicting Italy, in one of our rooms. Wherefore, we request that you might be willing to send the panel itself to us to keep just so long as it takes for Bramante himself to make a copy of it. Given at Rome, 3rd December 1507 in his 4th year."[35]

Probably destined for the papal apartments of Julius II, the purpose of the map is likely to have been for more practical than aesthetic reasons; namely to convey by cartographical means the political and territorial ambitions of the warrior pope. This is indicated by the year of the commission, 1507, which was during the Pope's military campaigns in Bologna and Perugia. The campaigns culminated, as I outlined in Chapter 2, in the triumphal entry of the pope into Rome on Palm Sunday, commemorated in a medal bearing the inscription IULIUS CAESAR PONT. II.[36] It may indeed be the case that the map fulfilled two inter-related functions: 1) to strategically highlight the geographical boundaries and characteristics of the Holy See in the Italian peninsula (as they were currently defined in the early 16th century), and 2) to emphasize through iconological means the providential authority of the pope over the whole of Italy, a key aspect of Julius II's pontificate. One could

perhaps imagine Julius II, during a rare moment of solitude, observing this map while facing one of the north windows of his papal apartments, with their orientation toward the Villa Belvedere and the *prati* beyond. Both map and view converge as indicators of territorial ambition.

In the synthesizing structure of perspective, in which both view (representing *otium*) and passage (intimating *imperium*) of the pontiff become enactments of a myth-historic view of time, we are reminded of the famous motto of Julius Caesar; "I came, I saw, I conquered" (*Veni, Vidi, Vici*). The motto not surprisingly appeared in the form of an inscription on a temporary triumphal arch that was erected in Bologna to commemorate Julius II's expulsion of the Bentivoglio rulers.[37]

Fig.78 View of the Cortile del Belvedere bridging between the 'mons Vaticano' and Monte Sant'Egidio, showing the Vatican Palace to the left, the Porta Julia (to the lower courtyard) bottom left, the Villa Belvedere and 'giardino segreto' on the right and Bramante's staircase at bottom right. Buonanni, Filippo (1638-1725), *Numismata summorum pontificum Templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia, chronologia ejusdem fabricate narratione, ac multilici eruditione explicate, atque uberiori numismatum omnium pontificorum lucubrationi veluti prodromus praemissa a patre Philippo Bonanni* (Rome, sumptibus Felicis Caesaretti, & Paribeni,1696), Tabula 85 (fold-out facing page 215).

via suburbana/via sanctus

My examination of the many symbolic themes underlying the design of the Cortile del Belvedere provides a useful backdrop, from which to explore further Giles' description quoted at the beginning of this chapter. The Augustinian's assumption of a processional connection between the Cortile del Belvedere and via della Lungara may have been informed by other more complex symbolic relationships than simply

those concerned with the place where the priests have their "great houses" (*magna domo*). According to 16th century sources the route of via della Lungara was originally intended to extend further south beyond the Porta Settimiana, passing through the congested quarter of Trastevere and terminating at the harbor of the Ripa Grande along the Tiber river. This is confirmed in a description by Andrea Fulvio, dating from 1527:

> "This road he had built from St. Peter's Square as far as the dockyards under the Aventine. This place is commonly called the "River Bank"[Ripa dicitur], and from here he moved the road forward, having demolished the buildings." [38]

Fulvio's reference to "the dockyards under the Aventine" (navalia sub Aventino), located at the end of via Portuense, was the landing-stage for vessels carrying supplies along the Tiber river from Ostia.[39] The plan to connect the via della Lungara with the via Portuense and via Aurelia (later via della Lungaretta) would have formed part of a major network of streets linking the ports of Fiumicino and Civitavecchia. The reasons behind this project probably included the need to improve transportation links between the Vatican, Trastevere and the major ports outside Rome and to serve as an important military artery. On this latter point, three issues emerge. 1) at a local level the extension of the street would enable greater control of Trastevere, which at the time was only partially under Papal jurisdiction; 2) at a regional level it would help facilitate Julius's military campaigns in Italy, and 3) at a larger geographical level it would support the more pressing threat of Ottoman invasion by sea by forging links with ports.[40]

Fig. 79 View of via della Lungara today, looking south towards Porta Settimiana with the campanile of Santa Maria in Trastevere visible in the distance (Photo by author)

As a trading and military route, the developments of via della Lungara during the pontificate of Julius II were accompanied by initiatives to improve the navigation of the Tiber River, by dredging the river and also by constructing bridges across its tributaries to enhance the existing communications with the Vatican by land.

Besides these activities, the passage of via della Lungara was also intended to function as an important pilgrimage route, connecting the area near Campo de'Fiori with the Vatican, via the Ponte Sisto.[41] The creation of a 'sacred way' to St. Peter's Basilica, for pilgrims travelling from Trastevere, and Ostia via the Ripa Grande, is likely to have incorporated a more complex set of symbolic relationships. These would have entailed cultivating particular topographical links between the street and adjacent religious sites, a point I will return to later in this chapter.

More controversially, there may even have been plans, as Marcello Fagiolo asserts, to further extend this sacred way as far as the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius across the river, which is approximately on axis with the via della Lungara.[42] The extension would have formalized the pilgrimage route between the sites of burial and martyrdom of the two most venerated saints in Rome - Peter and Paul. At the same time it would have reinforced the relationship between the two banks of the Tiber River, as described in the 4th century by Prudentius and outlined in Chapter 1.[43] The idea seems plausible given the historical function of the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius as a landmark for pilgrims travelling to the Basilica of S. Paolo fuori-le-mura and Abbazia delle Tre Fontane further south, the latter the contested site of Paul's martyrdom.

Fig.80 Plan of the extension of via della Lungara as far as the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius across the Tiber River, highlighting churches along its axis: Santo Spirito in Sassia (A), Santa Maria in Trastevere (B) and San Francesco a Ripa (C) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

To achieve this objective, it would have been necessary to construct a bridge-crossing somewhere in the vicinity of the Ripa Grande. According to the pilgrimage guidebook, the *Mirabilia*, the last bridge constructed over the Tiber was known by various names including *pons Theodosii, pons Marmoreus* and *pons Romaea.*[44] This bridge crossed the Tiber from the Ripa Grande to the district of the Marmorata. By the 15th century, humanists became increasingly interested in the identification of ancient bridge-crossings; one notable example being the archaic bridge of Ponte de *Oracio Chocles* which was identified through inscriptions. This bridge was represented in the famous 15th century Archaeological Map of Rome by Alessandro Strozzi.[45] There was some speculation during the Middle Ages and Renaissance about the proximity of the Ponte de *Oracio Chocles* to the older *Pons Sublicius*.[46] As the oldest known bridge across the Tiber River, the *Pons Sublicius* is indicated on the Bufalini map of Rome of 1551 in the area of the Ripa Grande.[47] The site, however, has more recently been associated with the *pons Theodosii*, constructed between 381 and 387 AD and referred to in several letters by Symmachus. Like the *pons Neronianus* further upstream*,* remains of this bridge still exist beneath the river level.[48] It would not be inconceivable that Bramante had planned, in a similar way to the *Pons Neronianus*, to reinstate this ancient bridge as a means of facilitating access to the Marmorata district and Pyramid of Gaius Cestius on the axis of via della Lungara.[49]

There is, moreover, an aspect of via della Lungara that suggests the street was intended to be used as a personal access route for the pope in his journey between the Vatican, Ostia and La Magliana (papal hunting lodge), via the Ripa Grande. This association finds expression in the way the trajectory of the street, and its topographical relationships to nearby churches, constitute a kind of personal narrative of Julius II's religious associations and alliances. The first indication of this 'personification' of via della Lungara can be seen in documents, dating from the 1520s, that state that the street was sometimes referred to as "via Julia", to

distinguish it from "via Magistralis" (via Giulia) across the river.[50] The attribution of via della Lungara as a 'Julian way' is coincidentally echoed in the name given to the Cortile del Belvedere referred to earlier. Could we not treat this adoption of Julius's name, for both street and Cortile, as further evidence that the two passageways were seen as related in some way?

In contrast to the Julian developments across the river, which had primarily administrative and judicial functions (hence its earlier title "via Magistralis"), the passage of via della Lungara to the Vatican (*civitas sancta*) connected important religious sites, whose dedications and cultic affiliations were particularly pertinent to the identity of Julius II. The first of these, Sta.Maria in Trastevere, was venerated throughout the Middle Ages as the second oldest church dedicated to the Virgin in Rome after S. Maria Maggiore.[51] Its site was already considered sacred in antiquity, having been the location of a miracle - the *Fons Olei*. According to Dio Cassius (circa AD 164-229) a fountain of oil sprang from the banks of the Tiber, in the *taberna Meritoria trans Tiberim*.[52] In the 13th century the event was counted among the portents for the *religio nova*, as foretold by the Tiburtine Sibyl.[53]

The site of the basilica is thought to correspond to a shrine and titulus dedicated by the martyr Pope Callixtus I (218-222 AD) to the Virgin. A basilica was later constructed here by Julius I during the 4th century, only to be restored by Pope Innocent II.[54] It has been suggested that the basilica was a commemorative building or *memoria,* marking the very spot of Calixtus's martyrdom:

> "It would, in fact, resemble commemorative basilicas like S. Peter, or...being not *ad corpus* and combining, presumably, commemorative with normal Eucharist rites and parochial functions....it would resemble even more the Constantinian *memoriae* of the Holy land. And as such the *basilica Julii* would be, apparently, unique among the papal foundations of fourth century Rome."[55]

Innocent II purportedly placed the bodies of Popes Callixtus, Cornelius and Julius I beneath the main altar of the church.[56] What is clear therefore is the special veneration given to the church of Santa Maria in Trastevere, as well as its historical importance in the early developments of the Roman Church. It also however had strategic significance, being located at the intersection of two main arteries in Trastevere; via Aurelia (later via della Lungaretta), that extended to Ponte Sta.Maria over the Tiber, and via Settimiana (later via della Lungara) to the Vatican.

Originally called the *basilica Juli* - or church of Julius I - the location of Santa Maria in Trastevere, along the axis of via della Lungara, may well have been recognized by Bramante as symbolically significant in his urban design, affirming an association between the della Rovere Pope and Julius I. Like his della Rovere uncle (Sixtus IV), Julius II was not resistant to being compared to his papal predecessor by name.[57] Indeed, in 1505 Julius II issued a brief promoting the cult of Julius I, whose relics had just been recovered. According to a report by the Venetian Ambassador, and dating from April 1510, Julius II "went to S. Maria in Trastevere, where the body of Pope Julius is, and there performed certain ceremonies."[58] Two months later, Julius II announced a plenary indulgence to all who visited the church.

This apparent veneration for the first Julian pope also finds expression in the fresco of the *Disputa* in the Stanza della Segnatura (to be discussed in Chapter 6), which is thought to have a representation of Julius I on the right of the altar, between St. Thomas Aquinas and St. Bonaventure.[59] The location of this figure is not without significance since Aquinas was one of the most revered theologians of the Middle Ages, whilst St. Bonaventure was the biographer of St Francis and was only canonized in the late 15th century by Sixtus IV, Julius II's uncle.

The prominence given, therefore, to the position of Julius I in the *Disputa,* in the company of venerated saints, suggests a closer connection with the warrior Pope than simply by name. As the most active 4th century pope in church-building, which included Santa Maria in Trastevere and SS. Apostoli, Julius I was also the first to

affirm the supremacy of the Roman Church over all the other Churches in Early Christianity.[60] Traditionally portrayed as a tireless defender of Christianity against heresies, Julius I was further responsible, according to a disputed passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, for the completion of the Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter's. As James Lees-Milne points out in reference to his Pontificate: "That the heresies which flourished like weeds in the fourth century were eradicated one by one or rendered innocuous, was without question owing to Rome's firmness in denouncing them."[61]

This brief outline of the character and accomplishments of the first Julian pope further raises the possibility of an intended triadic relationship between the three Juliuses; of Julius Caesar, Julius I and Julius II. Beyond their superficial connections by name, all three figures had a common ambition that would have aroused the interest of the papal hagiographers; namely to assert Rome's supremacy as *caput-mundi*, whether in a pagan-imperial or Christian-imperial sense. More specifically, however, was their common association with the Vatican; Julius Caesar in relation to the *territorio triumphalis* (Vatican) and Vatican obelisk which supposedly held the triumphator's ashes in the orb crowning the monument; Julius I in his purported completion of the Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter, and finally Julius II's creation of the new Petrine Basilica.[62] Given these connections, could Bramante have sought to convey such relationships by forging topographical and symbolic links between the via della Lungara and Cortile del Belvedere? This initiative, as we have already seen, entailed the straightening of via della Lungara to form a more formal ceremonial connection between the *mons Vaticanus* - site of the Petrine tomb and the ashes of Caesar - and Santa Maria in Trastevere that houses the tomb and relics of Julius I.

What is striking about the descriptions of Julius I's pontificate are their similarities to the eulogies of the warrior Pope; in particular the way they emphasize the authority of the early Roman Church against those who undermine the supremacy of the pontifical office. Seen in this context, the presence of Julius I in the *Disputa* becomes especially significant. This is underscored by the relationship between the Early

Christian Pontiff and the nearby figure of Sixtus IV (Julius' Uncle) who appears as Sixtus I, located to the right of St. Bonaventure and dressed in full papal regalia.[63] As the only popes represented in the fresco, each crowned with tiaras and adorned with the acorn (the della Rovere emblem), Julius I and Sixtus IV (Sixtus I) are inexorably bonded symbolically; side by side they amplify the profile of Julius II, as both della Rovere Rome and 2nd Julius.

This interpretation has a further bearing on the relationship between the Julian street of via della Lungara and Santa Maria in Trastevere. Central to the Franciscan Order is Marian devotion which, in the case of Sixtus IV and his nephew Giuliano della Rovere, found expression in the construction and embellishment of Santa Maria del Popolo, the family church of the della Rovere family. Indeed, Sixtus IV was devoted to the Blessed Virgin as confirmed in his accomplished theological writings on the Immaculate Conception and in his commissioning of the Cappella del Coro, to be discussed in Chapter 5. Similarly moved by piety, Julius II invested much effort and time in embellishing the altar of the Virgin in Santa Maria del Popolo and in the rites performed in her honor.

It would not therefore be surprising that this deep-rooted connection between the Franciscan popes and the Cult of the Virgin should be acknowledged in the topographical relationship between Santa Maria in Trastevere and another important religious establishment - San Francesco a Ripa - located along the extended route of via della Lungara at the Ripa Grande. Sited near the "navalia", this church was founded by Gregory IX in the 13th century. Originally the site of a Benedictine confraternity of S. Biagio de Hospitale, as discussed in Chapter 3, it became associated with S. Francis of Assisi, following the saint's sojourn there in 1219.[64] Hence, the two most important religious affiliations of Julius II's Pontificate - the Franciscan Order and the Virgin - are represented in the planned route of via della Lungara.

It is known that Julius II frequently used the 'navalia' when traveling to Ostia, where he was at one time Bishop, to stay at the della Rovere Rocca. It seems that this castellated villa became militarily important during his Pontificate, serving as an 'outpost' of the papal city for surveying the coastline for possible invading forces, most notably the Turks. It is likely that Julius's trips to Ostia and La Magliana (the pope's favourite hunting lodge), would have entailed stopping en-route at the churches of Santa Maria in Trastevere and S. Francisco a Ripa to convey his devotion to the Virgin and St. Francis.[65] It was not, however, until the 18th century that the extension of via della Lungara was finally constructed to connect Santa Maria in Trastevere with St. Francesco a Ripa, and named appropriately 'strada di San Francesco a Ripa'.

Underlying the relationship between Julius I, Julius II and Sixtus IV, indicated in the *Disputa*, is a series of carefully orchestrated alliances that were supported by symbolic partnerships between popes and their predecessors by name. Critically, architecture played a key role in reaffirming this *translatio pontificatus*.[66] It is significant that Sixtus IV's 5th century predecessor, Sixtus III, was responsible for the construction of the monumental Santa Maria Maggiore, and establishing the cult of the Virgin in Rome. The basilica rivaled Santa Maria in Trastevere as the oldest church dedicated to the Virgin in the city. Sixtus III also dedicated the 5th century Church of San Pietro in Vincoli to Peter and Paul, which subsequently became the titular church of Sixtus IV. It is perhaps no coincidence that Giuliano della Rovere (the future Julius II) received from his uncle the commandment of SS. Apostoli, one of the churches founded by Julius I, and later the titular head of San Pietro in Vincoli, thereby entering into a similar relationship with his predecessor (by name) as Sixtus had done with Sixtus III. What can be construed from this relationship is the idea of architecture as a signifier of continuity in the Apostolic Succession, reinforcing allegiances between historically remote - yet symbolically 'concordant' - popes.

Passage and Salvation

As I have indicated at the beginning of this chapter, via della Lungara was intended to function at one level as a *via suburbana*, ensuring continuity between the place of *vita contemplativa* of the "priests" - along the west bank of the Tiber River - and the place with the "beautiful view" (the Cortile del Belvedere). What becomes evident however in this continuity is that the thematic and topographical relationships between the Cortile and *via Triumphalis* give a further dimension of meaning to *vita contemplativa*; the act of seeing (and contemplating) becomes tantamount to taking possession of a territory, a relationship which (as we have seen) echoes Caesar's motto: *Veni, Vidi, Vici*. Hence, as both the destination of *vita contemplativa* and a 'summary' of the symbolic associations underlying *via Triumphalis*, the perspective space of the Cortile provides a powerful architectural metaphor of Casali's premise referred to earlier; that Humanism constitutes an intellectual 'weapon' against foreign invasion. The military theme of the Cortile also extends to via della Lungara, albeit here the subtle exchange between seeing and military action is replaced by more practical concerns; to secure access for the pope to his *Rocca* in Ostia via the Ripa Grande.

At another level, the via della Lungara served as a *via sancta*, linking four important religious sites; St. Peter, Santo Spirito, Santa Maria in Trastevere and S. Francesco a Ripa, with possibly a fifth, S.Paolo furori-le -mura across the Tiber river. The visual connection between Trastevere and the Leonine City, across what was historically a terrain of villas and cultivated gardens, was signaled by the strong axial relationship of the campaniles of Santa Maria in Trastevere and Santo Spirito, visible at each end of the street. The straightening of this pilgrimage route to St Peter's Basilica, from Trastevere and Ponte Sisto, formed part of a larger network of streets and bridges that Bramante had envisaged for the east and west banks of the Tiber River. This urban development, as we have already examined in Chapter 2, drew influence from the earlier urban initiatives of Sixtus IV that were developed in preparation for the 1475 Jubilee.

Significantly, these varied symbolic relationships, that define the urban/suburban topography of the west bank of the Tiber River, are brought to a unified and coherent reading by the very presence of the pope himself; through a mytho-historic reading of the actual and planned routes of via della Lungara, the multiple associations of Julius II (as key-bearer, Franciscan, warrior pope and 2nd Caesar) are shaped. This narrative, as I have argued, is manifested in the pope's various allegiances to saints and venerated popes, whose shrines and relics are located along - or near to - the axis of the street; St. Peter (Basilica), Sixtus IV (Santo Spirito), St. Julius I/Marian cult (Sta. Maria in Trastevere), St. Francis (San Francesco a Ripa), and finally St. Paul (Basilica fuori-le-mura). At the same time, Julius II's reputation as a 'warrior' pope, and his hagiographical status as 2nd Caesar, are communicated through the triumphal/military links underlying the Cortile del Belvedere and in the location and symbolism of the Vatican obelisk (that purportedly held the ashes of Caesar).[67]

Finally, we should assume that the many faces of via della Lungara – as a suburban street, a sacred/pilgrimage route, a military passage (for the pope and his court) and as an access route for transporting goods from the Ripa Grande to the Borgo/Vatican – were intended to foreshadow the street's twin destinations; the Cortile and Basilica. Recognizing the clear differences in the spatial, symbolic and functional aspects of both buildings, we have to ask if Bramante had intended to create a unified – and coherent - urban space to which both relate.[68] The three tiered enclosure of the Cortile, where the priests gather with their pope, could be said to constitute a horizontal/terrestrial counterpart to the vertical/celestial realm of St. Peter's Basilica. Considered in ritual terms, the juxtaposition of both buildings could be understood in the context of the different 'rewards' of the triumphal passage; in the case of the Cortile this is expressed through Apollo's gifts of poetry and prophecy, whilst for St Peter's it is divine redemption. The manner in which triumphal symbolism both supports and binds these two different journeys can be seen in the articulation of the spaces. As I shall have occasion to examine in Chapter 5, Bramante's design for the new St. Peter's Basilica drew upon both the imperial legacy of Constantine in the Vatican (believed to be the ancient *territorium triumphale*), and its mytho-historic

associations as the providential territory of Janus, first key-bearer and archaic god of beginnings.

In conclusion, what we see in the route of the via della Lungara, and its northern destinations (St Peter's tomb and the *nicchione* of the Cortile), is a carefully orchestrated biographical construct of Julius II's pontificate that draws influence from the existing topography of the area and its mytho-history. This construct however should be understood as one half of Bramante's urban strategy; the other, as we have already seen in Chapter 2, relates to via Giulia and its surrounding terrain that constitutes the realm of *negotium*.

Chapter 5

ST. PETER'S BASILICA
Orientation and Succession

Transformations from Old to New

Donato Bramante's design proposals for the new St. Peter's Basilica, executed during the pontificate of Julius II, have been the subject of extensive scholarly debate.[1] The paucity of documentary material from the period has highlighted a number of lacunae; in particular the chronology of the initial design proposals for the project and the early stages in the construction of the new basilica. These gaps in our knowledge continue to raise questions about the influence of certain historical models and ideal paradigms on Bramante's schemes.

The present chapter retraces some of these discussions, drawing upon the arguments of more recent scholarly investigations of the new St Peter's. The study however takes a slightly different approach from earlier investigations by suggesting that Bramante's initial design proposals were partly inspired by the ancient topography of the Vatican – with its obscure and multi-layered mytho-historic background - and more specifically by the symbolism of the earlier Constantinian Basilica and its subsequent additions.

Through this investigation, I aim to demonstrate that Bramante's proposals for new St Peter's were not conceived *de nihilo* - as an ideal model removed from the historical background and physical characteristics of the location. This approach involved a dialogue between eternal Christian-Platonic principles - expressed in the proportional relationships of the volumes and their architectural detailing - and the spatio-temporal contexts of papal rule, conveyed in the topographical reading of Roman imperialism and the Apostolic Succession.

The study therefore begins with an examination of the symbolic meanings of the Vatican. Most scholarship on St Peter's Basilica has ignored issues of topography, in favour of more familiar debates about the apparently conflicting ideological relationships between longitudinal and centralised (Greek-cross) plans - reflected in the various design phases of the project. This issue has tended to give undue emphasis on internal arrangement - and its particular or distinctive spatial characteristics - at the expense of considerations of site and the related legacy of the old St. Peter's Basilica.

As I have noted elsewhere in this study, the mytho-historic background of the Vatican became the source of some interest by humanists during the Renaissance.[2] It provided the basis for re-interpreting the nature and meaning of topography, lending support to the political and religious initiatives underpinning the redevelopments of the area in the early 16th century. From the vantage point of the *Pontifex Maximus*, this mytho-historic aspect could be summarised under two key issues, both of which will form underlying themes in this chapter: a) the belief that the Vatican was the *territorium triumphale* – with its associated martial and mortuary symbolism, and b) the progeny of Janus as archetypical key-bearer. Both references, as I will argue, overlap and converge, suggesting the possibility of a unified symbolic programme.

Territorium Triumphale

In 1506, at the beginning of the construction of the new Basilica, a Latin inscription was discovered on the triumphal arch in old St. Peter's Basilica. Dating from the period of Constantine, the inscription reads as follows in translation: "Because under [Christ's] leadership the world rose triumphant to the skies, Constantine, himself victorious, has founded this hall in Your honour."[3]

The inscription was supported by a mosaic, dated slightly later, which depicted Constantine presenting a model of the basilica to Christ and to St Peter.[4] Such commemorative mosaics of emperors and holy figures became fairly common-place

in religious and civic buildings during Early Christianity, providing a visible testimony to the continuity and concordance between temporal and eternal authorities, and between past and present events.[5] John Curran makes the case, however, that the *encomium* of the inscription was intended to underline Constantine's military victories, rather than his activity as a patron of church building.[6] Curran's assertion may refer to the priority given by Constantine to his 'conquest' of paganism, and hence his legitimacy as the Christian ruler, at a time when he was still attempting to consolidate his power in Rome. Considered in the specific context of the Vatican the triumphal associations, implied in the inscription, acquires a double meaning; as both a re-affirmation of the Vatican as the construed 'territorium triumphale' (the marshalling ground for returning armies after military victory) and as the contested location of St. Peter's martyrdom and venerated site of his burial.

Whatever the varying - and often conflicting - interpretations of the site of Peter's martyrdom, it is clear that the legacy of ancient military triumphs in the Vatican became closely intertwined with the symbolism of the Apostle's tomb. St Jerome, for example, wrote at the end of the 4th century that Peter was buried "in Rome in the Vatican, near the via Triumphalis."[7] In *Liber pontificalis*, on the other hand, we are told that, "[Peter] was buried on via Aurelia, in the temple of Apollo, near the place where he was crucified, near the palace of Nero, in the Vatican, in the territorium triumphale...."[8]

We are given a very early indication of the inter-relationship between martial and mortuary symbolism of the Vatican in a document dating from the pontificate of St. Zephyrinius (199-217 AD). Written by the Roman Presbyter Gaius (Cajo), the document seeks to re-affirm the superiority of Rome, as the location of the martyrdom of the Princes of the Church, over the other venerated sites such as St. Philip in Gerapoli.[9] Gaius states "But I can reveal the apostolic trophies. If you travel out of Rome towards the Vatican or along via Ostia, you will find coloured trophies that established the foundation of the Roman Church."[10]

Derived from the Greek "tropaea", meaning victory memorials, the term trofeo signifies, according to the ancient commentator Varro, the "flight of the enemy", thereby inferring the site of a military victory.[11] Often located near a river-crossing, and constructed in the form of a circular mound surmounted by war trophies, these constructions became important funerary monuments and potent territorial symbols of the Roman empire.[12]

When applied to Christian martyrdom, however, the meaning of the term 'trofeo' is somewhat ambiguous. Could it be a reference to the places of martyrdom or to the burial sites of the Princes of the Church, Peter and Paul? The question has a bearing on the topography of the Vatican when we consider Gaius' inference of a route out of Rome towards the 'trophy' of St. Peter in the Vatican. At the beginning of the 5th century AD, presumably when the *pons Neronianus* was still intact, this route was called the "via regalis", a term unfamiliar during the pontificate of St. Zephyrinius.[13] Margherita Guarducci suggests that this route could be the via Triumphalis that entered the Vatican from the Campus Martius to the south, via the *pons Neronianus*.[14] Given this probable connection it is more likely that the term trofeo refers to the burial place of the Apostle, rather than the site of his martyrdom, the latter a contentious issue even during the period of late antiquity. The connection is supported by the well-recorded proximity of St. Peter's tomb to the passage of the triumphal route, a point re-affirmed by Guarducci:

> "In Imperial Rome, the Roman triumph and the 'trofeo' were closely connected, a relationship that was not seen as strange to Gaius [Roman Presbyter] who, meditating on their topographical proximity, complicated the relationship by considering the sepulchre of the Apostle as the same "trofeo" of the *via Triumphalis*."[15]

Hence, as a symbol of victory through martyrdom, the *trofeo* of St. Peter was inextricably connected to the ancient *via Triumphalis*. This is further suggested in a map of Rome, dating from the late 4th century, which forms part of the celebrated *Tabula Peutingeriana*. It shows a "via Triufalis" terminating at the entrance to the Constantinian Basilica of St. Peter's, the site of the Petrine *trofeo*.[16]

Fig.81   Reconstruction of the Vatican area during Early Christianity, indicating route of the *via Triumphalis* (later via del Pellegrino), St. Peter's Basilica (A), Vatican Obelisk (B), *pons Neronianus* (C), Castel Sant'Angelo (D) and *Meta Romuli* (E). (After Reekmans and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

The mistaken identity of the Mons Vaticanus as the *territorium triumphale* during the Renaissance was understood explicitly in antiquarian terms as a reference to the ancient military activities of the Vatican as a staging ground for returning armies after military campaigns. Added to this is the implicit meaning of the territory as a providential testimony to St Peter's 'victory' over death through his martyrdom. We are given an account of the former in the writings of the early 15th century antiquarian, Flavio Biondo. In his *Roma Instaurata,* Biondo provides quite a lengthy description of the Vatican, beginning with a rather convoluted account of the early history of the area and the meaning of term "vaticanus":

> "There remains the Vatican hill concerning which Festus Pompeius
> writes as follows. The Vatican hill is so called because it was just
> there that the priests gave their response[1] to the Roman people
> when the Etruscans were expelled. But Aulus Gellius in Book 18 of
> his *Attic Nights* writes thus about this same matter. Both the *ager
> Vaticanus* (the area of the Vatican) and the god [Apollo] who
> presides over the same area are, we are told, so called after the

prophecies (*uaticinia*) which were accustomed to be given in that area under the compulsion and prompting of that god. But in addition to this cause, Marcus Varro in his books *Of divine things* reports that there is another reason for this name. For just as, according to Arius, the god was named and that altar set up to him which is at the bottom of the new road [the via triumphalis] because it was in that place that the utterance had been given by the divinity, so the god who had control over the beginnings of human utterance was called Vaticanus, because children new born make their first utterance that sound which forms the first syllable in *uaticanus*. And therefore they are said ua-gire (to wail), with the word expressing the sound of the new voice."[17]

The association of the Vatican with the new-born was no doubt considered significant by Renaissance humanists and antiquarians seeking to underline the prophetic nature of the *ager Vaticanus* as the founding site of the Roman Church. Indeed, the juxtaposition of the Apollonian cult, ancient prophecy, the legacy of Etruscan civilization and the triumphal associations of the area provided a heady mixture of mytho-historic references that inspired Renaissance commentators to explain the providential significance of the Vatican. Later in his description Biondo goes on to outline the relation between the burial site of St Peter and the *territorium triumphale*:

"…..the road [via triumphalis] from that bridge [*pons Neronianus*] to Caesar's obelisk and the area below the basilica of St Peter which stretches along the base of the Vatican mountain, were given the name triumphal; and, as far as I was able to conjecture, that road extended no further than the basilica of St Peter……No small testimony to the territory covered by the triumph is provided also by the Life of the blessed Peter chief of the apostles written by the blessed presbyter Jerome, as the title declares, or, as some would

have it, by Pope Damasus, where it is said that the blessed Peter was buried in the church which bears his name which was built beside the temple of Apollo hard by the triumphal territory."[18]

Given Biondo's emphasis on the triumphal connections of the Vatican, it would seem likely that the Constantinian commemorative inscription, referred to earlier, was construed by Renaissance humanists as a reaffirmation of the underlying imperial associations of old St. Peter's Basilica – as a *recordatio* of Constantine's military victory and subsequent role as the first Christian emperor. This connection, moreover, further underscored the relationship between *imperium* and *sacerdotium* which was cultivated by papal hagiographers during the pontificate of Julius II. This is in spite of the fact that the 'Donation of Constantine' - the one documentary evidence that unequivocally affirms such a partnership - was discovered to be a forgery in the 15th century.[19]

My intention in this study is firstly to argue that such imperial associations influenced Bramante's schemes for the new St. Peter's Basilica; indeed, that the status of the Vatican as the *territorium triumphale* served as an important symbolic reference in Bramante's earliest proposals for the Basilica. To highlight such an influence it will be necessary, to begin with, to examine old St. Peter's Basilica during the pontificate of Sixtus IV, Julius II's uncle.

Sixtus IV and the Cappella del Coro

Throughout the 15th century, the fabric of old St Peter's was in a perilous state. Various proposals were put forward to restore the building, by shoring up its walls and altering/enlarging its interior. These initiatives began in earnest during the pontificate of Nicholas V (1447-1455) who, it seems, was the first pope to envisage a complete reconstruction of the old Basilica.[20] What resulted however were less ambitious attempts to enlarge the existing choir and transepts of the Basilica, as well as to undertake restoration of its fabric.[21] Designed by the papal architect Bernardo Rossellino (1409-64), the rebuilding of the liturgical east end of the Basilica was

never completed and indeed was left in limbo for the duration of the 15th century. In spite of the relative inaction - and indecision - by successive popes there was a growing realization that more drastic action was needed to safeguard the building from dilapidation, and even complete collapse. This realisation was supported by a growing need to accommodate growing numbers of congregation, especially pilgrims during the Jubilee celebrations.[22]

The period of Sixtus IV's pontificate was not especially different from other 15th century popes, in regard to initiatives to restore old St Peter's Basilica. Indeed, it seems that Sixtus IV's ambitious programme of church building and urban renewal took precedence over any initiative to realize Nicholas V's wish to reconstruct St Peter's Basilica. As outlined in Chapter 2, Sixtus IV was primarily concerned with facilitating better access across the river Tiber for pilgrims travelling to the Vatican, following the construction of a new bridge (Ponte Sisto) and the paving and widening streets. But this estimation of Sixtus's contributions and achievements belies a hidden agenda during his Pontificate that conceived a providential partnership between his papacy and that of his della Rovere nephew, Giuliano della Rovere.

Key to this partnership is a project that was completed at old St Peter's Basilica during Sixtus's pontificate. Called the Cappella del Coro, the work deserves close examination in view of its possible influences on Bramante's later proposals for the reconstruction of the Basilica. Whilst a seemingly modest extension, when compared to Nicholas V's ambitions for the Constantinian basilica, the Cappella del Coro nevertheless reveals certain symbolic associations that were probably intended to reinforce the partnership between Sixtus IV and his nephew.

Fig.82 Plan of Old St. Peter's Basilica indicating location of the Cappello del Coro, off the south aisle of the basilica, and the Vatican Obelisk approximately on axis with the apse of the chapel. Buonanni, Filippo (1638-1725), *Numismata summorum pontificum Templi Vaticani fabricam indicantia, chronologia ejusdem fabricate narratione, ac multilici eruditione explicate, atque uberiori numismatum omnium pontificorum lucubrationi veluti prodromus praemissa a patre Philippo Bonanni* (Rome, sumptibus Felicis Caesaretti, & Paribeni,1696), Tabula 7 (follows page 28).

We need to consider this symbolism initially in the context of Giles of Viterbo's account of the relationship between Sixtus IV and Giuliano della Rovere, future builder of new St Peter's Basilica. In this account Giles relies on Biblical precedent to convey what he believed to be a pre-ordained and propitious mission of the della Rovere succession: "Sixtus was the new David, ordered by God to leave the rebuilding of the temple to the first successor from his own tribe, Julius, the new Solomon."[23]

As the name suggests, the Cappella del Coro was designed to accommodate the choir of the St Peter's Basilica, where the Liturgy of the Hours was celebrated. Sixtus IV's commission formed part of a more ambitious initiative, to institute refinements in Church music in the Vatican which at the time had been in a state of decline. Formalised in a papal Bull of 1483, the initiative was implemented in other ways by Sixtus that included the appointment of the leading French composer Josquin Desprez (1440-1521) to the papal court and the establishment of the choir in the newly completed Sistine Chapel to replace the Medieval *schola cantorum*.

Situated at the eastern end of the south aisle of the Old St Peter's Basilica, in close proximity to the entrance atrium, the Cappella del Coro was an unusually large chapel, being approximately square in plan with a flat coffered ceiling and protruding south facing apse. The chapel was dedicated to the Immaculate Virgin, St. Francis of Assisi and St Anthony of Padua, all of whom were represented in a fresco that

adorned the south apse. In order to accommodate a chorister's gallery, the coffered ceiling had to be quite high, with access to a gallery from two staircases located on either side of the aisle entrance.

In addition to serving the choir of the Basilica the Cappella del Coro also functioned as a funerary chapel to accommodate the tomb of Sixtus IV. We know that upon the death of Sixtus IV in 1484 Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere was given the task of commissioning the design of his uncle's tomb. Executed by the Florentine Antonio Pollaiuolo, the tomb was cast in bronze and adorned with elaborate allegorical reliefs of the liberal arts. According to Leopold David Ettlinger, "If the imagery of the tomb mirrors the Pope's spiritual background, the tomb as a whole in its setting is a worthy monument to his secular ambitions."[24] As a free-standing monument, located in the centre of the chapel and occupying a large area of the floor, the design and location of the tomb depart from the papal tradition of wall tombs. Indeed, there is only one other previous pope who was laid to rest in similar fashion; Martin V in St John the Lateran, only in this case the pope's body was buried beneath the floor slab covered by a flat bronze relief.

Fig.83 Pollaiuolo, Antonio (1433-1498), Tomb of Sixtus IV from above (1484-93), Vatican, St Peter's Basilica (Treasury Museum).

Ettlinger provides a persuasive argument that the Cappella del Coro was planned, from the outset, as the resting place of Sixtus IV. Indeed we know, from a description by the Papal chamberlain, that the Pope had chosen this space for his burial.[25] It seems further plausible that the Chapel was intended to serve as the family vault of the della Roveres, and that Giuliano della Rovere played a key role in this initiative.[26]

To understand the possible motives, and symbolic intentions, behind the Cappella del Coro it is important to appreciate the close bond between Sixtus IV and his nephew,

Giuliano. An indication of this can be found in the famous painting by Melozzo da Forli, *The Founding of the Vatican Library* (1477-78); formerly on the north wall of the Biblioteca Latina in the Vatican Library and now in the Pinacoteca Vaticana. The painting commemorates the appointment of Bartolomeo Platina as Papal librarian, who is shown kneeling before the seated Sixtus and surrounded by Sixtus IV's entourage of relatives, all of whom are represented standing and orientated in different directions. Significantly, the young Giuliano della Rovere occupies the most prominent position in the scene, roughly at the centre of the painting and facing his uncle. Indeed, his location is especially significant when understood in the context of the surrounding architecture. The perspective scene shows a colonnaded hall with a flat coffered ceiling. The background is highlighted by a green wall, punctured by two arched windows at either side. Curiously the artist has chosen to insert a prominent column in the middle of the background, superimposed in front of the green wall. Adorned with a Corinthian capital with a shaft coloured in darker emerald green, the column passes directly behind Giuliano as if reinforcing his central location in the scene. The significance of green should not go unnoticed in the overall iconography of the painting. Symbolising hope and promise, it is an appropriate backdrop to Giuliano, the 'chosen one' and future della Rovere Pope.[27] As Andrew Blume states: "Giuliano's prominence could certainly be a recognition of his importance to Sixtus and his wishes for the future of both the church and his family."[28]

Fig.84 Melozzo da Forli (1438-1494), *Sixtus IV Appoints Platina Vatican Librarian.* (1477-78), Vatican, Pinacoteca.

In this painting, which incidentally was intended for private consumption by members of his family and court, we gain some insight into the dynastic ambitions of Sixtus IV, where the positioning of his family members in relation to the Pope constitutes a kind of 'pecking order' of current status and future prospects.[29]

It is likely that the iconography of the Cappella del Coro was directly influenced by this dynastic ambition, in which allusions to ancient triumphal/imperial symbolism served as an effective mode of communicating continuity of ruler-ship. Two key aspects of the chapel suggest this connection. The first concerns the articulation and embellishment of the south apse that accommodated the altar. This was framed on either side by porphyry columns, dating from the period of Emperor Diocletian (AD 285-305) and now exhibited in the Vatican Museum. The deployment such spolia, to embellish the interior, was almost certainly intended to form an integral part of the overall symbolism of the chapel. As indicated in an anonymous 16th century drawing, the column shafts were adorned with reliefs, each representing two embracing figures in military dress. The historical meaning of these reliefs is not difficult to recognise when we examine them in the context of Diocletian's restructuring of the Roman Empire in AD 293. Known as the Tetrarchy, the empire was divided into four provinces, each controlled by a ruler, whether a caesar or an emperor.[30]

Fig.85   Anonymous, Sketch of the apse of the Cappella del Coro indicating the flanking columns (dating from the period of Emperor Diocletian) and the central fresco of the Virgin and Child by Pietro Perugino. Ms.Barb.Lat.2733.f.131v, © 2010, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. .

Diocletian's aim, in this sharing of military and political power, was to regain control of a declining empire that was increasingly subject to military incursions and political insurrections. A more familiar representation of this political subdivision is the famous porphyry sculpture of Diocletian's Tetrarchy in Venice, located on the south corner of the facade of St Mark's Basilica. This sculpture also shows embracing rulers that bear a remarkable similarity, in terms of the stylistic qualities of the figures, to those carved on the porphyry columns in the Cappella del Coro.

Fig.86 View of one of the porphyry columns from the Cappella del Coro, showing the sculpted figures of Caesars (Dating from period of Emperor Diocletian) Musei Vaticani, Rome (Photo by author).

The second but not unrelated aspect of the Cappella del Coro, that deserves attention, concerns its location and orientation. A cursory glance at a plan of Old St Peter's Basilica will reveal the conspicuous size of the chapel, in relation to the other side chapels of the Basilica, and its prominent projecting apse on the south side. What is also apparent is the proximity of the chapel to the Vatican obelisk; indeed its approximate alignment with the ancient needle. It would be easy to dismiss this relationship as merely a coincidence, resulting from the chosen location of the chapel and its proportions. But such a view would only overlook significant symbolic implications in this approximate alignment that would have underlined - and perhaps legitimised - Sixtus IV's role as a princely ruler.

Fig.87 Roof plan of Old St. Peter's Basilica, indicating protrusion of the roof of the Cappella del Coro (A), and its south projecting apse, in relation to the location of the Vatican Obelisk (B) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin).

Before however I examine this connection it would be appropriate first to explain further the significance of axial relationships in the topography of Renaissance Rome. As we have seen elsewhere, the proclivity during the Renaissance towards aligning buildings or streets with pre-existing monuments should be seen in the context of developments in pictorial space and the concomitant desire to 'perspectivise' urban space. But such a process - at least during the late 15th and early 16th centuries - rarely resulted in direct alignments or orientations.[31] This could be

compared to the 'invisible' vanishing points in Renaissance paintings, where the idea of absolute centre was never made visually explicit. Instead notions of centre involved either a dialogue between elements (figures, venerated objects etc), located within the central region of the scene, or resided in the form of a 'latent' centre, whose object of focus was not symmetrically disposed (in relation to the composition of the painting) but rather was the result of a seeming coincidence. To recognise such relationships required more than a passing glance; it demanded insight into the iconographic content of the painting. We will have occasion to examine the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura in Chapter 6 to see how subtle this question of centre was treated.

The same expectation could equally be said for the arrangement of urban fabric in the city, in relation to monuments and axial streets. We need only refer to the orientation of via Giulia to understand that alignment was an underlying condition of urban planning during the early 16th century. From investigations of the location of the partly demolished *Meta Romuli* in the Borgo it seems clear that its inclined walls served as a kind of latent visual focus along the axis of via Giulia.[32] The orientation, moreover, was not the result of mere convenience but was a consequence of a desire to 'reconnect' the new insertions with the existing tissue of the ancient city, a point that also entailed forging symbolic relationships through a narrative reading of topography. Significantly, as I argue in Chapter 2, Serlio's famous Tragic Scene, with its perspective view of a monumental street terminated by a pyramid and obelisk behind a triumphal arch, may well have drawn inspiration from the axial relationship between via Giulia and the *Meta Romuli*.

Fig.88 View of the south side of old St. Peter's Basilica and drum of new basilica emerging on the left, showing relation between the apse of the Cappella del Coro and the Vatican Obelisk. Fontana, Carlo (1634-1714), *Templum Vaticanum et ipsius origo, cum aedificiis maximè conspicuis antiquitùs, & recéns ibidem constiutis; editum ab equite Carolo Fontana….Opus in septem libros distributum, latinisque literis consignatum a Joanne Jos: Bonnerve de S. Romain…*(Romae: ex typographia Jo: Francisci Buagni, 1694), p.93.

In a slightly different manner, the framing of the perspective vista of the Cortile del Belvedere, by the north windows of the Papal Apartments, is complicated by the non-orthogonal relationship between the north façade of the Vatican Palace and the flanking colonnades of the Cortile. To address this 'disjunction' between old and new would have required a physical re-adjustment of the viewing body, so that it orientates itself in the direction of the space outside rather than the space within.

In each case, the new insertion is not treated as an isolated gesture, that draws attention to its own internal arrangement, but rather as a dialectical operation that selectively reveals existing mytho-historic 'conditions'. The visual alignments in Bramante's urban and architectural projects, as we have seen, were underscored by a narrative reading of topography, an approach that could be likened to the dialogue between perspective space and the allegorical content of figurative arrangements in pictorial representation.

The case of the Cappella del Coro, with its approximate alignment with the Vatican Obelisk, could be said to anticipate Bramante's larger urban relationships. Without attempting to force the issue - given the limitations imposed by the fabric of the old basilica and the existing location of the obelisk - the orientation lays bear possibilities of symbolic connections between imperial and papal rule. Originally

sited in the Forum Iulium in Alexandria, the obelisk was relocated to the Circus of Caligula in the Vatican in the 1st century AD where it was positioned on the central *spina*. Orientated east-west, the ancient Circus extended along the south side of the later Constantinian Basilica. Initiatives to move the obelisk to the east (entrance) side of the basilica were first proposed during the Pontificate of Nicholas V. The plan however was never realised, leaving the obelisk as an awkward adjunct to the basilica until its final relocation under Sixtus V (1585-90) to the east side of the new basilica in St Peter's square.

As an example of ancient imperial spolia, the Vatican obelisk would also have been treated in antiquity as a 'trophy' of conquest, given its association with Julius Caesar's military campaign in Egypt. In this sense it represents an interesting counterpart to the symbolic 'trofeo' of St Peter's tomb, discussed earlier. Combined, both monuments could be construed as twin components in the symbolism of the Vatican - embodied in *imperium* and *sacerdotium* respectively - whose meanings and associations overlap and intermingle in the topography of the *territorium triumphale*.

As was the case with other spolia in Medieval and Renaissance Rome the Vatican Obelisk acquired a number of meanings, as Dale Kinney describes:

> "The Old Testament metaphor of the "spoils of the Egyptians" famously allegorized by St Augustine in the treatise *De doctrina Christiana* is often invoked by modern interpreters to explain the practice of using spolia in architecture and works of art. Defined as artefacts made from one physical and cultural context, and reused in another, spolia seem to be natural symbols of succession or supersession, especially when the reused object is from classical antiquity and the new setting is Christian. The obelisk of course, is more than classical; it is an Ur-antiquity, literally a spoil of Egypt, and this makes the association with the biblical metaphor more insistent."[33]

The Biblical metaphor was aided by the much vaunted idea of an ancient theology (*prisca theologia*) in the Renaissance, in which such apocryphal figures as the Hellenistic-Egyptian sage Hermes Trismegistus serve as pagan prophets of Christ, whilst Plato was identified as the 'Attic Moses'.[34] Furthermore, in his *De Civitate Dei*, St Augustine gave support to the principle of Rome as the 'altera Jerusalem', an association that was further underscored by Giles of Viterbo's assertion, referred to earlier, of popes being Christian counterparts to Old Testament patriarchs.[35] The significance of Moses in this relationship should not be underestimated, given that the prophet came from Egypt and provided a powerful model for Julius II's Pontificate. More specifically, the location of the obelisk, on the south side of Old St Peter's Basilica, was to have a particular bearing on the symbolic meanings of the cardinal points in Renaissance iconography; the southerly direction was associated with Egypt and Mosaic law, whilst the east gave direction to ancient Greek civilization and its philosophy. We shall have occasion to examine this issue in more detail in Chapter 5, in the context of the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura. Combined, these claims conspired to create a providential history that drew upon the status of ancient Etruria - the territory inhabited by the Etruscans and located north of the Tiber River - as the new Holy Land.

More specific to the configuration and location of the Vatican Obelisk is the popular belief - promoted during the Middle Ages and Renaissance - that the orb at the apex of the obelisk contained the ashes of Julius Caesar. The attribution, probably the result of a misinterpretation of an inscription on the obelisk that opens with the words "Divo Caesari Divi Iulii", is recorded in various Medieval pilgrimage guidebooks and commentaries on the ruins in Rome.[36] These refer to the obelisk as 'St. Peter's Needle'. The name, no doubt, is an acknowledgement of the proximity of the obelisk to the burial place of the Apostle, probably intended to reinforce the belief that St. Peter was martyred in the Circus.[37]

Fig.89 View of the bronze orb of the Vatican Obelisk, Capitoline Museums, Rome (Photo by author).

The 12th century pilgrim's guidebook, *Mirabilia urbis Romae*, describes the obelisk as the "memoria Caesaris, id est agulia" (the memorial of Caesar, which is to say the Needle).[38] The text goes on to describe the content of the orb - which is called appropriately a "sarcofago" - and underlines Caesar's "domination of the physical world, both in his lifetime and beyond", a claim that was later to have resonance in the cultivation of Julius II as '2nd Caesar'.[39] As John Osborne highlights, the term "agulia" is believed to be a corruption of *acus Iulia* (or Julius' Needle) which may go some way to explaining the mistaken belief that his ashes were located in the orb of the obelisk.[40]

Another Medieval text highlights further the symbolic significance of the obelisk. This is the late 12th or early 13th century *De mirabilibus urbis Romae* by Master Gregorius. In this work the author describes the obelisk in rather curious terms:

> "The pilgrims call this pyramid St. Peter's Needle, and they make great efforts to crawl underneath it, where the stone rests on four bronze lions, claiming falsely that those who manage to do so are cleansed from their sins, having made a true penance."[41]

Gregorius' dismissal of this superstition may, as Osborne observes, reflect his contempt for pilgrims as unreliable sources for accurate historical information.[42] Whatever the origin of the ritual described, it may suggest a deeper belief that the legacy of Caesar somehow formed an integral part of the sacred topography of the Vatican and therefore of the pilgrim's passage to salvation. This is suggested by the act of passing one's body *beneath* the "sarcofago" of Caesar in order to be purified of

sin. The superstition is an interesting example of the inter-relationship between *imperium* and *sacerdotium* in the Middle Ages, by which the memories of Peter and Caesar are somehow interwoven and inscribed in the topography of the Vatican as parallel sources of salvation.

Associations of popes with Julius Caesar long predate the Renaissance, as we see for example in the panegyrics of the 12th century Pope Innocent II (1130-43). As Osborne makes clear, "At an individual level, the political figure who served most frequently as the pre-Christian counterpart to St. Peter was Julius Caesar." Indeed, "The papal self-image strongly encouraged this association."[43]

Given this close alliance between imperial and Christian themes, it seems plausible that the orientation of the Cappella del Coro towards the obelisk was an attempt to reconnect the office of the pope with Caesar, and thereby ensure continuity between imperial and papal Rome. As 'descendant' of the first key-bearer, through the divine intercession of the Apostolic Succession, and as temporal ruler of the Holy See, the office of the Pope clearly drew upon the two paradigms of Peter – first bishop of Rome - and Caesar - the harbinger of the Roman Empire.

For Sixtus IV however this twofold relationship provided the backdrop to a more complex set of alliances, highlighted in the fresco in the south apse between the porphyry columns and indicated in the anonymous sketch referred to earlier. Commissioned by the della Rovere Pope, the fresco was executed by Pietro Perugino and presents a scene of the Virgin and Child surrounded by angels. On the right, Sixtus IV is shown being presented to the Virgin by St Peter, whilst St, Francis of Assisi stands nearby. This is balanced on the left hand side by the figures of St Paul and St. Anthony of Padua, who similarly stand alongside the Virgin. The fresco is both an intercession scene and a testimony to the particular religious profile of Sixtus IV. A Franciscan Pope, Sixtus was earlier appointed Minister General of the Franciscan Order. His dedication to the Franciscans was enhanced by his lifelong

devotion to Francis and Anthony of Padua. The significance of both these saints in the religious life of Sixtus IV is further underlined by Charles Stinger:

> "The guiding presence of these two saints at critical moments in Sixtus's early life and their role in his election as pope were not just the myth-making flattery of courtiers. Their sacred intervention formed a key element in Sixtus's own projection of his pontificate. His coronation medal, in fact, shows Sts. Francis and Anthony of Padua crowning him pope, the inscription explaining: HEC DAMVS IN TERRIS. AETERNA DABVNTVR OLIMPO. A bull of 12 March 1472, seven months after Sixtus's election, which granted indulgences to the church of St. Anthony in Padua, similarly states that through the merits of this saint and of St. Francis, the pope, from a tender age, had been brought to the sanctity of the religious life, was sustained by them in his education as a theologian and at length elevated to the papacy."[44]

Besides emphasising the abiding impact of St Anthony of Padua and St Francis on Sixtus IV, Stinger's explanation also implies the influences of the saints' principal places of worship – at Padua and Assisi respectively - on the intellectual and religious development of Francesco della Rovere. In the former university town, Sixtus IV studied theology and philosophy, later becoming a lecturer in philosophy before ascending to the papal throne in 1471. At Assisi Sixtus was responsible, during his roles as Minister General of the Franciscan Order and Pope, for constructing a substantial part of the Friary of St. Francis. This initiative formed part of a more general programme of expansion of the Franciscans in 15th century Italy which contributed to enhancing its influence on the papacy.

This specifically biographical interpretation of the two saints in the fresco only serves as a preamble to the more significant association of Francis and Anthony of Padua with the Immaculate Virgin, the principal theme of the fresco. A subject of

protracted religious controversy, the idea of the Immaculate Conception led to a growing dispute between the Dominicans and the Franciscans during the Middle Ages; the former opposing it whilst the latter fiercely supporting it. In his determination to reinforce the Marian devotion of the Franciscans, in which the Virgin's conception was believed to have taken place without sin, Sixtus IV formerly recognised the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in a papal bull issued in 1476. Given the controversy surrounding the Feast during the Middle Ages, it seems likely that the construction of the Cappella del Coro was intended to contribute to Sixtus IV's ambition to make the Franciscan Order's view on this matter the generally accepted position of the Catholic Church.[45]

As the culminating theme in the iconography of the apse of the Cappella del Coro, the Immaculate Conception also served to reinforce the idea of succession and continuity of papal rule. This begins with the flanking porphyry columns which evoke (through the representations of embracing military figures) the principle of binding loyalty in matters pertaining to temporal ruler-ship. This is followed by the figurative representations at the left and right hand sides of Perugino's fresco where Peter and Paul) - the 'pillars' of the Roman Catholic Church - give support to the Apostolic Succession, the latter signified by the pairing of Sixtus IV and St Peter. This sequence is followed by the appearance of St Francis of Assisi and St Anthony of Padua who each mediate between the Franciscan Pope and the central image of the Virgin and child. This intermediary role reinforces the status of the Franciscan Order as guardians of the Church. Finally, the whole chapel is oriented in the direction of Caesar's ashes, at the apex of the Vatican Obelisk, to underline the continuity of pontifical rule with Roman imperial authority.

Viewed as a whole, the juxtaposition of references to papal dynastic ambitions and Marian devotion suggests an attempt to 'imperialise' Franciscan brotherhood. This, of course, was directed specifically towards the continuation of the della Rovere line in the Apostolic Succession, echoed in Giles' maxim of Sixtus IV as 'David' and Julius II as 'Solomon'.

Further indication of the privileged role of the della Rovere family can be seen in the abundance of representations of Sixtus IV's coat of arms in the Cappella del Coro; carved in marble on the lintels over two windows flanking the south chancel, and above the entrance to the Chapel supported with the accompanying inscription: "Sixtus IV Pontifex Maximus".[46] Finally, the floor of the Chapel was adorned with a mosaic showing the della Rovere insignia, the oak tree, partly concealed by the tomb of Sixtus IV.

This celebration of the custodianship of the Church by the della Rovere family was not just communicated through inscriptions and images but also, it seems, drew meaning from the physical remains of the pope. In setting himself against this background of papal/imperial succession and Franciscan piety, Sixtus IV was also seeking to align his own body with both the altar - dedicated to the Virgin- and more distantly with the ashes of Caesar. We are reminded in this interweaving of imperial and religious themes - of corporeal and spiritual meanings - of the Medieval symbolism of the 'corpus mysticum' examined in Ernst Kantorowicz's seminal study of "man-centered kingship."[47] Taking Dante Alighieri's *Monarchia* as the principal source, Kantorowicz constructs a diagram that articulates the poet's conception of the symbolic alliance between imperial and papal rule:

Fig.90 Diagram of Dante's conception of the alliance between pope (*Papa*) and emperor (*Imperator*), mediating by God (*Deus*) and 'Noble' Man (*Optimus Homo*) From Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p462, n31 (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

In this construct, the paradigms of *Deus* and *Optimus Homo* define alliances between pope (*Papa*) and emperor (*Imperator*) that in turn find expression in the symbolic

layering of *imperium* and *sacerdotium*. Key to this partnership was the growing conviction that the temporal aspects of his office could draw example from *imperator*, and thereby contribute towards the establishment of a dual role of priestly (religious) and princely (worldly) ruler-ship.[48] In one sense, the Cappella del Coro could be said to provide an important precedent in this concordance between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*, that would become fully established under the pontificate of Julius II, a point we shall return to later in this study.

Giuliano della Rovere's role in the commissioning of his uncle's tomb, and his possible involvement in the actual construction of the Cappella del Coro, suggest that this precedent was not simply the result of circumstance. Indeed, we could go further by speculating that these projects served as a *praeparatio* for the later design of the new St Peter's Basilica.

The emphasis on the Pope as both key-bearer of the Church and princely ruler finds expression in the eulogies written by the Augustinian Aurelio "Lippo" Brandolini, a blind poet and close friend of Sixtus IV and Giuliano della Rovere. The eulogies formed part of Brandolini's collection of laudatory poems to the Pope - *De Laudibus ac Rebus Gestius Sixti IV* - which was later dedicated to Giuliano following the death of Sixtus IV in 1484.[49] Significantly, Brandolini makes a request to Giuliano to "contribute to the memory of his deceased uncle", implying the idea of succession. Ettlinger speculates that there may be a connection between *De Laudibus* and the Pope's tomb; perhaps that Brandolini had delivered one of the eulogies as a funeral oration in the Cappella del Coro.[50] The connection is further supported by the reputation of the blind poet as a musical improviser. Having performed in the papal court from 1480 to 1484, according to Meredith Gill, Brandolini "played the *lyra* and improvised verse, and he saw in music an approximation to the divine. He equally saw in it the bequest of the ancients. He drew on Amphion, founder of Thebes, on Orpheus, and others as exemplars; the Romans called him "Orpheus Christianus,"".[51] Clearly, the Cappella del Coro would have provided a suitable location in which to stage Brandolini's combined skills as papal orator and musical improviser.

In *De Laudibus* Brandolini commemorates the greatness of the age of Sixtus IV, in which the Pope is presented as a worldly ruler "who rebuilt the capital, extended the papal domain, defeated the enemy, modernised mining, agriculture and trade, and thus gave welfare and peace to his people; he is, in fact, the bringer of a new Golden Age." He goes on to assert that "Our Pontiff alone is the leader and prince of all the emperors, kings and rulers. Indeed it is he who makes kings, rulers and emperors."[52]

This laudatory verse echoes the iconography of the Cappella del Coro and its topographical relationship to the ashes of Caesar. At the same time, the verse reminds one of the later eulogies delivered by Giles of Viterbo in the presence of Julius II, during the building of the new St. Peter's Basilica. In these the Augustinian friar lays similar claims to a Golden Age brought about by the propitious age of his Pope. However, what was conveyed by Brandolini as a summary of papal achievements, using fairly conventional eulogistic tropes, becomes in the case of Giles a fervent expression of a unique age brought about by what he believed to be the coincidence of auspicious events. Significantly, the most important of these events was the construction of new St. Peter's Basilica by Julius II, the "new Solomon".

Julius II and Caesar's Ashes

Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere's destiny as the 'new Solomon' and future pope, who would build upon his uncle's ambitions, acquires more concrete historical significance when considered in the light of Christoph Frommel's assertion that Julius II "must have also planned right from the beginning to move the funeral chapel of his uncle Sixtus IV into the new choir arm [of St Peter's Basilica], where he would place his own mausoleum."[53]

Frommel's claim raises the intriguing question of whether the construction of the new Basilica, and the relocation of the della Rovere family vault to the new choir alongside Julius II's mausoleum, were treated as inter-related or indeed as a parts of

a single project awaiting realization upon Giuliano's ascendency to the papal throne.[54] This possibility reinforces the idea, suggested earlier, that the Cappella del Coro served as a prolegomenon for the "new Solomon" , in which the symbolic alliances between St. Peter, the Virgin Mary, Julius Caesar and papal succession could be invested with new more monumental significance.

Soon after the accession of Giuliano della Rovere to the papal throne in 1503 Donato Bramante was commissioned to start work on the first of the major projects for the Vatican - the Cortile del Belvedere. It may be that this project was intended to form part of a more comprehensive scheme, to redesign the adjoining papal palace and nearby St. Peter's Basilica.[55] Whilst we know that Bramante did not begin work in earnest on the design of the new Basilica until 1504/05 there is evidence that he was already involved, in some capacity, in this project during the winter of 1503/04. Described by Giles of Viterbo and later by Onofrio Panvinio, Bramante's earliest proposal for the Basilica entailed a daring idea that may have been inspired by the Cappella del Coro. According to Giles, Bramante tried to persuade the Pope to re-orientate the Basilica on the north-south axis so that it would face the Vatican Obelisk. The orientation would have required, among other things, the demolition of large parts of the Vatican Palace and the exhumation and relocation of the remains of St Peter. In Giles' account he makes clear Bramante's desire to forge links between Julius II and Caesar by calling the obelisk, "the monument of Julius Caesar.":

> "The front of the Basilica would not face east (the rising sun) as it now does, but that its axis would be turned to the south. But Julius refused this saying that men were desiring to lay down the law on sacred matters and he forbade them to move things which ought not to be moved. Bramante, on the other hand, pressed the case. He promised that the whole thing would be most acceptable if he were to have the monument of Julius Caesar in the courtyard of the Basilica of the most august Pope Julius as the approach to the Basilica itself."[56]

Julius's rejection of Bramante's proposal, on the grounds that he forbade the movement of things "which ought not to be moved," refers to the controversial matter of relocating the tomb of Peter. In the later account of Onofrio Panvinio, however, Julius II "initially considered the idea and even commissioned Bramante to construct a model of the proposal, in spite of opposition from the cardinals."[57] During this earliest phase of the design of new St Peter's basilica, Bramante was working on the basis of a longitudinal plan, in order to maintain the same dimensions as the Latin cross of the Constantinian basilica.[58] This would have underlined the primary orientation of the new Basilica, connecting along its axis the cinerary urn of Caesar, the relocated tomb of Peter and the planned Mausoleum of Julius II. We shall see later how Bramante's reversion to the Greek cross plan reflected a rather different set of priorities based on a complex mixture of Platonic/theological associations and ancient models.

Fig.91 Hypothetical plan of Bramante's proposal to re-orientate the Basilica of St Peter (on the north-south axis) showing approximate alignment of the Vatican Obelisk (A) with the earlier Cappella del Coro (B), the relocated burial chamber of St Peter (C), the planned location of Julius II's Mausoleum (D) and the altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary in the choir (E). (Plan after Foellbach/Frommel and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

In spite of the Pope's refusal to countenance Bramante's daring proposal for new St Peter's Basilica, the symbolic importance attached to the Vatican Obelisk was not to be forgotten. Indeed, in 1507 Bramante had proposed to establish a street, connecting the planned Piazza San Pietro to the obelisk, in order to form a clear view of the latter for pilgrims processing to the Basilica.[59] This initiative would seem to reinforce the importance attached to the obelisk in Medieval pilgrimage guide-books discussed earlier. Bramante clearly intended to further underline the visual juxtaposition, and

symbolic concordance, between the *de facto* 'founder' of imperial Rome (Caesar) and the founder of the Roman Church (St Peter).

In regard to Julius II's mausoleum, the earliest design proposals by Michelangelo did not appear until March 1505. Significantly, these were in the form of a wall tomb, in the tradition of papal mausolea discussed earlier.[60] As Frommel illuminates, it is likely that this arrangement was influenced by Bramante's scheme for the new choir of Santa Maria del Popolo, executed in the summer of 1505, which later accommodated the wall tombs of two cardinals, Girolamo Basso della Rovere (1507) and Ascanio Sforza (1505).[61]

From the evidence that we have, the decision to revert to a free-standing tomb for Julius II was not made until April 1505.[62] The change was probably in part a response to developments in the design of the new Basilica, in particular the creation of a more substantial choir space to allow for circulation on all sides of the mausoleum. It would seem more than likely however that Bramante had considered a free-standing mausoleum before 1505, as part of his first proposal for St Peter's Basilica (1503-04). For the papal architect and hagiographer, who was always keen to enhance caesaro-papal connections for Julius II, the earlier Cappella del Coro would have provided an obvious precedent. It would have given Bramante a powerful model in which to convey alliances between *imperium* and *sacerdotium*. This point is worth further consideration when we examine Michelangelo's design for a free-standing mausoleum. As Luiz Marques states:

> "……by deciding to situate the tomb in the heart of the universal church, he intended to make its iconography an emblem of his divine mission: to conquer the provinces not yet under the Church's temporal power and to complete the task of winning over the world that was gradually submitting to Christian powers."[63]

Marques argues that this military symbolism of the mausoleum is most clearly expressed in the articulation of the slaves that encircle the base of the free-standing tomb. From a drawing by Michelangelo for the *prigioni* we can discern military armour represented behind a standing figure. Whilst it may be the case that the symbolism of the slaves changed by the end of Julius II's pontificate, it seems likely that their intended meaning in 1505 was to convey the conquest and subservience of the provinces in the Italian peninsula by the papacy.[64]

Fig.92   Reconstruction (plan and elevation) of Michelangelo's 1505 scheme for the free-standing Mausoleum of Julius II, indicating locations of the slaves (in the form of classical *telamones*) and supporting military iconography. (After Foellbach and redrawn by Peter Baldwin)

Given Julius II's probable intention to treat the relocation of his uncle's funerary chapel and his new mausoleum as integral parts in the design of the new Basilica, we have to ask how these elements of the project drew meaning from the Basilica's re-orientation. To begin with, we can only speculate that the sacristies - located on either side of the choir - were intended to be the new locations of his uncle's tomb and those of his della Rovere relatives. Like Sixtus IV, Julius II was also devoted to the Marian cult. Hence, it is likely that the choir of the new Basilica was intended from the very beginning to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Consequently, when viewed in the context of Bramante's 1503-04 proposal the Marian altar – sited in the apse of the choir - would have defined the northern extremity of the longitudinal axis of the whole Basilica, with the obelisk at its southern end.

If we consider the1503-04 proposal for the new St Peter's Basilica, in the context of the less directly expressed alignments and orientations underlying Bramante's other urban and architectural projects (Cortile del Belvedere, Palazzo dei Tribunali, via Giulia etc), it becomes apparent how radical and unprecedented this scheme was.

From the resulting axial relationship - between Caesar's ashes, St Peter's tomb, Julius II's Mausoleum and the altar of the Virgin Mary - we are presented with an explicit visual concatenation of key symbolic references that collectively embody Julius II's pontificate. The arrangement inevitably leads one to speculate that Bramante, with perhaps the tacit approval of his Pope, saw the rebuilding of St Peter's Basilica and the construction of Julius II's mausoleum as essentially a single project; that the new Basilica was both a shrine to St Peter and a future *recordatio* of Julius II - key-bearer of the Church, 2nd Caesar and Franciscan devotee to the cult of the Virgin.

At a more local level, the privileged position of Julius II's mausoleum, directly behind the Petrine shrine, reminds one of the tomb of Constantine in the Church of the Apostles in Constantinople. According to Constantine's biographer, Eusebius, the emperor stipulated that his tomb should be located under the altar at the crossing of the church.[65] Eusebius justifies this audacious request by claiming that Constantine was the thirteenth apostle and therefore deserved to be interred in the most sacred part of the Church.[66] Whilst it would clearly be exaggerating the point to argue a direct correlation between the elevated status of Julius II, confirmed in the location of his mausoleum, and Eusebius' sycophantic appraisal of Constantine as the thirteenth apostle, it is arguable that Bramante was consciously seeking to draw upon Early Christian models (such as the Church of the Holy Apostles and Early Christian martyria) in his scheme for new St Peter's Basilica.

Janus and Peter

On 21st December 1507, Giles of Viterbo delivered a lengthy sermon in the Basilica of St. Peter's Basilica in the presence of Julius II. The sermon was in response to a letter written by the King of Portugal, Manuel I (1495-1521), to the Pope. It reports that in 1506 a Portuguese fleet had landed in Ceylon, had won a navel victory over Zamorin of Calicut and also discovered Madagascar.[67]

These events were greeted with enthusiasm by Julius II who declared three days of thanksgiving in Rome, culminating in a celebration in the Basilica of St Peter on 21st December, the feast of St Thomas the Apostle.[68] The choice of this date would seem to be appropriate, given that the Apostle is said to have preached in India and spread the gospel to Asia.[69] Giles interprets the successes of the Portuguese "as fulfilments of the predictions of scripture and as fulfilment of the Golden Age initiated by Christ."[70] The sermon formed part of a larger ceremony that began with a procession of the Pope, his cardinals and prelates, to St Peter's, then a Mass accompanied by the presentation of the relics and publication of indulgences followed by the sermon by Giles, the "solemnis praedicator" [71]

One part of the sermon is of particular interest here, when considered in the context of Bramante's designs for new St Peter's Basilica. This is a discourse delivered under the title: "The Third Golden Age of Janus and the Etruscans" which reads as follows:

> "The historians tell us, however, that before the arrival of Saturn Janus ruled with golden laws over Etruria on the other side of the Tiber. I may be able to examine his government more fully on some other occasion; now, when the new world has been discovered by the effort and zeal of golden King Manuel, I will confine myself to what is relevant to the appointed sermon. The very happy victory won by a happy king promises us future happiness in no small measure. Why did divine providence arrange that a bronze model of a ship should be hidden in Janus' temple, if not because the Etruscan throne of Janus, which Your Holiness now occupies, already accustomed as it was to rule benevolently, was to be dedicated to the benevolent laws of the barque of Christ? Why was that bronze model of a ship hidden with Janus, if not because the Etruscan hill of the Vatican was to send the most holy laws of Christ to the end of the earth through the ships of a noble

king, and in alliance with the standards of Portugal to win an outstanding victory over those Indies which the Roman Mars never touched?"[72]

By naming the papal *cathedra* the "Etruscan throne of Janus", Giles was making a conscious link between the Apostolic Succession and the progeny of the god of all beginnings, Janus. This progeny, it seems, also assumed a parallel between the pious nature of the first key-bearer - St Peter - and Janus whom Virgil describes (in the *Aeneid*) as the God of Peace – or the deity "responsible for the preservation of peace."[73] Indeed, Plutarch claims that "Janus taught men the virtues of peace."[74] This is further underpinned by St Augustine who even suggests that the values expounded by the archaic deity refigured those of Christianity.[75] These associations are reinforced by the closing of the gates of the Janus arch, a ritual that was first introduced - according to Varro - by King Numa.[76]

Giles' reference to the 'Etruscan throne of Janus' may also have been based on the euhemeristic symbolism of Janus as the first king of Italy.[77] Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier provides an insightful examination of these multiple identities in the context of a painting of Janus in the Sala del Tribunale of the Palazzo Communale, located in the southern Tuscan hill town of Lucignano.[78] In this little known cycle of frescoes, executed in the early part of the 15th century, Janus is shown standing as part of a series of *uomini famosi*. Rather than being represented however as a Roman deity, with his characteristic double visage (*bifrons*), the fresco portrays Janus in more human terms, crowned with an olive or laurel wreath and holding an oak branch in his left hand and a staff in his right hand. Both the posture and setting of the figure reminds one of representations of saints and prophets in Medieval and Early Christian paintings. Significantly, an inscription accompanying the figure describes Janus (Iano) as the "primo signore de Italia."[79]

Giles' reference to "the other side of the Tiber", in his sermon, underlines the geographical divide between Etruria ruled by Janus to the west and Latium overseen

by his later Roman counterpart, Saturn, to the east and embodied in the Capitoline Hill.[80] The importance of the land of the Etruscans – Etruria - in the genealogy of papal rule was repeatedly emphasised by Giles who believed that Janus, the archaic guardian of gateways and doors, was the forebear of St Peter the first key-bearer of the Roman Church.

More generally, Giles' sermon was informed by the idea of the mystical transferral of the Church from Jerusalem to Rome and the status of ancient Etruria as the new Holy Land. Both the Vatican and the Janiculum provided key topographical and symbolic references in this holy alliance, as John O'Malley remarks:

> "[Giles'] interest in the Vatican, as such is explained by his eager desire to promote the cause of the Etruscans, and not only by the project for the new St. Peter's. Janus, the founder of the Etruscan religion bore to the Vatican and Janiculum the true religious tradition which was later obscured. Thus the Etruscan bank of the Tiber….was sanctified from the earliest times and, as we have seen, the Etruscans were under the same divine providential care as were the Hebrews."[81]

O'Malley's assertion of "the same providential care" between Judeo and Etruscan traditions was consolidated by Giles' endorsement of a partnership between Janus and the Biblical patriarch Noah. This partnership is implied by the arrangement of figures in the fresco of the *uomani famosi* in Lucignano, referred to earlier, where Noah directly follows Janus.[82] Moreover, echoing the claims of his fellow countryman Annius of Viterbo, Giles construes both Noah and Janus as having parallel messianic roles; to secure the passage of the chosen people to the Holy Lands of Israel and Etruria.[83] This common identity however was not the result of some spurious pseudonym, nor was it based on mythic or biblical versions of twin-ship. Rather, it was generated by a complex symbolic and etymological translation that gave support to the principle of Janus and Noah as selfsame.[84]

This touches on an important aspect of Annius of Viterbo's euhemeristic historiography, namely the identity of Janus/Noah as the first *Pontifex Maximus*, a claim that almost certainly influenced Giles' description of the papal *cathedra* as the throne of Janus. Walter Stephens provides an interesting interpretation of this relationship:

> "In Annius's conception, there was an unbroken succession of *pontifices maximi,* from Noah to the Etruscans, and from the Etruscans to the Quattrocento papacy. But Annius's Noah was primarily important as a temporal ruler, the emperor of all the world. This, in Annius's view, the Apostolic succession was primarily the transmission of a temporal prerogative, a *translatio pontificatus* that suspiciously resembled the *translatio imperii…*"[85]

This attempt to bring *translatio pontificatus* and *translsatio imperii* into a unified providential history not only underpinned Giles' sermon but also arguably provided a fertile mytho-historic reference for Bramante's early proposals for the new St Peter's Basilica. As I have suggested earlier, topography played a key role in this interconnected narrative of past (Biblical/archaic) events, embodied in the progeny of Janus/Noah, and the future expectations of an imminent Golden Age. According to the late 16th century commentator, Agostino Fortunio, this twofold progeny takes on historical significance when Janus/Noah disembark at the banks of the Tiber River, at the Vatican, and journey to Tuscany.[86] Underlying this journey is the idea of the Vatican as the gateway to Etruria (Tuscany) - the new Holy Land - inhabited by the Etruscans, one of the saved tribes of Noah.[87]

Fig.93 Noah (alias Janus), bearing the keys of pontifical succession, and his wife Tytea the Great embarking of their journey to the new promised land, Etruria. From Jean Lemaire de Belges, *Les Illustrations deGaule et singularitéz de Troye* (Paris: Geoffroy de Marnef, 1512 [ca.1515]), sig. B3^v.

In his sermon Giles also makes reference to the "barque of Christ" in the same context as Janus' "bronze model of a ship". The significance of this relationship probably has something to do, in the first instance, with the parallel symbolisms of Janus and Noah. In the case of Janus, the reference to the "bronze model of a ship" is likely to relate to the association of Janus with navigation. This is highlighted on some of the oldest recorded Roman bronze coins which show an effigy of the double head of Janus on one side and the prow of a boat on the reverse. More commonly, the maritime connections of Janus were identified with the twin deity Portunus - god of harbours. These maritime associations of Janus find parallel attributes in Noah's roles as builder and sailor of the Ark during the Flood. In a similar vein, Janus' role as guardian of the primitive race – precursors to the civilized Etruscans - finds a parallel identity in the Biblical Patriarch who re-established order on dry land for the saved tribes of Israel. Combined, therefore, the dual roles of Janus and Noah - as navigators, guardians and cultivators of a civilized and peaceful way of life - become anticipatory of the "barque of Christ". As Alan Watts explains, "For Christianity, the Ark of Noah is naturally a type of the Church – the Nave or Ship of Salvation, wherein men are saved from the Flood of everlasting damnation."[88]

Besides alluding to the idea of St Peter's Basilica - the new Temple of Solomon - as the refashioned Ark, Giles' reference may also have been intended, more specifically, to signify the status of the Vatican as the disembarkation point of the mytho-historic Noah/Janus, as suggested by Fortunio referred to earlier. At the same

time Giles underlines the transformation of the territory as the centre of the papal successors to the first *claviger*.

The significance of Noah during this period, as a precursor to Christ, is evident in the prominence given to the Biblical Patriarch in the ceiling frescoes of the Sistine Chapel, executed during the Pontificate of Julius II. In particular, the allegorical representation of the Flood tells us something about the parallels drawn between the Vatican and the Holy Land. In order to highlight the nature of this possible relationship it will be necessary to provide a brief outline of the composition and iconography of the fresco.

Executed during the summer of 1508, the scene of the Flood occupies the central panel of three, located in the 2nd bay of the ceiling towards the entrance to the Chapel. Collectively, these panels illustrate the life of Noah: the Sacrifice of Noah, the Flood and the Drunkenness of Noah. As probably first panel executed in the whole ceiling, the Flood gave Michelangelo an opportunity to explore "the perspectival rendering of the human body at various illusions of depth to find the most effective size for the figures to be depicted."[89] Significantly however Michelangelo "dispensed with similar effects of depth when representing empty space in all his frescoes in the chapel."[90] This point is significant when we examine the iconography of the Flood, given that the fresco highlights an attempt to represent pictorially a topography which is conspicuously absent in the other panels in the chapel. Furthermore, the symbolic meaning of the topography, and the importance attached to the life of Noah in the ceiling frescoes, should be considered in the light of Heinrich Pfeiffer's argument that Giles of Viterbo probably played an important role in aspects of the iconography of the ceiling frescoes.[91]

Fig.94 Buonarroti, Michelangelo (1475-1564): Ceiling panel representing the *Flood* (ca. 1508) [before restoration]. Vatican, Sistine Chapel.

In the representation of the Flood we are presented with a series of isolated scenes scattered across the rising flood plain, each designating places of refuge for the human race against the perils of the inundation. These comprise the Ark itself, located furthest away from the picture plain and floating on what appears to be a pontoon. Then immediately in front is a boat fully-laden with bodies threatening to capsize. To the right, in the middle ground of the fresco, is a scene of a rocky outcrop, providing a more secure sanctuary indicated by the erection of a makeshift awning wrapped around a tree. Finally, to the left of the fresco, and in the foreground of the panel, is a large hill rising steeply from the water's edge and dominated by a large barren tree. Figures are shown ascending the slope from the flood in fairly orderly fashion, carrying their worldly possessions and gathering around the tree.

Michelangelo probably drew upon a number of references for the iconography of the Flood, besides the account in Genesis, which enabled the artist to convey varying conditions - or stages - of salvation. These are communicated both in the degree of drama unfolding in the isolated scenes and also by their underlying symbolic meanings, articulated through the use of colour and figurative gesture.[92] Whilst, for example, the perilous situation of the capsizing boat clearly expresses a sense of hopelessness, in the face of God's wrath, the scene of the small rocky outcrop suggests a greater hope for salvation. Finally, the hill, or "mountain peak" as Pfeiffer calls it, in the left foreground indicates the clearest sign of the saved tribes from the Flood, albeit as yet undefined:

> "In reality, the mountain peak signifies the height of the age of the Church, which according to Paul, is under grace (*sub gratia*).…
> The men and women on this mountain are supposed to represent the various members of the Church who lived in the period *sub gratia*. Not all of them have been saved yet. That is clearly indicated by personification of earthly wisdom and, above all, her child, earthly hope, who has one eye closed and is looking at the

viewer sadly with just the right eye. Salvation consists of taking hold of the leafless tree of the cross."[93]

Pfeiffer's reference to the "personification of earthly wisdom" is indicated in the reclining female figure in the foreground of the fresco, with the child as "earthly hope" standing immediately behind her. The significance of the bare tree is made plain in this interpretation; inclined and oriented towards the Ark in the background, the tree symbolises the Cross and therefore embodies humanity's search for salvation. We are given an indication of this association by the cluster of figures at its base and more crucially by the figure climbing its trunk. The affirmation of salvation stands in contrast to another scene of ascension, highlighted in the representation of the Ark in the background, where a group of figures are making efforts to escape the inundation by climbing a ladder. Adjacent to the scene of the tree on the hill, at the extreme left hand side of the panel, is a representation of a bearded figure on a donkey - holding a young child and escorted by a female figure standing nearby.

Pfeiffer's further idea that the scene of the hill-top is intended to represent the period *sub gratia* (with grace) forms part of a larger discussion about the intended stages of redemption underlying the iconography of the panel:

> "….the age before the law [*ante legem*], which is depicted in the form of the people on the rock island; the age of grace [*sub gratia*], that is, of the Church, whose members ascend to the height where the leafless tree becomes their hope; the ever-attendant age outside of grace, which knows no instructive law given by God, and whose terrifying depiction takes the form of the people in the boat that is much too small and becomes a deadly trap for those fighting over it; and finally the end of time, which death brings to every individual."[94]

Critically, the pictorial connection between *ante legem* and *sub gratia* reveals some intriguing possibilities about the intended message of the iconography. In the age before the Law, the people represented on the rocky island are seeking redemption "….by the death of Christ on the cross", therefore after "the Fall of the first parents."[95] Considered in Augustinian terms the rocky island could be said to embody those souls undergoing instruction – the catechumens – who have departed from the city of sin (*urbs*). The implication here of the journey from the Ark, after the Flood, as a *peregrinatio* (or spiritual preparation) takes on specific topographical meanings in Giles' theological connection between the Vatican and Noah/Janus, and Annius of Viterbo assertion that the Etruscans were one of the saved tribes of Noah.

From this connection, could we not argue that the image of the hill in the fresco, with its accompanying procession of people ascended the slope from the banks of the flooded plain below, was intended to convey, at one level, the Vatican Hill as 'altera Jerusalem' and pilgrimage destination of Christendom? The idea of such a 'sub-text' of the fresco is further underscored by the representation of the rocky island. It is evident from its configuration, consisting of a clearly visible lower stone plinth on which figures are perched precariously, that it is not meant to portray a natural geological feature undergoing gradual erosion by the ebb and flow of the water. Instead it suggests the archaeological remains of some pre-existing structure, in the form of a man-made island. Could Michelangelo have intended the scene of the flooded plain to be an evocation of the swollen Tiber River inundating the surrounding terrain? More specifically, could the rocky outcrop represent the actual archaeological remains of the *Pons Neronianus*, located in the middle of the river (at its bend) and visible from the river bank at Santo Spirito in Sassia? The idea of the remains of a bridge serving as a landmark of human salvation, during the age *ante legem*, would seem appropriate in this instance given the symbolic importance of bridge crossings for pilgrims traversing the river from Rome to the Vatican. More specifically, the identity of the rocky outcrop as the *Pons Neronianus* – the ancient triumphal bridge – is worthy of consideration given the conspicuous remains of the bridge foundations in the Tiber (still visible today) and the plans to reconstruct the

bridge by Bramante to facilitate more direct links for pilgrims travelling from via Giulia to the Borgo.

Hence, the 'journey' between *ante legem* and *sub gratia* - between the remains of the ancient footings of the *Pons Neronianus* in the Tiber to the *terra firma* of the Vatican Hill – serves as a symbolic re-enactment of the Biblical story. My intention in this interpretation is not to argue for a literal reading of Michelangelo's representation of the Flood but rather to suggest that the scene conveys a double meaning which reinforces Giles' providential portrayal of the Vatican; as both a rendering of the Biblical narrative and as an evocation of the 'landing-stage' to ancient Etruria - the Latin Holy Land.

Returning to the issue of the design of new St Peter's Basilica, it is important to appreciate the significance of the setting where Giles delivered his 1507 sermon - in a partly demolished basilica - where the old fabric was being gradually replaced by the new. In March 1507 work began on the two eastern piers, to support the dome at the crossing, whilst the two western piers and tribuna (choir) were already underway. Giles' sermon would have been presented in an environment partly exposed to the elements, during the damp and cold month of December, and amidst scaffolding and the noise and dust of building work. The symbolic significance of this unfinished state would not have gone unnoticed by Giles, as he weaves together in his sermon connections between the Vatican's providential past and its future prospects as the renewed throne of Janus; the seat of an expanding Christian empire. Indeed, the location of the crossing, at the interface between the old fabric and the new, would have served as an ideal context for Giles to convey his message of the Julian Pontificate as an age poised to become a new Golden Age.

Fig.95 Marten van Heemskerck (1475-1564), View of interior of St Peter's Basilica, looking west along the old longitudinal body towards the crossing. Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett, *Berliner Skizzenbuch*, II, fol. 52r.

Beyond this general relationship, moreover, between sermon and building there would seem to be a more specific connection that raises important questions about the intended symbolic meanings underlying Bramante's design for the new basilica. These, as I will argue later, relate to the associations of the progeny of Janus with the triumphal symbolism of the Vatican and its geographical status as the *nexus* of the Christian world..

Before the cornerstone was laid for the building campaign of new St Peter's Basilica, in April 1506, Bramante submitted his famous parchment plan (U$_1$A). The plan is less an expression of practical concerns - about the material and structure of the building - and more an ideal representation of sacred space. Defined in terms of a hierarchy of Platonic proportions, the plan could be said to constitute a synthesis of formal elements derived from notable Roman imperial buildings (such as the Pantheon and the Basilica of Maxentius) and Early Christian martyria.[96] At the more local level of the hierarchy and subdivision of spaces we can trace direct influences from Bramante's survey drawings of the Baths of Diocletian, executed in the summer of 1505 at around the same time as the parchment plan.[97]

Fig.96 Bramante, Donato (1444-1514), Presentation parchment plan for new St. Peter's Basilica (1505), Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uff.1A.

Having identified this range of possible influences, the question of the purpose of the parchment drawing is still uncertain. This is due to the fact that the plan shows only part of the overall layout of the basilica. Could it indicate a centralised plan, broadly symmetrical on all faces, of which only half is represented? Alternatively, was it intended to represent only the tribuna and transepts of a remodelled longitudinal basilica, similar to Bramante's earlier scheme for Sta. Maria delle Grazie in Milan?[98] It is conceivable that Bramante was considering both possibilities at this stage, perhaps in response to Julius II's own equivocations on this matter. Indeed, it is a matter of some debate about precisely when a decision was made to completely destroy the existing fabric of the old Basilica and replace it with a new building. An indication of this uncertainty can be seen in Julius II's request for alternative schemes by Fra Giovanni Giocondo and Giuliano da Sangallo, submitted during the autumn of 1505.[99] The first scheme, by Fra Giocondo, shows a longitudinal plan that broadly adheres to the overall layout of the original Constantinian basilica, except with the creation of an ambulatory of chapels behind the altar. Whether this proposal entailed the incorporation of parts of the old fabric we cannot be certain. What is clear however is that Fra Giocondo was keen to demonstrate a sense of continuity with the old basilica, a more conservative approach that departed radically from Bramante's proposal.[100]

Fig.97 Reconstruction of Bramante's parchment drawing (Uff.1A) of 1505 as a Greek-cross plan, indicating locations of the St Peter's tomb (A) at the crossing, Julius II Mausoleum in the choir (B) (with tombs of members of the della Rovere family in the flanking sacristies), and altar dedicated to the Virgin Mary (C) in the west apse (Drawn by Peter Baldwin).

In the scheme by Giuliano da Sangallo, a close friend and long-term supporter of Julius II, we see a square centralized plan whose layout largely derives from Bramante's earlier parchment drawing. Giuliano's revisions however suggest a

slightly different set of priorities, reflected in the enlargement of the corner piers – to provide additional support to the central dome at the crossing - and the inclusion of more self-contained corner sacristies perhaps to accommodate the tombs of Sixtus IV and his della Rovere family, to be relocated from the Cappella del Coro.[101] The result of these changes is that the inter-connectedness of spaces found in Bramante's scheme, generated by a system of graduating proportional relationships, is transformed into a more static arrangement of compartmentalized spaces. Accordingly, the multiple relationships between major and minor elements, evident in Bramante's parchment drawing, is overlaid by Giuliano's more homogeneous plan of principally orthogonal relationships resulting largely from the thickening of walls and piers.[102]

Fig.98 Giuliano da Sangallo (1443-1516), Presentation drawing of the plan for new St. Peter's Basilica (1505), recto, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, Uff.8A.

In spite of these significant differences it is clear that both Giuliano's and Bramante's schemes sought, in varying ways, to exploit the spatial possibilities of the four-way arch structure, in which the crossing constitutes the intersection of two equally defined axes. Whilst Bramante's scheme more visibly expresses the Greek-cross plan, by the projecting apses on all four sides of the basilica, Giuliano sought to contain this arrangement within what appears to be a monolithic square block.

Janus Quadrifrons

We should construe from this new emphasis on the four-way Greek-cross plan a significant departure from the Latin cross, not just in terms of the formal articulation of volumes and spaces (and their liturgical implications), but also in regard to the nature and meaning of the building's axes - as they relate to the topography of the Vatican. Whilst the longitudinal cross assumes the primacy of one axis, the Greek

cross embodies the idea of absolute centrality, in which all four cardinal directions are given equal emphasis. One possible historical model in this regard, which seems to have escaped the attention of scholars, is the Janus Quadrifrons. The connection, as I will argue, draws upon a complex set of relationships that converge on the dual symbolism of the Vatican, as both the providential homeland of the archaic *claviger* (Janus) and the ancient *territorium triumphale*. Giles' 1507 sermon in St Peter's Basilica, in which the Augustinian describes the papal *cathedra* as the "throne of Janus", serves as an obvious influence in this relationship. As I discussed earlier, underlying Giles' reference to the archaic key-bearer is arguably a larger providential reading of topography that centred on the status of the Vatican as the 'new Jerusalem' and threshold to Etruria - the new Holy Land.

A likely source which no doubt would have justified the association of St Peter's with Janus, and which both Giles and Bramante would have known, can be found in St Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*. Using Varro as a source, Augustine makes the following remark:

> "…when they make Janus four-faced and call him the double Janus, this is interpreted in relation to four parts of the world, as if the world looked at anything outside itself as Janus looks out with all his four faces. Then, if Janus is the world and the world consists of four parts, the image of the two-faced Janus is false. Or if it is justified by the fact that the expression 'the East and the West' is generally understood as meaning 'the whole world' are we to take it that when we name the two other parts, North and South, someone is going to talk about a 'double world', in the same way as they call the four faced god the 'double Janus?"[103]

St Augustine's interpretation of the meaning of the four-faced Janus provides an appropriate reference in which to examine the meaning of the Greek-cross plan of the new St Peter's Basilica. It underpins the idea of the Vatican as the centre of the four

corners of the 'Christian empire', in which the four axes of St Peter's Basilica demarcate the four orientations of the civilized world, a point I will return to later in Chapter 5 in the context of the Stanza della Segnatura. The Janus Quadrifrons provides an appropriate model in this symbolism, given that Janus is the god of all beginnings and his throne is the *cathedra* of the popes.

This implied connection between the centralised plans of St Peter's Basilica and the Janus Quadrifrons may have drawn some inspiration from an archaeological interest in the 'four-way' arch, indicated in a drawing by Giuliano and dating from 1494. The drawing, to be discussed later in Chapter 5, shows a representation of a large triumphal arch located in the small settlement of Malborghetto some twenty kilometres north of Rome. Dating from the period of Constantine, the monument is roughly square in plan and laid out in the form of a Janus Quadrifrons. Erected in a place close to where the famous battle between Constantine and Maxentius is said to have taken place - in Saxa Rubra - the arch probably served as a commemorative monument, to mark the place where the emperor is said to have had a dream of the true cross during the night before battle. Significantly, Giuliano's representation of the structure bears little resemblance to the ruins of the ancient arch. The original travertine cladding and marble embellishments of the arch were removed long ago, leaving only a bear brick structure which was transformed into a fortified house in the Middle Ages. Evidently, in his desire to emphasise the monumental significance of the arch, Giuliano created an elaborate reconstruction, in which the outer walls are shown adorned with triumphal motifs, including military trophies. At the same time, Giuliano's perspective representation clearly reveals the layout of the structure, with its four arched openings and coffered vaulting at the crossing.

The significance of this drawing needs to be considered in the broader context of the relationship between triumphal symbolism and the building form of the Janus Quadrifrons. The more familiar Janus Quadrifrons in the Forum Boarium, also constructed during the Constantinian period, followed an ancient tradition of building *geminus*; twin or fourway arches in Rome dating back to the period of Numa.[104] This

structure however may have served as a late antique (archaizing) version of the 'Porta Triumphalis, through which victorious armies processed across the *pomerium* into the city. An indication of the importance attached to this arch, during the Renaissance, as a ceremonial gateway to the Roman Forum is highlighted on an iconological map of Augustan Rome by Fabio Calvo, taken from his 'Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus Simulachrum' and dated 1527. In this ideal circular map, each quarter of Rome is highlighted by a single monument, serving as its 'leitmotiv'. In Regio VIII (Forum Romanum) the 'Porta-Arcus-quattuor-rum' (Janus Quadrifrons) is clearly shown.[105]

Fig.99 Anonymous. Augustan Rome after a woodcut published by Marco Fabio Calvo. Engraving in Boissard, Romae Vrbis Topographiae & Antiquitatum….(1627). CAT.13. Note the Janus Quadrifrons ("Arcus quatturo Porta rum") in Regio VIII ("Forum Romanum").

Fig.100 View of the Constantinian Janus Quadrifrons, Forum Boarium, Rome (Photo by author)

The historical connection between the Janus Quadrifrons and the Porta Triumphalis, and the speculation about their respective ceremonial functions, is further complicated by the question of the original location of the latter. During the Renaissance, an important influencing factor was antiquarian interpretations of topography. As we saw in Chapter 2 the reconstruction of the route of the via Triumphalis by the early 15th century commentator Flavio Biondo, locates the Porta Triumphalis on the west side of the Tiber river, somewhere between the Vatican Obelisk and the *Pons Triumphalis* (pons Neronianus).[106] It is easy to see why Biondo chose this area, given the ancient accounts of triumphal marches between the *Ager*

Vaticanus and the *Campus Martius* and more generally the status of the Vatican as the ancient *territorium triumphale.*

By the end of the 15th century the triumphal associations of the Vatican were, as we have already noted, overlaid with mytho-historic allusions to the key-bearer Janus, promulgated in the writings of Annius of Viterbo and others. The amplification of both during the pontificate of Julius II may have informed Bramante's and Giuliano's allusion to the four-way arch of the Janus Quadrifrons in their centralised schemes for the new St Peter's Basilica. We can only speculate that Giuliano's earlier 'reconstruction' of the Janus Quadrifrons in Malborghetto contributed in any way to this relationship.[107]

One intriguing aspect of both Constantinian Janus arches - at Malborghetto and the Forum Boarium – concerns their topographical relationship, demarcating what may have been construed by humanists as the beginning and the end of the military campaign of the 1st Christian emperor against his adversary Maxentius. It has been persuasively argued that Constantine broke with tradition by not performing "the customary visit to the shrine of the Capitoline Jupiter."[108] Whilst this claim cannot be substantiated, Michael McCormick states that the break with "Capitoline tradition was accomplished by the time of Constantine's *vicennalia* in Rome, at the latest."[109] This departure, moreover, should be seen in the context of Constantine's principal objectives during the battle of Ponte Milvio; to overthrow an incumbent emperor and presumably to establish a Christian empire, both of which were at odds with the tradition of the Roman triumphal ceremony. However, the very archaizing character of both Janus Quadrifrons in Constantinian Rome may reflect both an attempt to legitimise Constantine's mission and to revive aspects of the Roman triumph.

It is, of course, open to debate whether such commemorative intentions for both Constantinian monuments were ever considered by Renaissance humanists and architects, in particular Giuliano da Sangallo. What seems clear however is that the Constantinian inscription and supporting mosaics, uncovered on the 'triumphal arch'

of old St. Peter's Basilica in the early 16th century, underlined both the triumphal associations of the Vatican and the status of the first Christian emperor as 'initiator' of papal temporal ambitions.[110]

Bramante's designs for new St. Peter's probably profited from these relationships, highlighting legitimate historical and symbolic contexts for the hagiographic treatment of the Pope's ancestry and his status as a princely ruler. Indeed from what we have investigated, it seems plausible that the combination of the role of the *Pontifex Maximus* as 'descendent' of the archaic *claviger* (Janus), and the triumphal associations of the Janus Quadrifrons, provided a coherent symbolism for the centralised scheme for new St Peter's Basilica; the 'Porta Triumphalis' *par excellence* of the Roman Church.

In the tension between visible forms and their embodied metaphysical relationships the centralised four-way plan of new St Peter's Basilica becomes symbolically the cross-roads between this world - of temporal and finite existence- and the next - its eternal and infinite counterpart. Considered in topographical terms, the Petrine sacramental portal is oriented not to the city of Rome, located across the Tiber river, but to its *other* (Heavenly Jerusalem), enacted through the liturgy of the Church. This passage between the city of sin and of salvation could be said to mediate with the ancient territory of Etruria which is in 'visible range' of the Basilica and the tomb of Peter.

Fig.101 Caradosso (Cristoforo Foppa) (1452-1526), Foundation Medal for the Laying of the Cornerstone of New St. Peter's Basilica (Summer, 1505?), verso (TEMPLI. PETRI. INSTAVRACIO. VATICANVS. MO[ONS] inscribed around façade of basilica), Raccolte Artistiche del Casello Sforzesco – sezione numismatica (Johnson-Martini, n.77)

From the influences of Bramante's detailed survey drawings of the Baths of Diocletian to his critical assessment of Giuliano's alternative centralised plan, we recognise an attempt to 'situate' the eternal geometric forms - and proportional relationships - *within* the mytho-historical topography of the Vatican. This fertile dialogue between real and ideal references highlights a much more sophisticated rendering of architectural ideas when compared to 15th century sensibilities. Moreover, the enterprise finds parallels in Giles of Viterbo's reinterpretation of Neo-platonism:

> "[Giles of Viterbo] reworked Roman Platonism into a philosophy of history that legitimized spiritually the temporal action of the papacy as a Christian empire. The link with contemporary reality is the unavoidable interpretive element for understanding how the philosophical and theological ideal of the golden age could be used in the realm of political propaganda." [111]

The comparison is especially pertinent when we consider the critical role played by the new monumentalising tendency in the architecture of Julius II's pontificate, evident in Bramante's other ambitious schemes for the Cortile del Belvedere and Palazzo dei Tribunali. These gave material expression to the providential view of history promoted by Giles of Viterbo during the Julian age. In short, Bramante sought to 're-found' a tradition that both drew upon the legacy of imperial Rome and reinvigorated Early Christian sacramental symbolism.[112]

The Tegurium

The triumphal associations of Bramante's scheme for new St Peter's would seem to have been invested with further symbolic meanings with the installation of a monumental screen - called the *tegurium* (altar house) - in the basilica. The precise function of this structure has been the subject of prolonged scholarly debate.[113] Designed by Bramante, the *tegurium* was probably installed some time between

Pentecost in 1513 and Easter in 1514, towards the end of Bramante's life and at the beginning of the pontificate of Leo X.[114] It was finally demolished around 1592.

Evidence of the dating and importance of this monument is indicated on a coin minted in the Marche in 1513-14. Probably modelled on the original foundation medal for the Basilica of 1505-06, the obverse shows a representation of new St Peter's Basilica, whilst on the verso there is a scene of Pope Leo X (1513-21) offering a model to St Peter. As John Shearman has claimed, the model is probably a representation of the Tegurium, albeit an earlier version of the project before it was built.[115]

Fig.102 Unknown Die-Engraver. Silver coin (reverse) dating from Leo X showing the Altar-house *(Tegurium)* of St. Peter's (ca. 1513-14), British Museum, London.

From 16th century drawings of the construction of new St Peter's, by Maerten van Heemskerck, Giovanni Antonio Dosio and Battista Naldini, we are able to acquire a fairly clear picture of the appearance of the *tegurium* and its location. The rectangular structure, which resembled a classical triumphal arch measuring 92.5 x 40 *palmi*, was built against the fourth century west wall and apse of old St Peter's which were left standing by Bramante during the construction of the new Basilica.[116] The *tegurium* screened the *capella papalis* and altar from the area of the crossing to the east. The principal east face of the *tegurium* was divided into three arched bays, separated by wall piers and half-columns, whilst the narrower north and south sides were only one bay in width and flanked by half columns. The structure was topped with an architrave and entablature. The established view by scholars is that the *tegurium* was built as a temporary structure, to protect the altar during the construction of the new Basilica and to shelter it from inclement weather; the roof on the western part of the old Basilica was removed in 1506 leaving the altar exposed.[117]

Fig.103 Marten van Heemskerck (1475-1564), View from the North transept of old St Peter's Basilica towards the Tegurium (1532-36), Stockholm, Nationmuseum, Collection Anckarvärd, n.637.

In principle, the *tegurium* would have enabled the liturgical functions of the *capella papalis* to continue. However, as Lex Bosman states, the structure was clearly an inadequate shelter, given that it was open on three sides and originally did not have a roof.[118] Moreover, Paris de Grassis, the papal master of ceremonies, complained about the lack of protection, stating that liturgical services had to be abandoned due to exposure to wind, rain and the cold.[119] From the 1513-14 coin, discussed earlier, the representation of the *tegurium* shows what appears as a melon-shaped dome, which according to Frommel was intended to cover the "old calotte [shallow dome] of the apse" in the basilica.[120] The reason for not including this dome in the final design is not known. In its place was built an attic storey, with Serliana window, covered by a rather incongruous looking rustic pitched roof.[121]

These additions are clearly shown on various sketches of new Peter's Basilica under construction, dating from before 1560s. They also indicate that blind arcading was added, by filling-in the open bays of the original design, and the insertion of small windows. All of these changes reflect the inadequacy of the original design as a 'shelter' for the Petrine altar.

Significantly, in Vasari's description of Bramante's design for the *tegurium*, he makes no mention of its temporary function as a shelter. Indeed he calls it an "ornamento", a term that suggests a more ceremonial purpose, reflected in the use of the Tuscan Doric order for the arcading made from peperino stone. Vasari goes on to state that it was completed by Peruzzi after Bramante's death.[122]

From this documentary and visual evidence, it seems unlikely that Bramante had designed the structure with the specific purpose of providing protection to the altar from the natural elements and building work. However, the transformations of the *tegurium*, from its original design as an open screen (redolent of a triumphal arch) to a closed structure topped by a cumbersome pitched roof (" tetto rustico"), suggests that any original ceremonial purpose was abandoned as a result of the necessity to provide more adequate shelter for the *capella papalis*.[123]

William Tronzo refers to a number of possible influences in Bramante's original design. To begin with, he described the earlier screened enclosure (*cancellus*) that framed the altar, dating from the period of Constantine, and recorded in the *Liber pontificalis* under the biography of Pope Silvester (314-35).[124] A later version was built probably under Gregory the Great (590-604) which was still in existence at the beginning of the early 16th century. Significantly, as Tronzo points out, the number of columns on the east face of this enclosure equals the number incorporated into Bramante's design for the main façade of the *tegurium*. This may only be a coincidence, but could also indicate Bramante's intention to monumentalise the original screen so that it would be consistent with the scale of the new Basilica.[125] The idea of course raises the question, outlined earlier, of whether the *tegurium* was intended to be a permanent or a temporary structure, a point we will return to later.

Fig.104 Hypothetical plan of the Tegurium in relation to the apse and *pergula* of the Constantinian basilica (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

Tronzo goes on to suggest another possible influence that relates to the appearance of the *tegurium* as a triumphal arch. From the late 16th century drawings of the interior of the Basilica, by Heemskerck, Naldini and Dosio, it seems evident that the inclusion of rectangular panels to each bay - on the attic storey of the *tegurium* - formed part of the original design and were probably intended to draw comparison

with the attic storey of ancient triumphal arches. The arch of Constantine is considered the most likely source in this regard, with its reused sculptured reliefs on the flanking panels - dating from the period of Marcus Aurelius - and its central inscription. Recognising, however, the differences in the arrangement of the triple bays in both the *tegurium* (equal bays) and Constantine's arch (major and minor bays), Tronzo is careful to describe this relationship in analogical rather literal terms.[126] More generally, the connection is seen as an attempt to retrace Paleochristian and Constantinian forms in the new Basilica, a point that reinforces the idea of Bramante's parchment plan as a part evocation of the Constantinian Janus Quadrifrons discussed earlier.

Fig.105 View of the Arch of Constantine, Rome (ca.315 AD) (Photo by author).

In seeking to forge these connections with Paleochristian/Early Christian models, Bramante would no doubt had regarded the Constantinian inscription, and supporting mosaics, on the 'triumphal arch' of old St Peter's Basilica as especially important influences in his design for the *tegurium*.

The issue however of the intended relationship of the *tegurium* to the new St Peter's Basilica still begs the question of whether the former was planned from the start as a permanent structure. From the remains of the base of one of the corners of the structure, preserved in the crypt of new St Peter's, and the representations of the *tegurium* in the 16th century sketches of St Peter's Basilica referred to earlier, it seems clear that the structure would only have been partly visible from the raised floor level of the new Basilica.[127] It may be that it was intended to function as both a temporary liturgical screen (in spite of its evident shortcomings as a shelter from the exposed elements and building work) and as a 'mock-up' for a future *tegurium* planned but not executed for the new chancel. We should consider the second theory in the light of the evident symbolic implications of Bramante's design and the

proposed location of Julius II's Mausoleum (in the chancel of the new Basilica beyond the Petrine tomb and altar), to which the triumphal altar-house would have served as its ceremonial threshold. Both suggestions would seem plausible, not least since the articulation and monumentality of the *tegurium* were clearly in keeping with the design of the new Basilica, whilst the use of peperino stone for the structure - a relatively cheap material - would seem inappropriate for such a prominent structure.

Finally, the treatment of the *tegurium* may have drawn further inspiration from the other great shrine to St Peter designed by Bramante and also in the Tuscan Doric order; the Tempietto of San Pietro in Montorio located on the Janiculum Hill and constructed around 1502. Considered topographically, the relationship between the sites of the burial and martyrdom of St Peter (even allowing for the disputes over the latter) were given architectural definition by Bramante's designs for the *tegurium* and Tempietto; whilst the latter evokes the ancient tholos or heroon – demarcating (and commemorating) the supposed site of the saint's martyrdom - the former conveys a triumphal procession to the heavenly realm that lies *beyond* Peter's burial. Seen more broadly, the two building forms – round temple and triumphal arch – could be said to exemplify the two models underlying Bramante's scheme for St Peter's Basilica, both dialectically related in the complex interplay between centralised and processional geometries.

This relation between the Tempietto and the *tegurium* leads us to a final point about the intended symbolism of the altar-house, highlighted in the relief of the *tegurium* on the 1513-14 coin referred to earlier. When viewed in plan, the overall footprint of the *tegurium*, in relation to the apse concealed behind, reveals roughly the same depth (to the back of the apse) as the overall width of the east facing screen of the altar-house. Had the design of the *tegurium*, indicated on the coin, been built then the location of the melon-shaped dome would probably have been central, directly over the altar. This arrangement suggests that the *tegurium* was intended to be treated not so much as a detached shallow screen but as the main façade of an integrated space,

with its dome at the crossing and its other three sides 'absorbed' into the apse of the old basilica.

The resulting configuration could be construed as a 'microcosm' of Bramante's centralised plan of the new St Peter's Basilica with its lofty dome, serving perhaps as a prolegomenon to the building to come. This is suggested by the image of the *tegurium* on the coin which shows two distinct elements; a lower structure with a large segmental pediment (extending the full width of the main façade), surmounted by a tall circular 'tempietto' with drum and lantern. Unlike the executed altar-house, the one portrayed on the coin clearly shows the central bay of the main body of the *tegurium* to be wider than the other two, an arrangement more consistent with triumphal arches. The allusion to a Janus Quadrifrons – albeit absorbed into the existing structure of the old basilica - should not be overlooked in this design; the incorporation of domes and groin-vaults in Janus arches was not uncommon, as demonstrated for example in the Constantinian Janus Quadrifrons in the Forum Boarium and another version dating from the period of Marcus Aurelius, with its prominent dome protruding above the attic storey of the arch.[28]

To conclude, in this chapter I have sought to highlight potential influences of the mytho-historical background of the Vatican on the early developments of the new St Peter's Basilica. Inspired by the much trumpeted (but mistaken) identity of the Vatican as the *territorium triumphale*, as well as the ground sacred to Janus (first key-bearer) and as the burial site of St. Peter ('founder' of the Roman Church), this complex and inter-woven narrative of Etrusco-Roman and Judeo-Christian themes provided a 'subtext' of references that shaped Bramante's particular form of classical *renovatio*. At the same time, I have indicated how this subtext of references was communicated through the writings of antiquarians and humanists, most notably Flavio Biondo and Giles of Viterbo, and translated in the architectural ideas that informed Bramante's proposals for the new basilica. Viewed collectively, these influences on the new basilica suggest that Bramante was seeking to use architecture and urban design to enhance the status of his pope - as both temporal ruler and chief-

priest - by drawing upon Giles' inspiring providential historiography of the west bank of the Tiber River.

Chapter 6

THE STANZA DELLA SEGNATURA
A Testimony to a Golden Age

Topographical and Geographical Connections

The idea of including a chapter on the Stanza della Segnatura in this study of the architectural and urban developments of the Pontificate of Julius II was prompted by two intriguing assertions made be Manfredo Tafuri and Christiane Joost-Gaugier. In the first, Tafuri argues that the frescoes of the Stanza constitute a "manifesto" of the projects of Bramante in Rome.[1] In the second Joost-Gaugier suggests that the approximate cardinal orientations of the four walls of the chamber were intended to align the frescoes to more distant geographical horizons.[2]

Implicit in Tafuri's argument is the idea that both the content and orientation of the frescoes inform the functions and symbolic meanings of actual buildings and interiors beyond the papal apartments. This connection, as I will highlight in this chapter, suggests that the Stanza was intended to serve as both a topographical and symbolic point of reference for Julius' ambitious programme of *renovatio*.

At a larger geographical level, Joost-Gaugier makes the case that the approximate cardinal directions of the frescoes had a bearing on the symbolic programme of the Stanza. Connections were forged between these coordinates and the mytho-historic alliances between Rome and the civilizations of Greece and Egypt, that in turn underlined the Judeo-Christian and Greco-Roman traditions. Significantly, Joost-Gaugier bases her argument on the premise that explorations of the New World during the Renaissance led to a new geographical understanding of the world.[3]

On the basis of the arguments of both Tafuri and Joost-Gaugier, I will seek to demonstrate how the iconography of the Stanza brought into dialogue actual locations, geographical destinations and idealized settings, which in turn gave credence to the belief that the Golden Age was an actual possibility, rather than simply a theological or philosophical notion.

The Stanza della Segnatura has been the subject of extensive scholarly investigation over the years, much of which has sought to address issues of authorship of the iconography, and the vexed question of the identity of some of the figures represented in the frescoes.[4] I will not attempt a comprehensive review of these earlier studies, a task which is beyond the scope of the present study. My aim instead is to seek clarification on the intended spatial, topographical and geographical meanings of the frescoes, and the degree to which the iconography was deployed not just as a vehicle to re-affirm humanist and theological principles but also to communicate the providential significance of Julian Rome.

Before beginning this investigation of the Stanza della Segnatura, it would perhaps be useful to explain further what I see as the role of topography in the creation of architectural settings. David Leatherbarrow provides some helpful guidance:

> "The task of topography, which is not that of design, is to posit probable sequences through these relationships [reversal, analogy and displacement], some of which express sameness; others, difference. The positive sense of difference is its evidence of the place's historicity. Disjunctions within the horizon of typicalities demonstrate how times have changed and how the inheritance has been recast in response to new interests….Only in such a field can an event and its setting find a place."[5]

Whilst examined in the context of modern buildings and interiors, Leatherbarrow's interpretation is nevertheless illuminating when applied to the frescoes of the Stanza

della Segnatura. He infers that topography constitutes a 'gathering place', where the "typicality" of situations – those situations expressed for example in the rituals and actions of urban life – accumulate over time as distinguishable events. The resulting juxtapositions and superimpositions, conveyed in the changing fabric of the city, provided the raw material for reinterpreting the inheritance of the past, which Leatherbarrow argues is in response to "new interests". The case of Julian Rome (and the Stanza della Segnatura in particular) constituted a fertile territory in which to consider this idea of topography. Leatherbarrow's use of the term "typicality", as it relates to the actual situations and settings of the city (which in this case range from civic/religious processions to the signing of papal bulls), operate as a backdrop to the Stanza della Segnatura, against which the scenes represented serve as paradigmatic models.

in facultatibus

The Stanza della Segnatura was originally used as the private library of the Pope; the *Bibliotheca Iulia*. This is indicated by the division of the subject matter of the frescoes into 'Faculties' (the traditional practice for libraries during the Renaissance), as well as the abundance of scholarly and theological texts in the representations.[6] Derived from the seven liberal arts, the themes of the four frescoes define the essential disciplines of humanist thought, whose inter-relationships communicate the narrative structure of the frescoes. These can be summarised as follows:

Disputa (Theology)
School of Athens (Philosophy)
Parnassus (Poetry)
Jurisprudence (Justice)

Each fresco occupies one of the four walls of the chamber, whose plan is not orthogonal as one would perhaps have assumed. The result of incremental changes in the construction and layout of the papal palace, the slight irregularity of the plan means that the frescoes on opposite walls do not align. Such variations, as I will

explain later, probably factored into the iconographic narrative and perspective construction of the frescoes, rather than treated as an unfortunate imperfection that either had to be masked or simply ignored. The two principal frescoes, the *School of Athens* and *Disputa*, are oriented roughly east and west respectively, whilst the *Parnassus* and *Jurisprudence* (both of which frame window openings) are located on the north and the south walls. From Tafuri's argument, the *Disputa* stands as emblematic of St Peter's Basilica, to which it is roughly oriented, whilst the *Parnassus* fresco (discussed earlier in Chapter 4) frames the view of the Cortile del Belvedere to the north. *Jurisprudence*, moreover, which is on the south wall, was perhaps intended to acknowledge Bramante's ambitious scheme for the Palazzo dei Tribunali, located south-east of the Vatican across the Tiber River. Finally, the *School of Athens*, with its celebration of human (philosophical and scientific) knowledge was probably intended to commemorate the Vatican Library, expanded by both Nicholas V and Sixtus IV and containing an unrivalled collection of ancient and medieval texts in the Christian world.

Fig.106 Plan of Stanza della Segnatura indicating locations of the frescoes (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

Encapsulated in their respective personifications in the vault of the room, the divisions of knowledge underlying *in facultatibus* draw upon a multitude of symbolic references. These could be said to culminate in the relationship between *spiritus* and *sensus* - between the eternity of the soul and our temporal experience of the physical world.[7] According to Edgar Wind, the iconography of the vault delineates the principal coordinates of the frescoes below.[8] In a slightly different way, Ernst Gombrich argues that "…the walls must be seen as expositions or amplifications of the ideas expressed by the personifications on the ceiling."[9]

Fig.107 Raphael (1483-1520): Ceiling of the Stanza della Segnatura, indicating the personifications of Philosophy, Jurisprudence, Theology and Poetry. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

These attempts however to convey the thematic connections between different parts of the fresco cycle only provide a partial overview of the complex spatial articulations of the Stanza. To assist us in comprehending these relationships this investigation will assume that the fresco-cycle can be interpreted along two primary directions. These comprise the vertical (hierarchical) axis that commences at the vault and 'unfolds' within the dimensions of the room below, circumscribed by the foreground scenes of the four frescoes. An important aspect of this vertical reading of the chamber is the location of the pope's collection of books and manuscripts. The themes of the frescoes, and perhaps even the arrangement of figures within them (philosophers, Church fathers, theologians, humanists, popes, mythological figures etc), may have provided a visual clue to the cataloguing of texts in Julius II's private library, probably arranged on shelves below the frescoes. The downward vertical movement concludes with the rich mosaic floor. Its whirling scrolls, in *opus sectile* marble, granite and porphyry, are likely to have had both a symbolic meaning and a spatial function, by indicating the location of furniture within the room (most notably the seat of the pope).[10]

Then the horizontal axis draws all four frescoes into a unified scenographic 'horizon' of exemplary settings that project within the perspective depth of the frescoes to idealized and 'actual' topographies; the latter located beyond the dimensions of the Stanza della Segnatura. Rather than functioning as independent 'calibrations' of human/divine space, these axes are inter-related, each drawing meaning from the other in the formation of an integrated spatial/temporal scaffold. As I will explain later, we are given an indication of how these two axes inter-relate, and guide us in

the progression from *sensus* to *spiritus*, through a study of St Bonaventure's *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*.

Fig.108   Plan of the Vatican Palace, Cortile del Belvedere and new St Peter's Basilica (as originally designed by Bramante), indicating location of the Stanza della Segnatura and the approximate cardinal axes of the frescoes (Plan after Letarouilly and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

The adoption moreover of this twofold spatial system of axes can also be found in topographical relationships in Julian Rome, notably between the horizontal (perspectival) articulations of the Cortile del Belvedere and the vertical (hierarchical) arrangement of superimposed elements that define the new St Peter's Basilica; the former extends on the north-south axis whilst the latter is laid out as a four-way arch with an east-west liturgical axis.[11] It is as if the arrangement of the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura constitutes a microcosm of this larger topographical setting, by drawing these two principal axes of orientation (of the new St Peter's Basilica and the Cortile del Belvedere) within the chamber's own internal geometric layout. The relationship therefore between the vaulted space of the chamber and the projective terrain, represented in the wall frescoes below, forms a matrix of symbolic and spatial alignments. As both witness to - and agent of – the new Golden Age, Julius II would probably have construed the Stanza as his own personal point of reference, from which to contemplate the destiny of papal Rome.

Triune Symbolism

The iconography of the frescoes conveys a graduating spiritual journey that begins at the level of human discourse and culminates in divine knowledge. To understand how this journey would have been interpreted by the pope and his court it will be necessary to examine aspects of the iconography of the frescoes, starting with the *School of Athens*. The fresco could be interpreted as a *preparatio* of things to come,

revealed in the *Disputa* fresco opposite. This preparation finds expression in the idea of triune symbolism in Greek thought foreshadowing the Trinity. Through philosophical discourse the progression from human to divine knowledge becomes a dialectical process, communicated in symbolic and spatial terms as a translation from number and geometry to perspective.

A helpful guide, when interpreting this translation in the *School of Athens*, can be found in Edmund Husserl's seminal essay 'The Origin of Geometry'.[12] Husserl argues that geometry can be understood as a heritage that is "both handed down and rediscovered".[13] He explores the meaning of geometry in terms of temporality, arguing that it can be examined as a "regressive enquiry", on account of one's reliance on its historical legacy, and also as a "continual forward development" where the student of geometry discovers - as if for the first time - its 'truths' through independent enquiry. We can see how this twofold reading of geometry underlies the iconography of the *School of Athens*, where the situations of temporal events – articulated in the spatial arrangement of discoursing groups of figures – provide a narrative reading of the progression from human to divine knowledge.

Fig.109 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens*. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

These groups of figures are assembled in a monumental and sumptuous barrel-vaulted hall. Vasari informs us that the design of this structure was conceived by Bramante, mentor to the young Raphael and fellow Urbinese.[14] At the centre of the structure are two interlocutors, identified as Plato and Aristotle, whose relationship provides a key to understanding the iconography of the fresco. The pairing of the two great philosophers suggests, in the first instance, the equal importance attached to both in Renaissance culture. Highlighted in the writings of Nicolas Cusanus, Pico della Mirandola and others, this apparent balance (or "Concordia Platonis et Aristotelis") invoked in the fresco should not however be construed as the 'final

word' in our interpretation of the two figures.[15] In communicating his philosophy (*in divinus*) to his counterpart Aristotle, Plato's right hand is shown pointing upwards, reinforcing the separation between Idea and the reality of human existence. By contrast Aristotle expresses his philosophy (*in naturalibus*) by extending his right hand so that it hovers horizontally.[16] Intriguingly, the left-hand gestures of both philosophers are partly echoed by their left-hand actions. In each case we see Plato and Aristotle holding large tomes, whose titles are visible to the viewer. Plato is shown holding vertically a copy of his *Timaeus* (Timeo), with the spine facing towards the picture plain. Aristotle, on the other hand, holds a volume of his *Ethics* (Etica), poised somewhat precariously in a tilting position between his left hand and his partly raised left thigh. In each case the orientation of the book, whose content embodies the ideas of each philosopher, echoes their right-hand gestures.[17]

Fig.110 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens*. Detail of central part of fresco (Plato and Aristotle).Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

Whilst the differing outlooks of both philosophers appear to be juxtaposed in almost perfect harmony, a more detailed examination of the fresco suggests a perceptible prioritizing of one philosophical position over the other. Observing both figures, in the context of their respective relationship to the surrounding perspective arrangement of the picture, it becomes apparent that Plato's left hand (which holds his volume of the *Timaeus*) coincides with the vanishing point of the fresco. Whilst vanishing points in Renaissance paintings were not generally used to highlight a particular object or feature of symbolic importance, it seems that the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura were an exception; in a similar vein the vanishing point of the *Disputa* opposite coincides with the monstrance on the altar.[18] Given this coincidence, could we not assume that Raphael intended the visual and symbolic 'destiny' of both vanishing points to be related in some way?

It would be easy to dismiss this relationship between object/feature and vanishing point in the *School of Athens* as merely fortuitous. As Ingrid Rowland reminds us:

> "The vanishing point of the *School of Athens*….. has been deliberately obscured among the robes and books of Plato and Aristotle." Rowland further states, "Just as there is no securing visual anchor for the perspective system, so, too, the texts of Plato and Aristotle offer a glimpse into the mystery of the Trinity without secure physical participation in it."[19]

Notwithstanding this partial obscurity of the location of the vanishing point, its coincidence with Plato's left hand presents us with a potential significance in the overall reading of the fresco; in a similar way to the less than apparent duplicity between the hand gestures of Plato and Aristotle, and the orientations of their respective philosophical treatises, this coincidence probably formed part of a sub-text of relationships, which only those who were sufficiently informed of current philosophical debates would be able to recognise.

Our initial reading however of the fresco, in which both Plato and Aristotle take centre stage, is further underscored by André Chastel's assertion that the *School of Athens* is an allegory of the Liberal Arts; on the left foreground (the domain of Plato) we can identify figures associated with Grammar, Arithmetic and Music, whilst on the right (Aristotle's side) we have figures connected with Geometry and Astronomy.[20] Given this apparent balance between the ordering of the Liberal Arts, in relation to the locations of Plato and Aristotle, it is easy to see how the gestures of both philosophers seem to 'trigger' the secondary movements of the surrounding figures, much like a ripple effect extending in either direction across the picture plain. The resulting arrangement further impacts on the perspective rendering of the fresco by projecting the disputatious philosophical positions of Plato and Aristotle to the foreground of the fresco and beyond to the *Disputa*, where they are ultimately brought to rest by the position of the monstrance at the vanishing point of the fresco.

It is at this point, however, that our attention is drawn to the relationship between Plato (or more specifically his *Timaeus*). Only by understanding the significance of the *Timaeus* as a 'prefigurement' of the Bible - a status that Aristotle's *Ethics* did not possess - and the status of Plato as the 'Attic Moses' (conveyed in the Three Wisdom Traditions of *Prisca Theologia*) can we progress from the dialogue between interlocutors, and their surrounding retinue of philosophers, to the primacy of individual gesture.[21]

The latent centering of Plato's philosophy provides, moreover, the fulcrum of the perspective articulation of figures in the lower half of the *School of Athens*; lines radiating from the vanishing point, the location of Plato's *Timaeus*, extend outwards towards the retinue of figures in the foreground of the fresco on left and right hand sides. Generated by the perspective of the paved floor, and guided visually by the location and articulation of reading matter, it becomes apparent that these rays are destined for Pythagoras and Euclid - the principal figures in each group. The resulting triangular relationship between Plato, Pythagoras and Euclid conveys pictorially the translation from number and geometry to perspective – or from classical cosmological views of order to a humanistic (historical) world-view.

Fig.111 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens* (c.1509), Reconstruction of the fresco indicating the perspective relationship between Plato's left hand (vanishing point) and the retinue of figures around Pythagoras (left) and Euclid (right). (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

Both Pythagoras and Euclid are represented recording information from slates that are variously positioned on the paved floor, with inscribed contents clearly visible to the viewer. The representation of Pythagoras on the left shows a bearded man kneeling on a shallow stone plinth with pen and open book in hand. Seemingly

unaware of the small crowd surrounding him, he is deep in concentration and copying - or transposed - information from the slate inclined at his feet. Held by an admiring youth, the slate has inscribed upon it a representation of the musical consonances, annotated in Greek (Diapason, Diapente and Diatesseron) and in the shape of a lyre. This then surmounts a triangular form identified as the Tetractys, which in this instance is expressed in Roman numerals. The slate clearly celebrates Pythagorean cosmology in which whole numbers serve as constituent parts of a harmonic universe.

Fig.112 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens*. Detail of left side of fresco showing Pythagoras and his retinue of onlookers. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

The representation of the Tetractys in the *School of Athens* may well have drawn inspiration from Cusanus's doctrine of the Pythagorean scheme of musical intervals, where number affirms the light of "higher reason of theology" over that of the "lower reason of science and philosophy".[22] The sequence 1+2+3+4=10 of the *quaternari*, represented on the Pythagorean tablet, symbolizes the higher domain of Beatific beauty transmitted through musical harmony.[23] Accordingly, the philosopher has "called upon the logic of mathematics, rather than that of Aristotelian formal syllogistics, to provide the means by which we can raise ourselves above the sphere of mystical feeling into that of intellectual *vision*."[24] This is re-affirmed in Cusanus' *De Docta Ignorantia* that proposes that all knowledge is definable as measure, and that the concept of proportion constitutes the "medium" of knowledge.[25]

Fig.113 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens*: Detail of Pythagoras' tablet (Photo by author).

On the right hand side, the perspective rays extend in the direction of another group of figures gathered around Euclid, shown bending over his slate which is laid flat on the paved floor. In contrast to Pythagoras opposite, who is represented tabulating figures, Euclid is shown measuring a geometric figure using dividers. The different methods of recording/measuring information between both figures were clearly intended to underline the contrast between arithmetic reckoning and geometric measure.

Fig.114 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens*. Detail of right hand side of fresco showing Euclid and his retinue of on-lookers. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

The identity of the geometric form on Euclid's slate has been the subject of some speculation. According to Enrico Guidi, "…this figure would exemplify a knowledge of irrational, i.e. immeasurable numbers: numbers which cannot be measured by mathematics, but only by geometry."[26] The perspective projection of two overlapping equilateral triangles on the slate forms a six-pointed configuration. Guidi goes on to suggest that this "…may be inscribed in a regular hexagon, while the diagonal which divides the rectangle defined by the conjunction of the points of intersection of the two equilateral triangles, forms two right-angled scalene triangles which are described in Plato's *Timaeus*."[27] Simonetta Valtieri however takes a different position on the geometric configuration. Rather than consisting of equilateral triangles, as Guidi claims, the perspective rendering of the slate reveals two isosceles triangles that only partially overlap. Significantly, Valtieri goes on to claim that the ratios of the intersecting sides of these superimposed triangles - 3:4(quarter) ,2:3(fifth) and 1:2(octave) - match the four numbers, 1,2,3 and 4, that make up the Pythagorean Tetractys opposite, a theory however that would be difficult to substantiate.[28]

Fig.115 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens* (c. 1509), Detail of Euclid's tablet (Photo by author).

Hence, whilst Guidi asserts that the geometric figure merely reaffirms the crisis of the irrational number, and therefore the irreconcilable relationship between whole number reckoning and geometric (ocular) measure, Valtieri makes the case that the plan reconstruction of the perspective representation of the geometry constitutes a form of "arithmetised" geometry derived from Plato's *Timaeus*.[29] However we interpret the transformation from number to geometry in the *School of Athens* what seems clear is the significance attached to triune symbolism in both Pythagoras' Tectractys (with its constituent numbers that define the 'music of the spheres') and the interlocking triangles measured by Euclid. Mediating between the legacy of the former and the anticipation of the latter is Plato's lambda that forms the centerpiece of the *Timaeus*.

The interpretation so far of the triadic relationship between Plato, Pythagoras and Euclid provides only a partial reading of the complex symbolic alliances underlying the fresco. Returning to Husserl's idea of the origin of geometry as being both regressive and anticipatory in nature, we can discern in the triadic relationship between Plato, Pythagoras and Euclid a further possible inheritance. In his *Lives* Giorgio Vasari claimed that the figure of Pythagoras was actually one of the Evangelists (Matthew), perhaps because of the angelic appearance of the youth holding his slate.[30] Vasari's assertion has been dismissed by many scholars, on the grounds that Vasari only received information about the iconography of the fresco second-hand. It would however be shortsighted to simply ignore Vasari's claim, given Ingrid Rowland's passing remark that Pythagoras was regarded as "a sort of Saint Matthew to Greek philosophy"[31]

If we examine the overall profile of the elements that constitute the Pythagorean slate an image begins to emerge that resembles a drinking vessel. Could this have been intended to evoke the Holy Grail that was sacred to the mystery of the Eucharist?[32] Consisting of three distinct parts that characterize a goblet – a base ('X' as the most sacred number of Pythagorean cosmology), a stem (defined by the triangular form of the Tetractys) and finally the curved vessel itself (delineated by the musical scale of Pythagorean numbers represented in Greek letters) - the configuration may have been intended to express the idea of Pythagoras' 'music of the spheres' invoking the mystery of the Eucharist.

Fig.116 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens* (c. 1509), Orthographic reconstruction of the diagram on Pythagoras' tablet (After Bellori's *Decrizzione* and drawn by Peter Baldwin)

We know that during the pontificate of Julius II Bramante recognized the effectiveness of pictograms to communicate symbolic alliances, highlighted in his famous proposal to translate the title of 'Julius II Pontifex Maximus' into a series of associated objects (bridge, obelisk etc).[33] It may be that Bramante's authorship of the perspective construction of the *School of Athens* also entailed contributions to the iconography of the fresco.

If such a biblical reference was intended for the Pythagorean slate then it inevitably raises the question about the secondary status of the Euclidean slate opposite. From Guidi's and Valtieri's varying explanations of the meaning of the interlocking triangles, it may be that the six-pointed configuration was also intended to invoke the Magen David, at least in its partial translation as two superimposed triangles.[34]

Fig.117 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens* (c. 1509), Orthographic reconstruction of the diagram on Euclid's tablet of two interlocking triangles (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

The doubling up of associations between classical geometry and Judaic symbolism would seem to be consistent with Giles of Viterbo's and Pico della Mirandola's interests in the cross-fertilization of ideas between Neoplatonism and Kabala; the motif of the Magen David informed the cabbalistic studies during the Renaissance.[35] At the same time, the image of Euclid, with dividers in hand and measuring a geometric figure, is a familiar pose found in medieval illuminated manuscripts and paintings representing God measuring his cosmic creation. Like other elements in the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura, Raphael was not averse to adopting certain 'stock' images from previous paintings and appropriating them to a new iconographic narrative.[36] We should recognize, moreover, that attempts to convey these Biblical connections in Greek philosophical thought were further underlined by the status of Plato as the 'Attic Moses', referred to earlier.

What is implied in this double meaning of the slates is that implicit in Greek philosophical thought are the foundations of Judeo-Christian and Old/New Testament traditions, whose meanings require careful deciphering through the agency of number, geometry, perspective and text.

Finally, the Husserlian rendering of geometric enquiry as an exercise in heritage - or a 'handing down' of tradition – reveals a further level of meaning in the *School of Athens* that is relevant to this study. This relates to Raphael's use of contemporary figures in the portrayal of some of the philosophers in the fresco. I have already mentioned Bramante 'standing in' for Euclid. According to Ingrid Rowland this representation is derived from a woodcut print, used as a frontispiece for a pamphlet

on perspective entitled 'Le Antiquarie prospettiche romane' (*Roman Antiquities in Perspective*).[37] Its author – 'Prospettico melanese depictore' (Mr Perspective, a painter from Milan) - is thought to be Bramante himself. This is suggested by the frontispiece which is almost certainly a self-portrait of the architect. It shows a muscular nude figure, with bald head kneeling down with dividers in left hand and measuring a triangle marked out on the floor.[38] The similarity between this print and the representation of Euclid in the *School of Athens* cannot be disputed. But what does this tell us about the association of Bramante with Euclid? To begin with, Bramante's title 'Mr Perspective' underlines his involvement in the *School of Athens*, not just in the execution of the perspective of the fresco but also in his status as an expert in *perspectiva artificialis*. In the guise of Euclid, whose *Optics* provided the foundations of medieval *perspectiva naturalis* (the precursor to *perspectiva artificialis*), Bramante is seen to inherit classical geometry of Euclidian space and transcribe it in the projective geometry of pictorial space.[39]

This translation is initially communicated through the perspective representation of the geometric configuration on Euclid's slate. At a more ambitious level the translation may even involve the perspective construction of the whole fresco. According to Konrad Oberhuber the Euclidean diagram of two interlocking triangles provides a "key to the underlying geometry of the painted architecture of the fresco."[40] The idea is further substantiated by Valtieri who suggests that Pythagoras' Tetractys and Euclid's geometric figure effectively 'collude' in the creation of the architectural setting of the *School of Athens*.[41] As I already indicated, Valtieri claims that the *quarternari* on Pythagoras' slate defines the 'arithmetized' geometry on Euclid's slate. By superimposing the two interlocking triangles, represented on the Euclidean slate, over the monumental barrel-vaulted passageway of the fresco, it is found that the apex of the first triangle coincides with the vanishing point of the fresco – the location of the *Timaeus* and therefore the *fons et origo* of the whole fresco. The second touches the crown of the vault before the crossing.[42] Marcia Hall presses home the idea of such a direct application of the geometry to the overall

design of the perspective by stating: "….the figure is interpreted as Euclid-Bramante *drawing* the architecture of the fresco."[43]

Fig.118 Raphael (1483-1520), *School of Athens* (c. 1509), Outline reconstruction of the fresco with Euclid's diagram superimposed (After Valtieri and drawn by Peter Baldwin).

Returning to the identity of some of the principal figures of the fresco, the image of Plato is most probably based on a self-portrait by Leonardo da Vinci.[44] Applying the same reasoning, highlighted in the Euclid/Bramante partnership, it would seem that Raphael was seeking to recreate the relationships and alliances between ancient philosophers (and their mentors) and the artistic and intellectual communities of the Renaissance. In doing so, Husserl's idea of geometry as a tradition, that is inherited, is transmitted to late 15th and early 16th century Italy. I have speculated elsewhere on the nature of the relationship between for example Leonardo da Vinci (Plato) and Bramante (Euclid). This relates to their earlier employment in Milan in the late 1490s, under the patronage of Ludovico Sforza, when both artists received commissions at Santa Maria delle Grazie in the 1490s.[45] It seems that Raphael was attempting to emulate Euclid's 'inheritance' of Platonic cosmology in Bramante's indebtedness to Leonardo in his developing expertise in perspective.[46] Accordingly, "It is conceivable….. that the "handing down" of Platonic cosmology to Euclidean geometry was consciously "re-enacted" in the more recent understanding of the relation between perspective and geometry in the work of Leonardo and Bramante."[47] Through this inheritance we are given a further layer in the historical reading of the *School of Athens*, between recent events and ancient precedents, which no doubt was intended to underline the continuity between classical philosophical traditions and Renaissance humanism.

The secondary, or supporting, identities in the representation of Euclid and Plato inevitably prompt speculation about the 'contemporary' identity of Pythagoras. It may be that the image of Pythagoras is a portrait of Giles of Viterbo, represented as a bearded and unkempt figure consistent with descriptions of the Augustinian friar.[48] An authority of Neo-Platonism in the Julian court, and someone who had a keen interest in cultivating relationships between Pythagorean cosmology and Judeo-Christian numerology, Giles believed that implicit in Pythagoras' mystical philosophy were the "glimmerings" of Trinitarian thought revealed in the Tetractys.[49] Furthermore, we know that during the pontificate of Julius II an ambitious humanist project was underway - to summarise God's creation in the form of weights and measures. Most probably influenced by a passage taken from the *Wisdom of Solomon* (11:12), the project ('De ponderibus et mensuris') was undertaken by the younger humanist and apostolic secretary Angelo Colocci, with the enthusiastic support of Giles, the great numerologist in the papal court.

If we accept the hypothesis that Giles is represented as Pythagoras, it further suggests that the Augustinian friar was also involved in some capacity in the conception of the fresco cycle, an idea demonstrated by Heinrich Pfeiffer.[50] Whilst I do not wish to enter here into a detailed discussion about the authorship of the iconography, it is interesting to consider Giles' possible role in the light of Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier's recent claim that the iconographic programme was the work of Tommaso Inghirami, fellow humanist, court poet and Vatican librarian.[51] In support of her argument, Joost-Gaugier highlights the presence of Inghirami in the foreground of the fresco, to the left of Pythagoras, with his distinctive plump and jovial appearance in the guise of Epicurus (identified by his crown of fig leaves).[52]

Joost-Gaugier draws upon a wealth of textual material – in the form of orations and poems – to support her argument that Inghirami played a key role in the iconography of the frescoes. Most crucially, she underlines the Ciceronian overtones of the fresco-cycle, and how Inghirami was regarded as heir to Ciceronian verse in early 16th century papal Rome. Whilst Joost-Gaugier's argument is compelling, it fails to

recognize the importance attached to the notion of the Golden Age in the iconography of the frescoes. In spite of Inghirami's contribution to this 'papal project', he was not its most vocal supporter. The key advocate of this enterprise in the Julian court was Giles who provided the most articulate and persuasive vision of the Golden Age.[53] As we have already noted, Giles believed that the Julian pontificate constituted an auspicious moment in the history of mankind, when the iniquities of past ages will be redeemed through the creation of a new empire of faith. Most vividly expressed in his lengthy sermons and papal eulogies, Giles provides a theological reading of this new Golden Age in his *Sententiae ad mentem Platonis*, a commentary on the first book of Peter Lombard's *Sentences*.[54]

A further aspect of Giles' commitment to the Golden Age in Julian Rome, that is relevant to this examination of the *School of Athens*, concerns his intense interest in the redemptive meanings of Rome's topography. This interest, as we have seen elsewhere in this study, was most clearly expressed in Giles' unpublished *Historia viginti saeculorum*, written between 1513 and 1518 and most probably inspired by Annius of Viterbo's earlier version of ancient history in his *Antiquitates*.[55] A sacred history of "God's entire scheme for time on earth" from Biblical origins to Giles' own time, arranged in accordance with the first twenty psalms, the manuscript includes a description of the topography of Rome during the early 16th century.[56] It indicates how the promise of a Golden Age during the Julian pontificate was reflected in the ambitious urban and architectural projects of Bramante, including the new St Peter's Basilica and abandoned Palazzo dei Tribunali.

Observing again the groups of figures, located in the foreground of the *School of Athens* on the left and right hand sides, it is revealing how the positions of Epicurus (Tommaso Inghirami) and Pythagoras (Giles of Viterbo) are almost perfectly balanced by the locations on the right hand side of Euclid (Bramante) and Raphael (a self-portrait located on the extreme right). Could this balance between prominent humanists and artists/architects in the Julian court be yet another 'subtext' in the fresco, to acknowledge their individual contributions to the design and iconography

of the painting? In the same way that Bramante probably assisted Raphael in the construction of the perspective of the *School of Athens*, Giles may have advised, or perhaps worked in partnership with, Inghirami on the intellectual content of the fresco as it relates to the Augustinian friar's much-trumpeted vision of the Julian Golden Age.[57]

Fig.119 Outline reconstruction of the *School of Athens*, highlighting the locations of the figures of Epicurus (Tommaso Inghirami) (A), Pythagoras (Giles of Viterbo?) (B), Euclid (Bramante) (C) and Raphael (D) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin).

Considered in the overall symbolism of the *School of Athens*, it is significant that both Pythagoras and Euclid, and their respective coterie of admirers and philosophers, are pictorially closest to the *Disputa* opposite. Their spatial proximity to the monstrance was no doubt to impress upon the viewer the idea of Greek philosophy prophesying the Holy Trinity, by which the contemplation of triune symbolism in mathematics prepares the way for divine logos. The relationship between the two frescoes is underlined by Vasari who "imagined two-way traffic from the eastern to the western wall, or – to put it differently – to have thought of the two frescoes as a continuum, an unbroken visual and thematic flow in which (as he says) skillful composition of the whole story ensured Raphael's claim upon his contemporaries' respect."[58]

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the non-orthogonal layout of the Stanza means that the perspective construction of the *School of Athens* and *Disputa* frescoes do not quite align. Whilst Raphael was faced with a geometrically imprecise space, in which to install his ideal representations of the Julian Golden Age, it seems plausible that the artist used this imperfection to good effect - at least from the point of view of the pope - seated in the middle of the room. The arrangement insinuates a momentary suspension in the spatial relationship between the *Disputa* and the *School*

of Athens. Such a caesura however should be considered in the context of Joost-Gaugier's suggestion that Raphael was seeking, in the ordering and content of the frescoes, to treat this spatial irregularity as if it were a stage in the formation of a precise Pythagorean cube:

> "Though Raphael's raw material, the shape of the room, was irregular, there is no doubt that in interlocking the four large wall lunettes with the tetradic design of the ceiling and the circular patterns of the pavement, he was aiming to create the perfect cosmological cube that Pythagorean mathematics implies."[59]

From this idea we could construe that the misalignment of the vanishing points of the two primary frescoes, within the latent cosmological cube of the chamber, was intended to underline the separation between the limits of human knowledge (philosophy) and the infinitude and eternity of divinity (theology); a relationship that was earlier conveyed in Nicolas Cusanus' contemplation of human knowing in his *De Docta Ignorantia* referred to earlier.[60]

Fig.120 Raphael (1483-1520), Stanza della Segnatura (c. 1508-1511). Reconstructed aerial view of the chamber, showing A) the arrangement of shelves for books and manuscripts below the frescoes B) hypothetical location of the seat of Julius II (in the middle of the room on axis with the north window) and C) the misaligned relationship of the vanishing points of the *School of Athens* and *Disputa* (Drawn by Peter Baldwin).

We have so far examined aspects of the symbolic content of the *School of Athens* in relation to its forward projection indicating how the fresco is thematically and spatially allied to the *Disputa*, albeit interrupted by the perceptible gap between human and divine knowledge. This connection however must also be seen in reverse,

in the context of the fresco's backward projection, indicated through its orientation and architectural surroundings. I speculated earlier in this chapter that the orientations of the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura have a double purpose; to relate to actual or planned buildings/spaces within the city and to more distant geographical horizons. The eastern direction of the *School of Athens* suggests that Raphael was seeking to connect the Vatican Library, to which the fresco almost certainly commemorates, with Ancient Greece. We know that Julius II continued the efforts of his della Rovere uncle, Sixtus IV, in the expansion of the library. Located on the ground floor of the original Vatican Palace, built by Nicholas III (1277-80), with the entrance from the Cortile del Pappagallo, the Vatican Library consisted of four rooms: the *Bibliotheca Latina, Bibliotheca Graeca, Bibliotheca Secreta* and *Bibliotheca Pontificia*, the latter containing the papal registers and archives.

To underline the relationship between the *School of Athens*, the Vatican Library and Ancient Greece, Raphael probably drew direct inspiration from a sermon delivered by the humanist and Lateran canon Battista Casali on the Feast of the Circumcision on the 1st January in 1508 in the Sistine Chapel.[61] Acknowledging the contributions of Sixtus IV, following "the whirlwind of the Mohammedan war machine", Casali goes on to praise the achievements of Julius II:

> "You, now, Julius II, Supreme Pontiff, have founded a new Athens
> when you summon up that prostrated world of letters as if raising it
> from the dead, and you command that, amid threats of suspended
> work, that Athens, her stadia, her theaters, her Athenaeum, be
> restored."[62]

Casali's sermon was clearly intended to furnish a correlation between the expansion of the Vatican Library and the status of Rome as the rightful heir to Athens. Indeed, the sermon invokes the notion that Ancient Greece had been 'transferred' to the Vatican through the acquisition by the pope of many of the major works of the

ancient philosophers. Hence, the mere presence of Greek books in the papal library could be said to have effected the translation of Greek culture to Rome.[63]

The idea of 'rescuing' Greek knowledge from the abyss of the infidel was initially undertaken under Nicholas V, who sought to retrieve ancient Greek texts following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. A poet in the court of Nicholas V, 'Filelfo', even describes Greek thought as having "migrated" to Magna Graecia, as a result of the pope's initiative.[64] It was not until the pontificate of Sixtus IV however that the papal library was formerly created and became associated with both Plato's Academy and Aristotle's Lyceum. Significantly, Casali claims that Julius outdoes his uncle by his patronage of letters and, at the same time, makes a plea to the pope to confront the Turkish threat by embarking on military campaigns. The retrieval of Greek scholarship is here underpinned by an urgency to drive out the infidel, believing that exemplary human knowledge (*scientia*) is one means of meeting the Turkish threat.[65] We encounter, therefore, in this sermon a curious symbolic parallel between the power of scholarship as a route to human piety, and as a metaphor for military action (crusades) aimed at achieving papal supremacy in Europe and beyond.

To indicate how the military associations in Casali's sermon may have informed the *School of Athens* it is worth reminding ourselves of the historical significance of the Vatican as the construed *territorium triumphale*, earlier outlined in Chapter 5.[66] By virtue of this historical legacy the location of Peter's martyrdom and burial, in the vicinity of the Vatican, led to contrivances by hagiographers and commentators to ally martial with mortuary symbolism. This is partly reflected in the propaganda surrounding the construction of the first Constantinian basilica, and as we have seen in the establishment of the new basilica. At the some time, the belief during the Renaissance that the Vatican was the marshalling ground for returning armies in antiquity gave some legitimacy to the status of Julius II as a warrior pope.

Casali's inference of the parallel symbolism between *scientia*, philosophical/scientific knowledge, and *triumphus,* military victory, is amplified by the triumphal appearance of the architecture in the *School of Athens*. Given this connection, it is reasonable to assume that Bramante was seeking to emulate actual buildings or monuments in Rome. It has been commonly misinterpreted by some scholars that the magnificent hall in the fresco, that accommodates the deliberating philosophers, was intended to anticipate the construction of the new St Peter's Basilica. Examination of the structure, in relation to the size of the assembled figures, confirms that it is a lot smaller than Bramante's projected scheme for the new basilica.[67] In addition, as Glen Most makes clear, unlike a church with its enclosed walls, the passage of the barrel vault represented in the *School of Athens* is open at each end.

Fig.121 Outline plan and sectional reconstruction of the architectural ensemble in the *School of Athens*, (After Bruschi and drawn by Peter Baldwin).

These obvious differences lead us to an interesting possibility. Orthographic reconstructions of the fresco, by Arnaldo Bruschi and others, have revealed a monumental four-way triumphal gate, much like a Janus Quadrifrons.[68] This identification is further explored by Most who, echoing an earlier investigation by Christian Hülsen, speculates that Raphael may have been influenced by the well known Constantinian Janus Quadrifrons, located near San Giorgio in Velabro in the ancient Forum Boarium.[69]

Fig.122 View of the Janus Quadrifrons (4th century AD)), Forum Boarium, Rome (Photo by author)

He supports his argument by suggesting that the use of this ancient model was inspired by Giles' claim that Janus was the inventor of philosophy, and therefore would be consistent with the theme of the *School of Athens*:

> "For the Etruscan wisdom Janus brought to Italy included theology, love of things human, and love of things divine, but above all, as its first introductory discipline, philosophy – in which Giles includes the scientific investigation of natural phenomenon."[70]

Whilst Giles' connection between Janus and philosophy would seem to support the use of the four way arch of the Janus Quadrifrons in the fresco, Most's (and Hülsen's) contention that this was directly influenced by the Janus arch in the Forum Boarium may be overlooking another possible source. This relates to my earlier investigation in Chapter 5 of the possible connections between Janus, as first key-bearer and mythical first king of Italy, and Bramante's Greek-cross plan for the new St. Peter's Basilica. Notwithstanding Most's assertion of the evident difference between the structure of a Janus Quadrifrons - with its substantial corner piers and open ends - and the reduced mass of the crossing piers in Bramante's scheme for the new basilica, it seems plausible that implicit in the four-way plan of the basilica is an allusion to a Janus Quadrifons.[71] In the same chapter I referred to a fantastical reconstruction of the other Constantinian Janus Quadrifrons, in Malborghetto, by Giuliano da Sangallo who was a close protégé of Julius II and professional colleague and rival of Bramante.

Fig.123 Giuliano da Sangallo (1443-1516). Reconstruction of the Janus Quadrifrons at Malborghetto, highlighting remains of a cone-shaped crown. From the artist's *Sketchbook* (1485-1514), Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Ms. Barb. Lat. 4424, fol.36v.

Represented in perspective as a monumental four-way triumphal arch, festooned with military trophies and reliefs of triumphal processions, the drawing bore little resemblance to the actual remains of the Janus Quadrifrons, whose embellishments and reliefs had long disappeared.[72] Executed at around the same time as the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura, the drawing features a monumental coffered barrel-vaulted central opening, whose proportions and perspective projection show a striking resemblance to the triumphal hall represented in the *School of Athens*. Related to this possible influence is the further issue of the location of the Janus Quadrifrons in Malborghetto - on the east side of the Tiber River. This would seem to have a closer geographical relationship to the easterly orientation of the *School of Athens* than the Janus Quadrifrons in the Forum Boarium located to the south of the ancient Campus Martius. Of particular interest about the Janus Quadrifrons is that it was often associated with the Porta Triumphalis (also probably in the form of a four-way arch); this was the ritual gateway along the *via Triumphalis*, through which the victorious armies traditionally crossed the sacred *pomerium*.[73]

Interest in the Porta Triumphalis was especially evident during the Renaissance when attempts were made to identify the location of the original structure in Rome. As I explained in Chapter 2, Flavio Biondo claimed that the arch was located on the west (Vatican) bank of the Tiber River, close to the *Pons Neronianus*.[74] Connections between the Janus Quadrifrons and triumphal symbolism are further elaborated by Giuliano da Sangallo, as indicated in a description accompanying his reconstruction of the Malborghetto arch.[75]

Giuliano's addition, however, of a conical pile on the roof of the quadrifront triumphal arch at Malborghetto would see to bear little resemblance to reconstructions of the architectural ensemble of the *School of Athens*. A closer match, in this regard, can be found elsewhere in ancient Roman precedent, as demonstrated for example in a Janus Quadrifrons dating from the period of Marcus Aurelius.

Fig.124 Model of a Janus Quadrifrons from the period of Marcus Aurelius, showing similar features (of dome vault and outer projecting piers) as the architectural ensemble of the *School of Athens*. Museo della Civiltà Romana, EUR, Rome (Photo by author).

From this brief examination of the background of the Janus Quadrifrons it seems plausible that the author of the monumental archway in the *School of Athens* consciously sought to draw associations between the providential symbolism of Janus - first king of Rome and 'founder' of philosophy - and triumphal symbolism. If we accept the triumphal inferences that underlie the architecture in the fresco (and their allusions to a Janus Quadrifons) then could we not argue that the philosophical deliberations represented in the *School of Athens* were intentionally conceived as a form of victory procession of human knowledge, whose ultimate destination is the new St Peter's Basilica (which at the time was in its early stages of construction)?

Quite how the presence of Plato and Aristotle in the *School of Athens* contributes towards the triumphal symbolism of the Janus Quadrifrons (Porta Triumphalis) is indirectly conveyed in the following poetic account of a prophesy of Cosimo de Medici's ruler-ship by the Florentine Naldo Naldi, friend of Marsilio Ficino:

> The temple of Janus will be closed,
> Frenzied Mars chained,
> Ancient Faith will return and dispense Justice,
> Peace, with her purple wreath, will visit the dwellings
> of Italy,
> And the sheep will graze safely in the fields.[76]

The outward sign of peace, traditionally signalled by the closing of the gates of the Janus arch, is anticipated symbolically and spatially in the *School of Athens* by the location of Aristotle and Plato at the centre of the fresco. Giles' assertion that only

when philosophy guides everyday existence will peace be assured is communicated in the *School of Athens* through the duality of the two sages of philosophy; by closing the view to the triumphal passage and distant arch beyond, Plato and Aristotle could be said to prepare the ground for everlasting harmony and peace that is ultimately fulfilled in the triumph of Theology opposite.

It is however through Plato's *Timaeus* that, according to Giles, the victory of the intellect against the ignorance of the material world is expressed philosophically:

> "With good cause he [Plato] calls the intellect Knowledge [*scientia*], and after this he puts knowledge by means of the first and supreme Cause, wherein resides the ultimate goal of all inquirers, and true philosophers, for in the *Timaeus* he had said, "knowing what it is, is the sweet prize of victory, and the cause whereby all qualities inhere in individual matters.""[77]

The special 'alliance' between Ancient Greek culture and papal Rome, indicated in the relationship between the *School of Athens* and the *Disputa*, should also be considered in the context of the longstanding conflict between the Eastern and Roman churches. The orientation of the Basilica of St Peter's Basilica - on the west-east as opposed to the traditional east-west axis – could be said to re-affirm the supremacy of the Latin Church over its Greek counterpart.[78] The idea therefore of the "migration" of Athens to the Vatican, poetically conveyed in Casali's sermon, could also be construed as an affirmation of the 'surrender' of the Eastern Church to Rome's supremacy. We will see later how this line of argument informs the relationship of Emperor Justinian (represented in the *Jurisprudence*) to both the *School of Athens* and the *Disputa*. The subservience of Greek east to Latin west would also seem to be underlined by the use of the Janus Quadrifrons as the 'vessel' for containing the assembly of Greek philosophers; its Italic origins further enhanced Janus' status as the 'founder' of philosophy. In the conflation of architectural and topographical symbols, the *School of Athens* becomes the portal to heavenly

Jerusalem, mediated by the pope himself who occupies the chamber with his personal collection of books and manuscripts.

Conversio

The examination of the *School of Athens* inevitably raises further questions about the content and composition of the *Disputa* opposite. Like its counterpart, the assembly and gestures of the figures in the *Disputa* give a clue to understanding the fresco's intended message:

> "Moving from the realms of the multitude of philosophers, engrossed in lively debate in the *School of Athens*, to the relatively silent and orderly arrangement of pious theologians and saintly figures in the *Disputa* opposite, we witness the pictorial embodiment of St. Augustine's idea of the *pereginatio*, or spiritual pilgrimage."[79]

Celebrating the Church Militant, the *Disputa* is represented in the form of a three tiered hemicycle that graduates from the realm of theologians and saints to the heavenly abode of angels. The monstrance, located on the altar and coinciding with the vanishing point of the fresco, guides our eye vertically to the enthroned Christ above and finally to God and the starry firmament at the apex of the fresco.

Fig.125 Raphael (1483-1520), *Disputa*. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

The intermediate tier of the hemicycle is occupied by twelve Old and New Testament figures, each seated on a ring of cloud that passes behind the enthroned Saviour. Beneath this layer of venerable apostles and prophets is an assembly of figures on *terra-firma* consisting of Church fathers, saints and popes. These are arranged, like the *School of Athens* opposite, on a gridded paved floor with a central raised platform

accommodating the altar. It is on this level that the *Disputa* has a direct spatial relationship with the assembly of philosophers in the *School of Athens* opposite

Just to the left of the altar in the fresco we can identify the seated figures of Saint Gregory the Great and Saint Jerome, with a crowd of onlookers directly behind in various kneeling, bending and standing poses. Further left, near the edge of the fresco a second group of figures emerges, isolated from the first and whose identities will be examined later in this chapter.

Fig.126 Raphael (1483-1520), *Disputa*. Detail of lower right hand side of fresco. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

On the right hand side of the altar we can discern Saint Ambrose and St Augustine, seated in their bishops' robes and mitres, followed by a series of standing figures. These have been identified as Thomas Aquinas, visible at the left shoulder of St Augustine, then Julius I (perhaps in the guise of a younger version of the bearded Julius II), Saint Bonaventure and Sixtus IV (standing in for Sixtus I).[80] The only other figure identifiable on this side of the Host is Dante, who is clearly visible behind the della Rovere Pope.

Fig.127 Raphael (1483-1520), *Disputa*. Detail of left hand side of fresco. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

To help us comprehend the complex iconography of the *Disputa*, and its possible topographical and geographical meanings, I will refer to two seminal theological works – *De Civitate Dei* and *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* - whose authors (St Augustine and St Bonaventure respectively) occupy prominent positions in the

fresco. In describing the arrangement of figures in the *Disputa*, Meredith Gill makes the following observation:

> "Raphael suggests Augustine's privileged proximity to the mysteries of the Trinity and Eucharist, whose doctrines were, of course, very much dependent on him. The texts at his feet are inevitably canonical. *De civitate Dei*, we can assume from the arrangement, drew on truths gleaned from the Bible on Augustine's knee, while his emerging words – in comparison with the authorities around him – appear to be caught up in a temporal process, in ongoing doctrinal formulation that implies continuity into the observer's present."[81]

The idea of St Augustine being "caught up in a temporal process", that impinges upon the "observer's present", tells us something about the meaning of the fresco. The inclusion of Sixtus IV, positioned closest to the picture plain, suggests that Raphael was consciously seeking to convey the chronological development of theological thought – or more specifically the mystery of the Trinity – in the perspective arrangement of figures. In reverse order, this begins with Julius II himself, observer of the fresco and direct descendent of Sixtus IV, and culminates in the representation of the Church Fathers closest to the Host.

The arrangement, moreover, could be said to be underscored by potential spatial/temporal relationships in the perspective construction; the emergence of historical consciousness in Renaissance humanism coincided with – and was informed by - what Erwin Panofsky describes as "the triumph of the distancing and objectifying sense of the real" exemplified in the discovery of *perspectiva artificialis*.[82] We have already considered how this implied correlation between historical continuity and perspective depth finds expression in the arrangement of figures in *School of Athens* opposite.

More specifically, Gill's account suggests that the temporal dimension of the observer (Julius II) is partly 'registered' by the actions of St Augustine near the altar; or to put it another way that Augustine himself is conscious of the actual space beyond the picture plain. This dialogue between sacred and profane space - and actual and 'golden' time - leads us to search upwards for the eternal grace of God, a point that is echoed in St Bonaventure's spiritual itinerary to be examined shortly.

The prominence given to the location of the volume of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* in the fresco suggests that the work had some bearing on the iconography of the fresco. Written partly as a reply to Christian criticism of the disastrous Sack of Rome in AD410, *De Civitate Dei* identifies two cities - the heavenly realm of God and its 'shadow' (earthly Jerusalem) - whose inter-relationship forms a model of divine intervention on earth.[83]

In Augustinian theology, the destruction of Jerusalem and its kingdom by the Romans was foreshadowed by the arrival of the Saviour on earth. This led to the creation of a twofold earthly city - that of Israel and the pilgrimage city. Using the Old Testament story of Sarah and Agar as an allegory of the twofold city, Augustine draws a clear distinction between Israel as the eternal image of the heavenly realm and the pilgrimage city which has no direct allegiance to heaven.[84] As F.Crantz states:

> "In its non-symbolic form the earthly kingdom is a perversion of the divine order rather than a reflection of it. Even the empire of Augustine's own time remains a part of the earthly kingdom, and those Christians who serve as its officials are in bondage to Babylon."[85]

St. Augustine argues that the Christian community on earth comprises good and evil and that the pilgrimage city - captive to the earthly city - can only redeem itself by faith alone. Augustine emphasises this point by stating that even the coming of Christ

and the dissemination of the Christian faith has not severed the connection between the earthly city and its historical and corrupt kingship.[86] Augustine cites Rome as the epitome of this situation which he identifies as the 'Second Babylon'.[87]

Whilst the Christian "empire" is manifested as a community of citizens (or *civitates*) united by a common faith, the state constitutes the city of walls - *urbs* - built upon the tradition of earthly kingship and statehood. It is in the model of Jerusalem, as a forebear of the Christian heavenly city, that St. Augustine constructs a metaphor of the spiritual city that receives divine grace from God. Augustine's *civitates* is thus an *inward* city, without *outward* visible form, that responds to the yearning of the human spirit for divine grace. In contrast to Eusebius (biographer of Constantine), Augustine states that the Roman Empire and the Christian *ecclesia* are not conjoined but are rather distinct communities that co-exist side by side:

> "The Faith has a life of its own, separate from that of the state. The
> Church is now herself an empire, widely diffused and invisible that
> may work alongside the state, but is not identified with it."[88]

This disagreement between Eusebius and St Augustine, on what was to become a fundamental point of Christian doctrine, is historically significant since it anticipates the schism between "Greek East and Latin West"; between the view that *sacerdotium* and *imperium* are united as one, embracing a single Christian society under the stewardship of the emperor, and the belief that the separation of both is fundamental to Christian eschatology as expounded by Augustine and Ambrose.[89] The long established conflict between the imperial authority of Byzantium and the jurisdiction of the Latin Church has implications in the interpretation of the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura, in particular the *Jurisprudence* as we shall see later.

Whilst imbued with Augustinian references, the *Disputa* should nevertheless be viewed in the context of the principles of caesaro-papal rule, earlier promulgated by Dante and revived in the court of the Renaissance popes.[90] This relates specifically to

the idea of the *Respublica Christiana* which, under the aegis of the warrior pope, entailed multiple initiatives (from military campaigns to securing political alliances) to further his goal of a Golden Age. The belief in the uniqueness of the Julian age, in regards to the coincidence of providential events (from the discovery of the New World to the building of new St Peter's Basilica), necessitated bringing the Augustinian model of the twin cities into a closer dialogue.

As appointed head of the Augustinian friars by Julius II, Giles' theological and philosophical perspective stands at the interface between Augustinian devotion promoter of the 'project' of the Franciscan pope. Against the backdrop of the redeemed city of Rome the *Disputa* serves as a testimony to the ongoing importance of Augustinian theology in the early 16th century papacy, whose intellectual content was most probably formulated by Giles himself.[91]

The structure of the *Disputa* evokes a tension between the two cities invoked in the *De Civitate Dei*. The triple tiered arrangement of the fresco - centred on the vertical axis of the Host and figures of Christ and God above - articulates the Augustinian notion of *Conversio*, or religious conversion.[92] The reception of the soul in *Conversio* is acknowledged by an outward physical gesture, by facing the Host. As we have seen, the figures represented in the fresco form identifiable groups, whose relationships to the Host become more intense and focused the closer they are positioned to the altar. This is expressed by the contrast between peripheral and central figures; those located on the extreme left hand side seem indifferent to the divine presence, with their backs turned to the monstrance, whilst the more attentive figures surrounding the altar are consumed by the mystical powers emanating from the Host. It has been suggested that this former group of figures are heretics, perhaps evoking the Paduan Averroists - who it was claimed - denied the immortality of the soul.[93] In addition Pfeiffer's suggestion, outlined in Chapter 5, that the bold-headed figure on the extreme left hand side of the fresco is Bramante himself (in acknowledgement of his daring proposal to re-orientate St Peter's Basilica) seems consistent with the heretical associations of this group of figures.

The implied dichotomy between the converted and the 'heretic', made legible by the locations and gestures of the figures in the *Disputa*, is amplified by the architectural content of the fresco. This consists of two structures, both of which could be described as monuments awaiting completion. On the right hand side, clearly visible behind the assembly of saints, popes and other unidentified figures, is a substantial stone block dressed on its left side with raised plinths, most probably to represent bases of incomplete wall pilasters or columns.[94] Its visual prominence, in relation to the hemicycle of the assembled figures, suggests some symbolic purpose, perhaps the alliance between the physical city of redemption (Julian Rome) and its heavenly counterpart. By evoking the Holy Tabernacle - or Temple of the Old Dispensation – the structure could also be seen as commemorating the 'foundation block' of the new St. Peter's Basilica, under construction at the time by the 'new Solomon' (Julius II).

The other less prominent architectural feature in the *Disputa* is located in the background landscape, on the left hand side of the fresco. Sited on a hill, and surrounded by scaffolding, the purpose and identity of this structure has been the subject of some debate.[95] One possible clue can be found in St. Augustine's dichotomy between Jerusalem and the earthly city. Strategically located directly above the group of 'heretics' - as if serving as their mantra - the structure was probably intended to signal the antitype to the other architectural element in the fresco.

Indeed, could we not consider this unfinished edifice as a reference to the construction of the Tower of Babel, which is described in *Genesis* as the epitome of human arrogance and vanity? As punishment for man's audacity in attempting to build a tower to heaven, God inflicted the "confusion of tongues". This is expressed in allegorical terms in the *Disputa* by figures resisting *Conversio*, highlighted in

Bramante's evident preference for the printed word as the basis of truth rather than demonstrating his faith in the Host.[96]

This idea is partly strengthened by the appearance of a curved ramp on the right hand side of the scaffolded building in the background. Could this not allude to the beginnings of the spiralling tower of Babel, which is more clearly represented in Pieter Bruegel's celebrated painting of the monument? Leading nowhere, the ramp - like the scaffolded structure next to it - evokes more a ruin than a building site.[97] The ambiguity of these architectural features only underlines God's punishment (the confusion of tongues) which is a central theological theme of the unbeliever.[98]

What emerges from this brief examination of the various architectural elements in the *Disputa* is that the setting of the assembly of saints and popes on the lower tier of the fresco oscillates between a building site (in the vicinity of the Host in the foreground) and a ruin perhaps evocative of the redeemed structure of human folly (Tower of Babel in the background). The ruin therefore stands as testimony to the vanquishing of Rome's status as the 'Second Babylon', which in turn is conveyed in the expiation of the 'heretics'; Bramante's gesture of defiance (with his back turned to the altar) is partly circumvented by his head turned towards an intermediary figure (variously indentified as Francesco della Rovere or Pico della Mirandola) shown pointing to the Host.[99]

St Bonaventure and the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*

The influence of St. Augustine's model of the City of God on the frescoes in the Stanza, in particular the *Disputa*, re-affirms the central importance of his doctrine in the Roman Church during the Renaissance. It is, however, in the theology of the Franciscan, St. Bonaventure, that this model acquires a distinctive architectural dimension that bridges the divide between text and pictorial representation. Like St. Augustine, St. Bonaventure is also given a prominent position in the *Disputa*, as we have seen, represented in his familiar red cloak and standing between Pope Sixtus IV and Pope Julius I in the act of writing his tracts. Of all the writings of the Seraphic

Doctor, the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum* is his most important and mystical work. It has been described as a "metaphorical pilgrimage" guided by the meditative process of prayer, by which the soul becomes receptive to divine grace.[100] It invokes, through the mystical 'rite-of-passage' a fusion between the fullness of time, which Giles and others made synonymous with the imminent Golden Age of Julius's pontificate, and the timelessness of spiritual immortality. The journey entails, according to Bernard McGinn, two central themes - "ascension" and "introversion" - both of which progressively differentiate as metaphorical movements of inward experience.[101] This is substantiated by Bonaventure's account of the degrees by which we can contemplate God:

> "It is possible to contemplate God not only outside us and within us but also above us: outside, through vestiges of Him; within, through His image; and above, through the light that shines upon our mind. This is the light of Eternal Truth, since "our very mind is formed immediately by Truth Itself." Those who have become practiced in the first way of contemplation have already entered the atrium before the Tabernacle; those who have become practiced in the second have entered into the Holy-Places; and those who practiced in the third, enter with the High Priest into the Holy of Holies, where the Cherubim of Glory stand over the Ark, overshadowing the Seat of Mercy. By these Cherubim we understand the two kinds or degrees of contemplating the invisible and eternal things of God: the first considers the essential attributes of God; the second, the proper attributes of the Persons."[102]

This poetic evocation of the journey to God is described in distinctly spatial terms, whereby one is led through a series of identifiable stages analogous to a religious ceremony. For Bonaventure, however, the ultimate destination of this spiritual passage is upwards – *ascensus* - believing that through prayer man can ascend "above himself".[103] The Seraphic Doctor often makes reference to Jacob's Ladder as an Old Testament prefiguration of this Christian journey. In the *Itinerarium*,

however, the whole world is the ladder which Bonaventure divides into three principal stages; *transire* (through the traces of God in bodily natures), *intrare* (into the mind which is the image of God) and *transcendere* (to pass to God himself).[104]

As if resonating Bonaventure's belief in the reciprocity between *intrare in seipsum* (movement within) and *ascensus* (ascent) the sub-symbols of the journey are translated into the more general motifs of the primordial tent, or cave, and the mountain peak.[105] These symbolic settings could be said to provide a background to the visual narrative of the *Disputa*: the progression upwards to the assembly of saints and Old Testament figures (seated on the upper tier of the fresco) is paralleled by the perspectival movement inwards towards the tabernacle/temple under construction in the lower tier. The significance, moreover, of such an interwoven matrix of metaphorical journeys re-affirms the essentially dialectical nature of redemption in the Christian thought: "In a sense, theology is still poised between the conflicting claims of the "without" and the "within", of the "above" and the "below", or, to use more current terms, between autonomy and heteronymy."[106]

When seen in the general context of the Stanza della Segnatura, it is clear that St. Bonaventure's tract constitutes the most primary level of interpreting the iconography, relating as it does to the process of unfolding and differentiating key themes that underlie the Faculties. For Harry Gutman, the Faculties themselves accentuate the spirit of Bonaventure's philosophy, defining the mental powers. These in turn are supported by the moral powers - Faith, Justice, Charity and Hope - that are evoked in the vault.[107]

Whilst St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* delineates the poles of reference - *urbs* and *ecclesia* – that are communicated through the redemptive actions of *civitates*, St. Bonaventure's *Itinerarium* defines the journey, with marked sign-posts and 'resting places' along the way. In the course of passing between Philosophy and Theology, between the human condition of discourse/dialectic and its transformation and culmination in *Conversio*, the pilgrim moves progressively deeper into his soul

(*intrare in seipsum*) and at the same time ascends to divine wisdom and Beatific vision (*divinarum rerum notitia*).

The importance attached to Franciscan theology and philosophy during this period is demonstrated, as we know, by the fact that both Julius II and his uncle Sixtus IV were devoted Franciscans; Sixtus IV was Franciscan General and distinguished Franciscan scholar, having written *De Sanguine Christi* (highlighted in the *Disputa* at the base of the pope's feet), whilst Julius II became Cardinal-Protector of the Franciscan Order. Furthermore, Sixtus IV canonised St. Bonaventure in 1482, which probably explains the close proximity of both figures in the *Disputa*.

These Franciscan credentials of the della Rovere papacy, partly celebrated in the *Disputa*, remind one of Perugino's earlier altar fresco in the Cappella del Coro where, it will be recalled, Sixtus IV is shown in the company of St Francis and St Anthony of Padua.[108] The transmission moreover of this Franciscan alliance, in the iconographic representations of the Stanza, may also have been influenced by the ideas of Cardinal Marco Vigerio (1446-1516), a della Rovere and leading authority of the Franciscans during the Pontificate of Julius II.[109]

Justice and Poetry

The frescoes located on the south and north walls of the Stanza della Segnatura, *Jurisprudence* and *Parnassus*, serve a mediating function in the progression from human knowledge to divine revelation. It is important therefore to consider the meanings of both frescoes in relation to their adjacent walls, as well as to their topographical and geographical 'destinations'. At the same time, we should be aware that justice and poetry had a special relationship that transcends their supporting roles in the Stanza della Segnatura. Joost-Gaugier reminds us that "In the *Laws* Plato frequently compares, and sometimes unfavorably, poetry with the law", on account of the unpredictability of poets against the authority and wisdom of the divine lawgiver."[110] However in his *De Legibus*, Cicero revises Plato's comparison by treating both as equal, as two mutually dependent aspects of the same face by virtue

of their "complementary and balancing relationship".[111] Indeed, Cicero even claims that their separation "is the source of all trouble".[112]

The particular qualities and associations of poetry and the law, which foster their interdependence and complementary relationships - as Cicero sought to underline - may assist us in considering the significance of their north and south orientations. Unlike the *School of Athens* and the *Disputa*, the walls of the *Parnassus* and *Jurisprudence* frescoes are punctuated by windows. These openings partly dictated the composition of the frescoes and may also have informed their symbolic content. We should recognize this latter point by the way the framed views, as seen from particular vantage points within the room, are informed by the symbolic narratives of the surrounding frescos.

Such connections between view and fresco relate to Tafuri's contention, outlined at the beginning of this chapter, that the Stanza della Segnatura constitutes a "manifesto" of the urban and architectural projects of the Julian pontificate. However, the resulting substitution of an actual view for a pictorially constructed one is somewhat complicated by the varying locations of the windows in the north and south walls; whilst the opening that punctuates *Parnassus* is positioned approximately central to the wall, the window in the *Jurisprudence* fresco is eccentrically located. This inevitably resulted in an asymmetrical arrangement of figures in the lower tier of *Jurisprudence* – on either side of the window – which is only visually and symbolically resolved above in the lunette.

Fig.128 Raphael (1483-1520), *Parnassus*. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

In contrast to philosophy and theology - where questions of truth initially draw upon the internal dialogues between deliberating thinkers and sages - the faculties of justice and poetry require given situations for their legitimacy and ultimate reward

(wisdom and inspiration respectively). These 'situations', whether defined in circumstantial or mytho-historic terms, could be said to be circumscribed by the views from each window. Whilst in the case of the *Parnassus* poetic inspiration draws influence from the natural surroundings sacred to Apollo and the Muses, the efficacy of *Jurisprudence* partly depends upon the courtly settings of papal and imperial authority. Hence the north window of the *Parnassus*, with its view of the upper terrace of the 'giardino segreto' and the *prati* beyond, serves as an embodiment of the natural order.

Fig.129 Raphael (1483-1520), *Jurisprudence*. Vatican, Stanza della Segnatura.

The resulting visual connection between the abode of Apollo, represented in the *Parnassus*, and the pope's *villa suburbana* (the Villa Innocentiana that closes off the north end of the Cortile del Belvedere) underlines the special alliance between poetry and *vita contemplativa*. We have already noted in Chapter 4 how the north view would have required some 'corporeal adjustment' by the viewer, as a result of the oblique relationship between the window and the north-south axis of the Cortile.

The view from the south window, by contrast, would have underlined the urban setting of judicial deliberations. Complementing the wilderness of Mount Parnassus opposite, the courtly contexts of the *Jurisprudence* fresco were probably intended, as already outlined in Chapter 3, to acknowledge Julius II's project for a new palace of justice - the Palazzo dei Tribunali - sited along via Giulia. Whilst the view from the *Jurisprudence* window was partly obstructed by the lower Cortile del Pappagallo, its southerly aspect - towards the Borgo, Tiber River and old Rome beyond – underlines the inter-relationship between *vita activa* and justice.[113]

Fig.130 Plan of the 3rd floor of the Vatican Palace (*c.* 1506-20), indicating relation between the south window of the Stanza della Segnatura, the Cortile del Pappagallo and the later addition of the so-called Loggia of Raphael (After Shearman and drawn by Peter Baldwin).

In addition to these topographical relationships between *Jurisprudence* and *Parnassus*, and the actual architectural projects by Bramante (Palazzo dei Tribunali and Cortile Del Belvedere respectively), there were also probably geographical associations as I outlined at the beginning of this chapter. Our principal reference in this line of enquiry is Joost-Gaugier:

> "In a time of extensive geographical exploration that led to new interests in the terrestrial globe, the placement of the scenes relating to the Law on the south wall may, on the other hand, suggest a geographical association with a country to the south of Italy which through antique literature that was well known to humanists of the early Cinquecento was highly regarded as the birthplace of the law."[114]

In the *Timaeus*, Plato asserts that Egypt is the birthplace of the law, a point emphasized by Philo of Alexandria who states that Moses was born and educated in Egypt.[115] Given moreover that ancient tradition tells us that the "wisdom of men [is] born "in southerly climes" it would seem only appropriate that the *Jurisprudence* fresco should be located on the south wall of the Stanza della Segnatura.[116] This orientation of the fresco, and its association with Mosaic Law, is further underscored by the position of Moses himself in the adjacent *Disputa*. Located on the north side of the monstrance, on the intermediate tier of the hemicycle, Moses is shown holding his tablet of laws which he is orientating towards the south wall, as if impressing upon the recipients of canon and civic law - Justinian and Pope Gregory IX - the authority of the Old Testament in the New Dispensation.

Fig.131 Outline of the *Jurisprudence* and *Disputa* frescoes in accordance with their spatial relationships in the Stanza della Segnatura, with specific figures highlighted: Gregory IX (A), Bramante (B), Moses (C) and the Monstrance/Host (D) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

The geographical connection of the *Jurisprudence* fresco with Egypt has a further bearing on our understanding of the iconography of the Stanza della Segnatura. This relates to Julius II as '2nd Caesar'. In Chapter 3 we saw how Julius Caesar's status, as reformer of Roman law and his rebuilding and enlargement of the Senate, may have informed Julius II's political initiatives against the Popolo Romano and Bramante's scheme for the Palazzo dei Tribunali and adjacent *Foro Iulio*.[117] Like Moses Caesar also had associations with Egypt albeit of a very different nature; namely his legendary romance with Cleopatra which partly determined the fate of her kingdom under the future Roman Empire. We should note here the likely significance of Cleopatra in the caesaro-papal hegemony of Julius II, intimated by the famous sculpture of a reclining figure in the Belvedere Villa. Mistakenly believed to be a representation of the queen of Egypt, the posture of the figure was possibly construed by Julius II as an expression of submission to Caesar which served as a powerful metaphor to Julius' own military ambitions.[118]

Fig.132 *Cleopatra-Ariadne*, 2nd century A.D. copy of Hellenistic original, Musei Vaticani, Rome (Photo by author)

The connection of *Jurisprudence* with Egypt may also have informed the symbolic relationship between the fresco and its adjacent *Disputa*. This is conveyed in both the location and gestures of Bramante in the fresco, represented leaning forward on a

balustrade with his back turned to the Host and holding an open book. As I indicated earlier, the presence of Bramante in this scene may refer to the architect's daring proposal to re-orientate the new Saint Peter's Basilica - on the north-south axis - so that its entrance would align with the Vatican Obelisk.[119] Described by Giles of Viterbo, who considered the proposal as almost heretical, on account of the need to relocate the tomb of St Peter, Julius II rejected the proposal by stating: "…the tomb should not be built in the cathedral but the cathedral in the tomb."[120] A later 16th century account however, by Onofrio Panvinio, states that the pope was not, initially at least, averse to Bramante's proposal since he asked him to construct a model of the scheme, in spite of opposition from cardinals.[121]

The reason for Bramante's daring proposal was the popular belief that the bronze orb, located at the apex of the obelisk, was thought to contain the ashes of Julius Caesar. The reorientation of the basilica, which would result in the ashes of Caesar aligning with the tomb of St Peter and the planned Mausoleum of Julius II in the choir, would have provided Bramante with the most visible demonstration of the status of his pope as both key-bearer of the Church and 2nd Caesar.

We know that the Vatican obelisk was originally sited in the Forum Iulium in Alexandria, following the conquest of Egypt by Augustus, and was built to commemorate *Divus Iulius*.[122] It was then transported to Rome by Caligula, to be relocated along the spina of his circus in the *Ager Vaticanus*. Left as a legacy of this ancient circus, the obelisk remained on the south side of St Peter's Basilica until the late 16th century when it was finally moved during the pontificate of Sixtus V (1585-90) to its present position, on the east side of the new basilica in St Peter's Square.[123]

There is however a further aspect of this historical background of the obelisk that warrants examination. This concerns the biblical significance of ancient spolia:

> "Defined as artifacts made from one physical and cultural context,
> and reused in another, spolia seem to be natural symbols of

succession or supersession, especially when the reused object is of classical antiquity and the new setting is Christian. The [Vatican] obelisk of course, is more than classical; it is an Ur-antiquity, literally a spoil of Egypt, and this makes the association with the biblical metaphor more insistent."[124]

This biblical metaphor of the Vatican obelisk probably provided a subtext to the appearance of Bramante in the *Disputa*. When considered in geographical and topographical terms, his location among heretics, on the south side of the monstrance, seems to have a double meaning; at a local level it underlines the relationship between basilica and obelisk, and at a geographical level alludes to the connection between Rome and Egypt.

This final point moreover has a further bearing on the articulation of the adjacent fresco of the *Jursiprudence*. The representation of canon and civil law - the former by the blessing of the Decretals by Pope Gregory IX to the right of the fresco and the latter expressed by the acceptance of the Pandects by Justinian to the left - is arranged so that both form visible alliances to the adjacent frescoes of the *Disputa* and *School of Athens* respectively. We can see that Justinian is given less prominence in the fresco as a result of the asymmetrical location of the window. The presence of Gregory IX, which is actually a portrait of Julius II (confirmed by the bearded figure and the addition of sculptured acorns on his wooden throne) relates appropriately to Theology - by which his canon law supports the principles of divine justice.[125] When seen in the context of the *Disputa*, however, it is evident that Raphael had a specific intention. The seated Gregory IX (alias Julius II) is orientated towards the altar of the *Disputa*. Whilst his line of vision is clearly fixed on the Decretals, which he is about to receive, the three-quarter pose of the pope also guides our eye past Bramante to the Host. It is as if the spatial and orientational relationships between pope, architect and Host, at the south west corner of the Stanza, were intended to reconstruct the controversy surrounding Bramante's proposal, summarily dismissed in Julius II's

famous retort: "…the tomb should not be built in the cathedral but the cathedral in the tomb."[126]

Justinian, on the other hand, sits adjacent to the *School of Athens*, thereby reinforcing the dominant role of *imperium* in the Eastern Church. But Justinian's allegiance to the philosophers is somewhat paradoxical, given that the emperor closed the philosophical schools in Athens in AD529 and suppressed the teaching of Greek Platonism.[127] There could however be another explanation; the dual symbolism of the *School of Athens,* suggested earlier - as an evocation of both *scientia* and triumphalism - may partly explain the presence of Justinian who was the greatest Byzantine emperor and the last in the Roman empire. His reign represents a critical period in which the ambitions of creating a single Christian imperial state, uniting east and west, finally comes to an end. Coupled with the demise of Greek philosophy in the east during his reign, the figure of Justinian represents, in conflicting ways, the two most fundamental aspects of the Julian pontificate; namely the revival of classical scholarship and the establishment of a single all-encompassing Christian empire - only in this case with the pope as its head.

The figures of Justinian and Gregory IX are surmounted by representations of the virtues in the lunette. Here, Raphael painted three of the cardinal virtues - Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance - in the form of figurative personifications.[128] The absence, however, of Justice in this group is partially explained by the relationship of the lunette to the wall of *Jurisprudence*. The subordination of the three virtues to Justice is a direct reference to Plato's *Republic*, where Socrates encounters Prudence, Fortitude and Temperance, but is unable to find Justice.[129] This is because Justice is embodied in the other three, and whose fundamental power in the soul assigns particular functions to the other virtues.[130]

Upon further investigation of the *Jurisprudence*, it becomes clear that almost all of the principal figures in the fresco - Gregory IX, Justinian and the personifications of Fortitude and Temperance - are represented facing west, towards the *Disputa*. In

turning his back to the *School of Athens*, perhaps acknowledging his ambiguous relationship to the ancient philosophical academies, Justinian's orientation runs counter to Bramante's relationship to the Host in the *Disputa* discussed earlier. Only Prudence is facing east, although the mirror she is holding is oriented west. This suggests an allegorical purpose; to both represent the self and reflect the shadow of the Other - the latter embodied in the Host.

Finally, the asymmetrical arrangement of the *Jurisprudence* fresco, coupled with the three-quarter pose of the seated of Gregory IX (alias Julius II) provides us with a speculative angle of vision through the window. This directs our attention in the towards the Palazzo dei Tribunali, located south-east of the Vatican Palace along via Giulia. Left abandoned by the time of the completion of the *Jurisprudence* in 1511, the failed project of the palace could be said to find a substitute in the painted architecture of the fresco with its allusions to a tribunal. It is as if the position of Gregory IX (alias Julius II) in the fresco, with his back turned to the window (and therefore to the abandoned palace) and orientated towards the Host, underlines the pope's new priority - the construction of the new St Peter's Basilica.

In a similar vein to the *Jurisprudence* fresco, the iconography of the *Parnassus* was similarly guided by the view from the window. Indeed, as I have already indicated in Chapter 4, the articulation of the *Parnassus* was closely allied to the window's orientation to the Cortile del Belvedere. At the same time, the connection between the theme of poetry and the realm of *vita contemplativa*, - the latter embodied in the destination of the 'beautiful view' - also requires consideration in the context of the geographical bearings of the *Parnassus*, a point we will return to later in this investigation.

To begin to understand these multiple readings, and their inter-relationships, it will be necessary to examine aspects of the structure and symbolism of the fresco. The choice of Mount Parnassus, rather than Mount Helicon, to commemorate Apollo and the Muses was no doubt due to the influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on the iconography of the fresco. As Joost-Gaugier explains, the abode of Apollo carried Biblical connotations: "Mount Parnassus became the savior of mankind from the great primordial flood."[131]

Set in an Arcadian landscape, near the summit of a hill (Mount Parnassus), the idyllic scene of the *Parnassus* is populated with groups of figures - less formally disposed than those in the other frescoes - which in turn frame the centrally located window. As the focus of the fresco, positioned directly above the window head, the figure of Apollo is presented as the mythical antecedent of Christ. Seated on a small rocky outcrop in a wooded grove, and close to the source of a brook, Apollo is represented playing a stringed instrument in the company of the nine Muses - Urania, Thalia, Terpsichore, Polyhmnia, Melpomene, Euterpe, Erato, Clio and Calliope.

Following a similar approach to the other frescoes in the Stanza, the *Parnassus* consists of, as Vasari states, contemporary figures from the court of Julius II - principally humanists and poets – as well as venerated poets from antiquity.[132] As precursors to the Saints, Martyrs and Church Fathers of Christianity, the poets of antiquity were construed by Giles and others as the "prisci", or "antiqui theologi", whose poetic evocations of a mythic landscape are seen to foreshadow Paradise. Represented in the *Parnassus*, the figures of Homer, Virgil and Hesiod were elevated by Giles to the rank of theologians.[133]

The emphasis on ancient poets, coupled with the fresco's adjacency to the *Disputa*, gives support to Giles' idea of a pre-Christian theology, expressed in his *Sententiae ad mentem Platonis*. Described as the *Hetrusca discipline* ('Etruscan Discipline'), Giles believed that this ancient theology had taken root in Etruria and that the Etruscans were blessed as one of the saved tribes of Noah.[134]

The present investigation will not attempt a detailed enquiry into the identity of the figures in the *Parnassus*, but rather establish the fresco's potential topographical and geographical connections. Of particular interest in the arrangement of figures in the fresco is the way Raphael has distinguished between the ancient and modern poets; on the left hand side, beside the Muses, Homer, Dante and Virgil are assembled with a supporting youthful scribe. On the right we see a group of figures generally identified as contemporaries in the court of Julius II. One of the figures in this second group, shown with his back half-turned away from the central scene and dressed with a red mantle and beard, is thought to be a representation of Michelangelo, no doubt in recognition of his other accomplishment as a poet.

Against the backdrop of these two groups of figures, we are given a clue to the intended 'destinations' of both by the orientation of the two flanking Muses, whose positions in the fresco suggest an intermediate role between the sacred grove of Apollo and the peripheral location of the poets. Conspicuous in their heights, when compared with the other Muses in the fresco, the one on the left is facing the viewer. This orientation is further underscored by the figure of Homer, standing transfixed next to her with his face looking skywards. By contrast the Muse on the right hand side has her back turned to the viewer and is looking beyond the sacred grove of Apollo towards some indeterminate location. The figure identified as Michelangelo, who stands on her left side, seems to be drawing our attention to the same destination. Indeed, we are given the impression that the group of modern poets in the company of Michelangelo are about to depart on a journey.

Fig.133 Schematic outline of the *Parnassus* fresco with specific figures highlighted: Homer (A), Urania? (B), Apollo (C), Calliope? (D) and Michelangelo (E) (Drawn by Peter Baldwin)

This reflective operation of the *Parnassus* – between projective and recessive domains - gives the fresco a certain dynamic tension that disrupts the otherwise harmonious composition of the idyllic scene. Quite how this informs the topographical and geographical significance of the *Parnassus* will becomes apparent shortly. Given the visual significance of Apollo, in relation to the window opening below, it would seem that his presence was intended to inform the symbolic meanings of the Cortile del Belvedere. In Chapter 4 I indicated how the setting of Mount Parnassus, with its incumbent deity, had some connection with the installation of the famous Belvedere Apollo in the octagonal courtyard of the Villa Belvedere.[135] The chapter also suggested that the symbolism of the Cortile del Belvedere was closely allied to the nearby *via triumphalis*, whose original destination was the ancient Etruscan town of Veii. This geographical connection has a particular bearing on Monte S. Egidio, the hill upon which the Villa Belvedere was built, since it was sacred to Apollo having been the site of a sanctuary dedicated to the deity. Indeed, the cult associated with the sanctuary was thought to have originated in Veii and introduced in Rome by the Etruscans.[136]

From this brief examination of the *Parnassus* fresco we can begin to speculate on the intended topographical and geographical relationships. To begin with, from the figurative arrangement on the right hand side of the fresco one could construe that Apollo and his Muses are guiding the court poets to the *villa suburbana* on Monte S.Egidio, with its monumental *nicchione* located on the south side of the villa. In visible range of the *Parnassus* window, the *nicchione* was designed by Bramante in the form of a small hemicycle theatre with projecting steps set within the grounds of the 'giardino segreto' on the upper terrace of the Cortile del Belvedere. The *nicchione* was probably intended to be used as a place where court humanists, theologians and poets could assemble to deliberate philosophical issues under the guardianship of the pope.

When considered, moreover, in broader topographical terms the intended function of the *nicchione* raises some interesting issues with regard to the relationship between the two axes I outlined at the beginning of this chapter; the horizontal – longitudinal - space of the Cortile del Belvedere and the vertical – hierarchical – structure of the new St Peter's Basilica. The former is defined by the perspective (visual) effects of an internalized corridor space, whilst the latter is characterized by the metaphysical implications of an externally arranged system of proportioned parts. Located at the 'summit' of Monte S.Egidio, the *nicchione* could be interpreted as the 'Arcadian' counterpart to the 'paradisical' *cathedra* of St Peter's Basilica, whose location and symbolism became synonymous with the *mons Vaticanus* – the place of St Peter's burial. The comparison is based on the principle, suggested in Chapter 4, that the design of the Belvedere *nicchione* was partly inspired by the hemicycle of benches installed in the eastern apses of Early Christian and Romanesque basilicas, to accommodate members of the clergy during mass.[137]

From this brief investigation of the connection between the topography of the Vatican and the *Parnassus* fresco we are able to identify how the Monte S. Egidio - the contemplative realm of the papacy - is presented as the ritual embodiment of the mythical *Parnassus*; the domain of Apollo. The 'ancestral' and mythic connections between Greek, Etruscan and Roman versions of the deity, coupled with the historical importance attached to Veii as the original source of the archaic triumphal route, reinforces the geographic and symbolic significance of the *Parnassus* fresco as a 'window' onto the Etrurian landscape.

The relationship however should not be seen as simply a rhetorical gesture, but also as an example of how pagan allegory was deployed to reinforce the universal status of the pope as inheritor of Graeco-Roman and Judeo-Roman traditions. Besides his associations with Solomon and Julius Caesar, Apollo was also adopted in the papal hagiography of Julius II, as Charles Stinger explains:

"Apollo, indeed was the god for the new Augustan age, and Augustus strongly favoured the Apollonian cult, building a temple to him on the Palatine.....Like Augustus, Julius II cultivated Apollonian ties. Among them were the Sun-God's role in poetic inspiration (as in Raphael's *Parnassus* in the Stanza della Segnatura, and the "crowning of poets" in the Cortile del Belvedere) and his martial skills: in the 1513 Festa di Agone a figure of Apollo, bow in hand, helped celebrate the pope's achievements in defending Italian "liberty." Even more, Apollo symbolised the guardian spirit and presiding genius of Rome."[138]

What we can interpret therefore in the *Parnassus*, and its relationship to the *otium* of the Belvedere, is a mytho-poetic evocation of the Julian Golden Age; Apollo/Julius and his entourage of poets and muses constitute a redeemed and purified counterpart to the realm of *imperium*. Through Giles' concept of the *Hetrusca discipline*, this counterpart finds ultimate sanctuary in the ancient territory of Etruria - the 'new' Holy Land - to which the Cortile is oriented.[139]

Hence, the territory of Etruria could be said to constitute the 'geographical horizon' of the fresco, whose symbolic and political significance is further underlined by an important observation by George Hersey:

"…..Julius attempted, with considerable short-term success, to fill out with further acquisitions and conquests the ancient boundaries of what he considered to be the Holy See's temporal birthright. These boundaries were more or less those of the ancient land of Etruria, which, long before Christ, had stretched from the Tiber to the Apennines. In this aim Julius was abetted by Giles of Viterbo, who preached that the god of Etruria, Janus, was also the god of the Vatican and the pagan twin of Moses and St. Peter."[140]

Mapping the Golden Age

From what we have investigated of the iconography and location of the frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura it is possible to draw the following conclusions about the likely topographical and geographical relationships. This can be summarized as follows:

1) *Disputa* (teologia) = New St. Peter's Basilica = Vatican/Rome

2) *School of Athens* (filosophia) = Vatican Library = Greece/Byzantium

3) *Parnassus* (parnaso) = Cortile del Belvedere = Etruria

4) *Jurisprudence* (iustitia) = Palazzo dei Tribunali = Egypt

Progressing from the physical confines of the chamber to the imagined settings of the frescoes, which commemorate theology, philosophy, jurisprudence and poetry, the viewer is gradually drawn into an 'extra-territorial' dimension that involves both topographical and geographical horizons.

It would be worth remembering, from discussions in Chapter 4, that during his earlier role as a cardinal in the court of Innocent VIII (1484-92), Julius was responsible for commissioning the cycle of frescoes in the north loggia of the Villa Innocentiana overlooking the *prat*i and Monte Mario beyond. According to Vasari and Albertini these contained representations of all the great cities of Italy.[141] The suggestion that these images reflected an attempt by Pope Innocent VIII to "reconcile the other five city states with the Papacy" has been partly dismissed by David Coffin.[142] More likely perhaps is that the representations reflect a desire, on the part of the papacy, to enlarge the Holy See so that it would encompass the whole of the Italian peninsula, an ambition that Giuliano della Rovere would later seek to make a reality in his later role as a warrior pope.

The geographical and topographical dimensions of the Stanza della Segnatura should be seen, at one level, as further advancing this sentiment, through the agency of a newly invigorated (Julian) Golden Age. As I have already intimated, there is an ancient precedent in this geographical modeling of papal rule; namely the Rome of

the emperors. The cardinal directions of the frescoes, and their underlying connections with the ancient territories of empire (Greece, Egypt), could be said to partly evoke the Roman *ecumene* which, when cast in the fourfold geometry of Strabo's *Geographia*, is delimited by the coast-line of the Mediterranean Sea – the *Mare Nostrum*. The allusion however to Rome - or more specifically the Vatican – as *caput mundi* of the Christian world is reinvested with providential meanings that, no doubt, drew inspiration from the writings of Giles of Viterbo.

It is perhaps inevitable that Julius II became associated with Mars, the god of war, and Romulus the warrior-founder of Rome, whilst his less belligerent successor, Leo X, was identified with the more peace-loving Pallas Athena and Numa.[143] Be as it may, the Stanza della Segnatura stands as a testimony to what Julius II had hoped - or indeed believed - would eventually come to pass, as a result of the fate that had befallen his pontificate. The frescoes transcend the civic virtues normally associated with *renovatio urbis* by anticipating a new Golden Age.

Conclusion

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pons/facio
POPES AND BRIDGES

The Julian 'Project'
In this investigation of the urban, architectural and ceremonial aspects of the pontificate of Julius II I have argued that the idea of a Golden Age was conceived not simply as a theological or philosophical idea (to further the political and religious agendas of the papacy) but also as an actual possibility that required action. Through the multiple initiatives of Julius II, from the expansion of the Holy See to the transformation of Rome as the *altera Jerusalem*, this 'project' involved the collaborative efforts of artists, architects, humanists, theologians and bankers, whose individual pursuits and interests converged on a single vision of the Julian age.

Summarised in the iconography of the Stanza della Segnatura, and articulated spatially and topographically in the architectural and urban projects of Bramante, Julius II's ambitious enterprise drew upon the dualities implicit in the theological, philosophical and political ideas circulating in early 16th century papal Rome: *civitas terrenas/civitas sanctas*, *otium/negotium, imperium/sacerdotium, sensus/spiritus* etc. By juxtaposing and meditating these dualities, through representational and textual methods, papal *renovatio* provided a framework for redemptive action that was instituted under the exclusive providential care of the pontiff. In this Neo-platonic/Christian outlook, salvation assumes the human condition as defective yet potentially perfectible, where the spiritual journey of the penitent Christian can be marked out in stages, in accordance with an ascending order of human piety.

Such an idea is derived in part from Augustinian thought, where the effort to separate the earthly and heavenly domains is complemented by an equal desire for their co-existence, in order to ensure that salvation can be achieved through the proper exercise of thought and deed. The prevalence in Renaissance iconography of the divisions of virtue into four categories - or equally the codification of the human condition into tragic, satiric and comic scenes in theatre and architectural representation - further underscores the priority to differentiate between paradigmatic settings as the basis of achieving a desired end.[1]

By an analogous process, topography was also understood in both a particular and a universal sense; it enabled a whole region to be sub-divided hierarchically into identifiable terrains - or 'situations' - each with its own particular set of symbolic associations and mythologies, whose particular characteristics arise from their respective modes of involvement in the larger (universal) providential plan. The case of the Vatican, in relation to Etruria or Rome, best exemplifies this arrangement; as both the consecrated ground of Peter's burial and 'gateway' to Etruria (the Latin 'Holy Land'), the Vatican was also conceived in political terms as the *nemesis* of the Capitol - and therefore the antithesis and redeeming agent of 'old' Rome.

These complex symbolic relationships however depended upon a form of hermeneutics, beyond the standpoint of antiquarian enquiry, which could make their multiple mytho-historic layers both comprehensible and meaningful. We can see this for example by comparing Flavio Biondo's 'reconstruction' of the Vatican and Giles of Viterbo's providential interpretation of the 'Etruscan bank' that assumes continuity between Judeo-Christian and Etrusco-Roman traditions. Crucially, Giles' rendering of the 10th Golden Age - that of Julius II's pontificate - represented a rupture from present circumstances, or immediately previous history, and yet was construed as a phenomenon of *this* world. This apparent contradiction relates to the notion of the 'fullness of time', a central theme of the Julian Age, where the present is endowed with propitious signs that give it singular universal importance. The apparent contradiction also partly explains the Renaissance understanding of the city

as simultaneously a 'theatre' of present history and a repository of accumulated Christian and Classical traditions.

When 'translated' into architectural and urban form this providential reading of Rome is given visible order through a perspective rendering of space. As we see in the articulation of via Giulia, the Cortile del Belvedere and the Stanza della Segnatura, perspective played a decisive role in the shaping and representation of urban space in Julian Rome, serving as a platform for establishing and maintaining a dialogue between both actual and ideal landscapes. At the same time, these initiatives brought into focus such spatial-temporal dualities as distance and adjacency, division and bridging, or remoteness and proximity, that attempt to give visual coherence previously absent in the medieval city. In an analogous way to the perspective arrangement and gestures of figures in the *Disputa* in the Stanza della Segnatura, with their 'graduated' responses to *conversio,* Bramante's urban transformations similarly invoke degrees of participation - and involvement in - the Julian redemptive project. In each case we are reminded of Erwin Panofsky assertion that Renaissance perspective represents the "objectification of the subjective."[2]

What is inferred in this 'pictorialization' of the city is the possibility of re-building the sacred world from the 'bottom up'; from the sophisticated structures of architectural representation to the transcendent realms of sacrality itself, revealed in religious events/miracles and Biblical text. By virtue of the re-ordering and appropriation of the existing medieval and ancient topography, Bramante's urban interventions are effectively 'foregrounded', in respect of the surrounding urban terrain, as if transfiguring the city to a new level of symbolic reality. Whilst it would be inaccurate to claim that this process of 're-signification' of urban space was unique to the Julian age, it would seem incontrovertible, as this study has sought to argue, that his age represents one of its culminating points.

Pontifex Maximus

The idea of the pope as interlocutor was not new to this period. In the panegyrics of earlier Renaissance popes comparisons were often made between pontifical rule and ideal 'types' disseminating from classical antiquity and the Bible.[3] These were usually cast in the idiom of venerated heroes, prophets or gods, such as Jupiter, Moses, Caesar and Augustus. Such models were cultivated by court humanists for the purposes of legitimising the manifold roles of the papal office in temporal and sacred matters. They also, of course, reinforced claims of a direct ancestral lineage between the vicar of Christ and pre-Christian archaic and mythical kinships. What makes, however, Julius II's pontificate special in this regard is that these associations were more sophisticated than those of earlier popes, and they had a more direct impact on the artistic and architectural initiatives of his age. The conscious revival at this time of both *imperium* and the ancient Roman idea of the *oikoumene* (only here translated as the known 'Christian world') went hand in hand with increasingly bold claims of the pontiff''s universal role; Julius was repeatedly lauded in panegyrics as the catalyst of a new empire of faith that encompassed an expanding Christian empire.[4]

In being compared to such diverse figures as Solomon, Moses, Caesar and Apollo, Julius II embodied both the visionary and the superhuman. Solomon, as the archetypal builder of temples, was used - as we have seen - as a model in the Pope's role as builder of the new St. Peter's Basilica which affirmed Rome as the *altera Jerusalem*.[5] The association of Julius II with Moses, moreover, relates to the Pope's capacity as lawgiver and prophet, underlined by the dominance of this Old Testament figure in the final scheme for Julius's tomb. In the figure of Caesar is paralleled the status of the pontiff as *triumphator* and reformer of justice. The first of these associations is made explicit in Bramante's controversial proposal to re-orient the new St. Peter's basilica to face the Vatican Obelisk which reputedly contained the ashes of Caesar at its crown. The second association serves as one of a number of themes underlying the creation of the monumental Palazzo dei Tribunali, and adjacent *foro Iulio*, with its enigmatic references to Caesar's transformations of

Roman judicial practices and their spatial contexts. Cast as Apollo, finally, Julius' closely allied roles as patron of the arts and protector of Italy are articulated. This dual association of Apollo is demonstrated in two notable scenes. Firstly, shown with a bow and arrow in hand, Apollo is represented defending the territories of Italy in one of the *carri* of the 1513 Festa di Agone which commemorated the achievements of the Julian age. In stark contrast, his representation in the *Parnassus* fresco in the Stanza della Segnatura, holding a stringed instrument in the company of the Muses, affirms the deity's more usual role as guardian of poetry and the arts. In being portrayed in the guise of these heroic figures and gods, the Julian pontiff becomes a confluence of human and divine attributes, from which emanate the fortunes of an imminent Golden Age.

Such multifarious associations of the pontiff find their most fertile ground in the etymology and metaphorical associations of the Latin title for the pontifical office; Pontifex Maximus. We saw in Chapters 2 and 3 how the title carried a particular significance in the hagiography of Julius II. In Latin lexicography the term Pontifex (or 'pontifice') can be transposed as pons/facio; 'pons' meaning bridge whilst 'facere' is the Latin verb for doing, making or forming. Pontifex is shown therefore to have special connections with bridge-building, in a similar way for example to 'artifex' for one who makes art.[6]

The etymology served in a number of instances to reinforce the papal roles of interlocutor and providential agent. In all likelihood, however, the association was founded on an already established body of ideas about the office of the pontiff, whose symbolism of the bridge probably derived from ancient traditions.[7]

From the perspective however of Renaissance humanistic thought, caught up in the frenzy of 'rediscovering' Rome's providential history, the term Pontifex Maximus carried wider appeal. It provided the basis of a mytho-historic reading of the Apostolic Succession that centred, as we have seen, on the euhemeristic figure of Janus. As guardian of bridge-crossings, Janus was also represented in Annian

theology as the first Pontifex Maximus, first king of Etruria and *de-facto* founder of the Roman Church.[8] Annius' complex etymological constructs of Janus/Noah had a profound impact on Giles' theology which, as we have seen, similarly asserted the consecration of the Janiculum and Vatican hills to the *bifrons* deity. It would seem therefore that, like his Viterbese compatriot, Giles also believed that the pontifical office ultimately derived from the progeny of Janus, thereby reiterating Annius' imaginary *translatio pontificatus*.[9]

From its monarchical roots the Apostolic Succession emerges as a mystical ancestral lineage that 'bridges' successive golden ages of man, beginning with Janus.[10] As the archaic god, who represents the dawn of time and whose partnership with Noah signalled the post-deluvial migration to Etruria, Janus embodies the very essence of primitive virtue and piety. Hence, he represents the summation - even incarnation - of all those 'types' associated with Julius II, all of which share an association with the *mons Vaticanus*.

It is in this context that we need to pose the question of whether Bramante, like his contemporary Giles of Viterbo, recognised in this *translatio pontificatus* a legible mytho-historic narrative that could be traced, and thereby reinvigorated, in the topography of the Tiber River. More to the point, was the urban and architectural initiatives of the Julian age inspired by Giles' historiography of the Vatican? This investigation, I believe, provides a compelling case for such an influence.[11]

There are a number of examples, as we have noted, where the etymology of Pontifex Maximus was accorded a special status during the pontificate of Julius II. One such case is Bramante's unexecuted 'Hieroglyph' discussed in Chapter 2. This consisted of a pictogram based on the abbreviated title of the Pontiff, "IVLIO II - PONS – MAX". Here, in its most literal sense, 'pons' was probably intended to be represented as a bridge flanked by triumphal arches, possibly evoking the ancient river-crossing, the *pons Neronianus*. A similar pun on the word 'pons' in the pontifical title can be found in Folio 25 of the Coner Sketchbook.[12] Dating from the

early 16th century, it shows among other things a plan of the Cortile del Belvedere. Inscribed in the centre of the upper courtyard of the plan is the following:

PVLCRVM

VIDERE

PONTI

FICIS

R. Potter has translated this as "the beautiful vision or prophecy of the Pope", evoking the prophetic nature of the Cortile, as indicated in Chapter 4.[13] Potter also recognises the significance of splitting the title of "pontificis" into the words, "pontis" and "ficis", suggesting that it was intended to re-affirm the idea of 'bridging the divide', both in terms of the pope's role as mediator and by implication between the foundations of Rome and those of the Church.[14] This interpretation also conveys topographically the form of the Cortile that 'bridges' the depression between the Vatican Palace and the Belvedere Villa. What we see emerging, in these examples of etymological transcriptions and symbolic interpretations of Pontifex Maximus, is an attempt to illuminate the primitive apostolic vocation of the priesthood as an act of building bridges between this world and the divine world. It may even be the case that the term was considered by Bramante and others as a kind of arcane puzzle, whose decipherment illuminates the very essence of Rome as a mediated/redemptive landscape.

Fig.134 Anonymous. Plan of the Cortile del Belvedere, Folio 25 of the Codex "Coner" Sketchbook (Sir John Soane's Museum, London)

We are reminded here of Prudentius' account, outlined in the Introduction to this study, of the sacred topography of the east and west banks of the Tiber River, consecrated by the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul. The association of the river with

commemorative burial was already established in the imperial cult; the locations of the Mausoleums of Hadrian and Augustus Caesar, on opposite banks of the river, and the connection of the former with the left bank via the ancient pons Aelius (Ponte Sant'Angelo), re-affirms the ancient ritual function of the Tiber River in funerary ceremonies. For Prudentius, this 'model' acquires larger topographical significance in the way the more distantly located burial-sites of the Princes of the Church delineate an extended sacred 'precinct', each connected (like an umbilical chord) by the passage of the Tiber river: "the Tiber is sacred from each bank as it flows between the sanctified sepulchers."[15] Charles Burroughs emphasises how this relationship guaranteed the unity of the city topographically, that was further inscribed in the liturgy of the stations and their accompanying pilgrimage rituals.[16] It is, however, in Bramante's later urban development of the east and west banks of the Tiber - the two 'faces' of Rome and focus of the Julian *renovatio urbis* - that the bridge metaphor becomes more explicit. Like the Cortile del Belvedere, with its parallel east and west passageways that denote the Leonine city wall and boschétto respectively, the near-parallel streets of via Giulia and via della Lungara delimit the territories of *vita activa* and *vita contemplativa* of the larger city of Rome. For Bramante, the two bridges of Ponte Sisto and reinstated Ponte Trionfale (*Pons Neronianus*), connecting via Giulia with via della Lungara, were more than simply strategic crossing-points between both banks of the Tiber. They also embodied the mytho-historic (Janus-like) dichotomies between the 'Etruscan' and 'Roman' territories, and their respective allusions to papal and communal Rome. These dualities, it seems, also relate to the two essential aspects of the iconography of the Stanza della Segnatura; of arcadia/heavenly Jerusalem (*Parnassus*/*Disputa*) and *urbs* (*Jurisprudence*/*School of Athens*). Consequently, the Bramantian scheme draws together the two axes of Rome's providential history; that of the Etrusco/Roman and Judaeo/Christian traditions, both of which were pivotal to Giles' theology.

The combination of a perspective rendering of space, by which issues of centering, alignment and orientation are given visual and pictorial coherence, and the pervading metaphor of the bridge in hagiographical treatments of Julian Rome, provided an

effective means of representational synthesis; they enabled potential schisms – of which there were many during the Julian pontificate - to be dealt with in a reconciliatory manner.

Corpus Mysticum

The emphasis, during the Renaissance, on the inter-dependency between the progenies of Pontifex and Rome's providential destiny forms part of a specifically Christological model of kinship that first emerges during the Middle Ages. Highlighted in the concept of the *corpus mysticum*, this model of kingship went through a number of changes:

> "In the early Middle Ages...the "mystical body of Christ" had designated the host consecrated in the Mass; by the middle of the twelfth century the formula was being applied to the institutional organisation and administrative apparatus of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. What had been liturgical and sacramental in meaning became a sociological description in response to the elaboration of institutions within the Church and challenges from the secular powers without. The next step was to associate the "mystical body" with the head of the hierarchy - the pope himself."[17]

The direct connection between the mystical body of Christ and the physical and spiritual presence of the pope formed part of an evolving process that identified the *pontificalis maiestas* with both princely and imperial rule. It underlined the close alliance between the *corpus mysticum* and the Pontifex Maximus; Like St. Bonaventura's "seraphic ladder", symbolising the body of the crucified Christ that bridges the gulf separating the outer world and the inner soul, the bridge theme in the Julian age enabled mediation between earthly and heavenly things through the *corpus mysticum* of both Church and Pope.

During the period of pontifical rule in Avignon, from 1305 to 1378, the pope designated the *de facto* centre of the Church, rather than his place of rulership.[18] After the papal exile, however, and the re-establishment of Rome as papal capital, this essentially late-imperial model of embodied authority witnesses a change; equal emphasis is accorded to the sacrality of place, as a means of re-affirming the inter-relationship between apostolic succession and Rome. This, as we have seen, is apparent in the writings of both Giles and Annius of Viterbo.

The resultant conjoining of pope and providential city under Julius II was largely supported by a re-emphasis of the symbolism of Transubstantiation as a means of sanctioning the papal office.[19] As Ernst Kantorowicz explains, this important canon, issued in 1215, followed a long and protracted dispute between the Church, which was compelled to stress the event as 'actual', and those heretical sectarians who sought to spiritualise and mystify the Sacrament of the Altar.[20] The period of Julius II witnesses a concerted attempt to re-affirm the pivotal importance of this miracle in the Roman Church, as demonstrated in Raphael's *Mass of Bolsena* and the *Disputa*, both of which portray Julius II; the former as himself praying to the altar whilst the latter, as has been conjectured, in the guise of Julius I located adjacent to the monstrance. At the same time, the identification of the *corpus mysticum* with the Eucharist served to emphasise the decisive role of the vicar of Christ in its ritual re-enactment: "Julius contemplated and adored the host. He witnessed and confirmed the miracle of Transubstantiation which sanctioned in turn his spiritual power and his office as Christ's vicar."[21] This implied relationship between the *corpus mysticum* of the pope and that of the Eucharist, finds perhaps the clearest expression in the *Disputa* itself, where Julius' name is shown inscribed on the altar, directly beneath the monstrance. As the sacramental *raison d'être* of *conversio*, and therefore of salvation, the host became a potent symbol of the Julian Golden Age. Understood therefore in the context of the meanings of Pontifex Maximus, this correlation between the princely attributes of the pope and the notion of *corpus mysticum* as 'mystical presence'(evocative of the Incarnation), underlay the providential meanings of Rome's topography as a sacred narrative. Whilst it would perhaps be unwarranted

to claim any singular definition of the meaning of this narrative, given its many associations, this investigation of Julian *renovatio* has gone some way to clarifying its structure and possible intentions. It has highlighted the degree to which humanist scholarship, theology, architecture, urban design and painting became interwoven pursuits in a collective 'project' to establish an all-embracing *summa*, or embodied vision of the Golden Age.

Raphael's Portrait

By way of a conclusion to this investigation I wish to take up this twofold theme of pope and city in the context of the famous portrait of Julius II by Raphael. Executed between 1511 and 1512, this masterful work represents the Pope as an aged and tired man, reflecting perhaps a growing resignation to the impending crisis of his pontificate and to his growing ill-health. As the first portrait painting ever executed of a pope, it serves as an enduring testimony to the growing importance of the papal *persona*, and of the cult of personalities in general, during the Renaissance.

Fig.135   Raphael (1483-1520), *Portrait of Julius II* (1511-1512), London, National Gallery.

It is no coincidence that within months of its execution, Julius II convened the Fifth Lateran Council, the occasion of a famous speech by Giles where the doctrine of individual immortality was first officially pronounced.[22] Seated on an oak throne, embellished with carved acorns, emblematic of the della Rovere clan, the posture and dress of the Pope highlight a symbolic structure that alludes to the etymology of Pontifex; composed in the form of a pyramidal armature, with his sturdy arms spanning the supporting rests of the oak throne, the body of the pontiff serves as an apotheosis of his *terribilità,* invoking through his declining exterior, the brute forces that persist within. His *rochet*, or white garment, beneath his papal *mozzetta* appears to 'flow' from his torso, like flowing water discharging from a hidden, yet fecund,

source. Both *corpus mysticum* and *pons/facio* converge in this corporeal motif of *optimus homo*.

It is as if the contours of Rome's topography are re-inscribed upon Julius' body, which in turn evokes the ancient symbolism of Pontifex Maximus. Spanning the flowing waters of paradise the seated Julius, represented in a primitive form on the *cathedra* of pontifical succession, serves to reinforce his role as mediator between *deus* and *humanitus*. Raphael's portrait thus alludes, in all its bareness and simplicity, to the veneration of Rome's topography as a sacred text.

Notes

Chapter 1

Sign-Posting Peter and Paul

1.   *Prudentius*, translated by H. J. Thomson, Vol. II, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1961), XIII, pp.323-25.

2.   Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), p33.

3.   On the pilgrimage guidebooks of Rome see John Osborne, *Master Gregorius: The Marvels of Rome* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987); Eileen Gardiner & Francis Morgan Nichols, *The Marvels of Rome: Mirabilia Urbis Romae* (New York: Italica Press, 2008)

4.   For a detailed discussion of the triumphal route see H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus: An Enquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 1970).

5.   Quoted in Nicholas Temple, 'Conversion and Political Expedience: Imperial Themes in the Early Christian Baptistery', in *Anales del Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas*, No.80, (2002), pp.5-45, pp.21-22, n.39. Thomson (trans.), *Prudentius*, XIII, pp.325-27.

6.   For a detailed account of the history of the Lateran see P. Lauer, *Le palais de Latran, Etude historique e archéologique* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1911).

7.   Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, p22.

8.   Charles Burroughs, *Environments by Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (MIT Press, Cambridge, Mass.,1990), p5.

9.   Eamon Duffy, *Saints and Sinners: A History of the Popes* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), p119. For a history of the Jubilee, see H. Thurston, *The Holy Year of Jubilee: An Account of the History and Ceremony of the Roman Jubilee* (London: Sands and Co. 1900).

10.   "Constantine tells how he had himself handed [Pope] Silvester his imperial crown, 'which we have transferred from our own head', but the Pope, in respect for his priestly tonsure, chose not to wear it. Instead Constantine gave him a cap of honour, the *camalaucum*, and 'holding the bridle of his horse….performed the office of groom for him'. Finally, 'to correspond to our own empire and so that the supreme pontifical authority may not be dishonoured', Constantine gave to the Pope and his successors not only the city of Rome, but 'all the provinces, districts and cities of Italy and the Western Regions'."Duffy, *Popes and Sinners*, p71. On the controversy surrounding the forged document of the 'Donation of Constantine' see Lorenzo Valla, *On the Donation of Constantine*, *I Tatti Renaissance Library*, translated by G. W. Bowersock, (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2008).

11.   For discussion of the military activities of popes see D.S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals & War: The Military Church in Renaissance and Early Modern Europe* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006).

12.   Burroughs uses the term "paratextual efficacy" in the context of Nicholas V's famous death-bed speech, in which the pope is said to have assimilated the role of building to that of text. Burroughs, *From Signs to Design*, p10. I use the term however here to indicate a more general proclivity, prevalent in the 15th century, towards an inscriptive reading of the topography of Rome.

13.   This is indicated by the various names given to the monument during the Middle Ages: "memoria Romuli" (Bull of 21 March 1053 by Leo XI [*Patrologia Latina*, no 143, 714]); "sepulchrum Romuli" (Ordo Romanus XI of Benedetto Canonico [c. 1140]; "pyramis Romuli" (Ranulphus Higden, Polychronicon [fourteenth century], bk 1, ch. 25); and finally "meta Romuli" as shown on plan of H. Schedel (Nuremburg, 1493). According to Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis* (Rome, 1510), the monument had three names: "Scipionis sepulchrum," "sepulchrum Aepulonum," and more popularly "Romuli meta." The most authoritative bibliographical source on the history of the pyramid is S.B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), p340. For a comprehensive account of the history of the pyramid, see M.B. Peebles, "La 'Meta Romuli' e una lettera di Michele Ferno," in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia Rendiconti*, vol. 12, pp.21-36 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1936).

14.   Peebles, "'Meta Romuli,'" pp.28-30.

15.   "Papa Alessandro IV ... drizzo a Riga la strada [via Alessandra] infino a la di palazzo [Papal Palace?], togliendo di mezzo la via una certa piramide che l'impediva." Lucio Fauno, *Delle antichita della citta di Roma* (Venezia, per Michele Tramezzino,1548), f26v. In spite of the partial destruction of the *meta Romuli* during the pontificate of Alexander VI, the pope seems to have had quite an interest in things Egyptian, as demonstrated in the famous cycle of frescoes by Pinturicchio in the Borgia Apartments in the Vatican. See Brian Curran, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2007), pp107-131.

16.   See note 44 of this chapter.

17.   In the early fifteenth century the pyramids were given titles taken directly from the Princes of the Church: "meta Sancti Petri" (*meta Romuli*) and "meta Sancti Pauli" (Pyramid of Gaius Cestius). See Ludovico Antonio Muratori, *Rerum italicarum scriptores*: *Raccolta degli storici italiani dal Cinquecento al Millecinquecento* (Citta di Castello: S. Lapi, 1900), vol. 24, p1014 & p1038.

18.   Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, p478.

19.   This contrived concordance between Rome's origins and its "refoundation" as the sacred city of Christianity was further emphasized by the celebration of the martyrdoms of Peter and Paul on the same day, 29th July. The implied twinship has obvious associations with the traditional partnership between Romulus and Remus. In a sermon delivered on their feast day in 441, Leo I compared Peter and Paul to their pagan counterparts, asserting that the apostles "had refounded the city under more felicitous circumstances than those

of whom one gave you the name Rome and defiled you through his brother's blood"; quoted in Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p27.

20.   Jacks, *Antiquarian and the Myth*, 27.

21.   For an extensive, albeit biased, examination of this issue see F. Pacifici, *Dissertazioni sul Martirio di San Pietro nel Gianicolo e sulla Venuta e Morte nello stesso Monte di Noe Simbolo del Santo Principe degli Apostoli ivi Crocifisso Umiliate alla Santita Din. SPP. PioVII* (Rome: nella stamperia di Lino Contedini, 1841), ch. 2.

22.   One interesting example is a tabernacle erected by Sixtus IV that has a relief showing Peter's upside-down martyrdom between two pyramids: "Sisto IV fu quello, che circa l'anno 1442 fece fare nel magnifico Ciborio di marmo della confessione Vaticano fra i bassi rilievi in marmo degli altri Apostoli quello di S. Pietro nell'atto di esser crocifisso fralle due grandi piramidi di Cajp Cestio [*meta Remi*], e l'altra [*meta Romuli*) vicina alla mole Adriana chiaramente indicanti il Gianicolo." *Ibid*., p17.

23.   The identification of the Mausoleum of Hadrian (Castel Sant'Angelo) in the relief is confirmed by the inscription below the relief. However, the mausoleum was of course not constructed at the time of Nero and Peter's martyrdom. This inaccuracy perhaps reflects Filarete's priority to convey to visiting pilgrims the key features in the topography of the Vatican and Borgo, over and above attention to historical accuracy.

24.   Pacifici, *Dissertazioni sul Martirio di San Pietro nel Gianicolo*, ch.2.

25.   David Leatherbarrow, *Uncommon Ground: Architecture, Technology, and Technology* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2000), pp.2-6.

26.   In the context of the Tempietto, Bramante himself may have been aware of this topographical relationship between the pyramids and sought to convey it in his design. As highlighted in Serlio's reconstruction, Bramante probably planned a circular cloister around the *tholos* of the Tempietto that would have reinforced the centrality of the site in relation to the edges of the city. In doing so, the emanating effect of the plan, extended beyond the building itself (moving from centre to periphery) and signalled by the *meta Romuli* and *meta Remi* at the northwest and south edges of the city, resonates in the Stefaneschi altarpiece.

27.   For one interpretation of this see Marcello Fagiollo, "La Roma di Sisto V: le Matrici del policentrismo," *Psicon*, no.8/9 (1977), pp.25-39.

28.   See Flavio Biondo. *Roma Instaurata* (Venice: Franciscum Foscari Serenissimum Ducé, 1510), Book I; Flavio Biondo, *Roma trionfante, Biondo da Forli: tradotta pur hora per Luco Fauno di latino in buona lingua volgare* (Venice: Michele Tramezzino, 1544), Book X.

29.   Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p149.

30.   Jessica Maier, '*Roma Renascens*: Sixteenth-Century Maps of the Eternal City', in Dorigen Caldwell & Lesley Caldwell (eds.), *Rome: Continuing Encounters Between Past and Present* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., forthcoming), pp.42-56, p44.

31.   *Ibid*, p46.

32.   Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, p286.

33.   *Ibid.*

34.   Petrarch, *Trionfi*, Part VI, 'Triumphus Famae'. Translated as 'Triumph of Fame', Henry Parker, Lord Morley (trans.), in Thomas P. Roche (ed.), *Petrarch in English* (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), pp. 46-62. For an account of the history of the Capitol see, Herbert Siebenhüner, *Das Kapitol in Rom: Idee und Gestalt* (Munich: Kösel, 1954). Triumphus Famae'.

35.   Prior to the Renaissance, the *Possesso* started at the Lateran, the original residence of the pontiff, rather than the Vatican. The earliest known papal procession, dating from the 12th century, is recounted by Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City*, p278.

36.   For a detailed account of the background and route of the procession, see E. Rodocanachi, *Histoire de Rome: Le Pontificat de Leon X 1513-1521* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1931), pp.41-47.

37.   Linda Pellecchia, "The Contested City: Urban Form in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome", in Marcia B. Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.59-94, p60.

38.   Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), p256.

39.   According to Marcello Fagiollo: "L'epopea della *pax romana* doveva essere convalidata dal nuovo poderoso sistema fortificato che esaltava le potenzialità del Castello e della Civitas Leonina traformando il Vaticano in una inespugnabile montagna artificiale che poteva vincere la memoria dell'*Arx Capitolina* o deli *Palatia* sul Palatino." Marcello Fagiollo, ""Roma resurgens": la ricostuzione della città nel Rinascimento", in Franco Paloscia (ed.), *Roma dei grandi viaggiatori* (Rome: Edizioni Abete, 1987), p68.

40.   Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p256.

41.   For an examination of the political context of this policy see Clara Genarro, "La "Pax Romana" del 1511." *Archivio della Societa Romana di Storia Patria*, XC (1967), pp.17-60.

42.   For an examination of the role of the della Roveres in the patronage of the church see E. Bentivoglio and S. Valtieri, *Santa Maria del Popolo à Roma* (Rome: Bardi Editore,1976).

43.   John Shearman, "The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 24 (1961), pp.129-60, p133. According to B.M. Peebles, the dimensions of the base of the *meta Romuli* also closely match those of the Sepulchre of Lars Porsenna, as described by Leon Battista Alberti. Peebles, "'Meta Romuli'", p45.

44.   According to Lucio Fauno, about half the pyramid was demolished during the building campaign of Alexander VI. However, this contradicts Platner and Ashby's assessment of the evidence which suggests that only one-third of the structure was actually removed. See Platner and Ashby, Topographical Disctionary, p340. It seems that the monument was tampered with in varying degrees since the time of Sixtus IV and that Julius II had altered parts of it for "practical reasons." This may have been in preparation for the construction of what Manfredo Tafuri describes as "una casa da dare usufrutto ai cantori, ai maestri della Cappella Giulia." Manfredo Tafuri, "Roma Instaurata", in C.L. Frommel, S. Ray and Manfredo Tafuri, *Raffaello Architetto* (Milan:

Electa Editrice, 1984), p101. Perhaps Julius II had planned to incorporate this "casa" in some way with the body of the pyramid.

45. "Nè senza molta compassione posso io ricordarmi, che poi ch'io sono in Roma che anchora non sono dodici anni, son state ruinate molte cose belle, come la meta ch'era nella via Alessandrina…Ma perche ci doleremo noi de Gotti de Vandelli…" from "Letter to Pope Leo X by Raphael", in Vincenzo Golzio (ed.), *Raffaello: nei documenti, nelle testimonianze, dei contemporanei e nelle letteratura del suo seculo* (London: Gregg International Publishers Ltd., 1971), p83.

46. Another replica was constructed in the same year in Rome in the Piazza delle SS. Trinità. See E. Müntz, *Les antiquités de la ville de Rome* (Paris, 1898), p455.

47. For an account of the significance of the orb of the Vatican Obelisk see John Osbourne, "St. Peter's Needle and the Ashes of Julius Caesar: Invoking Rome's Imperial History at the Papal Court, ca. 1100-1300," in Maria Wyke (ed.), *Julius Caesar in Western Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp.95-127.

48. Ingrid Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar the Things Which are Caesar's: Humanism and the Arts in the Patronage of Agostino Chigi", *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol.39, No.4 (Winter, 1986), pp.673-730, p.706.

49. *Ibid.*, p708.

50. *Ibid.*, p710

51. *Ibid*, p710, n.126.

52. *Ibid.*, p711. On Gile's deployment of numerology in financial matters see Rowland, *The Culture of the Renaissance*, p148.

53. Rowland, "Render Unto Caesar…", p711.

54. As Rowland reminds us there are further pyramids in the crypt of the chapel, whose symbolic meaning has been the subject of some debate. See in particular Luitpold Frommel, "Das Hypogäum Raffaels unter der Chigi Kappelle," *Kunstchronik*, 27 (1974), pp.344-78.

55. "Morì eri a mattina e questa mattina tutti de familia siamo stati con lo Maestro di Casa a onorar il corpo quale con gran pompa accompagnato dalla famigilia del Papa et fere omnium cardinalium da molti prelate et cortigiani et da tutte nationi, da Fiorentini in fori. É stato portato al Popolo a seppellire in sua cappella quale ha lassao per testamento si finisca. Di transtiberi si passò a Ponte Sixto per Campo di Fiore per Banchi fino al Ponte Sancti Angeli, e dal Ponte retta prope flumine al Popolo." Quoted in Wilde Tosi, *Il Magnifico Agostino Chigi* (Roma: Associazione Bancaria Italiana, 1970), p461; Taken from Agostino Chigi, "Miscellanea Storica Senese" (June, 1894), n.6, pp.86-88.

56. Tafuri, "Roma Instaurata", p63.

Chapter 2

Via Giulia and Papal Corporatism: The Politics of Order

1.   Translated by Robert Maltby. The original Latin is as follows:

   JULIO.II. PONT:OPT:MAX: QUOD FINIB: DITIONIS. SRE.

   PROLATIS ITALIQ: / LIBERATA URBEM ROMAM OCCUPATE

    / SIMILIOREM QUAM DEVISE PATEFACTIS / DIMENSISQ

   : VIIS PRO MAESTATE/ IMPERII ORNAVIT / DOMINICUS

    MAXIMUS / AEDILES, F.C. MDII / HIERONIMOUS PICUS [1]

From V.Forcella, *Iscrizioni* (Rome, 1897) Vol. XIII, p.88. The inscription suggests building by individuals on land, that has simply been appropriated (occupied) after the destruction of the city, rather than properly divided up and assigned to specific builders as one would expect in a properly planned city. I am grateful to Robert Maltby for this observation. For a brief historical examination of the content and siting of the inscription see Luigi Salerno et al, *Via Giulia: Una Utopia Urbanistica del'500* (Rome, 1973), p67.

2.   Livy's *History of Rome*: (5.55.5). I am grateful to Robert Maltby for this account.

3.   Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), p170.

4.   The cippus was probably uncovered in 1509, during excavations for the foundations of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, whilst J. Brian Horrigan argues that the Julian inscription was installed some time during the second half of 1512. J. Brian Horrigan, "Imperial and Urban Ideology in a Renaissance Inscription", *Comitatus: A Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, 9(1) (1978), pp.73-86, p83.

5.   *Ibid.*, pp.74-76

6.   *Ibid.*, p76

7.   *Ibid.*

8.   See Tite Live, "Le siege de Veies cause des troubles a Rome," in *Histoire Romaine,*(Paris: Societé d'Edition, "les Belles Lettres", 1954), 5.55.5.

9.   Horrigan, "Imperial and Urban Ideology in a Renaissance Inscription", p81.

10.   The Roman Triumph is thought to have been introduced into Rome by the Etruscans at the time of Tarquini. It seems likely that the ceremony itself, and its attendent functions, are of Etruscan origin. H.S. Versnel, *Triumphus*: *An Enquiry into the Origin, Development and Meaning of the Roman Triumph* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1970), p154. This is confirmed by the original function and destination of this road (Veii), as Filippo Coarelli highlights: "Innanzitutto, é indicativo che il nome di via triumphalis sia attribuito alla piu antica strada che collegava Veio con Roma, venendo a concludersi all'altezza del Ponte Neronianus: nel punto cioe occupato, sulla opposta riva del Campo Marzio, dal complesso arcaico costituito dal *Tarentum* e dal *Trigarium.*Con tutta probabilita propio da qui, prima della costruzione del Circo Flaminio muoveva il corteo trionfale pui antico, dirigendosi verso il capo opposto del Campo Marzio, per

raggiungere la *porta Triumphalis*. Il nome della *via Triumphalis* e certamente molto antico: si puo supporre che esso sia dovuto proprio al ritorno glorioso di Camillo dopo la conquisto di Veio, che fu sequito da uno dei piu celebri trionfi della storia romana." Filippo Coarelli, *Il Foro Boario: dalle Origini alla Fine della Repubblica* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1988), p432. See also J. Hubeaux, *Rome et Veies* (Paris: 1958), pp.217-20. Plutarch, however, states that the name of the passage is even older, attributing it to the *trionfi* against Veii under Romulus and Servius Tullius. *Plutarch's Lives Volume I* (Teddington, Middlesex, The Echo Library, 2008), 25,6-7 (Romulus).

11.   A. Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar by Andrea Mantegna* (London: Harvey Miller Publishers, 1979), p61.

12.   Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), pp.209-315.

13.   This is most clearly indicated in Leo X's *Solenne Possesso* in 1513 which consciously sought to emulate the symbolism of the ancient Roman triumph. For a description see E. Rodocanachi, *Histoire de Rome: Le Pontificat de Leon X 1513-1521* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1931), pp.41-47.

14.   For a summary of these ancient sources, see Filippo Coarelli, "La Porta Trionfale e la Via dei Trionfi", *Dialoghi di Archeologia: rivista quadrimestrale diretta da Rannuccio Bianchi Baninelli. Sommario dell'anno* 2 (1968), pp.66-88.

15.   These concern Caesar's Gallic, Egyptian, Pontic, African and Spanish campaigns. For description of his Gallic campaigns see K. M. Gilliver, *Caesar's Gallic Wars 58-50 BC* (Abington, Oxford: Routledge, 2003).

16.   Flavio Biondo, *Blondi Flauij Fortiuiensis de Roma triumphante libri decem diligentissime castigati* (Mantua: 1511), Book X; Flavio Biondo, *Roma Instaurata* (Venice: 1510), Book I; Chapters 39, 40 & 41. Translation by John Barrie Hall and Annabel Ritchie. The original Latin is as follows:

"In eo itaq territorio triumphali parata triumphi pompa per viam procedebata triumphale: cuius stratae silicibus particula adhuc cernitur sub sancti spiritus in saxia hospitali: ut per nuc dirutam pontem tyberis triumphalem ibi proximum: & portam partier dirutam eius pontis triumphalem: cuius ampla cernere est fundameta in urbem & portam pariter dirutam eius pontis triumphalem: cuius ampla cernere est fundameta in urbem & ad capitolium duceretur. Continuabatur autem ea triumphalis via ad posteriorem nunc porticum ecclesiae sancti celsi: ad quam arcus marmorei ipsam amplexi viam altera extat coxa corrosam e marmore statuam retinens collosseam. Reflexa inde via sancta lauretii in damaso ecclesiam...."

(Quoted in Martindale, *The Triumphs of Caesar*, pp.61-62.)

17.   *Ibid.*, p62.

18.   Salerno et al, *via Giulia: Una Utopia Urbanistica del 500*, p16-19.

19.   "....il centro lineare che ha in via Giulia uno dei suoi assi portanti, appare come un completatmento di quel piano generale, realizzato là dove più realistiche sono le possibilità di esecuzione: via Giulia e via della Lungara

realizzano la saldatura fra il Vaticano e Roma, dando soluzione al problema lasciato aperto da papa Parentucelli."*Ibid*., p71.

20.   "O già abbastanza evidente se il piano di Giulio II fosse tutto qui, il diretto collegamento e la sua continuita con quello di Sisto IV rispetto al quale esso non sembrerebbe portare nulla di veramente nuovo, ma solo completarlo attuandone, in modo piu razionale, le ipostesi.. Infatti, l'unica opera veramente nuova, ossia la via Giulia, sarebbe venuta ad assumere la stessa funzione che sull'altro lato dell'ansa del Tevere svolgeva la via Sistina (attuale via Tor di Nona – via di Monte Brianzo); ossia essenzialmente quella di una strada di servizio, che avrebbe facilitate i collegamenti tra le varie parti della citta." *Ibid.* p47.

21.   *Ibid*, p70.

22.   "La Gerusalemme terrena, definita dai palazzi Vaticani, da S. Pietro, dall'appendice dei Borghi e dalle strutture di collegamento con Castel S. Angelo, si irradia sulla "città dei negozi"…" *Ibid*., p71.

23.   Arnaldo Bruschi, *Bramante Architetto* (Editori Laterza, Bari, 1969), pp. 635-47.

24.   See Chapter 4 for an interpretation of the symbolic and topographical significance of via della Lungara.

25.   *Ibid*., p38. Translated by Simone Medio. The street coming from Monte Mario, via del Pellegrino, is likely to have been, in part, a reconstruction of the ancient *via Triumphalis* [Filippo Coarelli, *Roma: Guide archeologiche Laterza* (Gius. Laterza & Figli, Bari, 1985), p365] As Allan Ceen states: "Sixtus the IV provided a third access to Borgo "pro commoditate tum peregrinorum ad hanc almam Urbem". When he ordered the opening of a road outside of town "stratum qua itur a croce Montis Marii ad ipsam Urbem"...Approaching the city from the direction of Monte Mario to the north, it entered Borgo through Porta Viridaria which, at the time, opened directly onto Piazza S. Pietro." Allan Ceen, *Quartiere de'Banchi: Urban Planning in Rome in the First Half of the Cinquecento*, Ph.D. dissertation, (University of Pennsylvania Graduate Faculty,1977), p34.

26.   This ordering of topography through the re-arrangement of streets also acquired particular authority over and above the surrounding morphology: "As we meet them in the Manettian Borgo scheme, devices such as the trident of converging streets, or the central marker in a regularized piazza [proposed relocation of Vatican Obelisk to centre of St. Peter's square] are presented as a priori motifs of an urban order that largely abstracts from existing urban fabric if it needs it at all." Burroughs, *From Signs to Design*, p14. For an examination of the semantic implications of this ordering see Manfredo Tafuri, "*Cives esse non licere*: The Rome of Nicholas V and Leon Battista Alberti: Elements towards a historical revision*", Harvard Architectural Review*, 6 (1987), pp.61-75.

27.   Giovanna Piminella, *La Strada Verso Il Paradiso* (Rome: Menexa Sas, 2009), p18.

28.   This event was announced in an Apostolic letter with the words, "pro civium et peregrinorum commoditate" (for the convenience of citizens and pilgrims). Gaetano M. Mariani et al, *Ponte Sisto:Ricerche e Proposte* (Rome: Palazzo Braschi, 1977), p25. The custom of dedicating the foundation stone to a new building project, as observed by Sixtus IV for Ponte Sisto, was recorded by

Stefano Infessura in 1473: "...Papa Sisto quanto con i cardinali emolti vescovi, si conferi a palazzo in Trastevere, et a Ponte Rotto acanto lo fiume, dove egli aveva destinato racconciar detto ponte descese nel fiume, e mise ne i fondamenti del detto Ponte una pietra quadra, ove stava scritto." (*Xistus quartus pontifex maximus fecit fieri sub anno domini 1473*) quoted in Eunice Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV* (Garland Publishing, New York, 1978), p33.

29. Giuliano's presence in this work should be compared to his conspicuous presence in Melozzo da Forli's painting, *Sixtus IV Appoints Platina Prefect of the Biblioteca Vaticana* (1490).

30. Giuliano, it seems, was quite active in building programmes during the Pontificate of his uncle. This is indicated in the works carried out at the della Rovere fortress in Ostia, not to mention the construction of the Cappella del Coro at old St. Peter's Basilica. Regarding the former see M.A.J. Dumesnil, *Histoire de Jules II: Sa Vie et Son Pontificat* (Paris, 1873), p274.

31. Besides its obvious strategic importance, in respect of Trastevere and Campo de'Fiori, there is a further, more personal, reason why Ponte Sisto may have been constructed at this location which may, in turn, have had a bearing on the Julian project. This relates to a period when Pope Sixtus IV was General Procurator of the "minori Conventuali" of S. Salvatore, and resided near the church of S. Salvatore in Onda. This is located along via dei Pettinari that passes directly over the bridge on the east bank of the river. It is likely that Cardinal Sisto would have had first-hand experience of the difficulties of traversing the Tiber to the Vatican from this area, and it is therefore likely to have contributed in some way in the siting of the new bridge.

32. See Ceen, *Le Quartiere de'Banchi*, p21&p33.

33. For a detailed historical examination of the Ospedale see Howe, *The Hospital of Santo Spirito and Pope Sixtus IV*.

34. *Ibid.*,p36.

35. The interval of the Holy Year steadily decreased during the 14th century since it was established by Pope Boniface VIII. It was reduced to every fifty years by Clement VI and then to thirty three (the supposed age of Christ at his Crucifixion) by Urban VI. Then Sixtus IV's predecessor, Paul II (1464-1471), increased the frequency of the Jubilee celebrations to every 25 years, doubtless in anticipation of his own Pontificate playing host to the event. As it turned out, this was not to be and the impending Holy Year during Sixtus' Pontificate provided added impetus to embark on a series of ambitious urban and architectural projects.

36. John Shearman, *Raphael's Cartoons in the Collection of her Majesty the Queen and the Tapestries for the Sistine Chapel* (London: Phaidon, 1972), pp51-52, n.41.

37. Momo, "Il giuoco del Pallone", in *Il Buonarroti*, III (1868), p243; Quoted in Ceen, *Quartière de'Banchi*, p172. Translated by Simone Medio.

38. The strategic importance of via di Santo Spirito and Platea Pontis was recognised by Paul III (1534-1549) who sought to further improve access to Borgo by creating a trivium, or "piccolo tridente', of streets converging on the piazza. *Ibid.*, pp.197-98. It is likely that this was influenced by the trivium of streets planned by Nicholas V for Borgo.

39.   *Ibid.*, pp.178-79; See also Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p28. For an examination of the Chigi bank see Domenico Gnoli, "Il Banco D'Agostino Chigi" in*, Archivio Storico dell'Arte*, Anno 1 (1888), pp.172-75.

40.   "L'atto di Giulio II va messo, a nostro parere, in relazione con la decisione, del 1508, di atterrare l'oratorio e alcune case dei Fiorentini, nella zona finale di via Giulia. Si tratta, evidentemente di tutta una politica antifiorentina, a favore del Chigi e dei Fugger, e di portata comunque europea." Salerno et al, *Via Giulia*, p69, n.12. An item from the diary of the 'Archivio dei Fiorentini', and cited here by A.Nava, describes this abandonment of the Florentine Confraternity: "il Papa mando Bramante co'maestri [delle Strade] a disfare la nostra compagnia e il nostro oratorio. Veduto questo facemmo redunare gli uomini di nostra compagnia e con buone fecevo restare i maestri. Il di seguente s'avea a gettare a terra la compagnia e fu concluso che si dovesse fare la chiesa." A. Nava, "Sui disegni architettonici per S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Roma", in *Critica d'arte* (1935-36), I, p102. During the Pontificate of Leo X, Julius II's successor, this anti-Florentine policy was revoked and the Medici Pope granted in 1515 the Florentine district independent status as a "Nazione fiorentina". This was celebrated by the commissioning of the monumental Church of San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, the largest church after St. Peter's Basilica during this period.

41.   In a passage from the *Commentarii* of Pius II Piccolomini is a description of a procession along via Papalis and via dei Banchi that passed the Old Chancery. This gives an indication of the sumptuousness of the building during that period: "But Roderigo the Vice Chancellor surpassed the attempts of all at expenditure. He built a lofty and sumptuous house on the site of the old mint and enclosed it with rich and noble verandahs. Then he raised a roof on high on which hung many different marvellous things. Nor did he adorn his house alone but also the neighbouring ones in such a way that the square seemed enclosed by a garden." *Commentarii* (1614), p199. Translated by Fraser A. Blagg.

42.   See M.Monaco, *La Zecca vecchia in Banchi*, (Rome: Officina Poligrafica Laziale, 1962), pp.15-47.

43.   "Non longe ab ecclesia S.Celso tua sanctitas [Julius II] officinam pecuniae cudende construxit...." Quoted in Ceen, *Quartiere de'Banchi*, p179.Translated by John Barrie Hall and Annabel Ritchie.

44.   Roberto Weiss, "The Medals of Pope Julius II (1503-1513)", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtald Institutes*,Vol.28 (1965), pp.163-182. Weiss makes reference to a number of prominent 'medalists', for example Pier Maria Serbaldi, who was employed at the Roman mint specifically to execute commemorative medals for Julius II.

45.   For an examination of Caesar as statesman and administrator see, Stefan Weinstock, *Divus Julius* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971), pp.228-67.

46.   Louise Adams Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, (American Academy in Rome, Papers and Monographs 21,1961), 89n.56, p49

47.   Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p53.

48.   See Luigi Frati, *Le due spedizioni militari di Giulio II: tratte dal Diario di Paride Grassi*, vol.1 (Bologna: Tipografia regia,1886), pp.172-76.

49.   These other names to the streets are probably due to its connection to the Campo de' Fiori, one of the major commercial squares of Rome. For a more detailed examination of this street see Torgil Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wicksell, 1958), p24.

50.   "Hic ubi tot cernis dextra levaque tabernas / hic ubi Roma suas aurea iactas opes / qua nitet immenso via nunc pulcherrima tractu / obruta porticibus semita nuper erat / Porticibus dixi casulis coenoque ruinis / deicere dedueram talia nuper erant / at novus et melior romanae conditor urbis / Romanis dedit hoc rebus inesse decus / Hinc via ad aurigeras mensas arcemque superbum / ast hinc romanum ducit adusque forum / Hoc spatio est quicquid cupidissima vita requirit / cernitur. hic toto quicquid in orbe latet." *De laudibus ac rebus gestis Sixti IV*, (BAV. Cod. Vat. Lat. 5008) - Translated by Fraser A.Blagg.

51.   Cesare D'Onofrio, *Castel S.Angelo e Borgo: Tra Roma e Papato* (Rome: Romana Società Editrice, 1978), p36. The antiquity of this covered street is affirmed by the fact that it is mentioned in the early Medieval *Itinerarium Einsidliense*. R. Lanciani "itinerario di Einsiedeln e l'ordine di Benedetto Canonico" in *Monumenti antichi*, I, col.,450.

52.   For an examination of the route of *via Triumphalis* in this particular area see Diane Favro, "The Street Triumphant: The Urban Impact of Roman Triumphal Parades", in *Streets*: *Critical Perspectives on Public Spaces* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1994), pp.151-164.

53.   *Il Magnifico Agostino Chigi* (Rome: Associazione Bancaria Italiana, 1970), p330.

54.   Quoted in Linda Pellecchia, 'The Contested City: Urban Form in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome', in Maria Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p61-62. Translated by Pellecchia from Sebastiano Tedallini's "Diary romano," in Massimo Miglio, "Sisto IV e Giulio II: il tema della Roma Moderna," Scritture, Scrittori e Storia. Citta e Corte a Roma nel Quattrocento (Rome: Vecchiarelli, 1993), pp.129-36.

55.   Daniela Gallavotti Cavallero, *Palazzi di Roma: Dal XIV Al XX Secolo* (Rome: Nuova Editrice Romana, 1989), pp.166-67.

56.   D.S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals & War* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2006), p153.

57.   *Ibid.*, p154.

58.   *Ibid.*

59.   For a detailed account of the background and route of the procession, see E. Rodocanachi, *Histoire de Rome: Le Pontificat de Leon X 1513-1521* (Paris, 1931), pp.41-47.

60.   Ceen, *Quartiere de'Banchi*, p329.

61.   Marcello Fagiolo & Maria Luisa Madonna, "Il Possesso di Leone X: Il trionfo delle prospettive", in Marcello Fagiolo (ed.), *La Festa a Roma: Dal Rinascimento al 1870* (Turin: Umberto Allemandi & Co., 1997), pp.42-49.

62.   F. Saxl, "The Capitol During the Renaissance: A Symbol of the Imperial Idea" in, *Lectures*, Vol.1, (Warburg Institute, London, 1957), pp.200-214.

63.   Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.171-72. See also Chapter 3 of this study.

64.   In each case the ceremony serves as an "epiphany" of the ruler, articulated around the triumphal procession. See Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp.84-91.

65.   Interest in the route of the triumphal procession during the Renaissance reached a peak in 1536 when Charles V entered the city following his 'African campaigns'. Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, Mass: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press,: 2007), p55.

66.   Ceen, *Quartiere de'Banchi*, p48.

67.   It is of interest to note that remains of a crenellated facade to the south face of the Old Chancery, presumably remnants from the old Zecca that stood on the site, may have been incorporated into the facade of the 15th century palace. This is suggested, according to Torgil Magnuson, by a view of the palace from Tempesta's plan of Rome, dating from 1593. Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*, p232. It is also conceivable that these visible remains of the old Zecca had some influence on Bramante's design of the fortified facade of the Palazzo dei Tribunali across the *foro Iulio*.

68.   Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity*, pp.171-74.

69.   For a summary of the differing views of the authorship of the Palazzo Riario (Palazzo della Cancelleria) see Marcello Fagiolo & Maria Luisa Madonna (eds.), *Roma 1300-1875: La città degli anni santi Atlante* Milan: Arnaldo Mondadori Editore S.p.A., 1985) p139, no16.

70.   A. Schiavo, *Il palazzo della Cancelleria,* (Rome 1964), pp.79-80.

71.   Salerno et al, *Via Giulia*, p48. Translated by Simone Medio.

72.   Ingrid D. Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance: Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1998), pp.33-34.

73.   For an examination of the history of the church see G. Segui, C. Thoenes & L. Mortari, *Ss. Celso e Giuliano* (Rome, 1966).

74.   Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1980), p287.

75.   "The sixth bridge of the Tiber was called 'Triumphal' and is situated close to the Church of S. Spirito, as still highlighted by its ancient remains. The

more ancient bridge was called the 'Vatican', and which now your Holiness [Julius II] wants to restore and which is already called the 'Julian Bridge' by the Roman People." Translated by Fraser A. Blagg. Original Latin from Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris urbis Romae* (Rome, 1510), p11.

76.   Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, pp.238-246.
77.   Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope,* pp.189-209.
78.   Weiss, "The Medals of Pope Julius II (1503-1513)", p180.
79.   Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope*, p204. According to A.Venuti, the medal was made by heretics as a slander on the Pope. (A. Venturi, 'Gian Cristoforo Romano', *Archivio storico dell'arte*, I, 1888, pxii). Such a claim seems, however, unlikely in view of the prevalence of other explicit imperial associations with the Julian papacy. There is fairly indisputable evidence to suggest that Julius II was hailed as Julius Caesar on many occasions. See, for instance, Vatican Library, MS. Vat. Lat. 1682, fols. 190v, 192r; Albertini, *de Mirabilibus urbis Romae*, fols.Biv, 68r; G. Signorelli, *Viterbo nella storia della Chiesa*, ii, I, (Viterbo, 1938), p320 n.7 & p337.
80.   E. Müntz, *Les Antiquites de la Ville de Rome aux XIV, XV et XVI Siecles* (Paris, 1886), p79. Translated by author. P. Fabbri suggests that the name "via Trionfale" may derive from that of "Porta Triumphalis" and that the latter formed part of the Circo Vaticano. *Atti Congr. Naz. Studi Romani* V, (Rome 1946), p125.
81.   Flavio Biondo, *Roma Instaurata* (Venice, 1510), Book 1, Ch.41 (Latin Transcribed by John Barrie Hall and Annabel Ritchie) "Libet autem postquam portas urbis quae aetate nostra extant pro posse descripserimus locum indicare unius quam omnium celeberrimam Roma habuit ea est Triumphalis per quam et nullam aliam triumphi agebantur. et ut rem quasi hominum opera quicquid solidi haberent oportuerit aeterna claritate fulgere tenebris: in quibus omnino perierat certiore abstrahamus modo quid et ubi fuerit primo dicemus. Deinde testimonia quibus assertio nostra constet afferemus. pons cuius pillarum fundamenta nunc ad sancti Spiritus hospitale in Tyberi cernuntur. et porta ad intimam Tyberis ripam cuius fundamentorum moles extat. et uia ab eo ponte ad Caesaris Obeliscum ad areamque basilicae sancti Petri subiectam secundum radices montis Vaticani protensa triumphali nomine appellabantur nec ulterius quam ad beati Petri basilicam ea uia quod coniicere potuerim praetendebatur." Biondo's account raises the further issue of the topographical relationship between the *pons Neronianu*s and the Vatican Obelisk, as implied in the urban scheme for Borgo under Nicholas V. According to Manetti, there were to be three wide and straight streets connecting two piazzas, one in front of St. Peter's and the other adjacent to the bridge-crossing at Castel Sant'Angelo. As Torgil Magnusson explains: "We know that the western terminal points of these streets would be: for the central street, the central door of the basilica; for the street on the right, the main entrance to the palace [of the Vatican]; and for that on the left, the obelisk in its original location south of the basilica."Magnusson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*, p73. See also Ceen, *Quartière dei Banchi*, p278. Whilst we have no evidence to suggest that Nicholas V had planned to reconstruct the triumphal bridge, its ruins may have served as an important landmark in the layout of the streets. The relationship between the bridge and

the obelisk is strengthened by Flavio Biondo's later contention that an ancient route extended from the river-crossing to the *Agulia*, and that the porta Trionfale constituted a 'gateway' on the axis of the street: "Dal ponte Neroniano all'obelisco, e non oltre la Basilica di San Pietro, un'antica strada sarebbe attestata dal Biondo, che la ritenne la via Trionfale…..All'inizio del ponte egli colloca inoltre la porta Trionfale." (Ferdinando Castagnoli, *Il Vatican nell'Antichita Classica*. Vatican City: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1992)Vol.VI, p31.

82.   See Louise Adams Holland, "Survival of the Arch at the Crossing," in *Janus and the Bridge, American Academy in Rome, Papers and Monographs*, 21 (1961), 89n. 56, p288.

83.   "Data la particolare conformazione planimetrica del luogo nel quale poteva essere post, la pianta di tale possibile arco trionfale e difficile potesse essere rettangolare o quadrata. Molto meglio, per porsi in asse sia con via Giulia che con il ponte Trionfale, si sarebbe prestata una pianta centrica, ad esempio ottagonale. La restituzione prospettica dell'edificio rappresentato nella *Scuola d'Atene* ci da, come ipotesi piu attendibile, proprio un edificio ottagonale. Si tratta forse di uno studio bramantesco per l'arco di trionfo da porsi in fondo a via Giulia? » Arnaldo Bruschi, *Bramante Architetto* (Editori Laterza, Bari 1969), p644, n.66. Translated by Simone Medio.

84.   "Arcus Arcadii, Honorii et Theodosii - Nelle varie versioni dei Mirabilia (Valentini-Zucchetti III, 117) questo monumento viene confuso con l'arcus Gratiani Valentiniani et Theodosii...l'arco e posteriore alla nascità di Teodosio II (402 d.c.) e precedente alla morte di Arcadio (408 d.c.). Era collocato nel Campo Marzio (Reg. IX), nelle vicinanze del *pons Neronianus*, forse nel tratto iniziale della *via Triumphalis*." Eva Margareta Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1993), Vol. 1. pp.79-80.

85.   Samuel Ball Platner and Thomas Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (London: Oxford University Press, 1929), p541. According to Lanciani, these Early Christian arches were specifically erected for the benefit of the faithful on their way to the shrine of St. Peters across the Tiber river. Holland, however, considers that it is more likely that they were "more or less routine replacements for older arches associated with bridges"; Holland, *Janus and the Bridge*, p289. Could these triumphal gateways not, in fact, be a result of both reasons; to celebrate the ceremonial crossings to St. Peters and to replace existing pagan triumphal arches? The symbolism of triumph itself acquires a very different meaning in Early Christian Rome, with its associations with the martyrdom of St. Peters. At the same time there may also have been a historical relationship between the 4th/5th century triumphal arch and the early *possesso*. The return route, according to Richard Krautheimer, passed through the southern sector of the city. "From Ponte S.Angelo [the pope] passed slightly west of the Arch of Theodosius, Arcadius, and Honorius – it stood near what is now the end of Via Giulia…" *Rome: Profile of a City*, p278. It is conceivable that the symbolic affinity between the *possesso* and the Roman triumph may

have been earlier identified and placed within the context of particular topographical markers that delineate the construed route of the *via Triumphalis*.

86.   I am grateful to John North for this information.

87.   The association of the Vatican with the death and burial of St. Peter has its roots in the account of the disastrous fire of Rome during the reign of Nero by Tacitus. In his *Annales*, (15, 44), he tells how Nero offered his gardens (*hortos suos*) and circus, used for the execution of hundreds of Christians (*multitudo ingens*), as a refuge for the people of Rome. This refers, as is generally assumed, to the grounds of the Vatican, or *ager Vaticanus*. Moreover, "…after the fire of 64, there was no alternative site in Rome for such a spectacle; the Circus Maximus had been damaged by the fire and the Flaminian Circus, in the centre of the city, would have been too small. In the same section [*Annales,*15) Tacitus mentions the crucified (*crucibus affixi*) among the victims; Peter would have been one of them." Margherita Guarducci, *The Tradition of Peter in the Vatican in the Light of History and Archaeology,* (Vatican: Polglot Press, 1963), p14.

88.   The imperial triumph of Honorius and his general Stilicho, to celebrate both the victories of Pollentia and Verona in 402 as well as the emperor's Decennalia, was to be the last such spectacle that Rome was to witness. Described by the court poet Claudian, the route of the Triumph, like that of 312 AD, extended across the Milvian Bridge and along the via Flaminia. (Claudian, *VI cons.,* 534-46). "The site of the battle of the Milvian Bridge [under Constantine] along with the Arch of Constantine's depiction of the entry at the Arch of Domitian on the Campus Martius..., as well as what is known of Constantius' itinerary, imply that the same route was followed in 312 and 357. This suggests that the parades passed through the Campus Martius and presumably, down the Via lata to the Forum." Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West,* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1990), p86. In his eulogy of the victory against the Goths by Honorius, Prudentius stated that in his opinion the emperor and Stilicho owed their good fortune to Christ, and thus summoned Honorius to ascend the truimphal car:

Scande triumphalem currum, spoliisque receptis
Huc Christo comitante veni.
-*Contra Symmach.*, ii,v. 731.

One can draw parallels between this laudatory poem and the description by Paris de Grassis of Julius II's triumphal entry into Rome on Palm Sunday of 1507, *Le Due Spedizioni Militari di Giulio II - Tratte dal Diario di Paride Grassi Bolognese, Maestro delle Ceremonie della Cappella Papale*, vol. 1, Luigi Frati (ed.), (Bologna: Regia Tipografia, 1886), pp172-76. The ancient imperial triumph, in its Christian guise, is here consciously invoked by Julius II in his symbolic role as simultaneously emperor and Christ entering victoriously into the new Jerusalem. Also, in both instances the victor attempts to expel an 'alien' force from the soil of Italy; for Honorius it was the defeat of Alaric and the Goths in Northern Italy, whilst for Julius II it was the overthrow of the Bentivoglio family in Bologna, a puppet tyranny of the French monarchy.

89.   For an account of late imperial triumphs, and their Christianisation, see McCormick, *Eternal Victory*, pp.84-111.

90.   See Chapter 4.

91.   According to Cesare D'Onofrio, "Probabilmente esso[*pons Neronianus*] era stato demolito subito dopo la ricordata invasione dei goti del 410, allorche Roma dimostro quasi inaspettatamente tutta la sua sconfinata debolezza. Demolire il ponte di Nerone non arrecava grave danno ad una citta ormai in rapido decadenza e spopolamento, mentre toglieva la preoccupazione di un ulteriore punto cruciale da difendere."*Castel S.Angelo e Borgo: tra Roma e Papato* (Rome: Romana Società Editrice, 1978)*,* p48. More likely however is that some sort of permanent crossing existed at the *pons Neronianus*, some time after the fall of Veii in 496BC. Holland, *Janus and the Bridge,* p.289.

92.   N.H.Baynes, *The Political Ideas of St. Augustine's De Civitate Dei,* (London, 1936).

93.   Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities and Architects* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p78.

94.   P.De Angelis, *Breve commento storico sulle vicende dell'ospedale di S. Spirito in Saxia* (Rome, 1957), pp.13-16.

95.   Magnuson, *Studies in Roman Quattrocento Architecture*, pp.74-7.

96.   Lucio Fauno, *Delle antichità della città di Roma* (Venice: 1548), f26v: "Papa Alessandro IV….drizzo a Riga la strada [via Alessandra] infino a la di palazzo [Papal Palace?], togliendo di mezzo la via una certa piramide che l'impediva."

97.   This is indicated by the various names given to the monument during the Middle Ages: "memoria Romuli" (Bull of 21 March 1053 by Leo XI [*Patrologia Latina*, 143, 714]); "sepulchrum Romuli" (Ordo Romanus XI of Benedetto Canonico [c. 1140]; "pyramis Romuli" (Ranulphus Higden, Polychronicon [fourteenth century], bk 1, ch. 25); and finally "meta Romuli" as shown on plan of H. Schedel (Nuremburg, 1493). According to Francesco Albertini, *Opusculum de mirabilibus novae et veteris Urbis* (Rome, 1510), the monument had three names: "Scipionis sepulchrum," "sepulchrum Aepulonum," and more popularly "Romuli meta." The most authoritative bibliographical source on the history of the pyramid is Platner & Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, p340. For a comprehensive account of the history of the pyramid, see M.B. Peebles, "La 'Meta Romuli' e una lettera di Michele Ferno," in *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia Rendiconti*, vol.12 (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1936), pp.21-36.

98.   Peebles, "'Meta Romuli,'", pp.28-30.

99.   "Letter to Pope Leo X by Raphael," in Vincenzo Golzio, *Raffaello: Nei documenti, nelle testimonianze, dei contemporanei e nelle letteratura del suo seculo* (London: Gregg, 1971), p.83: "ne senza molta compassione posso io ricordami, che poi ch'io sono in Roma che anchora non sono dodici anni, son state ruinate molte cose belle, come la meta ch'era nella via Alessandrina ... Ma perche ci doleremo noi de Gotti de Vandelli."

100.   For an assessment of the relationship between the pyramid and via triumphalis, see Christian Huelsen, "Sul sito della 'Meta Romuli,'" *Diss. della P. Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 2nd ser. 8 (1903), pp.383-7 and plate 9.

101.   The idea of a direct relationship between the pyramid and via Giulia was first suggested by Gugliemo De Angelis D'Ossat during a conference on Bramante held in 1970; see C.L. Frommel, S. Ray, and Manfredo Tafuri, *Raffaello Architetto* (Milan: Electa Editrice, 1984),p101,n51.

102.   Tafuri, "Roma Instaurata," in Frommel et al., *Raffaello Architetto*,101n51.

103.   The visual significance of the pyramid in the urbanscape of Rome is indicated by the numerous representations of the monument in paintings and plans. According to Peebles, there are thirty-eight such representations; see his "'Meta Romuli,'" pp.51-63.

104.   According to Lucio Fauno, about half the pyramid was demolished during the building campaign of Alexander VI. However, this contradicts Platner and Ashby's assessment of the evidence, which suggests that only one-third of the structure was actually removed; see Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary*, p340. It also seems that the monument was tampered with in varying degrees since the time of Sixtus IV and that Julius II had altered parts of it for "practical reasons." This may have been in preparation for the construction of what Tafuri describes as "una casa da dare in usufrutto ai cantori, ai maestri della Cappella Giulia"; see his "Roma Instaurata," p101. Perhaps Julius II had planned in some way to incorporate this "casa" within the body of the pyramid.

105.   For general descriptions, see Richard Krautheimer, "The Tragic and Comic Scenes of the Renaissance: The Baltimore and Urbino Panels," *Gazette des Beaux Arts* 33 (1948): 327-46.

106.   According to the *Liber Pontificalis*, Pope Donus (676-78) paved the atrium of St Peter's Basilica with the marble reliefs from the pyramid. However, this contradicts Giovanni Rucellai's description dating from the 1450 Jubilee celebrations, which states that the pyramid was "tutta coperta di marmi"; Giuseppe Marcotti, *Il Giubileo del' anno 1450 secondo una relazione di Giovanni Rucellai* (Rome, Forzani e C, 1881) 572. Also in John Shearman, 'The Chigi Chapel in S. Maria del Popolo' in *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes* XXIV (1961), p 133n25. On balance, it is likely that some of the reliefs were removed during the seventh century. The fresco *The Vision of the True Cross Before the Battle of Ponte Milvio* in the Sala di Costantino by Giulio Romano clearly shows the pyramid with reliefs, perhaps an imaginary reconstruction.

107.   See Charles L. Stinger, "The Campidoglio as the Locus of *Renovatio Imperii*," in Charles M. Rosenberg, ed., *Art and Politics in Late Medieval and Early Renaissance Italy, 1250-1500*, 135-56 (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1990), pp.135-56.

108.   The relationship reminds us of Erwin Panofsky's assertion that the coincidence of the 'invention' of perspective with the emergence of historiography in the Renaissance contributed to a particular understanding of space as a kind of "reflective medium".Erwin Panofsky, *Studies in Iconology:*

Humanistic Themes in the Art of the Renaissance (New York: Harper and Row, 1972), pp.27-8.

109.　　Biondo, *Roma Instaurata*, Book 1, Ch.41 ('Porta triuphalis. Pons triuphalis').Translated by John Barrie Hall and Annabel Ritchie. The transcribed Latin is as follows: "et constantem retinet famam aetas nostra pontem de quo diximus nobelium fuisse nec illo unquam ruricolas transiuisse habent etiam incidenter monumenta commutationis facte Calendis mensis Augusti siue sextilis a memoria uictoriae Octauiani Caesaris Augusti de Antonio et Cleopatra ad liberationem beati Petri a carcere et cathenis Herodis: unde festum ipsius beati Petri ad uincula celebramus, Cineres. C. Caesaris Obelisco insigni positos qui cernitur in territorio triumphali."

110.　　For a discussion of this relationship see Hubertus Günther, "The Renaissance of Antiquity" in, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo,* pp.259-305.

111.　　The association between the ancient bridge and St. Peter's martyrdom is implied in a brief description, dating from the papacy of Pius II, of the construction of new steps for old St. Peters Basilica, which used the stone from the ruined Neronian bridge: "opere per le scale di San Pietro a 10 manuali a cauer treuertinj al ponte di Santo Spirito (*pons Neronianus*)." Rodolfo Lanciani, "Pons Neronianus, 3 aprile 1461", in *Storia degli Scavi di Roma,* (Edizioni Quasar Rome, 1989), Vol. 1 (1000-1530), p79-80. Hence, the steps upon which pilgrims would ascend to the Petrine shrine were made from the very stones along which the Apostle supposedly crossed to his martyrdom Like the stairs upon which Christ supposedly ascended to his Crucifixion in Jerusalem, which Helena brought to Rome for installation in the church of Scala Santa, the procession of pilgrims up the stairs of St. Peter's may alo have been construed as a ritual 're-enactment' of Peter's fate. (See 'Crossing Thresholds: Peter and Caesar' later in this chapter.)

112.　　Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope*, p11. This connection between "Vincula" and pope reappears in connection with the Palazzo dei Tribunali in Chapter 3.

113.　　Frati, *Le due spedizioni militari di Giulio II*, vol.1, p287. Grassi's derogatory remark was probably because Bramante demolished SS. Celso e Giuliano, a favourite church of Grassi, during the urban transformations of the 'Banchi'. See Otto Förster, *Bramante* (Vienna/Munich: 1956), pp.272-281.

114.　　 "Entrò Bramante in capriccio di fare in Belvedere, in un fregio nella facciata di fuori, alcune lettere a giusa di ieroglifi antichi, per dimostrare mag[g]iormente l'ingegno ch'aveva e per mettere il nome di quel Pontefice e'l suo; e aveva cosi cominciato: IULIO II PONT. MASSIMO, et aveva fatto fare una testa in profilo di Iulio Cesare, e con due archi un ponte che diceva: IULIO II PONT. Et una aguglia del Circolo Massimo per MAX." Giorgio Vasari, *Le Vite: De Piu Eccellenti Pittori, Scultori e Architettori*, ed. by Rosanna Bettarini (Studio Per Edizioni Scelte, Firenze, 1976), Vol. IV, pp.79-80.

115.　　Bramante may have been partly inspired in his *rebus* of the pontifical title by the playful hieroglyphs of Franceso Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia*

Poliphili. See E.H. Gombrich, "Hypnerotomachiana," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 16 (1951), pp.119-22. Gombrich claims that Julius II's rejection of Bramante's papal hieroglyph was partly in response to the interest expressed by his hated predecessor (Alexander VI) in things Egyptian, p120.

116.   This ancient festival probably emulated Greek athletic and literary contests. Donald R. Dudley, *URBS ROMA: A Source Book of Classical Texts on the City & its Monuments* (Phaidon Press, Oxford), p67.

117.   Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, pp.58-59. A. Ademollo states that, "..Giulio II invece vuole che il Carnevale abbia il suo sfogo, e la sua apoteosi che si svolge per le strade di Roma pare lo compensi della morte che si avvicina." *Alessandro VI, Giulio II e Leone X nel Carnevale di Roma: Documenti Inediti 1499-1520* (Florence 1886), p35. Stinger derives his summary of the Carnevale from the description of Maestro Giovanni Iacopo Penni (De Pennis) which is reproduced by Ademollo. *Ibid.*

118.   For discussion of 'Italianità' see Vincent Ilardi, "<<Italianita>> among some Italian intellectuals in the early sixteenth century", *Traditio,* 12 (1956), pp.339-67.

119.   B. Feliciangeli, "Un probable indizio del nazionalismo di Giulio II", in *Arte e storia* XXXV (1916) No.8, pp.226-231. Feliciangeli highlights the underlying nationalist sentiments that this map evokes which characterise the Pontificate of Julius II.

120.   This may also have been influenced by the *carro* that was located near Castel Sant'Angelo for the 1507 triumphal ceremony of Julius II. Above ten dancing figures was a celestial sphere flanked by two palm trees. Above this was a golden oak filled with acorns with the inscription: "Under Julius the palm has grown up from the oak. No wonder - for these are the works of Jove." Frati, *Le due spedizioni militari di Giulio II*, p175. On the site of what was believed to have been the tomb of Romulus, the oak would thus have appeared to have risen over the very foundations of Rome. The association of Palm Sunday with military triumphs was not unique to the Renaissance but can be traced back to the Carolingian period. As Michael McCormick highlights in reference to Charles the Bald's coronation in 869: "After the unction and crowning, the bishops handed the king a palm branch and a royal scepter. The accompanying prayer expounded the palm's message of victory on earth and in heaven. That the palm was placed on the same ceremonial level as the royal scepter emphasizes the role of victory in the Carolingian idea of the ruler. Alcuin had referred to palm branches in his allusion to a triumphal welcome for Charlemagne and, in keeping with late antique tradition, that king had been welcomeed into Rome by children waving palm branches, during the final campaign against the Lombards…The branch was probably mean to be carried by the ruler in the palace liturgy's Palm Sunday procession, and the papal letters accompanying the palms emphasize their symbolism of both ethical and military triumph." *Eternal Victory*, p370. The revival of this Carolingian tradition in Julian Rome is perhaps reflective of a more general attempt to conjoin the symbolism of military triumph with that of triumph over death, as embodied in the Palm Sunday procession.

121.   "Tradotto in operazione urbanistica, quel controllo politico, diviene tentativo di inserimento dell'iniziativa privata in un disegno formulato dal

potere pubblico, rappresentato dalla volontà pontificia." Tafuri et al, *via Giulia*, p70. Translated by Simone Medio.

122.   This is reflected to some extent in poetic odes of the period. The Modenese poet, F.M.Molza (1489-1544), for example, felt such a deep resentment towards invading foreign armies (especially the French) that he insisted that Italy should heal its wounds first before turning its attention to the east, with the ever-growing Turkish threat. Vincent Ilardi, <<Italianità>>, pp.349-50.

Chapter 3

The Palazzo dei Tribunali and the Meaning of Justice

1.   Linda Pellecchia, 'The Contested City: Urban Form in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome', in Marcia B. Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.59-94, p70 n.36.

2.   Arnaldo Bruschi, "Il palazzo dei Tribunali e la casa di Raffaello" in, *Bramante Architetto* (Bari, 1969) pp591-604; Christoph.L.Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali in via Giulia", *Studi Bramanteschi - Atti del Congresso Internazionale, Milano-Urbino, Roma 1970* (De Luca Editore, Rome, 1974) pp.523-34; Franco Borsi, "Palazzo dei Tribunali in via Giulia - San Biagio" in, *Bramante* (Electa, Milan 1989) pp.281-86; See also, L.Salerno, L.Spezzaferro & M. Tafuri, "Via Giulia: storia di una struttura urbana" in, *Via Giulia: Una Utopia Urbanistica del.500* (Rome, 1973), pp65-76.

3.   "La schema del palazzo dei Tribunali può darsi voglia anche riprendere la descrizione vitruviana della basilica di Fano con la sua pianta rettangolare e la sua connessione con il tempio di Augusto affacciato sul suo spazio centrale, cosi come nel palazzo bramantesco Π il tempio di S.Biagio detto della Pagnotta…" Bruschi, *Bramante Architetto*. p600, n62.

4.   "O possibile che, per un convinto asserto del cesaro-papismo come papa Giulio, il "secondo" Giulio, abbia giocato il ruolo determinante il modello constantiniano, in particolare la fondazione della sua "seconda" Roma sul Bosforo, secondo fonti quali Eusebio: il palazzo imperiale coll i'podromo sono richiamati dal Palazzo Vaticano e il cortile del Belvedere, la chiesa degli Apostoli..mausoleo imperiale dalla chiesa dell'Apostolo, San Pietro, col mausoleo del papa, la basilica *Sedes Iustitiae*….dal Palazzo dei Tribunali rivelando un immagine piu politica stategica rispetto al sincretismo teologico-culturale del programma papale per la Stanza della Segnatura…" Borsi, *Bramante*, p283.

5.   "The first notable change for the worse in the history of the Church came in the time of Pope Sylvester and Constantine, and this marked the beginning of the second age of Church history, corresponding to the twelfth psalm. Under "pious Constantine" the Church left the mountain caves, abandoned the eremitical life, and began to adorn itself with the riches of this world. The popes and the clergy throughout this age, Giles assures us, still led blameless lives, but the worldly spirit already infected great numbers of the laity." John W. O'Malley, s.j. *Giles of Viterbo on Church and Reform: A Study in Renaissance Thought - Studies In Medieval and Reformation Thought* (E.J.Brill, Leiden, 1968), p107.

6.   Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali in via Giulia", p529.

7.   Hans-Georg Gadamer, *Dialogue and Dialectic: Eight Hermeneutical Studies on Plato* (Yale University Press, New Haven, 1980), pp.52-53, p56. For discussion of Plato's *Republic* in the Renaissance see James Hankins, *Plato in the Renaissance* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), pp.117-54.

8.   Nicola Courtright, *The Papacy and the Art of Reform in Sixteenth-Century Rome: Gregory XIII's Tower of the Winds in the Vatican* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p29.

9.   Manfredo Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance: Princes, Cities, Architects* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), p79.

10.   In the Middle Ages Rome was sometimes identified as an archetype of the "new Jerusalem". Pier Paolo Vergerio, for example, conceived in the late 14th century an *Urbs Quadripartita* of the Eternal City associated with the schematic representations of Jerusalem, as described by eyewitness accounts, rather than the *Roma quadrata* of ancient historians. See Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 1993) pp.67-73. For Giles of Viterbo, as we know, Rome represented simultaneously Babylon and Jerusalem, the fallen city and its redeemed counterpart. The connection between Rome and Jerusalem was doubly important by the fall of the latter to the Roman emperor, Vespasian, in AD71 when the spoils of the Solomonic Temple were brought to Rome, including a copy of the Jewish Law (Josephus, *Jewish War,* v. 123-60). This defeat of Jerusalem by the first of the Flavian emperors, following the overthrow of Nero in AD68, persecutor and executioner of St. Peter, was especially auspicious in Rome's history; at one level it signalled the moment when imperial Rome was, unknowingly, to inherit the Judaeo-Christian Law from her, by now, servile colony of Israel. It also ironically anticipated, in the destruction of the Solomonic Temple, the ultimate fate of Jerusalem in the hands of the Muslims. See Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington 1986), Ch.IV. Giles himself believed that the Roman character of the Church is a continuation of Israel and the "converging point of all religious history". John O'Malley, "Giles of Viterbo: A Reformer's Thought on Renaissance Rome", in *Renaissance Quarterly* (1967) Vol.20, pp.1-11.

11.   Giles of Viterbo's likening of the Tiber to the Jordan river, the place of the Saviour's baptism, further underlines the principle of Etruria as the new 'Holy Land'; the story of Christ's baptism was interpreted in Christian patristics as signalling an eschatological moment when the Law of the Old Dispensation was effectively 'inherited' by the Saviour and transformed into the new faith of redemption, a point that is clearly relevant to the symbolism of the Vatican.

12.   Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali", p524 and n.3; Borsi, *Bramante*, p283.

13.   The precise arrangement of this new tribunal system is uncertain. It is possible, however, that some of the functions of the papal tribunal were intended to remain in the Vatican. The Stanza della Segnatura, for example, was probably used as both a private library and as the Pope's own tribunal, as discussed in Chapter 8. A 16th century description of the function of the Palzzo dei Tribunali can be found in a "motuproprio" by Paul III: "Cum sicut nobis constat et cunctis patet opus palatii felicis recordantiae Julium papam II....ad usum et pro residentia judicum et tribunalium alme Urbis ad Ecclesiam s. Blasii de la Pagnotta...incohatum.." E. Rodocanachi, *Rome au temps de Jules II et de Leon X* (Paris, 1912), p411.

14.   For discussion of this authority see Carol William Westfall, *In this Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban*

Planning, 1447-1455 (PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974). Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Designs: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1990).

15.　　　"Julius II continued the political initiatives of his predecessors in the centralisation of the Church state and in the elimination of small autonomous powers. One of these powers was also the Roman council (Commune) with its traditional Capitoline Tribunal."Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali", p534. Translated by author.

16.　　　Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance*, p36.

17.　　　Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali", p524. See also Borsi, *Bramante,* p284. For an examination of the idea of incorporating in the new Palace of Justice the functions of the Medieval Palazzo Communale on the Capitol see C.L.Frommel, *Der romische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance* (Tubingen 1973) Vol.I, pp. 96 & 143, vol.II, pp.327-35.

18.　　　For a study of this drawing see, Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali", p524.

19.　　　"…vi sono indicati quattro appartimenti autonomi con quattro scale, quattro sale e cosi via." Borsi, *Bramante*, p283.

20.　　　According to Ferdinand Gregorovius: "In the same palace [Palazzo dei Tribunali] Bramante wished to erect a circular Corinthian building, but this, too, was never finished. It served for a long time for the representation of comedies, until in 1575, it was demolished by the Brescians to build their Church SS. Faustino e Giovita." Ferdinand Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (London 1902), Vol. 8, Part I, p125. It is clear that the "circular Corinthian building" actually refers to Bramante's octagonal church of San Biagio even though, according to Vasari, this small church was a "tempio dorico non finito", rather than Corinthian. The idea of a church being used as the focus of the comic scene was part of a long tradition. According to Serlio, "the settings [for the comic scene]....want to be those of private persons, such as citizens, lawyers, tradesmen, parasites and other similar people. In the first place the house of the procuress must not be omitted, also the scene must not be without a tavern, and a church is highly necessary." Sebastiano Serlio, *Il Secondo Libro di Perspettiva* (Paris, 1545). In the context of an incomplete papal palace of justice, intended to serve the citizens and lawyers of Rome with its adjacent church of San Biagio, this setting would have been especially appropriate as a representation of the comic scene: "Si sa che il San Biagio non finito diviene un theatro e per quasi tutto il Cinquecento vi si recitano commedie, entro uno scenario *all'antica*." Borsi, *Bramante*, p285. Richard Krautheimer, moreover, suggests that the famous 15th century Urbino painting of the ideal city, attributed to Luciano Laurana, with its imposing circular Corinthian *tempio* set within a large orthogonal piazza, was the first representation of the comic scene in the Renaissance. We also know that Baldassare Castiglione's production of Cardinal Bibbiena's comedy *Calendaria* in Urbino in 1513 contained an octagonal *tempio* in the centre of the perspectival scene. See Richard Krautheimer, "The Tragic and Comic Scene of the Renaissance: The Baltimore and Urbino Panels", *Gazette des Beaux Arts* (1948) vol.33, June, pp.327-46.

21.　　　Pellecchia, 'The Contested City…', p70.

22.   Borsi, *Bramante.,* p283; Bruschi, *Bramante Architetto*, p169. We know that Bramante was particularly interested in the monumental rusticated wall of this Forum that forms the backdrop to the famous Temple to mars Ultor: "[Lei], in realtà, guarda con profondo interesse le bozze ciclopiche del grande muro che delimita verso la Suburra il foro di Augusto e nota le modalitB d'inserzione dell'arco dei Pantani." (Bruschi, *Bramante*, p603). The construction of the cyclopean wall consisted of, "Un grandioso muro in opera quadrata di peperino e pietra gabina, con pari in travertino, alto circa 33 metri, proteggeva e isolava il Foro dalla retrostante Subura [Filippo Coarelli, *Roma: Guide archeologiche Laterza* (Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa., Bari, 1985) , p105]. The idea of using this impenetrable wall to isolate the forum, and its temple, from the district of Subura to the north could be compared to the function of the rusticated façade of Bramante's project. The clear disjunction between the layout of the palace and its main fortified façade infers that the latter was intended to act as a defensive barrier concealing, rather than celebrating, the inner sanctum of the building.

23.   Francis Morgan Nichols, ed., *Mirabilia Urbis Romae: The Marvels of Rome or a Picture of the Golden City* (Ellis and Elvey, Rome 1889), p89 & n.3. According to the *Mirabilia*, the "Tarpeian Hill", presumably a reference to the 'mons Tarpeius' or peak on the Capitoline Hill, was where Julius Caesar was "slain of the Senate". *Ibid*.,p90. This legend, as Francis Morgan Nichols explains, almost certainly influenced Shakespeare's Hamlet: "I did enact Julius Caesar; I was killed i' the Capitol." (act iii. scene 2.); *Ibid*., p90, n.7.

24.   Flavio Biondo, *Roma Instaurata: tradotta in buona lingua volgare per Luzio Fauno* (Venice, 1542), pp. 15v-16r.

25.   For a 12th century description of the Tabularium and its restoration as the "Senators' Palace" see the 'Bull of Anacletus II' among the Mirabiliana. Comparing the Palazzo dei Tribunali with Bramante's so-called House of Raphael (Palazzo Caprini) Bruschi likens the disjunction between the rusticated ground-floor and the giant order above to the disposition of columns upon a podium found in a Greek temple. *Bramante,* p173. It is also conceivable that Bramante's design for the Palazzo dei Tribunali influenced the later re-modelling of the Palazzo Senatorio by Michelangelo in the 16th Century, repeating the essential elements of its unfinished predecessor: "..come gli avancorpi angoli, il campanile centrale, il pianterreno bugnato e l'ordine gigante, che unise i due piani superiori." Frommel, 'Il Palazzo dei Tribunali', p53.

26.   Simon Hornblower & Antony Spawforth (ed.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p373.

27.   By this I am referring to the appearance of the Tabularium at the beginning of the 16th century, when it was superimposed by Nicholas V's remodelling of the castellated Senate. The ancient substructure of rusticated walling contrasts with the more refine building above.

28.   A. Schiavo, *Il Palazzo della Cancelleria* (Rome, 1964), pp.79-86.

29.   The author visited the excavation in 1987 and was given a guided tour of the remains of the Carolingian church by Prof. Richard Krautheimer.

30.   This is supported by a sketch, referred to in Chapter 5, on the reverse side of the plan of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, also attributed to Antonio Pellegrino (folio UA,

136v) See Christoph Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali", p528. It indicates the area between the Tiber river and via dei Banchi Vecchi and shows the relationship between the Old Chancery and new Palace of Justice, the latter identified by its projecting chapel extending onto the banks of the Tiber River.

31.   On the relationship between Julius II and Rodrigo Borgia see Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Blackwell Publishers, Oxford 1996), pp.85-94.

32.   "Nel verso del disegno UA136, il palazzo Cesarini-Sforza è disegnato in modo da'far pensare a un progetto di ristrutturazione generale, tale da farne un elemento architettonico della sistemazione unitaria della nuova piazza." Tafuri et al, *via Giulia*, p68.

33.   Ad Tyberis enim ripam levam, ad divi Blasii aedem, domus ingentis fundamenta iecit, quem iuris dicendi locum esse decreverat; ut qui agit aut litibus vocat non huc illuc concussare necesse esset; sed omnes qui daturi jura essent eodem simul loco invenirentur.

        Trans. by Fraser.A.Blagg, from Giles of Viterbo, *Historia Viginti Saeculorum* (Bib.Ang.) Ms 502, fol.267v-268.

34.   *Ibid*.

35.   This is reflected in contemporaneous descriptions of the Palace which include the following, as quoted in Borsi, *Bramante,* pp.281-82: "Ecclesia S. Blasii de pannetta apud Iuliani palatium a fundamentis incepta est a tua beatitudine: cui quidem gradiam concedat dominus perfinitam videre." Albertini, *Opusculum* (c.83,ed.1886, p.11); "Palatium novuum Iulianum, cum ecclesia S.Blasii de panetta ididem inclusa, habet turres et loca fortissima pro commoditate et utilitate publ. quod quidem praeclarum opus a fundamentis ipsis tua sanctitas extuxit cum ampla et recta via nova." *Ibid*., (c.86v, ed.1886, p22); "In urbe Roma alterius ingentis aedificii apud s. Blasium della Pagnotta iecit cum templo egregiae structurae divi Blasii, quod tamen imperfectum reliquit ob temporum difficultem et importunitatem cum nimis esset occupatus in libertate ecclesiastica ab inimicis externis." Diary of Cornelio de Fine, 1513 (BN Parigi Ms. Lat.12552 in Pastor, III, p1122); "Quam Iulius II dirui fecit a fundamentisque restitui curavit; vero, morte praeventus, quod cooperat incompletum reliquit. Causa eius diruitionis fuit quia palatium magnum et sumtuosum de tiburtino lapide pro commoditate et utilitate offitialium romanae curiae a fundamentis erigere curavit. Quod quanta sumptuousitate et fortitudine incepit cunctis cernentibus patet." fra Mariano, *Itinerarium* (ed. 1931,p68).

36.   "San Biagio della Pagnotta e l'Ospizio degli Armeni" in, Tafuri et al, *Via Giulia*, p323.

37.   See Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Exkurs 1: Zur Urbanistik der Hochrenaissance: Via Giulia und Via della Lungara" in, *Die Farnesina und Peruzzi Architektonisches Fruhwerk* (Walter de Gruyter & Co./Berlin, 1961), p163.

38.   *Ibid*.

39.   Pellecchia, 'The Contested City….', p74.

40.   G. Scaglia, "The Origin of an Archaeological Plan of Rome by Alessandro Strozzi", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institute* (1964), p153. Biondo's friendship with the Cardinal was most probably connected with the library of the

latter, as mentioned by Scaglia, which contained a number of illustrated manuscripts and *rutoli* relating to the topography of Rome. The influence of the Orsinis in real-estate in the "zone piu interne all'ansa del Tevere" was reinforced by the appointment by the anti-Colonna Pope Eugenius IV of Francesco Orsini as Prefect of Rome in 1435. His residence, the Palazzo a Pasquino (on the site of the present Palazzo Braschi) became the first large civil building in Rome in the 15th century. Luigi Spezzaferro, "La politica urbanistica dei Papi e le origini di via Giulia", in *via Giulia*, p34, n.58.

41.   Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity*, p170.

42.   *Ibid.*

43.   "Alcuni fonti (Albertini, Raffaele Volterrano; cfr. Lanciani 1902, I, p148) riferiscono di scoperte antiquarie avenute nel 1509 durante i lavori di fondazione." Borsi, *Bramante*, p28. The year of this excavation seems to roughly coincide with the period in which Albertini records the archaeological find, that is "a few months before his guidebook appeared [1510]...", Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity,* p170.

44.

TI. CLAVDIVS DRVS F. CAESAR AVG. GERMANICVS
PON. MAX. TRIB. POT. VIIII. IMP.
XVI COS. IIII CENSOR. P.P. AUCTIS POPVLIS ROMANI
FINIBUS POMERIUM AMPLIAVIT TERMINAVITO

(The inscription was republished eleven years after its recording by Albertini in the *Epigrammata antiquae urbis* by Jacopo Mazzochio. Trans. by Fraser Blagg)

45.   A good example of this is the so-called 'Hieroglyph' relief of the della Rovere Pope discussed in Chapter 2.

46.   *Britannica Online*: Blaise, SAINT, www.eb.com:180/cgibin/g?DocF=mic. For brief accounts of St. Blaise (Blasius) see Herbet J.Thurston, s.j.& Donald Attwater , eds., *Butlers Lives of the Saints: Complete Edition* (Burns and Oates, London), Vol.1, p239; Charles G. Herbermann, et al , eds., *The Catholic Encyclopedia* (The Encyclopedia Press, New York, 1913), p592.

47.   The festival entails the consecration of two candles, which are then held by the priest in the crossed position over the heads of the faithful. The iron combs used for his torture are traditionally seen as instruments of his passion and are identified, along with the two crossed candles, as his emblems.

48.   *The Golden Legend of Jacobus de Voragine* (Arno Press, New York 1969), p154.

49.   The new name refers to the siting of the church close to the Ripa Grande, or river port.

50.   Whilst there is no historical evidence, as far as I am aware, of such an 'alliance', it is consistent with the similar associations of both saints. If, however, such a connection was not recognised by St. Francis himself, it would have been too obvious an alliance to have been overlooked by the Franciscan Pope and his architect, Bramante.

51.   See Chapter 6.

52.　　D. S. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals & War* (New York, I.B. Tauris, 2006), p1. It was during the Middle Ages that there emerged the 'military orders' of the Church, the most important of which was the Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem. These formed the basis of military symbolism of the Church that was to continue into the Renaissance. See Desmond Seward, *The Monks of War: The Military Religious Orders* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1972). It was however during the Pontificate of Julius II that this military culture of the Church was to be most explicitly demonstrated; the excesses of the Pope's military exploits were given satirical portrayal in Erasmus' *Julius Exclusus*, first printed in 1514, one year after Julius II's death. Chambers, *Popes, Cardinals & War*, pp.110-33.

53.　　An account given by Paris de Grassis, the Master of Ceremonies under Julius II, of the laying of the first stone for the fortress at Civitavecchia on 14 December 1508. See A.Guglielmotti, *Storia delle fortificazioni nella spiaggia romana* (Rome 1880), pp. 192-93. The event, like that of the Palazzo dei Tribunali, was commemorated by a medal showing a view of the fortifications from the sea, and the title CENTVM CELLE, the classical name of the ancient town. Roberto Weiss, "The Medals of Julius II (1503-1513)", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1965), Vol.28, pp.163-82, p175.

54.　　For a discussion of military iconography under Julius II see Stanislaus von Moos, "The Palace as a Fortress: Rome and Bologna under Julius II", in Henry A. Millon & Linda Nochlin, eds., *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics* (Cambridge Mass: MIT Press, 1978), pp.46-78.

55.　　Pellecchia, 'The Contested City…', p69.

56.　　According to Frommel: "Piu importante ancora è l'assialita. Come nel Cortile del Belvedere e come nel progetto bramantesco per Loreto, l'asse longitudinale lega insieme le diverse parti. L'asse longitudinale guida il visitatore dalla piazza attraverso il campanile, le loggie ed il cortile, fino nella chiesa e nel suo coro. La chiesa fa parte dello sviluppo assiale, ma rimane subordinata all'organismo del palazzo come nella Cancelleria." Christoph L.Frommel, "Il Palazzo dei Tribunali in via Giulia" in, *Studi Bramanteschi,* Roma 1970 (De Luca Editore Rome 1974). Frommel also suggests that the sequence of spaces delineated by the longitudinal axis of the Palace is similar to a reconstruction of a Roman house by Fra Giocondo (see "casa antica" in Fra Giocondo, *Vitruvius* (1511), fol.65r).

57.　　Weiss, "The Medals of Pope Julius II", p174.

58.　　For an examination of the *Pax Romana* of Augustus and the Temple of Peace of Vespasian see Donald R. Dudley, *The Civilization of Rome* (Mentor Books, New York 1960). The cult of the Pax, however, was not introduced by Augustus but Caesar, a point that may well be significant in the understanding of Julius II's role as warrior pope and 'second Caesar'. Stefan Weinstock*, Divus Julius* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1971), pp.267-69.

59.　　Weiss, "The Medals of Julius II", p178.

60.　　There is a further, not unconnected, interpretation with regard to the blacksmith. This concerns his association with Vulcan, the Latin/Etruscan lightening or volcano god, equivalent to the Greek Hephaestus. According to legend, Vulcan's forges were said to lie beneath Mt. Etna or Mt. Vesuvius and the deity was later identified as the wizard smith in the Middle Ages. Both Vulcan and the smithy were

also identified with war as can be seen in a grisaille fresco in the Stanza della Segnatura. It is conceivable that this formed an allegory of the warrior pope. Heinrich Pfeiffer, *Zur Iconographie von Raffaels Disputa: Egidio da Viterbo und die christlich-platonische Konzeption der Stanza della Segnatura* (UniversitB Gregoriana Editrice, Rome, 1975).

61.   For a brief examination of the Church of San Pietro in Vincoli and its adjacent palace see Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Blackwell Publishers, Oxford 1996), pp.189-90.

62.   "Perché proprio in quella zona delle Carinae si estendevano gli uffici del magistrato che amministrava la citta esercitando poteri di polizia e di guirisdizione, e si trova il tribunale che negli Atti dei Martiri e menzionato piu spesso come luogo della loro condanna." M. Escobar, "S. Pietro, Roma e i romani", *Capitolium* (1968) XLII, p15. Translated by Simone Medio. The "Atti dei Martiri" refers to the *Acta Petri, Acta Pauli,* etc., ed. Lipsius (Lipsiae 1891).

63.   Shaw*, Julius II*, p190.

64.   Alberto Paolucci, *Piccole Targhe sugli Edifici dei Rioni Storici di Roma: Le proprietà di confraternite e congregazioni religiose* (Rome: Palombi Editori, 2008), pp.108-09.

65.   See Chapter 2 for discussion of the *via Triumphalis*.

66.   Arnaldo Bruschi, *Bramante*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1977), p125.

67.   A. E. Taylor, *Plato: The Man and his Work* (Methuen & Co., London, 1926), pp.530-31. According to Hans-Georg Gadamer, "Justice does not exist when each person watches the other and guards him but when each watches himself and guards the right and justice being of his inner constitution." *Dialogue and Dialectic* (Yale University Press, New Haven 1980), p44.

68.   Taylor, *Plato: The Man and his Work*, p58. Moreover, "For Plato, man is "always already"…both philosophical and tyrannical. Thus the task of paideia [education] cannot be to eradicate the "tyrannical" but to harmonise it with the philosophical." Gadamer, *Dialogue and Dialectic*, p57, trans.n8.

69.   *Ibid*. p57.

70.   See Heinrich Pfeiffer, S.I., "Le *Sententiae ad mentem Platonis* e due prediche di Egidio da Viterbo in riferimento agli affleschi della Segnatura e della Cappella Sistina" in, Marcello Fagiolo ed., *Roma e L'Antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento* (Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1985), pp.33-41.

71.   *Ibid*, p34.

72.   Noah was also associated with the Capitol, not by way of Etruscan ancestry but rather through Rome's inheritance of those nations descending from Noah. This is described in a Medieval legend: "[It] tells of a series of statues [on the Capitol] representing the different nations descending from Noah and all supposed to be included in the Empire, standing in a semi-circle round the statue of Rome. Each of the statues had a bell round its neck and whenever one of the nations tried to raise a rebellion, the bell on the statue rang so that the priests could warn the Senate to take the necessary action." F. Saxl, *Lectures* (Warburg Institute, London 1957), Vol.1, pp.200-14.

73.   "Sans doute, disaient ces hommes, nous avons une justice interieure; mais, pour repondre aux vues de Dieu sur nous, a ses exigences a notre endroit, elle est

insuffisante. Pour que nous soyons convenablement et craiment justifies aux yeux de Dieu, nous avons besoin d'une seconde justice, d'une justice extrinseque; par misericorde, Dieu nous attribue exterieurement une partie des merite de Jesus-Christ. Nous aurons donc une double justice: une justice interieure et une justuce exterieure, autrement dit une Justice intrinseque ey une justice extrinseque ou imputee." V.J. Paquier, "Un Essai de Theologie Platonicienne a la Renaissance: Le Commentaire de Gilles de Viterbe sur le Premier Livre des Sentences", *Recherches de Science Religieuse* (1923), XIII, p296.

74.   "..merlature asporto su beccatelli, a coronamento delle torri, demonstano l'importanza accordata alla funzione simbolico-rappresentativa rispetto alla reale efficacia difensiva moderna."Translated by Simone Medio. Borsi, *Bramante,* pp.283-84.

75.   Ella B. Edes, "The Holy Helpers: Sts. Blaise and Erasmus" in, *The Dublin Review* (1889), p342.

76.   According to John O'Malley, "Giles found an astounding parallel between the "Sun of Justice" [Christ] who "enlightens every man who comes into the world" (Jn. 1.9) and the myth of the sun and the cave of Plato. The world is the cave, Christ is the sun, and the soul is somewhere midway between the two....Thus it is that we proceed through enigmas from the world of sense to a higher level of intelligibility, from the cave to the sun." O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo,* p51.

77.   See G. Signorelli, *Il Card. Egidio da Viterbo, agostiniano, umanista e riformatore (1469-1532)* (Florence. 1929), p115 &p214, n.24.

78.   Titus Livius, *Livy's History of Rome, Book 22* (Whitefish, Montana: Kessinger Publishing, 2007), 22.13.11, and Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, p244.

79.   *Ibid*., p244.

80.   *Ibid.,* p246.

81.   For Caesar, these consisted of a major remodelling of the Republican Roman Forum around the Comitium, and the construction nearby of the first imperial forum, named after the dictator. For the first of these, the alterations signalled a radical change to the whole idea of a judicial and senatorial complex, as Filippo Coarelli explains: "Il primo a dare alla costruzione di un nuovo complesso monumentale, che e presentate all'antico, e Giulio Cesare, fin dal 54a.c. Gli interventi del dittatore nell'antico piazza repubblicana sono radicali: scompare practicamente il Comizio sostuito in parte dal nuovo posizione, si trasforma, significativamente, in un'appendice di questo ultimo. La Basilica Giulia, ricostruzione assai pui imponente dell'antica Sempronia, e il rifacimento della Basilica Emilia concludono la ristrutturazione integrale dei lati lunghi della piazza." *Roma*; p43. Coarelli's description highlights what appears as an attempt to rationalise this area by integrating its constituent buildings and monuments into a formal public space, framed to the north and south by the porticos of the Basilicas Emilia and Julia respectively. The construction of the new Curia Iulia, following the destruction of the earlier Curia Hostilia in 53BC during civil unrest, was implemented so that it would form an appendage to the adjacent Forum Iulium, joining it at its portico. See Dudley, *The Civilization of Rome*, p75. Relocated at the corner between the Argiletum and Comitium, this building was clearly intended to mediate between the judicial centre of the Comitium, the heart of the Forum Romanum, and the new

imperial forum of Caesar. Access was probably from both the north and south sides, thereby re-emphasising the central political role played by Caesar as unquestioned head of Rome's judicial and governing bodies (*Ibid*., p100). Orientated east-west, at the base of the Capitol along the Clivus Argentarius, was the Forum Iulium which was the first example in Rome of this type of introverted colonnaded space. Refer to G. Fiorani, "Problemi architettonici del Foro di Cesare", *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Topografia* (1968), vol. 5, pp 91ff. Taking the shape of a sacred enclosure around the Temple of Venus Genetrix, the goddess from whom Caesar claimed to have been descended, the Forum Iulium was undoubtedly an essential part of the dictator's *renovatio*. Represented unusually in perspective form on a coin dating from the reign of Trajan, the portico of the Temple appears to merge with the adjacent colonnades of the forum as if the enclosed space is homogenised. What is implied in the larger urban scheme of Caesar, like his programmes of political and judicial reform, is the emphasis on synthesis, by which a process of formalisation of constituent parts, oriented around the Comitium, become unified by the cosmic authority of imperial *Iustitia*. This is supported by the claim that Julius Caesar saw justice as integral to his imperial cult, elevating it to a virtue.

82.   Appian, *Civil Wars* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Classics, 1996), II, 102. The close association of Caesar with Venus, the 'progenitor' of the Julian house, and hence with the idea of *Iustitia* is reinforced by a description of Suetonius summarised here by Filippo Coarelli: "[Suetonius] narra come il dittatore ricevesse un il Senato, contro ogni norma dell' etichetta repubblicana, seduto al centro del tempio: assumendo cosi, in un certo senso, l'aspetto di una vera e propria divinita vivente." Filippo Coarelli, *Guide archeologiche Laterza: Roma* (Rome: Gius. Laterza & Figli Spa, 1985), p104.

83.   Gadamer, *Dialogue and Dialectic,* pp.76-77.

84.   This is testified by the fact that Cicero devoted, in the 3rd Book of his *De re publica*, the idea of *Iustitia* and set out to prove that the Greek ideal of Justice had actually become a reality in the Roman State. With the almost venerated authority given to Cicero by the Humanists, it is not surprising therefore that this perceived union between Platonic philosophy and the Julian State should exert a major influence on concepts of Justice during the Pontificate of Julius II.

85.   Gadamer, *Dialogue and Dialectic,* p55, n.7.

86.   Weinstock, *Divus Julius*, p267.

87.   Shaw, *Julius II*, p289.

88.   *Ibid*., p288.
Besides contenders for the papal throne from the Cardinalate, Emperor Maximilian I - who was given the title 'Erwählter Römischer Kaiser' (Elected Roman Emperor) by Julius II in 1508 - also had ambitions for the position. Hermann Wiesflecker, *Kaiser Maximilian I: Das Reich, Osterreich und Europa an der Wende zur Neuzeit,* Vol.IV (Munich: R. Oldenbiurg, 1981), pp.91-92.

89.   Shaw, *Julius II*, p288.

90.   *Ibid*., p289. For a detailed examination of the Pax Romana, see Clara Gennaro, "La "Pax Romana" del 1511", in *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* (1967), XC, pp.2-60.

91.   "Recentemente é stato definitivamente chiarito come la famosa Pax Romana del 1511 non fosse stata affatto stipulata tra baroni e popolo romano in favore di Guilio II, bensi - contrariamente a quanto si credeva - in funzione nettamente antipapale."Luigi Salerno, Luigi Spezzaferro & Manfredo Tafuri, *Via Giulia: una utopia urbanistica del'500* (Rome: Casa Editrice Stabilmento Aristide Staderini Spa., 1973), p61. Translated by Simone Medio.

92.   Moreover: "[il] 'popolo romano' rifiuta palesemente di soggiacere all'esproprio della propria autorita giurisdizionale" *Ibid.*, p72.

93.   A. Nova, "Sui disegni architettonici per S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini in Roma", in *Critica d'arte* (1935-36) I, p102. This inter-connection is underlined by the idea of via Giulia as a 'via magistrali', along which priests and notaries would pass to the Palazzo dei Tribunali. This is highlighted by Ferdinand Gregorovius: "Previously, and even as late as 1516 [via Giulia] was called the *via Magistralis*, from the notaries who lived there." *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages* (London 1902), Vol.8, Part I, p125, n.1. Gregorovius makes reference here to Fiorovanti Martinelli, *Roma ricercata nel suo sito* (Venice, 1660), ii, p31.

94.   Tafuri, *Interpreting the Renaissance*, p79.

95.   Bramante would have been familiar with Caesar's Forum and its temple from a passage in *Vitruvius* (book III, chap.III), as well as a drawing done by Fra Gioconda da Verona (Uffizi, n.1537) at the end of the 15th century following excavations of the site.

96.   Bruschi suggests a more specific connection between Venus Genetrix and Bramante's project for the pilgrimage church of the Virgin of Loreto: "Giulio II, nel mito della *renovatio imperii*, e il nuovo *imperator,* il nuovo Giulio Cesare. Il foro di Cesare aveva come fondale il tempio di Venere Genitrice. Nella di piu facile, nel clima umanistico dei primi anni del Cinquecento, identificare Giulio con Cesare e Venere con la Vergine di Loreto."*Bramante Architetto,* p656.

Chapter 4

Cortile del Belvedere, via della Lungara and *vita contemplativa*

1.   "alter<u>um</u> est opus: vie illius, qua relaxandi animi gratia Pontifices magn<u>a</u> <u>d</u>omo egrediuntur: et ad <u>eam</u> se <u>con</u>ferunt: qu<u>am</u> pulchr<u>am</u> specul<u>am</u> vocant; opus triplici testudine <u>op</u>ertum: quod veterum <u>op</u>era: <u>v</u>el vincere: vel ce<u>r</u>te...ac splendore <u>ae</u>quare videatur. Fixit. Huic Pontifici animus invicti<u>ss</u>imus et…."(Translated and transcribed by John Barrie Hall and Annabel Ritchie) from Egidio da Viterbo, *Historia Viginti Saeculorum* -Bib.Ang.MS502, fol.267v.

2.   Christoph Luitpold Frommel, 'Papal Policy: The Planning of Rome during the Renaissance, *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* (1986), p53.

3.   Linda Pellecchia, 'The Contested City: Urban Form in Early Sixteenth-Century Rome', in Marcia Hall (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.59-94, p77.

4.   This is clearly reflected in the original design of the Cortile del Belvedere by Bramante. See J.S.Ackerman, *The Cortile del Belvedere* (Vatican City, 1954).

5.   "..Julius II boasted that his urban improvement measures were worthy of the "Majesty of the Empire"." Henry A..Millon & Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani eds., *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo* (Bompiani, Milan, 1994), p302.

6.   It should be pointed out, however, that at the time of Giles' account the Cortile was largely incomplete and therefore the campagna to the north would have been more clearly visible from the Vatican Palace.

7.   Roberto Weiss, "The Medals of Pope Julius II (1503-1513)", *Journal of the Warburg & Courtauld Institutes*, XXVIII (1965), p181. Translation of the Bonanni transcription by John Barrie Hall and Annabel Ritchie.

8.   *Ibid*. See also P.Bonannus, *Numismata Pontificum Romanorum,* I (Rome, 1699), p159.

9.   For discussion of this in the context of Renaissance architecture and perspective see Nicholas Temple, *Disclosing Horizons: Architecture, Perspective and Redemptive Space* (Abington, Oxon: Routledge Publishers, 2006), pp.112-59.

10.   For discussion of the Cortile del Belvedere as a classical villa see James S. Ackerman, *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994), pp.325-56.

11.   R.A. Potter, 'The Goddess Fortuna and the Iconography of the Belvedere Courtyard', unpublished M.Phil thesis, Dept. of Architecture, Cambridge University (1991), Chapter 5.

12.   *Ibid*., p52.

13.   Boethius, *Philosophiae Consolationis*, Book Four, VI, 65.

14.   Potter, 'The Goddess Fortuna and the Iconography of the Belvedere Courtyard', p53.

15.   *Ibid*., p54.

16.   For discussion of the significance of the fresco see Ackerman, *Distance Points*, pp.325-56.

17.   Potter, 'The Goddess Fortuna and the Iconography of the Belvedere Courtyard', p52.

18.   Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in the Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1990), p206.

19.   According to Allan Ceen, "Sixtus IV provided a third access to Borgo "pro commoditate tum peregrinorum ad hanc almam Urbem." when he ordered the opening of a road outside of town: "stratam qua itur a croce Montis Marii ad ipsam Urbem,"..The section near the city corresponds to the present Via Ottaviana and Via di Porta Angelica. Approaching the city from the direction of Monte Mario to the north, it entered Borgo through Porta Viridaria (Porta S. Petri) which, at the time, opened directly onto Piazza S. Pietro." Allan Ceen, *Quartière de' Banchi*: *Urban Planning in Rome in the First Half of the Cinquecento* (London: Garland, 1986), p34. It is likely that this road incorporated part of the ancient *via Triumphalis* that led from Monte Mario to the Vatican.

20.   Christiane Denker Nesselrath, *Bramante's Spiral Staircase: Recent Restorations* (Vatican City State: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 1997), p13.

21.   *Ibid*., p14.

22.   Vasari, *Le vite di piu eccellenti architetti, pitori, sculptori italiani*, G. Milanesi (ed.) (Milan: 1938), vol. IV, p158. Moreover, "Master Donato expresses a wish to construct a stairway to heaven, "so broad and easy that feeble old souls can go up on horseback."" Julian Klaczko, *Rome and the Renaissance: The Pontificate of Julius II*, Trans. by John Dennie (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1926), p137.

23.   The possibility of a symbolic connection between the Cortile del Belvedere and the via Triumphalis is suggested by a passage in Rodolfo Lanciani's *Storia degli Scavi di Roma.* In the section that deals with excavations and finds during the pontificate of Julius II the author quotes a description of building-works in the vicinity of the "VIA TRIUMPHALIS": "Die XVII februarij 1509. Constitutus coram me notario et testibus magister Vincentius magistri Danesii de Viterbo sponte confessus est cum effectu recepisse per manus d. Hieronimi de Senis computiste fabricarum etc. ducatos centum nonaginta quatuor et carlenos septem de carlenis x pro ducato monete veteris et sunt prointegra solutione omnium et singularum expensarum incursarum ad explanandum in platea inferiori Belvederis ubi Sanctissimus dominus noster fieri fecit festum Taurorum.." Rodolfo Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma: e Notizie intorno le collezioni Romane di Antichita,* (Edizioni Quasar, Rome 1996) Vol.1, p189. ("At a meeting in my presence and that of a lawyer and witness master Vincent, an officer of Danesius of Viterbo, fully acknowledged that he had received from the hands of Jerome of Siena, the clerk of works etc., 194 ducats and 7 cadeni at the rate of 10 per ducat in old money and that they are the complete payment of all and singular expenses incurred in the laying out of the street of the lower Belvedere [lowest tier of the Cortile], where our most sacred lord [Julius II] arranged for the Festival of the Bulls to take place.." translated by Fraser A. Blagg). The street in question is the 'via', or porticoed passageway, that connects the Vatican Palace with the Villa Belvedere. The reference to the "Festival of the Bulls" refers to the practice of bull-fighting that was prevalent during the Renaissance. It is probable that the lowest tier of the Belvedere was specifically designed for such spectacles and even, perhaps, as a naumachia. The latter is indicated in the 16th century fresco of the Belvedere attributed to Pierino del Vaga. Ackerman, *Distance Points,* pp.325-61.

24.   In 1511 Marco Girolamo Vida (1480/85-1566) worked on an epic, entitled *Juliad*, which details the military exploits of Julius II. This however was not completed before Leo X's accession in 1513. Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998), p249.

25.   On the subject of 'Italianità' see Vincent Ilardi, ''Italianita' among some Italian Intellectuals in the early Sixteenth Century.' *Traditio*, 12 (1956), pp.339-67.

26.   John W.O'Malley*, "*The Vatican Library and the School of Athens: a text of Battista Casali, 1508" *, Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1977) Vol.7, pp.271-87. See Chapter 8 of this book.

27.   Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p274.

28.   David R.Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton University Press, Princeton, 1979), p74.

29.   *Ibid*.

30.   D. Redig de Campos, *Raffaello nelle Stanze* (Milan: Aldo Martello Editore, 1965), p11. See also Chapter 6.

31.   Ingrid Rowland, 'The Vatican Stanze', in Hall, *The Cambridge Companion to Raphael*, pp.95-119, p111.

32.   For a detailed description of the Apollo Belvedere statue, and its connection with Julius II, see Hans Henrik Brummer, *The Statue Court in the Vatican Belvedere* (Stockholm: Almquist & Wiksell,1970), pp.43-71 & pp.223-26.

33.   *Oxford Latin Dictionary* (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1970). p Connections between the Apollo Belvedere and the associations of the Vatican with prophecy are underscored by a number of representations of the god during the Pontificate of Julius II. These show him with the attributes of an oracular deity. *Ibid.*

34.   George L. Hersey, *High Renaissance Art in St. Peter's and the Vatican: An Interpretive Guide* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1993), p14.

35.   "Dilecto filio Agapyto Geraldino notario nostro. Dilecte fili, salutem etc. Est apud te, ut accepimus, tabella in qua Italiae situs descriptus est, eam dilectus filius Bramans, architectus noster, qui huic decriptioni magnum impendit studium, visere cupit ut ad. Illius similitudinem in quodam cubiculo nostro Italiam describi facere possit. Quopropter hortamur ut tabellam ipsam ad nos mittere velis tantisper per nos retinendem dum Bramans ipse similitudinem illius expresserit. Datum Romae III decembris 1507 anno quarto." (translated by Fraser A. Blagg), from Ludwig Freiherr von Pastor, "Innocenzo VIII-Giulio II", *Storia dei Papi* (Rome 1957) p881. See also B. Feliciangeli*, Arte e storia*, XXXV, No.8 (1916) *Rivista Mensile*, Serie VI; V, and Bellio, "Un disegno geografico di Donato d'Angelo detto il Bramante", *Bollettino della società geografica italiana,* XL, Rome (1903), pp.499-503.

36.   Christine Shaw, *Julius II: The Warrior Pope* (Oxford: Blackwell Punlishing, 1996), p205.

37.   M. Sanuta, *I Diarii*, vol. VII (Venezia: Visentini, 1879-1903), col.64. See also Lorna Partridge and Randolph Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness: Art and Culture in Raphael's Julius II* (University of California Press, Berkeley, 1980), p63.

38.   "Quam quidem viam destinaverat a Platea S.Petri usque ad navalia sub Aventino, qui locus vulgo Ripa dicitur, distructis hinc inde aedificiis promovere." Andrea Fulvio, *De urbis antiquitates* (1527),i.45.(Translated by Fraser A.Blagg).

39.   Bruschi, *Bramante*, p125. This landing stage was also where the marble arrived from Carrara for Julius II's Mausoleum by Michelangelo. ("Letter to a Monsignore on 24 October 1542" in, Millon & Lampugnani eds., *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, p605).

40.   Luigi Salerno, Luigi Spezzaferro & Manfredo Tafuri, *Via Giulia: Una Utopia Urbanistica del'500* (Rome, 1973), p67; The latter function of the street, as military artery, is historically connected to the developments at Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber river. In particular, Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere had fortifications built here from 1483 that were directed specifically against Ottoman attack.

41.   As Luigi Spezzaferro states : « La conseguenza di cio, dunque, veniva ad essere non solo lo smistamento, attraverso il ponte, su di questa del traffico dei pellegrini che venivano dalle zone piu interne di Roma, ma anche il diretto incanalamento su di essa di quelli che venivano dalla zona del Trastevere e del porto di Ripa Grande. Se da tutto cio si dovessero ricavare delle conclusioni logiche, si dovrebbe ammettere che il complesso di lavori affrontati in vista del giubileo era

rivolto essenzialmente a scoraggiare la circolazione delle masse dei pellegrini dentro quella che era la citta Roma vera e propria. » *Ibid.*, p39.

42.   Marcello Fagiolo, "La Roma di Sisto V: le matrici del policentrismo" *Psicon*, n.8/9 (1977), pp.25-39, p25.

43.   For further discussion of the Pyramid of Gaius Cestius (Meta Remi) see Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.26-27.

44.   Samuel Ball Platner, *The Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (Allyn and Bacon, Boston, 1911), p82.

45.   "[Flavio] Blondus witnessed the destruction of the arch near the bridge, noting that "the ships of our navy are anchored there.." .G. Scaglia, "The Origins of an Archaeological Plan of Rome by Alessandro Strozzi" , *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* (1964), p144.

46.   "Pons Sulpitius id est pons in Aventino, iuxta ripam Romaeam ruptus est et marmoreus et Horatii Coclis, ut in historiis patet." Quoted in *Ibid.*

47.   Platner, *The Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, p82

48.   See also Andrea Fulvio's reference to the Pons Sublicius in his *Antiquitate urbis* (Rome: 1527), I, 45. This work emerged from an earlier project instigated by Raphael to map the archaeology and topography of Rome.

49.   This route through the Marmorata would have passed Monte Testaccio where the annual mystery plays were held. These were especially popular during the Jubilee year when the passage between the basilicas of Peter and Paul would have been thronging with pilgrims. (F. Gregorovius, *History of the City of Rome in the Middle Ages,* trans. A. Hamilton, (1906), vi:2, p709).

50.   R. Lanciani, *Storia degli Scavi di Roma,* (Rome 1902), vol.I, p161; L.C.Frommel, "Die Farnesina und Peruzzis Architektonisches Fruhwerk", *Excursus* (Berlin 1961), p163.

51.   For an examination of the history of the church see, Dale Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere from its Founding to 1215* - New York University Ph.D. dissertation 1975, (University Microfilms, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106).

52.   Cassius Dio Cocceianus, *Histoire romaine – livres 48 et 49* (Paris: Belles letters, 1994), 48.43.

53.   Eva Margareta Steinby (ed.), *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1993) Vol.II (D-G), p260.

54.   Kinney, *S. Maria in Trastevere*, p4.

55.   *Ibid.*, p7.

56.   Onofrio Panvinio, *Onvphrii Panvinii....de praecipvius vrbs Romae sanctioribusa*; *basilicis, quas septem ecclesias uulgo uocant*, (Rome, 1570), pp.65-66.

57.   "The preoccupation of popes with their predecessors in name is not uncommon; it had happened with Sixtus IV and Julius II".. Shearman, *The Cartoons of Raphael in the Royal Collection.*, p19; See also P. Kunzle, "Zur obersten der drei Tiaren auf Raffaels Disputa", *Romische Quatalschrift*, 1vii (1962), pp226ff, 240ff.

58.   Partridge & Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness*, p63.

59.   *Ibid.*, p242. Some doubt about the identity of Julius I in the *Disputa* was raised by Heinrich Pfeiffer who questioned the symbolism of the martyr's palm

shown in the fresco on the right hand of the Pope. (H. Pfeiffer, *Zur Ikonographie von Raffaels Disputa* (UniversitB Gregoriana Editrice, Rome 1975), pp.66-67) It is clear that Julius I was not martyred, his Pontificate coming after Constantine and the Edict of Milan. However, it was custom during Early Christianity to convey the same status of martyrdom on popes who had been persecuted; from what can interpreted from a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, Julius I experienced just such persecution in the hands of the Emperor Constantius (Künzle, "Zur obersten der drei Tiaren auf Raffaels Disputa", pp.243-244)

60.   James Lees-Milne, *Saint Peter's:The Story of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome* (Hamish Hamilton, London, 1976), p35. Julius I also thought it important that a pope should have complete freedom to develop the powers that his office had provided. It is not surprising therefore that Julius II should have such enthusiasm for his predecessor in name who similarly sought independence of mind in leading his flock. (Künzle, "Zur obersten der drei Tiaren auf Raffaels Disputa"., p242). One could draw further comparisons between the 4th century Church Council of Sardika, presided over by Julius I, and that of the 5th Lateran Council under Julius II. In each case, the supreme authority of the Roman Church, and hence the pope, was lauded.

61.   Lees-Milne, *Saint Peter's: The Story of Saint Peter's Basilica in Rome,* p35.

62.   The connection between Julius I and Julius II, in the context of St. Peter's Basilica, is explored in similar terms by Künzle, "Zur obersten der drei Tiaren auf Raffaels Disputa", pp.245-46.

63.   Rowland, "The Vatican Stanze", p100.

64.   Mariano Armellini, *Le Chiese di Roma dal Secolo IV al XIX*, (Rome: Tipografia Vaticana, 1891), p666.

65.   These trips to Ostia are highlighted by M. Dumesnil in an account of Giuliano della Rovere's building activity in Ostia during the Pontificate of Sixtus IV's: "Julien della Rovere voulut montrer a son oncle les travaux qu'il avait fait executer a Ostie. Pour repondre a cette invitation, Sixte s'embarqua a Rome au port de Ripa-Grande [navalia], dans le cours de l'annee 1483, sur une barque magnifiquement decoree, qu'il avait nommee....le Bucentaure, et il vint visiter Ostie, son eglise, ses murailles et sa citadelle." [M.A.J. Dumesnil, *Histoire de Jules II: Sa Vie et Son Pontificat* (Paris 1873), p274].

66.   The idea that the figure of Julius I, in the *Disputa,* as also serving as a refigurement of Julius II is suggested by Künzle (*Ibid.*, p248). This challenges Pfeiffer's view that Julius I is actually Sixtus II, a claim that seems inconsistent with the likely associations of this fresco with the construction of the new St. Peter's Basilica. (*Zur Ikonographie von Raffael's Disputa,* pp.66-7).

67.   See Chapter 5 for an interpretation of the significance of the Vatican Obelisk during the pontificate of Julius II.

68.   This is at least suggested in a sketch by Bramante of the new St. Peter's Basilica in a peristyle courtyard (verso, Uff. 104A, Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe). See Millon & Lampugnani, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, p600.

Chapter 5

St. Peter's Basilica: Questions of Alignment and Succession

1.   The most important studies are: Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "St. Peter's: The Early History", in Henry A. Millon & Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture* (Milan: Bompiani), pp.399-423. William Tronze (ed.), *St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Suzanne Boorsch, *Building the Vatican: The Papacy and Architecture* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin, Winter 1982-83), Vol.XL, No.3; Olaf Klodt*, Templi Petri instauracio: Di Neubauentwurfe fur St. Peter in Rom unter Papst Julius II und Bramante (1503-1513)* (Verlag au der Lottbek, 1992); Ennio Francia, *Storia della Costruzion del Nuovo San Pietro* (Vatican City: De Luca Edizioni d'Arte, 1987); George L. Hersey, *High Renaissance Art in St. Peter's and the Vatican: An Interpretive Guide* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993); Gianfranco Spagnesi, *Roma: La Basilica di San Pietro, Il Borgo e La Città* (Milan: Editoriale Jaca Book SpA, 2002); Gianfranco Spagnesi, *L'Architettura della Basilica di San Pietro: Storia e Costuzione*: *Quaderni Dell'Isituto de Storia dell'Architettura*, Nos. 25-30 (1995-97). A. Bruschi, C.L.Frommel, F.G Wolff Metternich & C. Thoenes, *San Pietro che non c'è: da Bramante a Sangallo il Giovanne* (Milan: Electa, 1996); Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spolia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Hilversum: Vitgeverij Verloren, 2004).

2.   In particular, the descriptions of the Vatican by Flavio Biondo and Giles of Viterbo, both of which will be discussed in this chapter, give an indication of this mytho-historic interest.

3.   Quoted in John Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital: Rome in the Fourth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p.71. See also Nicholas Temple, 'Conversion and Political Expedience: Imperial Themes in the Early Christian Baptistery', *Anales Del Instituto De Investigaciones Estéticas* (2002), No.80, pp.5-45, p.20.

4.   *Ibid.*

5.   Examples can be seen in the 10th century tympanum in the south-western entrance of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and the apse of the 9th century Triclinium in the Lateran Palace in Rome, the latter reconstructed in the 19th century.

6.   Curran, *Pagan City and Christian Capital*, p.71.

7.   St. Jerome, *De viris inlustribus,* ed. Guilelmus Herding (Leipzig, 1879), 7. & p.25.

8.   L. Duchesne (ed.), *Liber Pontificalis* (Paris: 1881-1892) 1:53, p.118. See also, Dale Kinney, 'Spolia', in William Tronzo (ed.), *St Peter's in the Vatican* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.16-47, p.25.

9.   Margharita Guarducci, 'I "Trofei" degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo', *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia Rendiconti*, Serie III, Tipographia Poliglotta Vaticano (1984), Vol.LIII-LIV, p.136.

10.   "Ma io posso mostrare I trofei degli apostolic. Se infatti vorrai uscire verso il Vaticano o sulla via di Ostia, troverai I trofei di coloro che fondarono questa Chiesa."*Ibid.*

11.   O. Marucchi, 'La Crocifissione di St Pietro nel Vaticano', *Nuovo Bulletino di Archeologia* (1905), XII, p.143.

12.   A famous example is the *tropaeum Tajani*, erected near the River Danube to commemorate Trajan's victory over the Dacians. For a reconstruction of this particular *tropaeum*, see the plaster model in the Museo della Civiltà Romana, EUR, Rome.

13.   According to Rufino of Aquileia, "Si enim procedas via regali quae ad Vaticanum ducit aut via Ostiensi." (For if you should proceed by the royal (regal) way which leads to the Vatican or by the road to Ostia). Translated by John Barrie Hall and Annabel Ritchie. Guarducci, 'I "Trofei" degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo', p.130.

14.   *Ibid*., p.132.

15.   "…nell'eta imperiale trionfo e trofeo erano strettamente collegati, non sarebbe strano che Gaio, meditando su quella vicinanza topografica, si fosse compliacinto di considerare il sepolcro dell'Apostolo come il vero "trofeo" della via Trionfale." Margherita Guarducci, Pietro in Vaticano (Rome: Libreria della Stato, 1984), p.52. Hence, "…la parola triumphus equivalga a tropaeum, nel senso gia conosciuto di "martiro."", Guarducci, 'I "Trofei" degli Apostoli Pietro e Paolo.', p.136.

16.   Konrad Miller, *Itineraria Romana: Romische Reisewege an Der Hand der Tabula Peutingeriana* (Verlegt von Strecker und Schroder in Stuttgart, 1916) p193, map54. Miller suggests: "The old Via triumphalis over the *Pons Neronianus* did indeed not touch the present St. Peter's Square but passed it on the right up to the Monte Mario." *Ibid*., p249. (Translated from the German by Gottfried Pollhammer).

17.   "Restat uaticanus de quo festus pompeius sic scribit. Vaticanus collis appellatus est quod eo potius sit Populo Romano uatum responso pulsis ethruscis. Sed Aulus Gellius in noctibus atticis libro. xviii. de eodem sic dicit. Et agrum Vaticanum et eiusdem agri deum praesidem appellatum accepimus a Vaticiniis quae ui atque instinctu dei eius in eo agro fieri solita essent. Sed praeter hanc causam Marcus Varro in libris diuinarum aliam esse tradidit istius nominis rationem. Nam sicut arius inquit Deus appellatus araque ei statuta quae est infima noua uia quod eo in loco diuinitus uox edita erat: ita uaticanus deus nominatus penes quem essent uocis humanae initia: quoniam pueri simul atque parti sunt eam primam uocem edunt quae prima in uaticano syllaba est. Iccircoque uagire dicuntur exprimente: uerbo sonum uocis recentis." Flavio Biondo, *Roma Instaurata* (Venice, 1510), chapter XXXIIX. Translated and transcribed by John Barrie Hall and Annabel Ritchie.

18.   "et uia ab eo ponte ad Caesaris Obeliscum ad areamque basilicae sancti Petri subiectam secundum radices montis Vaticani protensa triumphali nomine appellabantur nec ulterius quam ad beati Petri basilicam……..territorii etiam triumphalis non leue testimonium habet uita beati Petri apostolorum principis a beato Hieronymo presbytero ut titulus praefert. siue ut aliqui uolunt a Damaso papa scripta. ubi dicitur beatum Petrum fuisse sepultum in ecclesia sui nominis quae ad templum

appollnis[8] iuxta territorium triumphale fuerit aedificata." *Ibid.*, chapter XLI. Translated and transcribed by John Barrie Hall and Annabel Ritchie.

19.　　*The Treatise of Lorenzo Valla on the Donation of Constantine: Text and English Translation – 1922* (Ithaca: Cornell University Library, 2009).

20.　　For a description of Nicholas V's building programme in the Vatican see Carol William Westfall, *In this Most Perfect Paradise: Alberti, Nicholas V and the Invention of Conscious Urban Planning, 1447-1455* (PA: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1974).

21.　　According to Nicholas V's biographer, Manetti, the pope was the "new Solomon" and therefore was fated to rebuild St Peter's Basilica. However, what transpired was a less ambitious project to rebuild the choir and widen the transpects of the old basilica. Bruschi, Frommel, Metternich & Thoenes, *San Pietro che non c'è,* p13 & p249.

22.　　Established during Holy Week in 1300 by Pope Boniface VIII, and initially commemorated every one hundred years, the Jubilee increased in frequency during the 15th century to every twenty five years in 1475 under Sixtus IV(1471-1484).

23.　　Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "Die Peterskirche unter Papst Julius II, im Lichet neuer Dokumente" in *Romisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte*, XVI (1976), pp57-136.

24.　　L.D. Ettlinger, 'Pollaiuolo's Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol.16 (1953), pp.239-74, p.265.

25.　　*Ibid.*, p.69.

26.　　*Ibid.*

27.　　See Heinrich W. Pfeiffer's description of the colour green in, *The Sistine Chapel: A New Vision* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2007), p.187.

28.　　Andrew C. Blume, 'The Sistine Chapel, Dynastic Ambition, and the Cultural Patronage of Sixtus IV', in Ian F. Verstegen, *Patronage and Dynasty: The Rise of the Della Rovere in Renaissance Italy* (Kirksville, Missouri: Trumen State University Press, 2007), pp.3-18, p.9.

29.　　Besides appointing many of his relatives to prominent positions in the Church Sixtus IV also elevated three of his nephews to the Cardinalate, all of whom were to become powerful figures in their own right.*Ibid.*

30.　　In AD 293 Diocletian established the Tetrarchy with himself as ruler of the eastern territories of the empire and Maximian as ruler of the West. Each had a Caesar as a co-ruler. Carved in porphyry, typically used for objects commemorating imperial authority, these commemorative columns symbolise the idea of corporate rulership, emphasised by the embrace between emperor and caesar and by the fact that no individualized features are discernible.

31.　　It becomes most explicit at the urban scale during the transformations of Rome under Sixtus V when we witness the systematic relocation of ancient obelisks within the city to align with streets and basilicas. For an original account of this see Richard Sennett, *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities* (London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1990), pp.152-163.

32.　　The *Meta Romuli* was partly demolished during the pontificate of Alexander VI to make way for the new road connecting the Ponte Sant'Angelo with St Peter's Basilica in time for the Jubilee of 1500. For discussions of the monument's continual

importance in the urban topography of Rome see Nicholas Temple, 'The Enigma of Pyramids: Measuring Salvation in Renaissance Rome', in *Chora Five: Intervals in the Philosophy of Architecture*, Alberto Pérez-Gómez and Stephen Parcell (eds.), pp. 310-38.

33.   Kinney, 'Spolia', pp.25-26.

34.   For discussion of the Renaissance treatment of Plato see James Hankins, *Plato in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), pp.3-26.

35.   See John W. O'Malley, "Man's Dignity, God's Love, and the Destiny of Rome: A Text of Giles of Viterbo", *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, Vol.3 (1972).

36.   John Osborne, 'St. Peter's Needle and the Ashes of Julius Caesar: Invoking Rome's Imperial History at the Papal Court, ca. 1100-1300', in Maria Wyke (ed.), *Julius Caesar in Western Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006), pp.95-109, p.101.

37.   *Ibid*.

38.   *Ibid*., F.M. Nichols and E. Gardiner, The *Marvels of Rome: Mirabilia urbis Romae* (New York: 1986), p.33.

39.   Osborne, 'St Peter's Needle…', p101.

40.   *Ibid*.

41.   *Ibid*., John Osborne, *Master Gregorius: The Marvels of Rome* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies,1987), p.34.

42.   Osborne, 'St Peter's Needle..', p104.

43.   *Ibid*., p.99.

44.   Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington: Indiana, Indiana University Press, 1998), p89.

45.   Whilst the Immaculate Conception was first celebrated as a feast under Sixtus IV it wasn't until Pope Pius IX in the 19th century that it became Church dogma.

46.   Ettlinger, 'Pollaiuolo's Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV', p.269.

47.   Ernst Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies: A`Study in Medieval Political Theology (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p.462, n.31.

48.   It would seem plausible that Dante's *Monarchia* had some influence on the conception of caesaro-papal rule during the Julius II's Pontificate. We know that both Julius and Donato Bramante were avid readers of Dante's works and that the venerated poet is represented in both the *Disputa* and *Parnassus* frescoes in the Stanza della Segnatura. See Chapter 6 for an examination of these frescoes.

49.   Ettlinger, 'Pollaiuolo's Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV', p266.

50.   *Ibid*.

51.   Meredith J. Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p137.

52.   Ettlinger, 'Pollaiuolo's Tomb of Pope Sixtus IV', p267.

53.   Christoph Frommel, 'St Peter's: The Early History', in Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani (eds.), *The Renaissance From Brunelleschi to Michelangelo: The Representation of Architecture* (Milan: Bompiani, 1994), pp.399-423, p401. It is somewhat ironic therefore that the Cappella del Coro served as the temporary resting place of Julius II, after his death in 1513.

54.   This inter-relationship perhaps explains why both projects were never completed in accordance with the original designs of the authors.

55.   This point has tended to be ignored by architectural historians who treat the new St Peter's Basilica as an isolated project.

56.   A shorter version of the original Latin is as follows:

"Ut...templi frons, non ad orientem solem, ut nunc
   vergit, sed uti in meridiem nothumque convert-
      eretur, ut obeliscus magna in templi area templum
      ascensuris occurreret."

      Egidio da Viterbo, *Historia Viginti Saeculorum*, Bibl. Ang. MS Lat.502.fol.194^r (translated by Fraser A. Blagg). See Franz Graf, Wolff Metternich & Christof Thoenes, *Die frühen St. Peter-Entwürfe, 1505-1514* (Töbingen, 1987), 47ff., fig.48.

57.   F.M.Magnanti, *Istoria della sacrosanta patriarcale basilica vaticana* (Città del Vaticano: 1987), vol.1, p21; vol.2, p11. See also Nicholas Temple, 'Julius II as Second Caesar', in Maria Wyke (ed.), *Julius Caesar in Western Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 2006), pp.110-27.

58.   Frommel, 'St Peter's: The Early History', p401.

59.   Christoph Frommel, 'San Pietro: Storia della sua costuzione', in S. Ray, M. Tafuri and C.Frommel, *Raffaello Architetto* (Milan: Electa, 1984), pp.241-310, p266.

60.   Frommel, 'St Peter's: The Early History', p402.

61.   *Ibid*.

62.   *Ibid*.

63.   Luiz Marques, 'Cybele. An anachronism in Vasari's Biography of Michelangelo and its reasons', *Revista de história da arte e arqueologia* (1995), pp.100-107, p106. (http://www.unicamp.br/chaa/rhaa/downloads/Revista%202%20-%20artigo%208.pdf)

64.   *Ibid*., p100.

65.   For a description of this see Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Books Ltd., 1979), pp.72-73. Temple, 'Conversion and Political Expedience', p35.

66.   Eusebius, *Life of Constantine* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) pp.176-7, p292, pp.337-39, pp.348-49.

67.   Francis X. Martin, *Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar: Life and Work of Giles of Viterbo 1469-1532* (Villanova, PA: Augustinian Press, 1992), pp.223-84. For a critical investigation of this sermon see John W. O'Malley, S.J., 'Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age under Pope Julius II: A Text of a Discourse of Giles of Viterbo, 1507.' *Traditio* XXV (1969), pp.265-338.

68.   Martin, *Friar, Reformer, and Renaissance Scholar*, p222.

69.   Placid J.Podipara, *The Thomas Christians* (London: Darton, Longman and Tidd, 1970).

70.   Martin, *Friar, Reformer and Renaissance Scholar*, p222.

71.   *Ibid*.

72.   *Ibid*., p229.

73.   Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, 'Why Janus at Lucignano? Ovid, Dante, St Augustine and the First King of Italy,' *Acta Historiae Artium* (1984), Vol.XXX, pp.109-22, p114, n.48.

74.   *Ibid*., p116.

75.   *Ibid*., n.84.

76.   Varro, 'De Lingua Latina', in *Varro on the Latin Language*, (trans.) R.G. Kent, (Cambridge Mass: Loeb Classical Library Harvard University Press: 1967), V:165.

77.   Joost-Gaugier, 'Why Janus at Lucignano?', p118.

78.   *Ibid*., pp.109-22.

79.   *Ibid*., p118.

80.   This guardianship of two banks of the Tiber River by Janus and Saturn was earlier outlined by Annius of Viterbo. Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity*: *The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,1993) p166. It also formed the theme of a 16th century fresco in the Villa Lante on the Janiculum.

81.   John O'Malley, *Giles of Viterbo: On Church and Reform*: *A Study in Renaissance Thought* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1968), p125.

82.   Joost-Gaugier, 'Why Janus at Lucignano?', p120, n.23.

83.   "Giano era inoltre, considerato un temosforo, un conduttore di popoli in migrazione, possessore della dottrina tagetica", Gabriele Morolli, *Vetus Etruria* (Florence: Alinea Editore, 1985), p113.

84.   [Giles] substantiated this link by connecting Noah's Biblical reputation as the first vintner and the phonetic resemblance between the Hebrew word for wine, "ya-yin", and the name Janus." O'Malley, 'Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age Under Julius II', p268.

85.   Walter Stephens, *Giants in Those Days: Folklore, Ancient History, and Nationalism* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989), p116.

86.   "[Noah] sbaracto alle ripe del Tevere in vaticano e poi passato in Toscano."Francesco Mariani, 'Breve notizia delle antichità di Viterbo' (Rome: 1760). This account is based on the idea, later perpetuated by Mariani, that Noah's Ark finally ran aground on the Janiculum Hill which became closely associated with the nearby *mons Vaticanus*. Annius of Viterbo, however, contends that the Ark came to rest on Mount Gordieus in Armenia and that Noah later sailed up the Tiber River and founded a colony on the Janiculum Hill. Stephens, *Giants in Those Days*, p109.

87.   The idea of the bend in the Tiber River at the Vatican as the landing point, from which Noah and his saved tribes of the Ark disembarked, may have been partly inspired by the susceptibility of this area to flooding. The low-lying terrain within the bend of the river became the scene of one notable inundation in 1480 when the Vatican became virtually cut-off from the rest of Rome.

88.   Alan Watts, *Myth and Ritual in Christianity* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1959), p87.

89.   Heinrich W. Pfeiffer, S.J., *The Sistine Chapel: A New Vision* (New York: Abbeville Press Publishers, 2007), p196.

90.   *Ibid*.

91.   *Ibid*., p188.

92. *Ibid*., p189.

93. *Ibid*., p194.

94. *Ibid*., p195

95. *Ibid*., p195.

96. For discussion of these and other influences on Bramante's designs see A. Bruschi, C.L. Frommel, F.G. Wolff Metternich and C. Thoenes, *San Pietro che non c'è: da Bramante a Sangallo il Giovane* (Milan: Electa,   ); Christoph Luitpold Frommel, St. Peter's: The Early History, in 399-423.

97. This survey was executed on the recto of a sketch plan of new St Peter's Basilica, set in a peristyle. Millon and Lampugnani, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, p600.

98. On Sta. Maria delle Grazie see James Ackerman, "The Regions of Italian Renaissance Architecture", in Millon and Lampugnani, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, pp.338-341.

99. Millon and Lampugnani, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, p603. This situation either suggests that Bramante had still not been formally appointed architect to the project or that the Pope was seeking external advice on key aspects of Bramante's early design ideas. We know that Julius II was prone to avoiding formal contracts with his architects/artists, preferring instead to taking advantage of a range of ideas during the design process. B. Kempers, 'Capella Iulia and Capella Sixtina: two tombs, one patron and two churches', in F. Benzi *et al* (eds.), *Sisto IV: Le Arti a Roma nel Primo Rinascimento* (Rome: Edizione dell'Associazione Culturale, 2000) pp.33-59, p.36.

100. Bruschi, Frommel, Metternich & Thoenes, *San Pietro che non c'è,* p67.

101. Millon and Lampugnani, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, p603.

102. It seems that Bramante was given the opportunity to respond directly to Giuliano's more radical proposal, as we see on the reverse of Giuliano's plan. This shows a sketch, attributed to Bramante, which partly traces the original outline, and at the same time proposes a different internal arrangement of spaces. This entailed a simplification of Giuliano's scheme and an emphasis on the Greek-cross plan. It may be that Bramante was given possession of the drawings by Fra Giocondo and Giuliano upon his final appointment as architect to St Peter's.

103. St. Augustine, *City of God*, Book VII, Ch.8.

104. Simon Hornblower and Antony Spawforth (eds.), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 'Janus', p793.

105. It was believed during the Renaissance that the Velabro was the ancient gateway to the Roman forum along the *vicus tuscus*. It is worth speculating that the locations of the two Janus Quadrifrons in Rome during the period of Constantine, one at the northern edge of the city (commemorating the site of Constantine's military encampment before his famous battle at the Milvian Bridge) and the other at the gateway to the Roman Forum/Capitoline within vicinity of the ancient via triumphalis, suggest specific symbolic intentions. Could these structures reflect perhaps a desire to demarcate the thresholds of Constantine's own triumphal procession into Rome, following his victory over Maxentius, in which the two Janus Quadrifrons seek to revive the rituals of the archaic Porta Triumphalis?

106. Flavio Biondo, *Roma Triumphans*, Book X. Quoted in Andrew Martindale *"Triumphs of Caesar" by Andrea Mantegna: In the Collection of H.M.the Queen at Hampton Court* (London: Harvey Miller,1979), pp.61-62.

107. The triumphal allusions in Bramante's early design proposals for the new St Peter's Basilica find further expression in his final project for the building. The transformation from a centralised to a longitudinal plan gave new visual and ceremonial emphasis on the extended processional route to the altar. The extent of this longitudinal body of the Basilica was, as Frommel underlines, largely determined by the location of the adjacent papal palace. "The connection with the papal palace was in itself a good reason for not exceeding the old longitudinal body. The three triumphal arches along the longitudinal body transformed it into an authentic *via triumphalis*, the ceremonial route the popes followed since late antiquity to reach the presbytery." Frommel, 'St. Peter's: The Early History', p411.

108. Michael McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p37.

109. *Ibid.*, p101.

110. Given this background, moreover, the Early Christian symbolism of the choir arch as the triumphal portal to heaven, exemplified in the profusion of mosaics celebrating Paradise in the apse of the old Basilica, may have derived in part from this Constantinian military/triumphal symbolism.

111. Massimo Rospocher, 'Print and Political Propaganda under Pope Julius II (1503-1513)', p7. (paper presented at the *Authority in European Book Culture* conference, June 2006, Liverpool University). I am grateful to the author for providing me with a copy of his paper.

112. Bruschi, Frommel, Metternich & Thoenes, *San Pietro che non c'é*, p252.

113. For studies on the Tegurium see John Shearman, "Il 'Tiburio' di Bramante", in *Studi bramanteschi* (1974), pp.567-573; William Tronzo, "Il Tegurium di Bramante", in Gianfranco Spagnesi (ed.), *L'Architettura della Basilica di San Pietro: Storia e Costruzione* (Rome: Bonsignori Editore, 1997), pp.161- 66; Lex Bosman, *The Power of Tradition: Spoglia in the Architecture of St. Peter's in the Vatican*, Hilversum: Vitgeverij Verloren, 2004), Chapter III.

114. Tronzo, "Il Tegurium di Bramante", p161.

115. Millon and Lampugnani, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, p.613.

116. *Ibid.*

117. Tronzo, "Il Tegurium di Bramante", p162.

118. The papal Master of Ceremonies, Paris de Grassis, complained about the exposure to the elements during church liturgies. Bosman, *The Power of Tradition*, p107.

119. Tronzo, "Il Tegurium di Bramante", note 6.

120. Millon and Lampugnani, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michelangelo*, p613.

121. *Ibid.*

122. Tronzo, "Il Tegurium di Bramante", p162.

123. *Ibid.*

124.   *Ibid*., p164.
125.   *Ibid*., p164.
126.   Remains of one of the corner columns/pilasters of the Tegurium are still visible today in the crypt of St. Peter's Basilica.
127.   It may be the case that the design of the original dome of the tegurium was influenced by the earlier dome of the Tempietto, to which it probably sought to emulate.
128.   A model of the Janus Quadrifrons, dating from the period of Marcus Aurelius, can be sen in the Museo della Civiltà Romana in EUR. For further discussion of this issue see Chapter 6 in the context of the *School of Athens*.

Chapter 6

The Stanza della Segnatura: Testimony to a Golden Age

1.   Manfredo Tafuri, "Roma instauarata: Strategie urbane e politiche pontificie nella Roma del primo'500", in Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Stefano Ray & Manfredo Tafuri, *Raffaello architetto, catalogo mostra* (Milan: Electa Editrice, 1984), pp.59-106, p63.
2.   Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "Some Considerations on the Geography of the Stanza della Segnatura," *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, CXXIV, Dec. (1994), pp.223-32.
3.   Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "The Concord of Law in the Stanza della Segnatura, *Artibus et Historiae*, vol.15, No.29 (1994), pp.85-98, p87.
4.   D. Redig de Campos, *Raffaello nelle Stanze* (Milan: Aldo Martello Editore, 1965); Ernst Gombrich, "Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura and the Nature of its Symbolism", in Richard Woodfield (ed.), *The Essential Gombrich* (London: Phaidon Press, 1996), pp.485-514; Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura: Meaning and Invention* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Heinrich Pfeiffer, "Le Sententiae ad mentem Platonis e due prediche di Egidio da Viterbo in referimento agli affreschi della Segnatura e della Cappella Sistina", in Marcello Fagiolo (ed.), *Roma e l'Antico nell'arte e nella cultura del Cinquecento* (Rome: Instituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1985), pp.33-40; Heinrich Pfeiffer, *Zur Ikonographie von Raffaels Disputa: Egidio da Viterbo und die christlich-platonische Konzeption der Stanza della Segnatura* (Rome: UniversitB Gregoriana Editrice, 1975); Heinrich Pfeiffer, "La Stanza della Segnatura sullo sfondo idée di Egidio da Viterbo." *Colloqui del Sodalizio tra Studiosi dell'Arte*, 3, (1970-1972) (Rome: De Luca Editore, 1973), pp31-43; S. Valtieri, "La Scuola di Atene", *Mitteilungen des Konsthistorischen Institutes in Florence*, XVI (1972), pp.63-72; Edgar Wind, "Platonic Justice, Designed by Raphael", *Journal of the Warburg Institute*, Vol.1 (1937-38), pp.69-70; Edgar Wind, "The Four Elements in Raphael's Stanza", *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, Vol.2 (1938-39).Mattias Winner: "Disputa und Schule von Athen", *Raffaello a Rome: Bibliotheca Herziana, Musei Vaticani, II Convegno del 1983* (Rome: Edizioni dell Elefante, 1986), pp.29-45; John Shearman, *The Vatican Stanze: Functions and Decoration* (Proceedings of the

British Academy, Vol. LVII London: Oxford University Press, 1972); David O. Bell, "New Identifications in Raphael's School of Athens", *Art Bulletin*, LXXVII (1995), pp.638-46. Marcia Hall (ed.), *Raphael's 'School of Athens'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University, 1997); Giovanni Reale, *Raffaello: La "Disputa,"* (Milan, 1998); Giovanni Reale, Raffaello: *La "Scuola di Atene,"* (Milan, 1997); Giovanni Reale, *Raffaello: Il "Parnasso,"* (Santarcangelo, 1999); Harry B. Gutman, "The Medieval Content of Raphael's School of Athens", *Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.II, 4 (1941), pp.420-29.

5.   David Leatherbarrow, *Architecture Oriented Otherwise* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 2009), p171.

6.   See C.H. Clough, "The Library of the Dukes of Urbino", *Librarium*, ix (1966), p102. It may have been the case that the Stanza was also used intermittently as a tribunal, given the presence of the Jurisprudence fresco in the room and the privileged status of Justice in Platonic thought as highlighted in the frescos. For an examination of the theme of justice in the Stanza see Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "The Concord of Law in the Stanza della Segnatura", pp.85-98, and Wind, "Platonic Justice, Designed by Raphael", pp.69-70.Ernst Gombrich argues that the Stanza was used as a tribunal, based on a contemporary description by Albertini of the *Bibliotheca Iulia*. This states that the room was decorated with pictures of planets and constellations which are not evident in the frescoes. See Gombrich, "Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura and the Nature of its Symbolism", p487. John Shearman however asserts that the Stanza d'Incendio was almost certainly used as the *Signatura* of Julius II (where papal bulls were signed) rather than the Stanza della Segnatura. Shearman, *The Vatican Stanze: Functions and Decoration*, p11.

7.   *Ibid.*, p14.

8.   Wind, "The Four Elements in Raphael's Stanza", p78.

9.   Gombrich, "Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura and the Nature of its Symbolism", p489.

10.   For an investigation of the form and symbolism of cosmati pavements see Linda Grant & Richard Mortimer (eds.), *Westminster Abbey: The Cosmati Pavements - Courtauld Research Papers* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishing, 2002).

11.   See Chapters 4 & 5.

12.   Edmund Husserl, "The Origin of Geometry", in Edmund Husserl, *The Crisi of European Sciences and Transcendental Phenomenology* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1970), pp.353-78.

13.   *Ibid.*, p360. See also Nicholas Temple, *Disclosing Horizons: Architecture, Perspective and Redemptive Space* (Abington, Oxon: Routledge Publishers, 2006), pp.24-65.

14.   Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Painters, Sculptors and Architects*, trans by A.B. Hinds (New York: Dutton, 1963), bk.2, p187.

15.   Hall, *Raphael's School of Athens*, p35.

16.   For a more detailed discussion of the gestures of the figures in the *School of Athens* see my forthcoming, "Gesture and Perspective in Raphael's *School of Athens*", in John Hendrix and Charles Carman (eds.), *Renaissance Theories of Vision* (Farnham, Surrey: Ashgate Publishers, 2010).

17.   A similar interest in the hand gestures of painted figures is explored by Leo Steinberg in the context of Leonardo da Vinci's *Last Supper*. Leo Steinberg, *Leonardo's Incessant Last Supper* (New York: Zone Books, 2001), p121. See also my *Disclosing Horizons*, pp.42-50.

18.   The exceptional nature of vanishing points being used in Renaissance paintings to focus on objects/locations of symbolic significance was made clear to me by J.V. Field, for which I am grateful.

19.   Ingrid D. Rowland, "The Intellectual Background of the *School of Athens*: Tracking Divine Wisdom in the Rome of Julius II", in Hall, *Raphael's School of Athens*, pp.131-70, p146.

20.   At the same time the middle ground of the fresco has been variously interpreted as the domain of Rhetoric and Dialectic. Hall, *Raphael's School of Athens*, p34.

21.   Rowland, "The Intellectual Background of the *School of Athens*", p132.

22.   Gutman, "The Medieval Content of Rahpael's School of Athens", p423.

23.   *Ibid.*

24.   Ernst Cassirer, *The Individual and the Cosmos in Renaissance Philosophy* (Pennsylvania: Harper and Row, 1979), p52.

25.   "Comparativa est omnis inquisitio, medio proportionis utens." (*De Docta Ignorantia*, i I). For a full English translation of the text see Jasper Hopkins (trans.), *Nicholas of Cusa on Learned Ignorance: A Translation and an Appraisal of De Docta Ignorantia* (Minneapolis: Banning Press, 1985).

26.   Arnold Nesselrath, *Raphael's School of Athens: Recent Restorations* (Vatican City State: Edizioni Musei Vaticani, 1996), pp29-30.

27.   *Ibid.*

28.   Valtieri, "La Scuola di Athene" pp.63-72.

29.   For further discussion of this notion of arithmetised geometry see David Fowler, *The Mathematics of Plato's Academy: A New Reconstruction* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), pp.30-35.

30.   Rowland, "The Intellectual Background of the *School of Athens*", p154.

31.   *Ibid*.

32.   A possible inspiration for the 'translation' of mathematical motifs into an antique goblet can be found in the *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* (1499), where typographic text was shaped in the form of a drinking vessel. Liane Lefaivre, *Leon Battista Alberti's Hypnerotomachia Poliphili: Re-Cognizing the Architectural Body in the Early Italian Renaissance* (Cambridge: Mass: MIT Press,1997), pp.17-18.

33.   See Brian Curry, *The Egyptian Renaissance: The Afterlife of Ancient Egypt in Early Modern Italy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), pp.168-69.

34.   For an account of the history of the Magen David see G. Scholem, *Kabbalah* (New York: Dorest Press, 1974), pp.362-68.

35.   For discussion of Kabbalah during the Renaissance see Brian Ogren, *Renaissance and Rebirth: Reincarnation in Early Modern Italian Kabbalah* - Studies in Jewish History and Culture (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2009).

36.   Gombrich, "Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura and the Nature of its Symbolism", pp.485-514. As Richard Woodfield states "..Gombrich is able to argue

that no programme is needed, just a conventional knowledge of stock types."(Editor's Postcript), p514.

37.　　　　Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*: *Ancients and Moderns in Sixteenth-Century Rome* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp105-08.

38.　　　　*Ibid*.

39.　　　　Temple, *Disclosing Horizons*, pp.60-61.

40.　　　　Hall, *Raphael's School of Athens*, p35.

41.　　　　Valtieri, "La Scuola di Athene" pp.63-72.

42.　　　　*Ibid*., p67

43.　　　　Hall, *Raphael's School of Athens*, p35.

44.　　　　This relates to Leonardo da Vinci's celebrated self portrait in the Biblioteca Nazionale, Turin (15571). For a brief discussion of this relationship see George L. Hersey, *High Renaissance Art in St. Peter's and the Vatican: An Intrepetive Guide* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 1993), p133.

45.　　　　Temple, *Disclosing Horizons*, pp.60-61.

46.　　　　Whilst we have no record of any direct 'collaboration' between da Vinci and Bramante in Milan, under the Dukedom of Ludovico Sforza, it is clear that the projects at Santa Maria delle Grazie (the painting of the *Last Supper* and the design of the Tribuna) would have provided an important opportunity for both to draw upon their mutual interests in the relationship between architectural and pictorial space. This is suggested by Leo Steinberg's idea that the angle of the left arm of Christ, represented in the *Last Supper*, relates to the *porta antica* of the refectory and the mid-point of the tribuna beyond – the domed crossing designed by Bramante. Steinberg, *Leonardo's Incessant Last Supper*, p147. For an account of the court and patronage of Ludovico Sforza see, Filiberto Amoroso, *Alla corte del Moro: Sulla scena ed in retroscena : Ludovico Sforza detto il Moro e Beatrice d'Este, i duchi della Milano rinascimentale, passati dalla storia alla* leggenda (Florence: Reverdito Edizioni, 1993).

47.　　　　Temple, *Disclosing Horizons*, p61.

48.　　　　Rowland, "The Intellectual Background of the *School of Athens*", p138, n.29.

49.　　　　Temple, *Disclosing Horizons*, p62.

50.　　　　Pfeiffer, "La Stanza della Segnatura sullo sfondo idée di Egidio da Viterbo", pp31-43.

51.　　　　According to Paolo Giovio, friend and patron of Raphael, the frescoes of the Stanza della Segnatura were executed "ad praescriptum Julii Pontificis", suggesting that the pope himself was directly involved in their conception. It would seem most likely therefore that the pope convened a group of advisers – humanists and theologians – in order to discuss the content of the frescoes. This contradicts Gombrich's earlier assertion that Raphael relied on 'stock types' from other artists - such as his master Perugino – as the basis for the composition of the frescoes (see note 35). "Pinxit in Vaticano nec adhuc stabili authoritate cubicula duo ad praescriptum Julii Ponificis." Vincenzo Golzio, *Raffaello nei documenti nelli testimonianze dei contemporanei e nella letteratura del suo secolo* (Vatican City: Pontificia Insigne Accademia Artistica dei Virtuosi al Pantheon, 1936), p192. See

also Deoclecio Redig de Campos, *Raphael in the Stanze*, trans. by John Guthrie (Milan: Martello 1973), p.8.

52.   Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, pp.101-03.

53.   John W. O'Malley, "Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age Under Pope Julius II: A Text of a Discourse of Giles of Viterbo 1507", *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and religion*, vol.XXV (1969), pp.265-38.

54.   Pfeiffer, "Le *Senteniae ad mentem Platonis* e due prediche di Egidio da Viterbo…", pp.33-40.

55.   Walter Stephens, "When Pope Noah Ruled the Etruscans: Annius of Viterbo and his Forged Antiquitates", *MLN, Baltimore*, Jan. (2004), vol.119, pp.201-24, p203; Amanda L. Collins, "Etruscans in the Renaissance: The Sacred Destiny of Rome and the *Historiae Viginti Saeculorum* of Giles of Viterbo c.1469-1532,"*Historical Reflections/Reflexions Historiques*, vol.27, No.1 (2001), pp107-37.

56.   Collins, "The Etruscans in the Renaissance", p122; Glenn W. Most, "Reading Raphael: The School of Athens and Its Pre-Text", *Critical Inquiry*, vol.23, No.1, Autumn (1996), pp145-82, p171, n.65.

57.   Giovanni Morello, *Raffaello e la Roma dei Papi* (Rome: Palombi, 1989), p76, n.83.

58.   Timothy Verdon, "Pagans in the Church: The *School of Athens* in Religious Context", in Hall, *Raphael's School of Athens*, pp.114-30, p115.

59.   Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, p165.

60.   Hopkins, *Nicholas of Cusa on Learned Ignorance*.

61.   John W. O'Malley, "The Vatican Library and the School of Athens: a text of Battista Casali, 1508", *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*, vol.7 (1977), pp.271-87, p275; Rowland, "The Intellectual Background of the *School of Athens*", in Hall, *Raphael's School of Athens*, p139.

62.   *Ibid*.

63.   O'Malley, "The Vatican Library and the School of Athens", p271.

64.   Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, pp.286-87.

65.   O'Malley, "The Vatican Library and the School of Athens", p274.

66.   See Chapter 5.

67.   For a detailed discussion of the architectural background of the fresco see Ralph E. Lieberman, "The Architectural Background", in Hall, *Raphael's School of Athens*, pp.64-84. On the issue of the scale of the architecture, in relation to Bramante's scheme for new St Peter's Basilica, see Most, "Reading Raphael: The School of Athens and its Pre-Text, pp.172-73.

68.   Bruschi, *Bramante Architetto*, p719.

69.   Most, "Reading Raphael: The School of Athens and its Pre-Text", p173.

70.   *Ibid*, p178, n.87; O'Malley, "Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age Under Pope Julius II", p290, II. 188-91 (16v) and II. 201-2 (17r)

71.   Most, "Reading Raphael: the School of Athens and its Pre-Text", p178.

72.   Gaetano Messineo, La Via Flaminia: da Porta del Popolo a Malborghetto (Rome: Casa Editrice Quasar, 1992), p269. The arch was transformed into a fortified house in the Middle Ages. See also F. Töbelmann, *Der Bogen von Malborghetto* (Abhandlungen der Heidlberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, II, 1915).

73.   Simon Hornblower & Antony Spawforth, *The Oxford Classical Dicionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p793. The Constantinian Janus Quadrifrons may well have been an Early Christian attempt to revive the ancient Rome practice of the triumphal procession, only here with the specific political intention to commemorate the victory of Constantine over his pagan adversary, Maxentius. For discussion of the interest in the Janus Quadrifrons during the Renaissance see Philip Jacks, *The Antiquarian and the Myth of Antiquity: The Origins of Rome in Renaissance Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp.236-37.

74.   Flavio Biondo, *Roma Instaurata* (Venice: 1510), Book 1, Ch.XLI. "Now that we have to the best of our powers described the gates of the city which survive in our time, we should like to indicate the location of the one gate which Rome held to be the most famous of them all. That is the Triumphal Gate, through which, and no other, the triumphs proceeded; and, in order to abstract the matter in a more certain fashion - as if whatever the works of humans possessed which was solid ought to shine with eternal clarity in the darkness in which it had altogether perished – we will first say what and where it was. Then we will adduce the testimonies which form the basis for our assertion. The bridge, the foundations of whose pillars are now seen in the Tiber at the Hospital of Santo Spirito, and the gate the mole of whose foundations survives by the inmost bank of the Tiber, and the road from that bridge to Caesar's obelisk and the area below the basilica of St Peter which stretches along the base (*lit.* roots) of the Vatican mountain, were given the name triumphal." (trans. by John Barrie Hall & Annabel Ritchie)

75.   "Qu(e)sto archo trionfale si è al Borghetto di la da Ponte Mol(l)e dove e Romani chominc(i)av(a)no l'ordine del trionfo e a ord(i) nare la gente de l'armi ed e fuora di Roma VII miglia, e quivi laciav(a)no le loro armadure ed e misurato opunto." IL Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo: Codice Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 4424: Cristiano Huelsen (intro & notes), Lipsia, Ottone Harrassowitz, 1910, p.53, Foglio 36^v. *Il Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo* (Codice Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 4424), Cristiano Huelsen (intro. and notes) (Leipzig: Ottone Harrassowitz, 1910), p.53, foglio 36^v.

76.   Naldo Naldi, *Elegarium*, libri III, ed. L. Juhasz (Leipzig, 1934), p49.

77.   Rowland, "The Intellectual Background of the *School of Athens*", p157, n.57.

78.   For an examination of the historical relationship between the Latin and Greek Churches see, Philip Sherrard, *The Greek East and the Latin West*: *A Study in the Christian Tradition* (Limni, Evia, Greece: Denise Harvey, 1959).

79.   Temple, *Disclosing Horizons*, p56.

80.   Some doubt about the identity of Julius I in the *Disputa* was raised by Heinrich Pfeiffer who questioned the symbolism of the martyr's palm shown in the fresco on the right hand of the pope. (Pfeiffer, *Zur Ikonographie von Raffaels Disputa*, pp.66-67) It is clear that Julius I was not martyred, his Pontificate coming after Constantine and the Edict of Milan. However, it was custom during Early Christianity to convey the same status of martyrdom on popes who had been persecuted; from what can interpreted from a passage in the *Liber Pontificalis*, Julius I experienced just such persecution in the hands of the Emperor Constantius (Künzle, "Zur obersten der drei Tiaren auf Raffaels Disputa", pp.243-244). James Beck and Christiane Joost-Gaugier identify the figure as Innocent III instead of Julius I. James

Beck, *Raffaello: La Stanza della Segnatura* (Turin: Società Editrice Internazionale, 1996), p54. Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, p66.

81.   Meredith Gill, *Augustine in the Italian Renaissance: Art and Philosophy from Petrarch to Michelangelo* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), p208.

82.   Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), p67.

83.   For a succinct outline of the structure and meaning of Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* (City of God), see John O'Meara, "Introduction", in *St Augustine: City of God* (Harmondsworth: Middlesex: Penguin Books, 1986), pp.vii-xxxv.

84.   For the biblical account of Sarah and Agar see *Galatians* 4: 21-28.

85.   F.Edward Crantz " "*De Civitate Dei*", XI, II, and Augustine's Idea of the Christian Society," *Speculum* (1950), pp.215-25, p218.

86.   *Ibid.*, p219.

87.   This is re-affirmed by Augustine's assertion that the captivity of Jerusalem by Babylon constitutes a symbol of the captivity of *ecclesia* by earthly monarchical rule.(*De Catechizandis Rudibus*, XXI, 37, *P.L.*, XL, 337).

88.   Lidia Storoni Mazzolani, *The Idea of the City in Roman Thought*: *From Walled City to Spiritual Commonwealth* (Hollis & Carter, London, 1970), p252.

89.   Crantz, "*De Civitate Dei*", p220.

90.   In particular, Dante's *Monarchia* may have left an impression on both pope and his architect of this idea of caesaro-papal rule. We know that Julius II possessed a copy of Dante's work in his library and that Bramante occasionally read the works of Dante to Julius II.

91.   Heinrich Pfeiffer, "Raffael's Disputa und die platonische Theologie von Egidio da Viterbo", *Munster*, 27 (1974), pp.88-90.

92.   Pfeiffer, *Zur Iconographie von Raffaels Disputa*, p183.

93.   Pfeiffer first suggests that this group could represent simultaneously heretics and Padovan Aristotelians; "Il gruppo degli Eretici della Disputa potrebbe anche rappresentare il gruppo degli Aristotelici di Padova intorno al Pomponazzi, che hanno voluto separare la filosofia dalla teologia introducendo il concetto di una duplice verita." (Pfeiffer, "Le *Sententiae ad mentem Platonis* e due prediche di Egidio da Viterbo..",p36; See also John O'Malley, "Giles of Viterbo: A Reformer's Thought on Renaissance Rome" in, *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol.20 (1967) pp 41-46, p42, n.2). This controversy became in essence a dispute between the Neo-platonists, especially Giles of Viterbo the "Platonicorum maximus", and the Paduan Aristotelians. For an examination of Averroism in the Renaissance see Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Petrarch's "Averroists": A Note on the History of Aristotelianism in Venice, Padua, and Bologna" in, *Bibliotheque D'Humanisme et Renaissance* (1952) XIV, pp.59-65. It has been suggested by Ernst Gombrich that the compositional division between the group of 'heretics' and the devout followers on the left of the

Disputa may have been inspired by Sandro Botticelli's *The Temptation of Christ* in the Sistine Chapel (Gombrich, "Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura", p508).

94.   See Fig.17 in Christoph Luitpold Frommel, "St. Peter's: The Early History, in Henry A. Millon and Vittorio Magnago Lampugnani, *The Renaissance from Brunelleschi to Michaelangelo: The Representation of Architecture* (Milan: Bompiani, 1994). pp.399-423 p417.

95.   Charles Stinger, for example, argues that the scaffolded structure is a representation of the construction of the Cortile del Belvedere. Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome* (Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1998), p199.

96.   For a brief interpretation of this see Alan Watts, *Myth and Ritual in Christianity*, (Thames and Hudson, 1983), p186.

97.   Stinger's argument (see n.92) is difficult to justify given that the orientation of the *Disputa*, due west, suggests that the scene of the assembled figures refers to the sanctuary end of St Peter's Basilica. More likely, the image ambiguously conveys the antithesis of Jerusalem - or the Vatican – by expressing an unfinished structure that appears to be without purpose or foreseeable completion.

98.   As the *Old Testament* 'antitype' of the events of Christ's Ascension and the delivery of the Holy Spirit, the Tower of Babel becomes an appropriate counterpoint in the celebration of Christ's ascension in the *Disputa*.

99.   On the identification of the figure as Pico della Mirandola see, Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, pp.77-80; On Francesco della Rovere see, Pfeiffer, "Raffaels Disputa und die platonische Theologie von Egidio da Viterbo",p89.

100.   Anthony Nemetz,, "The *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*: The Human Condition" in, *S. Bonaventura 1274-1974* (Rome: Collegio S. Bonaventura Grottaferrata, 1973) Vol.II (*Studia*), p346.

101.   Bernard McGinn, "Ascension and Introversion in the *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*" in, *S. Bonaventura 1274-1974* (Rome: Collegio S. Bonaventura Grottaferrata, 1973) Vol. III (*Philosophica*), pp.535-52.

102.   St. Bonaventure, *Itinerarium Mentis in Deum*, Cap.V, 1.

103.   Nemetz, "The *Itinerarium*", p349.

104.   McGinn, "Ascension and Intoversion", p537. McGinn identifies in these three stages of the *Itinerarium* different levels of *mens*, or man's highest spiritual dimension. This idea is rooted in Augustinian thought.

105.   . "Without doubt in the human soul the highest part is the same as the inmost and vice versa. Hence we understand the same truth through the peak of the mountain and through the interior of the tent of the covenant." (*Benj.maior* V, 23, PL 196, 167ab; quoted in, McGinn, "Ascension and Introversion",p544).

106.   McGinn, "Ascension and Introversion", p552.

107.   Gutman, "The Medieval Content of Raphael's School of Athens", p428.

108.   See Chapter 5.

109.   Cardinal Marco Vigerio also dedicated his major Franciscan tract to Julius II, the *Decachordum Christianum*, which was published in 1507.

110.   Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "Some Considerations on the Geography of the Stanza della Segnatura", *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* (1994), vol. CXXIV, December, pp.223-32, p228, n.23.

111.   Christiane L. Joost-Gaugier, "The Concord of Law in the Stanza della Segnatura", *Artibus et Historiae*, vol.15, No.29 (1994), pp.85-98, p95.

112.   *Ibid.*, p95.

113.   The view was also partly obstructed by the construction of the three tiered loggia on the east side of the Cortile del Pappagallo (of which the so-called Loggia of Raphael forms part). Initially envisaged during Julius II's pontificate, only the first tier was completed by Bramante, upon his death in 1514, and was subsequently completed by Raphael in 1519. *Guide to the Vatican Museums* (Vatican City: Publicazioni Musei Vaticani, 1979), p79.

114.   Joost-Gaugier, "The Concord of Law in the Stanza della Segnatura", p87.

115.   *Ibid.*, and Joost-Gaugier, "Some Considerations on the Geography of the Stanza della Segnatura", p229.

116.   *Ibid.*, p230. See *The Geography of Strabo* (Cambridge: Mass: Harvard University Press and William Heinemann Ltd., 1960), I.1.6-7.

117.   *Suetonius, The Twelve Caesars* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex: Penguin Classics, 2007), Iul. 44.2.

118.   See Leonard Barkan, *Unearthing the Past: Archaeology and Aesthetics in the Making of Renaissance Culture* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999), pp.233-35.

119.   Heinrich Pfeiffer, S.J., "Raffaels Disputa und die platonische Theologie von Edigio da Viterbo", in W. von Leyden, *Antiquity and Authority: Journal of the History of Ideas*, vol.27 (1974), p.89.

120.   Bibl.Ang. MS Lat. 502.fol.194[r]

121.   F.M. Magnanti, *Istoria della sacrosanta patriarcale basilica vaticana* (Rome: 1987), I:21; II:11.

122.   John Osbourne, "St. Peter's Needle and the Ashes of Julius Caesar: Involking Rome's Imperial History at the Papal Court, ca. 1100-1300", in Maria Wyke (ed.), *Julius Caesar in Western Culture* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), pp.95-109, p101.

123.   See Carlo Fontana, *Il Tempio Vaticano* (Rome: 1694), Bk.3, reprinted (Milan: Electa, 2003), Giovanna Curcio (ed.), for description of the relocation of the obelisk by Domenico Fontana.

124.   Dale Kinney, "Spolia", in William Tronze (ed.), *St. Peter's in the Vatican* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.16-47, pp.25-26.

125.   It should also be pointed out that Pope Gregory IX was very supportive of St. Francis and the creation of the Franciscan order. Thus, his presence further amplifies the Franciscan theme of the frescoes, particularly in his relationship to the *Disputa*.

126.   This is described by Giles of Viterbo in Bibl.Ang. MS Lat. 502.fol.194[r]. It further reiterates Giles' pronouncement made at the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512: "Men must be changed by religion, not religion by men." John O'Malley, "Man's Dignity, God's Love, and the Destiny of Rome: A Text by Giles of Viterbo," in *Viator: Medieval & Renaissance Studies* (1972), Vol.3, p394.

127.   Sherrard, *The Greek East and the Latin West*, p111.

128.   Joost-Gaugier however argues that the figures in the lunette of the *Jurisprudence* fresco do not represent the Virtues (Fortitude, Prudence and Temperance) but the Three Graces. Joost-Gaugier, "The Concord of Law in the Stanza della Segnatura", p94.

129.   "Then we must stand like hunters round a covert and make sure that justice does not escape us and disappear from view. It must be somewhere about. Try and see if you can catch sight of it before I can, and tell me where it is." Plato, *Republic* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1979), Book V, 432, *c*.

130.   Wind, "Platonic Justice", p70.

131.   Joost-Gaugier, "Some Considerations of the Geography of the Stanza della Segnatura", p227.

132.   For a detailed description of the figures in the fresco see Joost-Gaugier, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, pp.115-35.

133.   Giles of Viterbo, *Sententiae ad mentem Platonis*, Cod.Vat. Lat. 6325, fol.34r. Pfeiffer substantiates this alliance between the *Parnassus* and "teologi etruschi" by reminding us that the motto written on the soffit directly above the *Parnassus*, "Numine afflatur", (suffused by divine will) is a reference to Virgil's sixth book of the *Aeneid* [Vergil*, Aeneide,* ed. Ribbeck/Ianell*,* (Leipzig 1920)]. See also Joost-Gaugier's interpretation, *Raphael's Stanza della Segnatura*, p131.

134.   Pfeiffer, "Le *Sententiae ad mentem Platonis* e due prediche di Egidio da Viterbo..", pp.33-40.

135.   Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p274.

136.   Whilst no cult of the deity is attested in ancient Etruria there is a popular legend that the Greek god Apollo was introduced into Roman religion via Etruria, and that a statue of the deity existed in Veii. *Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarenton Press, 1961), p69. Apollo served as the guardian of this connection between *otium* and *imperium*, represented as both divine patron of poetry and as mythical guardian of territory. Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p274. See also Temple, *Disclosing Horizons*, p.146-147.

137.   The installation of tiered benches in the apses of basilicas can be seen in old St Peter's Basilica and in numerous other similar Antique and Early Christian constructions. An interesting Roman example is the Sardis Synagogue in modern-day Turkey. Andrew R. Seager, "The Building History of the Sardis Synagogue", *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol.76, No.4 (1972), pp.425-35. A more familiar influence on the Belvedere nicchione, with its hemicycle theatre, is the exedra and cavea of the Republican Sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. James Ackerman, "The Belvedere as a Classical Villa", in James Ackerman, *Distance Points: Essays in Theory and Renaissance Art and Architecture* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1991), pp.325-60.

138.   Stinger, *The Renaissance in Rome*, p274.

139.   Heinrich Pfeiffer makes a strong case for suggesting that the doctrine of *Hetrusca discipline*, and its sub-disciplines, influenced the iconographic programme of the Stanza "…ognuna delle parete corrisponde a uno dei rami della "Hetrusca discipline". La Scuola di Athene...alla filosofia, il Parnaso alla teologia etrusca, la

parete della Giuisprudenza...corresponde alla terza sottodisciplina ['virtu heroica'], la Disputa....alla quarta [divine love]." Pfeiffer, "La Stanza della Segnatura", p36.

140.   Hersey, *High Renaissance Art in St Peter's and the Vatican*, p14.

141.   David R. Coffin, *The Villa in the Life of Renaissance Rome* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988), p75.

142.   *Ibid*, p75, n.23.

143.   Giovanni Jacopo Penni, *Chronica della magnifiche et honorate pompe fatte in Roma per la creatione et incoronatione di Papa Leone X pont.Opt.Max,* in Guglielmo Roscoe, "Vita e pontificato di Leone X", vol.V, ed. Luigi Bossi (Milan*,* 1816-17), p210; Charles L. Stinger, "*Roma Triumphans*: Triumphs in the Thought and Ceremonies of Renaissance Rome", *Medievalia et Humanistica*, X (1981), pp.189-201, p192.

Conclusion

*pons/facio***: Popes and Bridges**

1. This approach has its roots in Platonic thought which equates true philosophy with dialectic. It assumes the existence of two realms - of Ideas and of the senses - or more generally between the world of *being* and that of *becoming*. Plato identifies in the cleavage between both domains the site of dialectical discourse where philosophical enquiry, or *logos*, takes place. The early 16th century in Papal Rome exemplifies perhaps the most articulate visual translation of this dialectical approach, that centres on the manifold paradigms of the papal city. For a succinct summary of Platonic dialectic see, Karl Jaspers, *Plato and Augustine* (Harvest Books, San Diego, 1962), p35.

2. Erwin Panofsky, *Perspective as Symbolic Form* (Zone Books, New York, 1991), p66.

3. A case in point can be seen in the varied iconographic representations of Alexander VI, Julius II's effective predecessor and hated rival. In the "Room of the Saints" in the Appartamento Borgia the ceiling fresco suggests the pope as a metamorphosis of the Egyptian Apis-Osiris, symbol of the slain and resurrected divine king. At the same time, during the coronation ceremony of Alexander's *possesso*, the pope was proclaimed *Pacis Pater,* whilst many references were made to the ox, alluding to the ritual founding of Rome by Romulus. This latter was supported by the Borgia heraldic sign, the bull, which was interpreted as signalling the rebirth of Rome under the new pontificate, the 'second Romulus'. [Charles Stinger, *The Renaissance In Rome* (Indiana University Press, Bloomington, 1998) pp.304-06].

4. See for example John W. O'Malley, "Fulfillment of the Christian Golden Age Under Julius II: A Text of a Discourse of Giles of Viterbo 1507." *Traditio: Studies in Ancient and Medieval History, Thought and Religion* (1969), Vol.XXV, pp.265-338.

5. As *Rex Pacificus*, Solomon pre-figured the founding of the Church. Giles asserts that whereas Solomon's Temple was destroyed before the end of the Old Dispensation, the new St. Peter's basilica is destined to endure for all time.*Ibid*., pp.308-09.

6. This is still in fact a possible etymology, though there are also other theories (both ancient and modern) about the word's origin. Some sources actually report that the pontifices built the first ever bridge over the Tiber (the *pons Sublicius*), in order that sacrifices could be held on both sides of the river. The Greek translation (*gephyropoioi*) significantly also refers to bridge-builders. It's quite possible that Christian Emperors kept the title of Pontifex Maximus, at least for a time. Relating to the Roman Triumph, this became a monopoly of the ruling Emperor, so under up till the 4th century CE, the triumphator, the Emperor and the Pontifex Maximus would have been one of the same person. I am grateful to John North for these valuable observations.

7. Origins of the office of the Pontifex Maximus probably originate from the Regia, the ancient residence of the PM in the Roman Forum. For a discussion of this see Filippo Coarelli, *Il Foro Romano: Periodo arcaico* (Rome: Edizioni Quasar, 1983). While originally there was a distinction between the priests and the magistrates (i.e. very roughly, dealing with divine and human matters), from Augustus onwards the same person is always Emperor and pontifex maximus. I'm grateful to John North for this valuable observation.

8. Walter Stevens, *Giants in Those Days: Folklore, Ancient History, and Nationalism* (Lincoln, Nebraska: University of Nebraska Press, 1989).pp.98-138.

9. Ingrid Rowland, *The Culture of the High Renaissance*: Ancient and Moderns in Sixteenth-Centry Rome (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p149.

10. This succession of golden ages construes those ages that are of greatest antiquity as also the purest and most virtuous As James Hankins succinctly puts it, there was a general assumption during the Renaissance that "earlier means better."*Plato in the Italian Renaissance* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1991), p460.

11. This influence can be identified for example in Giles' enthusiasm for the new St Peter's Basilica in which he urges Bramante to build a high tower upon its dome to celebrate the status of the Vatican as the fulcrum of the Christian world. G. Signorelli, *Il Card. Egidio da Viterbo, agostiniano, umanistico e riformatore (1469-1532)*, (Florence: 1929), p115, p214 and n.24.

12. This is kept in the Soane Museum in London.

13. R.A. Potter, *The Goddess Fortuna and the Iconography of the Belvedere Courtyard*, p25. Unpublished M.Phil thesis, School of Architecture, Cambridge University, 1991.

14. *Ibid.*

15. C. Pietri, "Concordia apostorum et renovatio urbis", *Melanges d'Archeologie et d'Histoire* Vol 73, (1961), p319.

16. Charles Burroughs, *From Signs to Design: Environmental Process and Reform in Early Renaissance Rome* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1990), p232.

17. L. Partridge and R. Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness: Art and Culture in Raphael's Julius II* (California: University of California Press, 1980), p30.

18. "…."the mystical body of Christ is where the head is, that is, the pope" not only Rome, Jerusalem, Mt. Sion, the "dwellings of the apostles", and the "common fatherland" of Christians - *all* these were where the pope was, papal apologists proclaimed, "even were he secluded in a peasant's hut."" *Ibid*., p31.

19. Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), p196.

20. *Ibid.*

21. Partridge & Starn, *A Renaissance Likeness*, p32. A treatise of the Eucharist, written by Cipriano Benet, was dedicated to Julius II, in which the author associated the miracle of the Mass with the presence of divinity in the pope. *Ibid*.

22. *Ibid*., p28.

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