

The Sempiternal Nature of Architectural Conservation and  
the Unfinished Building and Drawing

Federica Goffi

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Marco Frascari  
Paul Emmons  
Jaan Holt  
Susan Piedmont Palladino  
Marcia Feuerstein  
Stephen Fai

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## ABSTRACT

Conservation is today often interpreted as the preservation of a still-shot, an understanding informed by the belief that by displaying photographic memory of the past, it is possible to gain access to it. Naturalistic representation is unequivocal and presents the onlooker with a single meaning. The dominance of the photorealistic image as model for memory, should be challenged by undermining the notion that architectural representation is a portrayal of likeness, restoring its full potential as an iconic representation of presence.

A micro-historical study of the Renaissance concept of restoration, focused on Tiberio Alfarano's 1571 ichnography of St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican, offers an alternative paradigm in order to inform, critically, contemporary theory and the practice of the renewal of mnemonic buildings. The hybrid drawing (1571) extends beyond the opera of graphic architecture, realizing a real effigy.

Alfarano factored a track-drawing, providing memory traces on the drawing-site, which, acting like a veil, bears marks of the building's presence within time. The ichnography makes visible a 'hallowed configuration', conceived as a substratum for the imagination of conservation. This defines a collective daydreaming strategy, from which multiple authors can imagine possible futures. Ambiguity and polysemy inform the drawing, generating an equivocal space where unforeseeable inventions occur by the process of future predictions by recollecting memories. This invites merging multiple stories.

Grasping the significance of Alfarano's drawing, one begins to comprehend the mistaken belief in the primacy of photo rendering to access a building and conserve its essence. Any essence cannot be achieved through exact visual reconstruction, rather through a chiasmus of past and present form, expressing allegoric significance.

The retrospective and prospective character of the architectural-conservation process can be experienced through the intermediacy of hybrid-drawings directing the gaze simultaneously in two directions; a pre-existent condition engages in dialogue with future design. This is a condition absent from today's practice, where measured drawings and design drawings are often kept separate. Seen this way, architectural drawings could rejoin these two temporal conditions, through metaphoric or literal transparency, and allow for a real transformation within continuity of identity.

## DEDICATION

*to all the **angels**  
above and below  
to Achille & Renata  
father and mother*

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“nothing is hidden that will not be disclosed”

Luke 8:17

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## PREFACE TO THE RE-MAKING OF MNEMIC BUILDINGS THE BODY IMAGE OF BUILDINGS

*The many stuffs, matter, energy, waves, phenomena, that worlds are made of are made along with the world. But made from what? Not from `nothing, after all, but from other worlds. Worldmaking as we know it always starts from worlds already on hand; the making is a remaking.*

---Nelson Goodman, "Ways of Worldmaking"

These essays on the ontology of *making as re-making* can be read in seven days. They aim to investigate the concept of architectural conservation as a form of invention and imagination, questioning its nature beyond our dominant understanding in the west as a practice of preservation 'as is', or restoration 'as was'. Architectural conservation is essentially concerned with the dilemma of how to maintain a building's identity while allowing changes over time. To investigate this, an answer is sought, through microhistorical procedures, focusing on a 1571 hybrid drawing by Tiberio Alfarano, a beneficiary clerk of St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican, providing a visual narration of the physical transformations of 'Renaissance's St. Peter's' (1506-1626).<sup>1</sup> The history of transformations of this 'mnemic building' is a key to unlock our understanding of change as a design issue.<sup>2</sup>

"Reducing the scale of observation" from the macro-phenomena of the Renaissance transformation of the building fabric (1506-1626) to the micro-phenomena of Alfarano's hybrid-drawing (1569-1576), it is possible to rectify certain misrepresentations, based on posthumous reconstructive drawings portraying overall designs, which generated a macro-history according to which New St. Peter's is a new building.<sup>3</sup> Despite radical changes to the physical fabric, leading to significant renewals, and a dramatically different exterior appearance, St. Peter's maintained its identity, and continued to be regarded as the same building. This transformation is a paradigmatic example of a design process understood as a conservation process.

The twin phenomena of conservation and transformation are recorded in the materiality of the basilica in its duality of building and drawing. Drawing is a paradigmatic medium through which change is brought to happen, and it is the chosen instrument, used to delineate a rejoined theory of 'architectural-conservation'. The act of drawing, which was understood in this period as

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<sup>1</sup> Note that this is intentionally both a spatial and temporal location.

<sup>2</sup> Other mnemic buildings include the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, St. Mark's Basilica in Venice, Sagrada Familia in Barcelona, etc.

<sup>3</sup> Ginzburg 1993: 22. It is referred here to several reconstructive drawings and accounts, which provide hypothetical reconstructions of Bramante's design for a new building based on drawings, which represent only portions of the basilica. An example is U 1A, where only the new western apse and choir are represented, together with the new main piers. Bram Kempers (1996) supports the theory that when Bramante started work on St. Peter's no overall plan existed.

mimetic of a building process, is the medium where, through appropriate facture, transformations first took place.<sup>4</sup> Drawing is a prop, allowing the imagination to grow and develop; it is here that transformations become visible and are experienced first, through a process of make-believe.<sup>5</sup> As a note to the reader, it is recommended to contemplate the images to which the text responds, particularly Alfarano's 1571 hybrid drawing, while absorbing the text. Words and images are inextricably intertwined and cannot be separated from each other without a loss of meaning and potential understanding.

The relevance of this topic is substantiated by the observation that, in contemporary perception, architecture and conservation are disjointed, in both theory and practice. Conservation is born like Eve out of architecture's body. Preservation defined itself, as a legitimate concern for the conservation of historic buildings, unproblematically replaced *in toto* with modernist *instant buildings*, causing loss of identity.<sup>6</sup> At the same time, an orthodox application of basic conservation principles, would significantly limit the possibility for creative interventions onto a wide spectrum of historic buildings, from 'mnemonic buildings' to "unexceptional buildings", denying a possibility for change in adapting to varying conditions pertaining to their use.<sup>7</sup>

Norwegian Architect Sverre Fehn (1924-2009) poignantly observed that: "The religion of the present day is the denial of death. So, objects are not allowed to die either, but are preserved. Ruins should not be ruined further, but should keep their present condition to the end of the world. If you go to a museum today you will see that every object made of iron is covered and enormous sums of money are spent on ventilation systems for the sake of preservation. Nothing should fall into pieces or die."<sup>8</sup> Historic buildings are "not allowed to die" or even change, but rather are treated as museum objects, based on the assumption that material preservation *as-is*, is a necessary and sufficient condition for a preservation of essence.

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<sup>4</sup> Summers 2003. Frascari, *A Reflection on Paper*, 2007: 23.

<sup>5</sup> Walton 1990.

<sup>6</sup> Two orders of issues are referred to here, one is the loss of know-how of historic construction methods and materials which leads to a chronic replacing, rather than maintenance and minimal substitution of individual components of historic buildings, this applies particularly to less durable materials such as timber structures for example; the second aspect is the actual demolition of historic buildings going back to a *tabula rasa*, giving rise to a condition of amnesia and placelessness. Nathan Silver in 'Lost New York' for example explains how the demolition of the 1906 Pennsylvania Station was due to an "application of the real estate logic that often dictates the demolition of the very building that makes an area desirable" (2000: 38). See also Jacobs's "Life and Death of Great American Cities" (1992). Further influences on the development of architectural conservation theories have been coming out of art historical studies, such as the "Restoration Theory" by Cesare Brandi (2005), essentially abducting concepts pertaining to art objects to architectural monuments, raising issues of authenticity versus counterfeit identity, which is of course linked with an idea of singular authorship. Furthermore, the destruction resulting from World War II in Europe is on the background of a rising consciousness of restoration; the destructions caused by war bombings were part of an everyday experience, the idea of restoring back to a previous condition had in many cases the role of healing wounds from this tragic historical period. In 2005 the restoration of Dresden cathedral was completed, sixty years after the end of the war, demonstrating that a slow healing process is still taking place.

<sup>7</sup> Since the publication of the Venice Charter in 1964 "unexceptional buildings" can also be recognized as historic monuments. Florian 2006: 24-35. Fitch 1982. Page 2003. Murtagh 1997.

<sup>8</sup> Gennaro Postiglione and Christian Norberg Schulz 1997.

The idea of adding, subtracting and altering an existing building is well received within the context of contemporary adaptive reuse practice. Altering industrial sites for the purpose of retaining history, while sustaining our built environment in adapting to new necessities, is now a well-established practice. When the building in question though is a 'mnemonic building', of recognized heritage value, alterations are, if considered at all, viewed with suspicion, even when change is a recognized necessity. This is of course a reasonable preoccupation. Such in fact is a building that has entered, and been part of, the collective imagination of a place since time immemorial; its presence is so pervasive that any change would be perceived as a loss of identity.

A 'mnemonic building' is perceived as having been there since a time that extends beyond the reach of memory. Actual beginning and mythical narrative intertwine so that myth, sedimented within the history of a place, informing its collective imagination, takes precedence over truth, when the two appear to point in different directions. The collective imagination of a place is sustained through the making and multiplication of images and narratives, in-forming a sense of proprioception, and providing a city with a collective "body image". Mnemonic is a persistent or recurrent effect of something experienced. A collective body image can be so powerfully pervasive that if a mnemonic building is lost through a traumatic and sudden event it could provoke a phantom limb effect, where an amputee feels pain in a lost limb.

The collapse of Venice's belltower in 1902 due to structural failure, serves as a paradigmatic example. The bell tower has been, since time immemorial, a key iconographic feature defining the recognizeability of the city. The immediate response after the collapse, was to rebuild it "as was", and "where it was", restoring a deeply sedimented body image.<sup>9</sup> A city's body image is fabricated through the proliferation of drawings, prints, navigational maps, yesterday's pilgrims guides and today's tourist guides, photographs and postcards, viewcards and souvenirs, etc. from various periods, which become essential in defining a self-image of a place within the collective memory and imagination.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> The phenomenon of proprioception yields a sense of postural presence of the body, by constructing an inner "body image". Contemporary neurologist Vilayanur Ramachandran argues that it is this body image that generates the feeling of a phantom limb when an actual limb is missing, causing real feelings of pain and movement of the phantom (Ramachandran 1998). Ramachandran has been able to cure phantom pains with the use of a mirror, restoring the body image of the absent limb, which is made visible in a mirror reflection. See also: Anderson-Barns et al. 2009; <http://warburg.sas.ac.uk/test/figures/postures.htm>. The construction in 1499 of a false choir by Donato Bramante in Santa Maria at San Satiro in Milan is an example of phantom limb architecture. The presence of a street adjacent to the church would not allow building a choir. Bramante resorted to a three dimensional false perspective, constructed in the limited space available, allowing perceiving the presence of a choir, when the observer is correctly positioned in the construction view point of the perspectival view, which is aligned with the main axis of the church, leading to the altar.

<sup>10</sup> Samonà et al. 1970. See also the catalogue for the exhibit held in Venice, on the one-hundred year anniversary of the collapse of the bell tower edited by Maurizio Fenzo and Alessia Bonannini (1992). The tower was restored by Luca Beltrami (1854-1933). The original appearance was subtly altered to achieve a more slender profile, using new bricks together with spoil elements, and introducing the use of reinforced concrete for parts of the structure. The bombings of World War II have also caused significant losses in Europe, which gave impulse to numerous restoration projects as a result of similar phantom limb effects,

This is not unlike what might have been experienced by citizens of New York in 2001 with the collapse of the 'Twin Towers' due to a tragic and sudden terrorist attack, which has gone down in history as 9/11. Yet the response was very different. A representation of their former presence was achieved by projecting two bodies of light, which made them once again part of New York's city skyline, re-presenting them through a new form and materiality, symbolic of a transformed essence. The results of a competition (2003) that was held to rebuild the towers, and won by Daniel Libeskind, envisioned not the restoration of the former body image, but a re-making striving to deny the presence of change.<sup>11</sup>

Because of the envisioned changes to New York's sedimented body image the event will not be forgotten; only a restoration of the city's image would possibly allow for this tragic event to fall into oblivion, which is what happened with Venice's tower, where most people today are not aware that the present tower is not the first one; having rebuilt it exactly *as was* and *where it was*. A former body image known to all was perpetuated and restored, rejoining past and present as an unchanged continuum, making change unperceivable.

Is it always necessary to restore a body image? A 1902 postcard portraying a photographic montage, presents Venice's bell tower reconstructed as it was, but not where it was, provocatively asking that question (fig. 1). The postcard's author proposes to create a duplicate of the object, suggesting that it might be possible to imagine it being rebuilt in a different location, so that it would not obstruct the view of St. Mark's Basilica from the plaza, ironically questioning whether improvements could be made.<sup>12</sup>

The objective of our inquiry into the notion of re-making mnemonic buildings however is not a provocation, but rather, it seeks to define a meaningful alternative cosmologic paradigm of a rejoined theory and practice of 'architectural-conservation', when strict necessity causes us to question the future of such a building. What in fact seems to be conspicuously lacking is a theoretical framework to help us question the issue of change as a possible creative endeavor, when a mnemonic building is concerned, entailing conservation of memory within and despite changes. When and if transformation becomes a necessity what philosophical approach could be used to frame the question in an imaginative and meaningful way?

Are there other ways to re-imagine the future of a mnemonic building, besides restoration of a body image *as was*, or preservation *as is*? How can we appropriately face the challenges posed by a

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some of which have only recently completed. An example is the restoration and new construction of the Carlo Felice Opera Theater in Genoa by Aldo Rossi (1983-1990).

<sup>11</sup> During the same terrorist attack in 2001, one of the sides of the Pentagon in Washington DC was almost completely destroyed by fire, due to the impact of the airplane that was hijacked into the building. In this case the response was to rebuild it exactly *as it was*, *where it was* in a one-year period. This different approach might have to do with what the building symbolizes and with the fact that only a portion of it was destroyed, causing the body image not to be questioned.

<sup>12</sup> Discussing the history of the transformations of St. Mark's square in Venice, Giuseppe Samonà (1970: 38) discusses the role of history as a judge of the quality of architecture and urban spaces, and comments on the fact that today's conservation concerns no longer allow performing such an editing function.

Preface

necessity for change? Can we entertain the notion that a building might be reinvented and yet maintain its identity, challenging current notions, which entail that a building needs to be preserved *as is*, in order to sustain its heritage? Can we preserve a sense of identity, continuity and proprioception despite change? Is it possible to re-imagine a “body image” without consequent loss of identity? Can we learn and adapt to a new “body image” and if so, how? Is it possible to conceive of conservation as a form of invention allowing for the making of memory through the unfolding of time, revealing the possibility for an imagination of conservation?



fig. 1 Postcard, 1903  
Photographic montage of Venice's bell tower  
© *Il campanile di San Marco*, 1992

Each building is born under its own set of contingencies, which define a specific astrology at birth, and need to be evaluated individually, rather than being subjected to a predefined generalized conservation methodology. Inquiring into questions such as what is the Time-matter at hand in the making of a building, would remain an essential question in each particular case. Growing concerns, which are now expressed towards the survival of modernist *instant buildings*, created in a mode of being without history, will require specific answers. Instant buildings might reject any theory of change as a way of achieving conservation, prompting *as is* preservation answers, which might disregard whether this would be, or would not be, a sustainable approach to conservation.<sup>13</sup>

If a mnemonic building is to resemble memory, one has to question which kind of memory are we talking about?<sup>14</sup> In a mnemonic building or drawing every physical location precisely corresponds to a memory location, and thus it allows for remembrance by maintaining an exact correspondence

<sup>13</sup> In *Urban Memory: History and Amnesia in the Modern City* (2005: XX) Mark Crinson, states: “We are not so sure that memory has a place in the contemporary city and that is why it is talked about so much.”

<sup>14</sup> Halbwachs 1992. Connerton 1989. Conservation might be interpreted in very different ways in different cultures. The ritual reconstruction on alternative sites, located next to each other, of the Ise Temple in Japan, reoccurring every twenty-two years is intriguing; clearly here the focus is not on material preservation *as is* or *per se*, entailing an all-together different notion of memory and identity.



between the two.<sup>15</sup>

In current western conservation theory, when physical changes are required, identity is questioned, based on the assumption that continuity of identity is assured through preservation of an exterior likeness. When structural improvements are needed, they are as far as possible, performed in a mimetic way, equating the preservation of exterior likeness to a preservation of essence, spending significant resources to freeze a single 'Time-slice'.<sup>16</sup> As a result of this approach, when a mnemonic building undergoes change, visual reconstruction often seems to be understood as the only possible viatic to resurrect identity.

Western Modern and Contemporary notions of preservation imply 'slowing down time' and the related aging effects, to preserve objects of interest unaltered or, alternatively, they propose a process of 'reversing time' to recreate a preexisting condition without conjectures, based on supporting evidence, and in this case it is referred to as restoration.<sup>17</sup> Preservation is defined by contemporary standards as a "measure to protect and stabilize", while any alteration in the form of additions to an existing building is not considered part of the scope of such intervention. An orthodox application of these principles might at times work against the very principles inspiring its theory; a building which is not allowed to reasonably and meaningfully adapt to the requisites of a new use, might fail in sustaining its own existence. An enlightened owner interested in historical continuity, and envisioning a possible future requiring some degree of change, might be prevented from implementing this when, under strict preservation constraints, equating preservation to material conservation *as is*. Restoration, according to contemporary standards,

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<sup>15</sup> A mnemonic building shares in the workings of "artificial memory" as it is described by Francis Yates (2001) in her seminal work on the art of memory.

<sup>16</sup> This was the case with the 2002-2005 restoration of Mies van der Rohe's Crown Hall at IIT in Chicago, which was granted the status of National Landmark in 2001. Even though the original steel structure design for the main stairs was considered inadequate based on current building codes, the required changes were hidden beyond a carefully reconstructed exterior appearance, equating likeness to essence.

<sup>17</sup> The U.S. Department of the Interior's definitions of Preservation, Restoration, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, currently in use by municipalities in the U.S., relies on a philosophical approach to conservation as mono-directional gaze, oriented towards the past. *Secretary of the Interior's Standards for the Treatment of Historic Buildings with Guidelines for Preserving, Rehabilitation, Restoring and Reconstructing Historic Buildings*, 36 CFR Part 68 in the July 12, 1995 Federal Register (Vol. 60, No. 133, ch.1). The approach is similar in Canada, United Kingdom and Italy. Rooted in theories on architecture, the first approach in contemporary notions of conservation was fathered by John Ruskin (1819-1900). An English writer of the nineteenth century, Ruskin (1989 and 1981) opposed creative change at the expense of an historic building, which, in his view, would imply altering the essence, with the result of a loss of integrity and authenticity. Restoration was fathered by French architect Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc (1814-1879), who claimed that the notion of restoration is entirely modern. His theory of restoration involved the act of reinstating a condition of completeness inspired by a principle of "unity of style" that a building might have never reached before; essentially being an operation that places restoration 'outside of time' altogether. This approach was developed parallel to the need for visual historical archetypes for the teaching and fabrication of history, corresponding with the French Restoration and the return of the monarchy. Architectural restoration was used as propaganda. Restored monuments were used as props in fabricating an eloquent story, advocating the return of the monarchy (1814-1848). Viollet-le-Duc's approach is significantly different from a present understanding of restoration, in as much as the latter is guided by an intention to reconstruct exact replicas of the past, rather than imagining it. Viollet-le-Duc 1990 (1868).

attempts to unravel history, going back to a previous 'time-slice', which is then frozen and artificially separated from a time-continuum, to recapture a previous appearance.<sup>18</sup> Reconstruction of a specific time-slice is done based on accurate scientific evidence, in the belief that this would support an unambiguous and flawless reconstruction, executed without compromising conjectures and imaginative interpretations of what *has been*. Current standards and guidelines do not envision a method of approaching the question of change, when particular circumstances might compel for an imaginative form of conservation.<sup>19</sup>

It is often assumed that an old building is the past, but where does the past start and the present end? A building once produced, after a 50-year period, enters the realm of the historic and is no longer treated as a design-object, but as a history-object; it belongs to a remote past. The disjunction between past and present, conservation and architecture runs along this 50-year 'dead-line', where an artificial threshold is drawn. In this contemporary view history is separate from the present. The right to alter such fabrics no longer belongs to a present generation and the most appropriate approach suggested is stewardship, interpreted as a form of curatorial management of the built world.<sup>20</sup> This dissertation challenges yearly-defined boundaries between past and present, conservation and architecture, to argue that all past is present and that all making is a remaking.<sup>21</sup> One can only act in the present; failing to acknowledge this is equal to denying our very existence and purpose.

Current notions of restoration, conservation, preservation and architecture cannot be taken for granted and need to be critically re-examined. Questioning the nature of architectural conservation though, goes far beyond finding an appropriate technical language; it implies the necessity of critically defining a meaningful approach to creative change, which is not advocated as a way of forgetting but as a way of meaningfully remembering.

The lesson of the modern Venetian architect, a master of time in architecture, Carlo Scarpa (1906-1978), embodied in projects such as Castelvécchio in Verona and the Querini Stampalia in Venice, to cite two of his projects, has not yet impacted the writing of conservation standards, or

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<sup>18</sup> U.S. Department of the Interior's definitions of restoration (*Secretary of the Interior's Standards* 1995).

<sup>19</sup> Rehabilitation and Reconstruction, the other two approaches standardized by the U.S. document, do not consider this issue either. Rehabilitation addresses the problem of change only in connection with the necessity of defining an alternative compatible use. Reconstruction is a form of restoration, which differs only in admitting its imaginative dimension, even though its scope remains one of depicting a previous appearance of the building. One could think that alteration is equated to a loss of identity and is therefore not included within the scope of conservation.

<sup>20</sup> For a building to be treated as historic it should be at least '50' years old. The 50-year period seems a vague reminder of the lifespan of an individual. Instead than defining an artificial distinction between past and present, it might be possible to define a building's life in terms of continuous duration. The 50-year period now includes several modern buildings, which might challenge the notion of heritage as a form of preservation *as is* or *as was*, due to the use of modern materials and design details which, are part of their original conception, requiring significant resources to preserve a 'picture frame' of the past. See the work of Susan Ross (2008) on Canadian Modernism and the challenge posed by the conservation of modernist facades employing materials promoted by the International Style, such as reinforced concrete, and their implementation in this particular region and climate.

<sup>21</sup> Goodman (1978).

informed a significant revision of current Western conceptions of this notion. Scarpa's way of approaching mnemonic architecture, which could be defined as a palimpsest always *in-the-making*, has yet to be acknowledged as the soul of new conservation strategies. Scarpa pointed out the lack of imagination and the problem of falsehood inherently embedded in restoration strategies. This criticism is still largely unacknowledged by those claiming authenticity, in their making of architectural copies.<sup>22</sup>

French philosopher Henry Bergson (1859-1941) stated that "we could not live over again a single moment, for we should have to begin by effacing the memory of all that has followed". His notion of duration might inspire a new understanding of conservation, if embracing time-as-continuity of before and after.<sup>23</sup> "There is no doubt that for us time is at first identical with the continuity of our inner life. What is this continuity? That of a flow or passage, the flow not implying a thing that flows, and the passing not presupposing states through which we pass; the thing and the state are only artificially taken snapshots of the transition; and this transition, all that is naturally experienced, is duration itself."<sup>24</sup> Bergson, overturned the fragmentation of linear time, as it could be visualized in "artificially taken snapshots", with the idea of an ever-changing continual process of duration, in which the past can not be severed from the present.

The current notion of architecture, inherited from the modern movement, is not mindful of duration either. Architecture has become a practice of *instant* making. The invention of the building seems to pertain only to a first instantaneous creation *ex nihilo*, out of nothing; hence modern buildings have no history.<sup>25</sup> Furthermore, even though we are moved to think critically about how to sustain our environment and making the best use of present resources for future use, architects often do not view historic buildings as likely canvases for their creations, imbued as they are with a culture of instant making, nor are they allowed to do so when the building considered is a mnemonic one, protected by heritage designation. The prevailing sustainability approach offers reflections primarily focused on measurable efficiencies, and does not contribute

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<sup>22</sup> "The problem of historical materials, which we can never ignore but can't imitate directly either, is an issue that has always concerned me [...] I've had nothing but trouble from planning rules in Venice and the bureaucracies who interpret them. They order you to imitate the style of ancient windows forgetting that those windows were produced in different times by a different way of life with "windows" made of other materials in other styles and with a different way of making windows. Anyway stupid imitations of that sort always look like humbugs and that's just what they are." Carlo Scarpa cited in Murphy (1990: 4). See also Goffi 2006.

<sup>23</sup> Current preservation theories, conversely to restoration, do advocate for a conservation of *all* time-slices; however, this very preservation of the layering as a whole, prevents a present generation from further adding. The architect approaches the past primarily as a curator, transforming conservation in stewardship. This contradicts the processes through which historic buildings have come to be, which is a sedimentation of multiple time-layers. Why is it that a further and continuous layering is now prevented?

<sup>24</sup> Bergson 1965.

<sup>25</sup> With the terminology of 'modern buildings' it is referred here to buildings, which have been created from scratch in the modern period. For example, the modern renovation of Castelvecchio by Carlo Scarpa would not fit into this category, because such building exhibits a stratification of interventions over time. While, buildings such as Ville Savoye by Le Corbusier, which is born out of this same time period, but from scratch, as the result of instant making, would be referred to as a modern building in this text.

to a broader understanding of architecture as a vessel for meaning.<sup>26</sup> However, conservation as concerned in this dissertation could engage and further sustainability goals.

As a consequence of this instantaneous birth, belonging exclusively to one time period, buildings are understood as the product of a singular author and a singular epoch, rather than the product of a multiplicity of authors, reinforcing a present attitude to create *ex nihilo*. The focus on an individual creator, rather than on a multiplicity of authorship through time, has made architecture a-temporal, not apt to aging well, and therefore less sustainable. New buildings are designed for short life cycles; they are no longer mnemonic architecture, and respond to a predicted life-span, based on that of various systems incorporated.<sup>27</sup>

Instant buildings place themselves outside the influence of time perpetuating an original image. Is the building born in a state of perfection or is this the result of a *Dorian Gray* syndrome? Dorian's unchanging appearance did not reflect his actual persona, which was trapped in the painting; the link between body and soul was dramatically severed. Or do instant buildings reflect an individual mind/body relationship that cannot be altered? Are these buildings ideal museum objects, to be preserved within a crystal sphere, like the models of the city of Fedora described by Italo Calvino in "Invisible Cities"? Architecture should be capable of sustaining itself through Time, by means of appropriate changes, which would keep it alive in the present.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> ACSA 2009 Sheryl Boyle & Federica Goffi, *The Sustainance of Architecture, Making as Re-Making*.

<sup>27</sup> Modern buildings, such as the Villa Savoye at Poissy-sur-Seine, by Le Corbusier (1929-30), conceived as *instant architecture*, are to be preserved *as is*, requiring significant resources to sustain a past time-frame. Nicholas Pevsner, arguing in his article "Time and Le Corbusier" (1959), for the preservation of this modern villa, inadvertently pointed out its inadequacy in sustaining itself through time. In disrepair after the war, the villa was restored. The unpleasing premature decay of the building prompted Pevsner to state: "they do not make beautiful ruins, and there is no reason why they should have to, within a quarter century of their erection". He criticized government authorities, who should guarantee the conservation of this modern building. Stating that Corbusier's Villas make "bad ruins", Pevsner makes us question their ability to reasonably sustain the effects of time. Ironically they do need frequent makeovers and adequate upkeep to preserve a still image of eternal whiteness! This is the result of the application of the "Law of Ripolin", which Le Corbusier created: "Whitewash is extremely moral. Suppose there were a decree requiring all rooms in Paris to be given a coat of whitewash. I maintain that that would be a police task of real stature and a manifestation of high morality, the sign of great people." Le Corbusier (1987). The owner of the 1922 Villa at Vaucresson by Le Corbusier, added a pitched roof, to make it more sustainable, as a criticism by action of its unsustainably frequent need of maintenance. Mark Wigley (2001) explained that "white as newness" is essential to Le Corbusier, because of its associations with purity, simplicity and health. Wigley comments that "replacing the degenerate layer of decoration that lines buildings with a coat of whitewash" is the compelling moral duty envisioned by the modern master. The predicted life cycle of modernist buildings might be elongated of course, by selectively replacing aging components and upgrading them, based on current standards. This also raises the question to design new buildings with built-in life cycles for various elements and components. A special issue of *Places* (20:1, 2008), titled *Re-Places*, and guest edited by Garth Rockcastle, dealt with the life cycles of modernist buildings and issues of recalibrating their life expectancy, by redesigning individual components, such as the facade, which presented energy efficiency issues, maintaining a durable skeleton structure, while rejuvenating the exterior envelope.

<sup>28</sup> Time is a design material with a complex threefold significance of Time-Weather-Tempo, based on the Latin etymology of the word. However for the purpose of this dissertation the focus is limited on the notion of time as both a philosophical concept embodied into building practice, and as weathering as a form of aging.

The current notion of instant architecture also influences the way we look *back*. Our contemporary notion of historic buildings as instant architecture, projecting retrospectively this cosmological time-dimension, does not necessarily correspond to earlier time paradigms embodied by mnemonic buildings. One of the possible consequences is that this might inspire substantial editing, restoring buildings to a single time-slice, and censoring under-acknowledged layers of history.<sup>29</sup>

Vicenza's Basilica is analyzed in most architectural text books, with a few exceptions, as a single-time building, even though it is in fact a hybrid of Renaissance and Gothic architecture.<sup>30</sup> In 1549 Palladio re clothed on three sides a significant Middle Ages body, with a new renaissance façade, with a double order portico. The Basilica is most often photographed from view points that hide the hybrid-body, focusing a viewer's attention on the renaissance addition. Buildings such as this one would not possibly have come into existence, had architecture always been conceived as a practice of instant making, resulting from one construction event; nor would its imaginative wrapping of the existing body have been possible under a spell of preservation *as is*. Palladio's façade has come into existence because of a dialogue with an historic body, concealed within it, defining this fabric as a building within a building.<sup>31</sup>

A key question when intervening within an existing mnemonic building is of course what kind of change is possible and appropriate at any one time, and for any one building? How can we ignite a meaningful dialogue between conservation and architecture?<sup>32</sup> The future of past and present architecture largely depends on both, a proper understanding of the concept of conservation acknowledging an imaginative dimension to it, as well as a proper understanding of what pertains to the field of architecture, beyond the realm of instant making.

As a way to challenge the fictitious boundary between architecture and conservation, defined by current practices and theories, it is necessary to bring out of the blind spot the fourth dimension of architectural making.<sup>33</sup> Time is an implicit design material, whose ineluctable presence needs acknowledgement. Just as architecture reveals time, time unfolds to reveal architecture's life. Time, the other face of change, shapes the body of buildings impacting their materiality and

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<sup>29</sup> This was of course the very criticism of John Ruskin's towards notions of restoration contemporary to him (Ruskin 1989).

<sup>30</sup> Frascari 1998.

<sup>31</sup> This of course might raise the question as to why Palladio (1965) represented it as a complete renaissance body, portraying it as what might appear as a result of instant making in his architectural treatise (Frascari 1998). Overlapping the actual plan and the drawn one could reveal interesting details about the design and fabrication processes.

One could speculate that certain complete designs portraying a complete new plan of St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican, might have been drawn within a similar understanding, entailing that only an addition/alteration would be taking place, even when an entirely new building had been drawn. Such would be the case with several design drawings by both Peruzzi and Sangallo, and would apply also to Michelangelo's posthumously published plans executed by Dupérac in 1569.

<sup>32</sup> Neither instant architecture, nor conservation *as is* or *as was*, are truly sustainable from the viewpoint of the best use of present resources, for future use. Furthermore, each building should be addressed as an individual entity, for which a specific approach should be sought.

<sup>33</sup> Goodman 1978.

Preface

essence, and revealing a cross-exchange between time and architecture and a reciprocal nurturing.



fig. 2 Nils Ole Lund "The city as Scenography"  
37x49 1983  
© Collage Architecture 1990

Framed from within a perspective of architectural anthropomorphism, the life of a building is modeled after man's own relationship with time.<sup>34</sup> Time cosmologies are key in modeling a building's life-time. Issues of change can be addressed questioning ideas of time and interpreting them within a design process. Time, the silent witness of architectural making, is an essential, but often-overlooked aspect, in design practice.

By inquiring into the notion of re-making mnemonic buildings, it might be possible to provide a critical look into contemporary notions of preservation, often equating likeness to essence; meanwhile also reassessing that which pertains to architecture, to include notions of architecture as palimpsest, and not just instant building. Understanding the relationship between architecture and its making-in-time, is essential to a merging of architecture and conservation into a hyphenated practice of 'architectural-conservation' as a form of invention, informed by a twofold meaning of its etymological root *invenire* (Latin), which entails both to find but also to imagine.

Recent scholarship has pointed out the positive influence of sustainability on adaptive reuse, towards the sustenance of a fabric as a whole, beyond a mere appreciation of an exterior façade, or streetscape in the name of urban conservation. This is largely due to an acknowledged value of embodied energy.<sup>35</sup> Façadism, a widely performed practice since the early 1970's, has often resulted into a 'skin-deep' form of conservation, where a spolia-façade, yet meaningful, often fails to be genuinely integrated with a new building erected behind it.<sup>36</sup> When the conservation of a

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<sup>34</sup> Filarete's theory of restoration (1972: Book 1 f. 6r) describes the building as a human life that needs sustenance.

<sup>35</sup> Kessler, Mark 2009.

<sup>36</sup> Richards 1994. Highfield 1991. There are of course exceptions. The spolia-façade of an historic building

façade, severed from the original body gutted out, is used merely as a scenographic prop of history, in service of new urban development interests, the result is the upholding of a postcard of an historic city, completely erased behind it. Danish architect Nils Ole Lund (b.1930), author of "The City as Scenography" presents a poignant visual metaphor for the reduction of streetscapes to artificially propped up displays (fig. 2).<sup>37</sup>

A recent focus of architectural representation on the production of photorealistic depictions contributes to the false belief that, with design and construction, a building reaches a state of completion, corresponding to a still image, prefigured by a final likeness, unalterable by time.<sup>38</sup> The realistic enhancement of digital drawings, aiming to emulate photographic techniques, becomes the physical embodiment of the stillness of architecture.

Innovative drawing representation techniques also provoke a rethinking of a present understanding of conservation. These in fact contribute to generate the illusion that the past can be fully preserved, through instantaneous still-shots, such as scaled rectified photography (orthographic photographs), eluding the question of whether likeness is sufficient to preserve essence. Currently the practice of conservation might turn into a form of still-preservation, where the belief would be that a building can and should maintain a likeness in perpetuity, freezing the past, in order to preserve its heritage.

Digitally rendered still-shots reduce architecture to a skin-deep design, a dressing of 2D images onto a Cartesian, empty space, where inner workings are seemingly unquestioned, and an outer image is imposed onto them. Digital representation technologies allow to instantly produce 'pictures of' architecture, without any necessity of an in depth understanding of architecture as an art of assembling, reducing an architect's work to the application of a rendered skin. The implication is that a traditional anatomical reading of architecture, embedded in Renaissance practice and theory, suggesting a meaningful relationship between different layers constituting the body/building –i.e. skin, muscular system, skeleton structure, etc. - that allows for a reading of the anatomy and poetry through the skin, is perceived as negligible.

These notes on the ontology of making, intend to foster an understanding of the modes in which a challenge posed by the necessity for change can be faced in a mnemonic building, with strategies going beyond curatorial management, to include creative change. Are restoration and/or preservation the only viable modes of answering the question of sustaining memory? Is it possible to conceive of a form of conservation as imagination? Within the broader context of re-establishing a dialogue between conservation and architecture, a most critical question is: how can we define appropriate representation strategies that would allow igniting a meaningful dialogue between the two, moving beyond a reductive disjointed practice? How does conservation engage imagination, and allow for the past to in-form the future?

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in the renovation of Utrecht's Town Hall by Enric Miralles, honestly declares the spolia-façade, making the prop-like support structure an element of design expression, which can be appreciated by passerbys.

<sup>37</sup> Lund 1990.

<sup>38</sup> Goffi 2007.

Time is manifested through physical changes, which are made visible in drawings and models. Change is seldom noticeable when looking at buildings in a present condition. Drawing is a medium making visible a transformation that is invisible, when looking at an edifice after fabrication is completed. During the Renaissance, architectural drawing had the potential to embody a conceptual model for change revealing both “*forma et figura*”; not just likeness but presence, not just body but soul, in terms of similitude by means of representation. Drawing expressed not just a literal appearance of the fabric, but also its essence, revealing the intention of a building activity, without necessarily predicting a final one-time likeness.<sup>39</sup>

St. Peter’s Basilica is a paradigmatic palimpsest where architectural-conservation unfolds, through additions and subtractions, taking place through time. Over a 120 year period, the Vatican basilica was almost completely *disassembled* and *reassembled*. This transformation was interpreted by scholars as a demolition followed by new construction, even though a core essence perdured, outliving a seemingly material destruction of a previous building on the Vatican site. During the fifteenth and sixteenth century the basilica incorporated a countless series of transformations guided by the hands of various architects and popes, succeeding one another, becoming in essence a palimpsest by multiple authors.<sup>40</sup> The re-consecration, taking place on November 18<sup>th</sup> 1626, during the pontificate of Urban VIII (1623-44), followed the addition of a new eastern arm and façade by a Ticinese architect, Carlo Maderno (1556-1629).<sup>41</sup>

An analysis of the 1571 ichnography by Tiberio Alfarano, provides clues about the weaving of ideas into drawing, making manifest the building’s corporate body composed by an assembly of members, and revealing a continuous renewal process of a paradigmatically unfinished building. Dealing with the specificity of this drawing, meanwhile analyzing its role during the Renaissance

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<sup>39</sup> Leon Battista Alberti’s original Latin text recites: “Atqui est quidem lineamenti munus et officium praescribere aedificiis et partibus aedificiorum aptum locum et certum numerum dignumque modum et gratum ordinem, ut iam tota aedificii forma et figura ipsis in lineamentis conquiescat.” Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, Florence Nicolaus Laurentii, 29 Dec 1485 (Library of Congress, Incun. 1485 A58 Vollbehr Collection). Alberti 1966: 19.

<sup>40</sup> Numerous *magister operis* succeeded one another at the site from 1505 to 1626. Donato Bramante (1444-1514) *magister operis* from 1505 to 1514, Raffaello Sanzio (1483-1520) *magister operis* from 1514 to 1520, Baldassarre Peruzzi (1481-1536) *magister operis* from 1529 to 1536), Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1483-1546) *magister operis* from 1520 to 1546, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564) *magister operis* from 1546 to 1564), Jacopo Barozzi called Vignola (1507-1573), *magister operis* from 1564 to 1573, Giacomo della Porta (1533-1602) *magister operis* from 1573 to 1602, Carlo Maderno (1556-1629) *magister operis* from 1603 to 1629. Nicholas V (1447-1455), Julius II (1503-1513), Leo X (1513-1521), Paul III (1534-49), Pius V (1566-1572), Gregory XIII (1572-1585), Clemens VIII (1592-1605), Paul V (1605-1621), Urban VIII (1623-1644)... For the purpose of this summary only the names of the popes who contributed to significant architectural changes have been listed.

<sup>41</sup> Maderno came to Rome in 1588 to assist his uncle Domenico Fontana. Just before receiving the commission at St. Peter’s, Maderno completed the façade of St. Susan, also in Rome (1597-1603). Michelangelo’s dome was completed in 1590. In 1607 Carlo Maderno won the competition for the completion of the new nave. The 7<sup>th</sup> of March of 1607 demolition of the remaining parts of the Old Basilica started. At the same time the first foundation stone for Maderno’s longitudinal extension of the Basilica’s body was laid. New St. Peter’s was consecrated in 1626. For a detailed chronology see Francia (1977) and Hibbard (1971).



transformation, it is possible to ask the question of how it became possible to re-imagine this mnemonic building, through significant material transformations, inquiring into the modes that made such rethinking possible, from both a theoretical and practical view point. The reflections on this microhistory, have the potential to illuminate contemporary practice when dealing with the transformation of mnemonic buildings.

This drawing remains largely unknown to a wider audience, and its importance, other than the recognition of documentary evidence, remains unacknowledged.<sup>42</sup> The drawing constitutes an anomaly within the body of surviving drawings pertaining to the renaissance transformation, and stimulates a series of complex questions. It exhibits the use of advanced representation techniques, escaping more traditional architectural drawing methods. The beneficiary clerk abducted decoupage into architectural drawing, further merging these representation techniques with those used in the making of sacred icons. Materials and techniques were selected for their symbolisms and associations.

Even though acknowledged as an essential document by scholars, because of the information about location and translation of important relics and altars from Old to New St. Peter's, the drawing has not been examined in terms of silent meanings expressed visually through unique representation strategies, and iconographic language, going beyond a pragmatic interpretation of documentary evidence. In this regard its significance is still undervalued, and its potential importance for architectural thinking yet to be uncovered. One has to wonder as to why Alfarano factored a hybrid representation, deviating from most traditional drawing techniques, used at the time.<sup>43</sup> The influence of this drawing on architectural theory and practice has been retarded by a long overdue analysis of its materiality and significance in terms of encrypted meanings, which can be grasped through iconographic and material analysis.

This would allow expressing the hypothesis that even though Alfarano was not strictly speaking an architect, and this is not a design drawing *per se*, this representation had an impact on the course and direction of future transformations, which took place at Renaissance St. Peter's. Alfarano's drawing became a medium to contemplate a 'hallowed configuration'. Hallowed configuration was not just a representation of likeness but also an epiphany of presence, a mindful contemplation allowing for revelation and insight beyond the visible, envisioning future transformations while contemplating the past.

Architectural historians alike, have neglected to publish this drawing in color and reflect on the significance of its use of colors.<sup>44</sup> Penetrating into the drawing and inquiring into its metaphorical

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<sup>42</sup> Architects working at St. Peter's of course knew the drawing during the renaissance renovation; it seems to have been particularly significant to Carlo Maderno, who reprinted it upon completion of his façade.

<sup>43</sup> Frascari states: "hybrid drawing is a locution already in use in the documents used in Historic Preservation. A hybrid drawing is what you get by combined measured line drawings in vector format with photographic imagery in raster format". (Frascari, Cultural Heritage Conservation in a Hybrid Manner, unpublished document Ottawa 2008).

<sup>44</sup> This drawing has been always been printed in black and white in all reproductions, but for one recent exception (Silvan 1992), and even in this publication the significance of the use of specific colors is neglected. Monsignor Vittorio Lanzani, Archbishop of St. Peter's generously granted to the author of this

significance would allow opening up deeper levels of interpretation, beyond a merely pragmatic one, providing preliminary answers as to the time-dimension of this drawing, to explain how the representation strategies allowed the author to embed a complex interpretation and narration of events and transformations, happening and still to take place. Carefully chosen representation strategies contribute to facilitate a dialogue between conservation and imagination, making sense of a meaningful re-thinking of this mnemonic building, sustaining its essence, through and beyond significant physical changes.

The most well known and well published plan by this author is his 1590 print, providing a reinterpretation of the 1571 ichnography. This is a translation in the black and white graphics of the printing press of the earlier color drawing, providing a 'body schema' of the building's own plan and geometry, dimensions and essential information regarding the location of relics, altars and spoils. However the absence of color and materials as signifier, and of hybrid representation strategies, filtered out significant layers of meaning, which were part of a complex 'body image' merged with, but not limited to, an understanding of the 'body schema', conveying *where is what* and *when*, but not *why*.<sup>45</sup>

The use of grids, gold and decoupage in drawings though not unique to Alfarano, were not otherwise brought together in an architectural drawing during that period.<sup>46</sup> These techniques were brought together by the author to tell a story. The relevance of this analysis of Alfarano's work does not reside primarily in looking at the overlooked, but rather in *how* a critical analysis of the drawing's archeology of making and materiality is conducted, allowing new interpretations, a grasping of new ideas and emerging arguments.

This inquiry into representation strategies for the remaking of mnemonic buildings allows raising questions pertaining our contemporary understanding of architectural drawing, beyond a

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dissertation the use of a digital high quality color copy version of this drawing, included in this dissertation.

<sup>45</sup> For a neurological distinction between body image and body schema see Dominik Schaffhauser and Marc Breuer (2005). Accessed on May 17, 2010:

[http://www.ifi.uzh.ch/ailab/teaching/semi2005/presentations/bodyImage\\_schema.pdf](http://www.ifi.uzh.ch/ailab/teaching/semi2005/presentations/bodyImage_schema.pdf).

The authors state: "There is a lot of dispute on what a body schema is. To put it again very vaguely, a body schema is an unconscious body awareness. While walking we don't have to think about putting one foot after another. We simply walk and don't think about it. The same goes for keeping a posture. I don't have to think about standing and not falling. It happens automatically. To give a more detailed description on the body schema and to distinguish it from the body image (A lot of people use the term interchangeably, since there is no clear line between a body image and a schema), here are some properties [Haggard, Wolpert]: Spatially Coded: The body's position and configuration is represented as a volumetric object in space. [...] Updated with Movement: Continuously tracking the positions of the body parts. Adaptable Body parts can change, for example when a child grows. [...] Coherent: The brain maintains a coherent spatial organization of the body scheme across space and time. This ensures a continuity of body experience, which may play a major role in individual self-consciousness. Interpersonal: a body scheme represents both one's own body and the bodies of others. If we want to perceive changes in a model's body posture, it is easier if we move our own body simultaneously." See also Cole, Gallagher, McNeil 2002, and the collected essays edited by De Preester and Knockaert (2005).

<sup>46</sup> Like many others, Bramante's plan (U 20Ar) had a grid. However Alfarano's grid is not in any particular scale. Manuscripts often had different bits or illustrations glued onto the page. Similarly, there were numerous flaps and movable elements that are found glued into books from that period.

duplication of geometrical form and exact visual duplication through photographic means; questioning whether the powers and nature of architectural drawing lays beyond the drafting of a body schema allowing one to navigate the building and locate its parts, and more precisely into an ability to allow one to grasp invisible elements active within the drawing, making manifest the essence of a project while being inclusive of a description of a geometric outline.<sup>47</sup> Insightful reflection on appropriate media of representation might contribute to merging architecture and conservation into a hybrid practice. Hence providing insight into an alternative paradigm, for a meaningful rethinking of mnemonic buildings when change is concerned. There igniting a fruitful dialogue between architecture and conservation, beyond the limited choice between a preservation of everything or nothing, towards a selective remembering and a meaningful and willful forgetting, based on a more complex understanding and questioning of a building's essence, beyond physical likeness.

Alfarano's drawing embodies the demonstration that the retrospective and prospective character of the design process can be experienced through the intermediacy of iconic-drawing in the present. Iconic-drawing is not just an image of the past but also pre-figuration of something that will be; it is a medium where a dialogue between past and future takes place. The drawing is the place where the multi-temporal dimension of the design process can be experienced as memory of the past and revealer of future presence.

The renovation of the basilica's body is interpreted by our author as a manifestation of the sempiternity of the Church. The pre-renaissance fabric known as St. Peter's is translated into New St. Peter's. The building's identity, despite an intense building program, which lasted over a century, leading to a comprehensive renewal was maintained. Alfarano himself explains how his soul was converted to believe and excited to find out that, contrary to what many believed, the Temple survived intact despite all physical change. Through a process of collecting memories, through writing and drawing, Alfarano became the biographer of St. Peter's; this allowed him to gaze into a deep dialogue between new and old, which ultimately pointed out the uninterrupted continuity between the two.<sup>48</sup>

This investigation intends to inform a critical editing of the notions of architecture and conservation in present practice. Memory and imagination are related through a process of re-making, which allows for continuity despite change. Reviving the concept of a slow sempiternal making in present practice might provide a paradigmatic model to retune contemporary architectural sensibility when dealing with the dilemma between design and preservation in the process of transforming a building of recognized significance.

These questions might become central to a theory and practice of architecture, within a broader context of today's most widely held question of sustainability, as a challenge posed to the 21st

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<sup>47</sup> This discussion on the nature of architectural drawings stems from a broadening of Freedberg's question about the power of images, abducting it into architectural representation. Freedberg (1996) states: "we have impoverished our view of art by denying the ways in which our responses to art partake of the same elements as our responses to holy images."

<sup>48</sup> Alfarano 1914: 3.

Preface

century; provided that architecture suffered from a case of amnesia, given that sustainability has always been at the core of architectural principles, and provided that aging historical cities cannot be transformed *in toto* into museums, neither should they be re-made every time, from scratch.



## DAY 1.

### INTRODUCTION TO A MICRO-HISTORICAL STUDY OF THE RENOVATION OF ST. PETER'S BASILICA IN THE VATICAN (1506-1626), THROUGH A READING OF THE PREPARATORY DRAWING —A 1571 *ICHTNOGRAPHIA*- BY TIBERIO ALFARANO

#### Materiality of the Drawing and a Literal Reading

*Architecture is a kind of corporeal time machine where the past, the present, and the future are related architecturally through memory*  
—Marco Frascari, "Monsters of Architecture"

THE BASILICA OF ST. PETER'S in the Vatican with its centuries old existence encompasses time and embodies the intellectual participation of numerous architects in the phenomena of change.<sup>1</sup> The design process and the discussions surrounding its multiple transformations are key in understanding change as a design issue, and in revealing the imagination of conservation.<sup>2</sup> Embodying a centuries-long life this building is paradigmatic of a design process, where conservation and design are engaged in a critical dialogue. The regeneration of St. Peter's during the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, involves a gradual disassembly and reassembly of spolia elements amidst new construction. The renewal led to the building's renaming as New St. Peter's and its establishment as the main church of Christendom.<sup>3</sup> Architectural making is to be interpreted in this context as a re-making through changes to an existing building, providing a paradigmatic model for an hyphenated practice of architectural-conservation as a form of invention and imagination allowing for memory, always in the making.

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<sup>1</sup> The original foundation, dating back to AD 326, took place under the pontificate of Pope Sylvester (314-335), and has been attributed, through textual evidence in the *Liber Pontificalis*, to the Roman Emperor Constantine I the Great (c. 272-337). Note that Constantine was mostly known for his building program in Constantinople, the new Rome. He in fact was only baptized on his deathbed in A. D. 337. As far as the Christian religion is concerned, his most significant contribution was the call of the First Council of Nicaea in A.D. 325. Glen Bowersock (2005: 5-14) recently disputed such attribution, affirming that the key evidence dates two centuries after the roman emperor's reign. However, this does not change the fact that this belief has shaped collective imagination for centuries, contributing to countless interpretations of history, including Alfarano's.

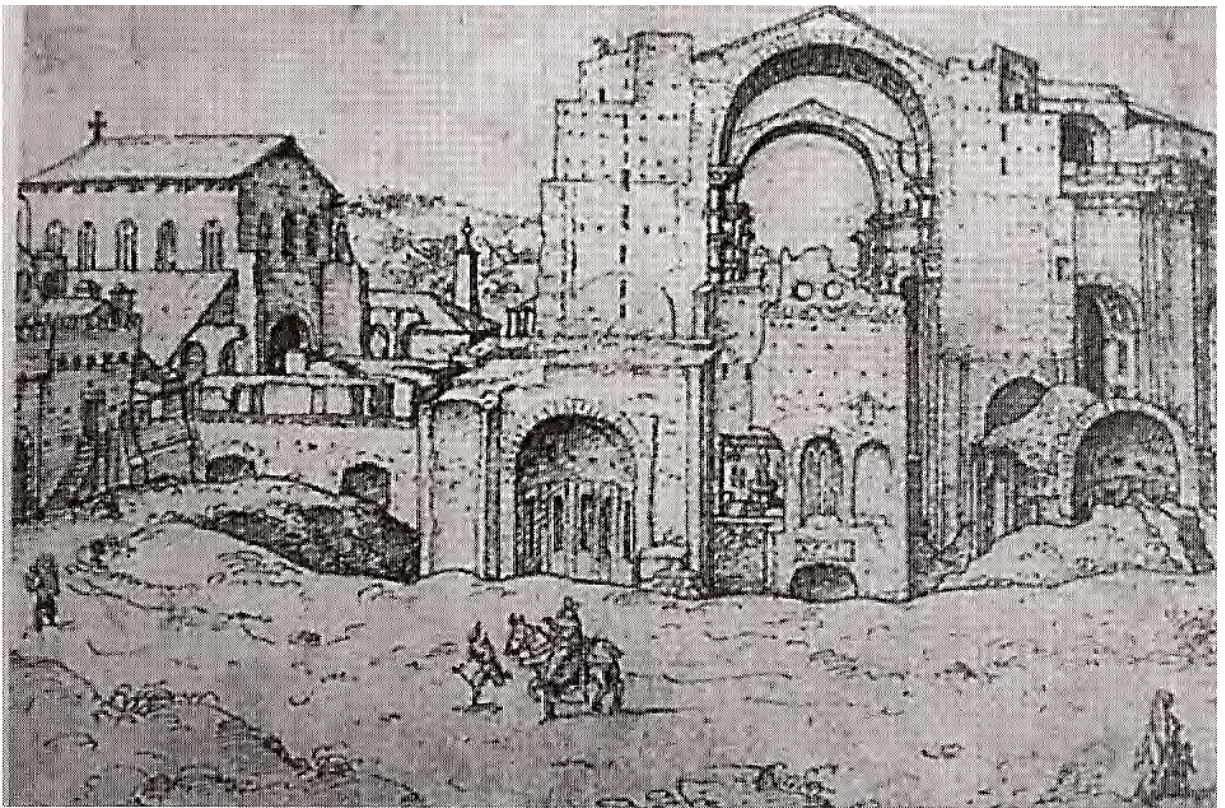
<sup>2</sup> For an analysis of the debate on the transformation of St. Peter's during the renaissance renewal, with a particular focus on the work of Alfarano's, see Jobst (1997: 243-245).

<sup>3</sup> Ennio Francia (1977: 51) points out that the locution of "New" and "Old" came in use after 1538 when Antonio Da Sangallo the Younger (1484-1546), under the pontificate of Paul III (1534-1549), built the so-called *muro divisorio* (dividing wall) erected between the eastern arm of the Constantinian basilica and the newly added centralized portion, to the west, which is to say between the 11th and 12th column of the Old Temple.

Maintaining the identity of the Vatican Temple was an essential dilemma throughout the Renaissance renewal (1506-1626). The Protestant Reformation and the writings of Martin Luther, including his "Ninety-five Theses" (1517), brought severe criticism to and a schism from the Roman Catholic Church. St. Peter's architectural renewal and, the sale of indulgencies, which helped financing the century long transformation, were one of the motives sustaining the Protestant separation from the Church of Rome.<sup>4</sup>

During this period, the Temple of the Prince of the Apostles was essential in shaping the identity of the Church of Rome, as a visual prop, marking a spiritual, geographical and temporal center/beginning, identified with these sacred grounds, bearing witness to the martyrdom and burial of Peter. The site was thus chosen to be the axis-mundi of the Roman Catholic Church. The construction site condition lasted over a century. The temple appeared incomplete and in a constant state of becoming, to those traveling to Rome, witnessing in-sight and on-site the fabric's transformation.

**fig. 1.1**  
Martin Van Heemskerck, c.1542  
View of St. Peter's from the north  
© Spagnesi 1997



<sup>4</sup> Scotti 2007: 147-48, 152-153. Bainton 2009: 74-76. Pastor 1906.



Tiberio Alfarano's work had a role to play in this regard. His 1571 drawing, and its translation into print in 1590, were an attempt to contribute to the creation of a particular body image for dissemination, throughout Christendom and beyond, as representation of *past and future temple* in a state of completion. It attempted to legitimize the Renaissance renewal, and make visible an axis mundi under construction by demonstrating continuity, from past to present action and beyond, by drawing both old and new plans, together as completed fabrics.<sup>5</sup>

Recent scholarship argued that the well known prints by Dutch painter Maarten Van Heemskerck (1498-1574) did not offer, as it had been most often described, unbiased *as is* representations of the construction site of the new basilica, but rather provided an antithesis, to Vatican prints and foundation medals portraying future depictions of the temple, which manifested it in a state of completion. Through naked eye depictions playing on the ambiguity of *construction site* and *ruin*, Van Heemskerck's drawings suggested an imminent coming-to-an-end of the church of Rome (fig. 1.1).<sup>6</sup>

Transformation was made visible in Alfarano's drawing in a completely different way. His drawing process allowed for the creation of memory through the unfolding of time; a simultaneous recollection of the past, while gazing into the future made possible a contemplative in-sight, beyond a naturalistic depiction of present time. The drawing did not represent *as is* conditions at any one time. This imaginative drawing would have been supportive of an official view-point of a triumphant Roman Catholic Church always *in-the-making*. However, despite the fact that Alfarano work of writing and drawing the memories of the temple was conducted as part of his role as beneficiary clerk, and originally conceived as a continuation in the work of his predecessors, he did so independently, offering a unique depiction of the story.<sup>7</sup> This interpretation is supported by the fact that the Church did not publicize his work, making it known to a larger audience, upon its completion.

Memory has always had within Christian cosmology "a retrospective and, curious as it sounds, a prospective character" (Belting 1994: 10). This understanding of memory was embodied and revealed in sacred depictions such as Veronica's *acheiropoieta*, an image not made by human

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<sup>5</sup> Alfarano intended to contribute to a thesis, in support of the Church of Rome and the intense building program, interpreted as a meaningful transformation and continuation of the Vatican fabric. It is interesting of note that Michelangelo was not financially remunerated for his work at St. Peter's. An autograph letter, by Michelangelo, addressed to the members of the *Fabrica*, on February 18<sup>th</sup> 1562 (Buonarroti 1956-83), asks that his workers be paid for work already completed. In this letter Michelangelo threatened to leave the construction site, explaining that nothing other than Saint Peter's himself kept him at the Vatican; thus indicating that he did not receive financial compensation for his work.

<sup>6</sup> According to Christof Thoenes St. Peter's was depicted by Maarten Van Heemskerck as a "literal mirror", reflecting and symbolizing the ruinous state of the church. This position was supported also by Schweikhart at a conference held at the Hertiziana library on the topic: "*Roma quanta fuit, ipsa ruina docet*", Rome, 15-17 Aprile 1986 (Filippi 1990: 22). Van Heemskerck's depictions have been useful to document the actual conditions at the site during this period, given that most design drawings would instead depict individual building members in a state of completion, through either ichnography or orthography.

<sup>7</sup> One of Alfarano's early manuscripts carries the title "Addition to the books of Maffeo Vegio and Petro Malio, made by myself Tiberio Alfarano, beneficiary clerk of the church and with the advice of Hercolano, Canon and Altarist of the Church, who taught me everything about the memorable antiquities of the church that have been undone in order to build the church that we see now". (Cerrati 1914: XXIV).

hands providing an imprint of Christ's face, transferred on a cloth by the blood and sweat oozing from his face while on his way to the Golgotha. This most sacred relic kept in the Vatican Basilica provided the faithful not just with a memory of Christ's face but also with a prefiguration of a promised end-of-time vision. The design process was conceived as dialogue between past and future building, dialectically articulated through a memory, always in-the-making.

In order to understand the Renaissance concept of architectural renewal a shift in our present understanding of memory has to take place, from something sealed in objects to be preserved as *is*, towards a comprehensive inventory of things past, to something continuously re-created out of an existing palimpsest in the present. This is fundamental, as failure to presenting a communion of past present and future, entails a formidable task of recovering the past; as such memory is one essential tool in the process of transformation, establishing transition from past to future.

Renaissance renewal reveals the imagination of conservation, informed by the twofold power of Janus's sight –the Roman God of gates, beginnings and endings- entailing the ability to look simultaneously in the directions of time-past and time-future. Janus mythological figure was complemented by the goddess of hinges and thresholds Cardea, who typifies the present moment, from which Janus's ability is enacted.

The Ligurian Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere (1443-1513), elected Pope Julius II in 1503, is credited with what is acknowledged as beginning the renaissance restoration (*instauratio*), which started shortly after his accession to the Chair of Saint Peter's.<sup>8</sup> On April 18,1506, the *first* foundation stone of "Julius's St. Peter's"<sup>9</sup> was laid in the southwest pier, dedicated to Saint Veronica.<sup>10</sup> Despite identifying this as the new beginning, decades earlier, in 1452-55, the humanist Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455) initiated significant renovation work in the western area, entrusting the Florentine architect Bernardo Rossellino (1409-1464) with the project to enlarge apse and transept.<sup>11</sup> The pope's desire was to assure the lastingness of the Temple in

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<sup>8</sup> Giuliano was created cardinal in December 1471 by his uncle Francesco della Rovere, who became Pope Sixtus IV (1471-1484) in the month of August of that same year. The 1506 foundation medal, attributed to the well-known goldsmith Cristoforo Caradosso Foppa (1452-1526), refers to Giulius II's project as *instauracio*, a renovation providing a new beginning. The medal portrays on the recto Pope Julius II, (Ivlivs.Ligvr.Papa.Secvndvs.MCCCCVI) and on the verso the west area of the building (Templi.Petri.Instavracio.Vaticanus.M[ons]) (Thoenes, 1996: 290).

<sup>9</sup> Ennio Francia (1977: 15) points out that the notary of the basilica Giacomo Grimaldi (1568-1623) refers in the *Instrumenta autentica* (1620) to this pilaster as that of Julius II.

<sup>10</sup> "Vi si pose la prima pietra di marmo bianco larga due palmi comuni e lunga quattro, spessa cinque dita. Da una parte v'era l'iscrizione: Giulio ligure, Pontefice Massimo l'anno 1506 restaurò dalle fondamenta il tempio di San Pietro in Vaticano che deperiva per vecchiezza e posizione. Dall'altra faccia non c'era scritto niente. E questa pietra fu posta non coricata ma in piedi, appoggiata alla parete." Grimaldi, Giacomo Bibl. Vat.: Arch. Vat. Lat. 637, f. 256v., cited in Francia (1977: 15). Michelangelo acknowledges Bramante: "Lui (Bramante) pose la prima pietra di Santo Pietro, non piena di confusione ma chiara e schietta, luminosa e isolata a torno, in modo che non nuoceva a chosa nessuna del Palazzo; e fu tenuta cosa bella, come ancora è manifesto..." (Buonarroti 1965-83, IV, MLXXI: 251). The fact that Michelangelo referred to Bramante's work as the laying of a first stone of the new basilica, underlines how this renovation was interpreted as a new beginning, within a continuous narrative, proceeding from the very beginning, which took place with the burial of the body of Peter into these sacred grounds.

<sup>11</sup> Rossellino, who apprentices with the humanist architect Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), received commission from the renaissance humanist Enea Silvio Piccolomini (1464), elected pope Pius II in 1458, to



“sempiternity”. Sempiternity is an eternity with a beginning. This time-dimension characterized the life of the Christian persona, understood as a duality of body and soul. This time-cosmology was incorporated, during the Renaissance, into the fabrication of temples with appropriate architectural making.<sup>12</sup>

Already during the period of Nicholas V the temple was threatened by precarious structural conditions, described by the humanist architect Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) in his “De Re Aedificatoria”, a treatise on architecture, which he presented to the pope in 1450.<sup>13</sup> The northeast wall was described as “defective”, and in need of appropriate buttressing. Alberti favored minimal change, allowing for improved stability.<sup>14</sup>

Alberti further stated that “If a building cannot be improved without changing every line, the best remedy is demolition, to make way for something new. But I shall not pursue this question.” (Alberti 1997: 321). The imaginative process of re-making is articulated by means of continual alterations, through additions and subtractions deciphered in the materiality of a physical object, towards an “elegant” definition of the represented idea.<sup>15</sup> Marco Frascari explains that, “using a proper active imagination, he [Alberti] affirms that elegance is a fundamental gauge for judging

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immortalize his birthplace, Corsignano, by renovating the city center. Subsequently the town was renamed after Pius II, Pienza. Besides developing plans for the urban renewal, Rossellino designed also some notable buildings, such as the Cathedral and Palazzo Piccolomini. See Mack (1987) and Adams (1985: 99-110).

<sup>12</sup> Hugh of St. Victor writes in the Didascalicon (l. 6) that things that have neither beginning nor end are eternal; “others which have a beginning but are terminated by no end, are called perpetual” and those, which have both beginning and end, are temporal. Hugh related sempiternity to the dream of perpetual motion.

<sup>13</sup> Nicholas V expressed on his deathbed his vision for the basilica’s future, stating that the building should be preserved in perpetuity, as if it was made by God. “...*magnis aedificiis perpetuis quodammodo monumentis, ac testimoniis paene sempiternis, quasi a Deo fabricatis...*”. (Manetti 1455; Frommel 1997: 103).

<sup>14</sup> Alberti (1997, Intro XVI). “I have noticed in the Basilica of St. Peter’s in Rome a crass feature: an extremely long and high wall has been constructed over a continuous series of openings, with no curves to give it strength, and no buttresses to lend it support. It is worth noting that the whole stretch of wall has been pierced by too many openings and built too high, and positioned where it will bear the violence of Aquilo. As a result, the continual force of the wind has already displaced the wall more than six feet from the vertical; I have no doubt that eventually some gentle pressure or slight movement will make it collapse. Indeed it is quite likely that, had it not been restrained by the roof trusses, it would have collapsed of its own accord already, once it had begun to lean. But perhaps the architect might be excused a little, since, being hemmed in by location and site, he might have considered the hill overlooking the temple sufficient protection from the winds. I would prefer, however, those sections of wall to be strengthened on both sides” (Alberti 1997: 26). Christof Thoenes attests the precarious conditions stating that “If Grimaldi’s notation from the beginning of the seventeenth century of 5 palmi (ca. 110 cm) is correct, then the building had further moved in the interim, despite Sangallo’s buttressing. Thus the danger was real”. (Thoenes 2005: 67).

<sup>15</sup> “It often happens that we ourselves, although busy with completely different things, cannot prevent our minds and imagination from projecting some buildings or other. Or again, when we see some other person’s building, we immediately look over and compare the individual dimensions, and to the best of our ability consider what it might be taken away, added or altered, to make it more elegant “ (Alberti 1988: 4). The word “elegant”, from Albertian terminology, is used here in the interpretation given by Marco Frascari (Frascari, 24/07/07). This unpublished essay titled “Elegant Curiosity”, was kindly provided by the author of the text.

and modifying buildings erected by other architects". Frascari further states that, "this possibility of an architectural imagination that is also elegant is a polarization of the definition of *conncinitas* where a building is perfect in its beauty when nothing could be added or removed." The fabrication of St. Peter's follows a similar process of adjustments and corrections by means of alterations to the existing building, revealing that the making is indeed a re-making.

The 1505-1506 studies by the Urbinate architect Donato Bramante for a revised ichnography, demonstrate how new additions build onto an existing palimpsest.<sup>16</sup> Bramante delineated in U 20A Rossellino's walls foundations for the enlarged apse and choir, together with the outline of the old Constantinian footprint. Rossellino's foundations provided an opportunity to partly reuse existing elements editing the original building and saving on materials and work (fig. 1.2).<sup>17</sup>

This contributes to making visible a series of 'multiple beginnings' within a continual renovation, emphasizing how each addition/subtraction is part of a quasi eternal making, that continues uninterrupted from the moment when *Petrus*, the first spiritual and material stone of the Church of God was laid on the Vatican ground, actualizing Christ's message: "upon this rock I will build my church" (Mt 16:18-19). Peter's burial is the focal point of the basilica and its symbolic center.<sup>18</sup> The basilica's *making as re-making* continues uninterrupted since this first beginning, through and beyond the Renaissance renewal, being in a perpetual state of transition from one

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<sup>16</sup> Bramante was born in Urbino in 1444 and died in Rome in 1514. He was nominated *Magister Operis* by Julius II (1503-1513) in 1505 and remained in charge until his death. Bramante was nicknamed "*ruinante*" by Paris de Grassis, master of ceremonies under Pope Julius II (Thoenes 2005: 74). Ascanio Condivi narrates that Michelangelo himself complained to Julius II about Bramante's unconcerned attitude towards the old basilica's, particularly about the columns that were "broken to pieces". Michelangelo argued that he could have saved many more architectural elements, "and gently preserve them intact". According to Condivi, Michelangelo stated that, "it was easy to put one brick on top of another, but that to make such a column was extremely difficult" (Condivi 1976: 57). Recently Lex Bosman (2004: 90) questions the legitimacy of the accusations to Bramante arguing that "only four of the forty-four column shafts of the nave had disappeared." The columns have been carefully subtracted from the building's palimpsest, and spared for a later reuse. It is possible though, that Michelangelo might have been referring to columns of the secondary aisles, for which we do not have an exact record.

<sup>17</sup> Henry Millon supports the theory that U 20A is based on drawings from Nicholas V's time, rather than on what was actually built (Millon, 1994: 11-13); regardless, Bramante questioned his design in relationship to *both* old basilica and Rossellino's design. Lex Bosman (2004: 78) argues that Bramante "simply had to accept this element of the use of the old foundations for the new choir—whether or not reluctantly- and incorporated it into his planning", for reasons of economy.

<sup>18</sup> The burial of Peter, which is aligned with the main altar, placed above it, is believed to be still in its original location. The triumphal arch, framing the apse of the old basilica, is located above the altar-tomb of the apostle. This is indicated as N. 1 in Alfarano's 1590 print. The central crossing of the new piers, supporting the main dome, does not align with it, and is located east of it. The four pier's crossing is determined not so much in relationship to the position of the burial of the apostle Peter, but rather by Bramante's decision to locate the two eastern piers right under the arms of the old cross. Alfarano (1914: 3-4) narrates that Pope Julius II was determined not to build onto the sacred ground defined by the main nave and transept. The north-south distance between the two main piers is equal to the width of the main nave of old St. Peter's. In this way Bramante was able to avoid opening new foundations in this sacred grounds. The positioning of the western piers, which were started first, was determined upon the positioning of the eastern ones. See Thoenes (2005: 67) about the positioning of the main altar and tomb of the apostle in old and new St. Peter's.

condition to the next (Day 7).<sup>19</sup>

St. Peter's *Fabbrica* (Fabric) was institutionalized under the pontificate of Leo X (1513-1521) (Frommel 1991).<sup>20</sup> *Fabbrica* comes from the Latin *fabrica* (workshop). The Latin verb *fabricare* also entails to invent, to make skillfully or to form.<sup>21</sup> The locution *Fabbrica di San Pietro* can be interpreted as "St. Peter's workshop".<sup>22</sup> To fabricate is to perform a facture, entailing a continuous meditative making.

A microhistory of St. Peter's Renaissance transformation is traced here, focusing on an analysis of a hybrid, mixed media *ichnography*, executed between 1569 and 1576, by Tiberio Alfarano, beneficiary clerk of St. Peter's from 1567 to 1596 (fig. 1.2).<sup>23</sup> The drawing is drafted simultaneously and complemented by a manuscript titled "*De Sacrosanctae Basilicae Beati Petri Princ. Apostolorum in Vaticano Urbis sitae antiquissima et nova structura liber*", that was presented to Pope Gregorius XIII (1572-1589) in 1582, and of which several copies, all autographed by Alfarano, were prepared.<sup>24</sup> In 1590, eight years after the redaction of the manuscript, Alfarano adds to it a print developed from the hybrid *ichnography* (fig. 1.4).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>19</sup> For a theory of beginnings see Said (1975) and Cacciari (1990).

<sup>20</sup> Julius II instituted in 1510 the "Fabric of St. Peter's", as an organism constituted by few selected members of the clergy, overseeing the renovation (*Liquet Omnibus*, papal bull).

<sup>21</sup> Vincenzo Scamozzi distinguishes fabric (*Fabrica*) from edifice (*Edificio*). According to him the fabric of the building, is a continuous meditation conducted by the architect, leading to a final cause, which is the edifice erected by masons. Scamozzi recognizes Vitruvius's own writings as the source for this interpretation: "*Fabrica est, continuata, ac trista usus meditatio, ecco la speculatione dell'Architetto; qua minibus perficitur è material cuiuscunque generis opus est, ad propositum deformationis: E qui si scopre l'operazione de' Capi mastri*". (Scamozzi 1997: 52).

<sup>22</sup> Making is informed by both, theoretical speculation and building practice. Marco Frascari discusses the significance of "theorica" and "practica" in architecture as "two spheres of production of signs" (Frascari, 1985).

<sup>23</sup> The title of the drawing is: "*il Titolo del Sito di S. Pietro designato da Tiberio Alfarano l'anno 1571*" (Alfarano 1914: XXVII, XII). For a discussion of microhistory see Ginzburg 1993.

<sup>24</sup> The beneficiary clerk provides a list of the essential sources. The list includes the "*Liber Pontificalis*", the "*Martyrologio Basilicae*", the works by Pietro Mallio, Maffeo Veggio, Onofrio Panvinio, the book of the "*Mirabilia Romae*", and even oral sources such as Iacobi Herculani and finally the basilica itself (Alfarano 1914: 2).

<sup>25</sup> The print can be found in several manuscripts and is titled: *Almae Urbis Divi Petri veteris novique Templi descriptio Tiberii Alfarani Hieracen. Authoris. Natalis Bonifacius Sebenicen Incidebat*, MDLXXX, Roma, Print, bulino, 565 x 435 mm. The print inserted in the manuscript G6 (GDS Stampe Arch. Cap. S. Pietro G6.) has been cut on the left and right side to fit the manuscript, matching the size of the open book. Both left and right *columns*, which contained the list of significant elements, were eliminated as a result of the cutting. Those contained in other manuscripts have been folded without cutting. Not all the manuscripts contain an added copy of the print. The manuscript Vat Lat 9904 (BAV) for example, does not include one. Cerrati affirms that some of the prints have been lost (Alfarano 1914). Silvan (1992) believes that even though the print was published in 1590 it must have been completed in 1589. The *bulino* engravings on copper were commissioned to Natale Bonifacio da Sebenico (1538-1592), a cartographic engraver well known in the period of Sixtus V. Cerrati found in 1914, at the Archivio Capitolare, the original copper plate from which the prints were made in 1590 (Alfarano 1914: XV). The following are copies of the print archived at the BAV: GDS Stampe Arch.Cap.S.Pietro G6; BAV/GDS Stampe Barb. X.I.31 (3), BAV/GDS Stampe Chigi P. VII 9 (38), BAV/GDS Stampe Vat. Lat. 10350; BAV Chigi P VII 9 5 f. 38; BAV, GDS Stampe Vaticano S. Pietro Pianta (1-5). Before arriving in Rome in 1575 Sebenico worked in Venice and produced exclusively burin engravings. He is the author of the well-known engravings depicting the translation of the

Following a Cusan method text and image complete one another.<sup>26</sup> “The image never stops becoming the other of the text (...) converting one way of seeing into another.”<sup>27</sup> In order to grasp the significance of the drawing they are to be experienced together.

Very little is known about Alfarano's life before arriving at St. Peter's in 1544.<sup>28</sup> He was born in Gerace (date unknown) and having arrived at the Vatican, never left it. In that period new and old basilica formed a hybrid-body joined by the *muro divisorio* (dividing wall) erected in 1538 by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (1484-1546). The 1551 map of Rome authored by the *faberlignarius* Leonardo Bufalini (Ehrle 1911) immortalizes St. Peter's, as it is likely to have appeared to the eyes of Alfarano, who just spent a few years in Rome. The “ichnographic city plan” (Pinto 1976) of Rome by Bufalini, at the time of Julius III (1550-55), is an instantaneous ‘still-shot’, depicting an *as-is* condition of the fabric, witnessing the hybrid-body formed by old and new members (fig. 1.5).

The young cleric was mentored by the canonic and altarist of St. Peter's, Giacomo Hercolano (1495-1573), who had been eyewitness to the gradual transformations of St. Peter's from the beginning of Julius II's *instauration*.<sup>29</sup> Alfarano died in Rome on September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1596, and was buried in the sacristy in the location typical of the beneficiary clerks, quite literally becoming part of St. Peter's in sempiternity.<sup>30</sup> His devotion to the basilica as material manifestation of the spiritual church was unconditional. It is to be noted that he had been active at St. Peter's longer than any architect who had been in charge of the renewal (*magister operis*). He spent a half-century recording and documenting in writing and drawing, diligently and accurately, in the minutest details, the changes taking place. His Latin manuscript and complementary drawing and print were not intended as a passive recording, but rather as an instrument to orient the gaze towards future transformations.

Alfarano kept making changes to his manuscript up to 1586, and in 1590 was able to add to it a print of the ichnography, as he planned from the beginning.<sup>31</sup> Alfarano's text is in constant dialogue with the plan as a whole, and through detailed alphabetical and numerical indexes, he can point the reader to exact places and times of the events of the translations made visible in the plan, which functions in this regard as a map (figs. 1.3, 1.4, A.4). He was in charge of documenting all translations taking place at St. Peter's and kept altering drawing and manuscript in parallel with the building's own transformations.

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Vatican obelisk (*“Della Trasportazione dell'Obelisco Vaticano”*, Roma 1590), which were based on Fontana's drawings. Biographical information regarding Sebenico can be found in Morello (1993: 163), and Silvan (1992).

<sup>26</sup> Cusa 2007.

<sup>27</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987: 13.

<sup>28</sup> Alfarano 1914: XIV.

<sup>29</sup> “... *Iacobi Hercolani Basilicae eiusdem Canonici, et Altaristae, patroni de me optime meriti opera valde equidem sum adiutus. Tenebat enim fidelissima memoria senex sanctissimus locorum spatia, nomina, situs, Altaria, omnes denique veteris aedificii recessus.*” (Alfarano 1914: 1). Hercolano became clerk of St. Peter's at the age of ten (Alfarano 1914: XVII).

<sup>30</sup> Alfarano 1914: XI-LIII.

<sup>31</sup> Alfarano 1914: XL.

In 1582 he donated a copy of the manuscript to Pope Gregory XIII.<sup>32</sup> However he seemed to have had a closer relationship, and was likely to work directly under, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Archbishop of St. Peter's. Alessandro Farnese was created cardinal by his uncle Pope Paul III in 1534 at the age of fourteen. He became Archpriest of St. Peter's in 1543, a post that he held for 46 years. Alfarano recognizes him in the introductory pages of his manuscript, declaring to be his humble servant (Alfarano 1914: 5). Surviving evidence suggests that Alfarano also prepared an ichnography of the Baths of Diocletian (1577-87), while they were being converted into St. Mary of the Angels Basilica, following Michelangelo's project. Once again the drawing was addressed to the Archbishop of St. Peter's.<sup>33</sup> Alfarano documented the burials of Christian martyrs, recording their history, while this was being rediscovered and continued, through the construction of a new basilica, which literally incorporated portions of the former baths. The 1582 manuscript written for St. Peter's was introduced by a dedicatory letter, which was also addressed to Farnese.

The Farnese family, and its papal power, had been severely criticized by Protestant reformers from the outset. Paul III was named the antichrist for his lust for power and the magnificence displayed through ambitious construction and artistic programs.<sup>34</sup> Alfarano's work might have been possibly seen able to contribute to the restoration of the Church's reputation and power, being an act of faith by a devoted man, materialized into an iconic drawing. The church could have upheld this as an official political manifesto. Yet Alfarano himself paid for the copper engravings, demonstrating a personal investment in the ideas divulged through the print.

Alfarano's presence and work at St. Peter's were figure-grounded by the Counter-Reformation period. The Council of Trent just ended in 1563. The Jesuits, whom had a pivotal role implementing the ideas of the Counter Reformation, were often in contrast with the Farnese family, particularly in Rome, where their potent family ruled over the Vatican and the *urbis* at large.<sup>35</sup> Upon his death Alfarano donated his personal library to the Jesuits in St. Peter's, whom during that period were confessors at the basilica, this is indicative of an affinity of ideas and sentiments.<sup>36</sup> The beneficiary clerk is likely to have leaned towards a critical reformation of the Church. His intent however, would have been distinct, from the political objectives of the Farnese family; the devoted clerk seemed concerned primarily with issues of faith rather than political power, *per se*.

Alfarano intended to disseminate the image of St. Peter's portrayed in the 1571 ichnography. His thesis was clearly outlined in the manuscript's introduction. Old St. Peter's did not perish with the erection of the new temple but rather is still present and living within it. This point, together with

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<sup>32</sup> The copy of the manuscript donated to Gregory XIII is preserved in the Biblioteca Vaticana, Vatic. Lat. 9904 (Alfarano, 1914).

<sup>33</sup> Alfarano 1914: XXXI.

<sup>34</sup> Gamrath 2007: IX.

<sup>35</sup> Robertson 1999: 144. Bush (1969: 208) emphasized that "The Counter-Reformation asserted itself through Jesuit confessors and advisers".

<sup>36</sup> Silvan 1992: 4. Alfarano left his books to the Jesuits "*Penitenziani della Basilica*". Unfortunately this library is now lost. The author of this dissertation inquired with the Vatican Library archivists and searched for such collection in other Vatican and Jesuit archives in Rome. The collection seem not to have survived as a whole, under Alfarano's name. It is possible that the books are still part of the Vatican's collection, but no longer identifiable back to the original donor.

several others addressed through the medium of drawing and the language of icons, was essential in establishing historical continuity and legitimacy, supporting the preeminence of the temple over all other churches in Rome and the Christianized world. This thesis was essential to Alfarano's mentor Giacomo Hercolano, who devoted decades and countless manuscript pages to demonstrating this.<sup>37</sup> Alfarano's work, directed towards a same objective, became a permanent 'traveling demonstration' in the medium of the print, contributing to creating a collective imagination of St. Peter's as *axis mundi* of Christianity.

His work was "porous" to the cultural context in which it was produced. The scholar of the basilica's history, theologian and *connoisseur* of architecture wove into the drawing a complex body of religious, political, architectural and cultural elements. The 1571 ichnography is, in Carlo Ginzburg's terms, is a "singularity", presenting a series of anomalies when compared with the surviving corpus of renovation drawings (1506-1626).<sup>38</sup> A key anomaly is the fact that Alfarano was not, strictly speaking, an architect and this is not a design drawing *per se*. This perhaps explains why this representation has been largely overlooked by architectural scholarship.

Whether Alfarano was considered an architect in his own time is uncertain. It is known that he drafted a proposal for an elongated plan, for the eastern addition to the Vatican temple.<sup>39</sup> He describes the Vatican basilica in his manuscript with scholarly architectural language merged with theological terminology, which leads one to believe that he had a prominent interest in architecture; furthermore his ability to layer meanings into the drawing witness his skillfulness, inventiveness and his understanding of architectural representation. As author Alfarano is comfortable in crossing boundaries between architecture and theology, in writing but also in drawing, and particularly imagining through drawing. Recently scholars credited him with mastering "the art of architectural drawing to a certain extent" (Frommel 1994: 598-600). However the powers of his 1571 drawing demonstrate Alfarano's sophisticated understanding of the workings of architectural representation and imagination.<sup>40</sup> One should also remember that the idea of who was to be considered an architect was much more fluid than it is today.<sup>41</sup>

Another anomaly is that this is the only surviving drawing, with the exception of Donato Bramante's U 20A, to portray new and old Basilica's footprint together.<sup>42</sup> The simultaneous presence of two plans realized through hybrid representation techniques and a metaphoric transparency in the conception of the drawing, which might be inspired by the idea of drawing as veil, not unlike Christ's eminent effigy of the Holy Cloth, allowing a simultaneous perception of recto/verso, before/after (Day 3). Alfarano's drawing has been described as a draft for a possible presentation drawing, but it should instead be interpreted as an original, which carries all the marks of its transformation, just like the fabric's own body.<sup>43</sup> It is a slow drawing, which took years

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<sup>37</sup> Cerrati 1914: XI-XLII.

<sup>38</sup> Ginzburg 1993: 13.

<sup>39</sup> Alfarano's project is lost (Alfarano 1914: XI, 24-26).

<sup>40</sup> Freedberg 1991.

<sup>41</sup> Kostof 2001.

<sup>42</sup> Appendix 2 provides further details on Alfarano's drawing sources.

<sup>43</sup> "*Brutta copia*" or "*copia di lavoro*". It has been also interpreted as a "timid preparation drawing" for a future print (Silvan 1992: 12, 21).

in the drafting (1569-1571-1576...), mirroring a slow transformation process.<sup>44</sup>

The persistence of the old basilica, of which a literal footprint still existed, and its dialogue with the new building's plan, was demonstrated in this image. This was fundamental given that the vestiges of the old footprint would no longer be visible when looking at the *building* in a future condition. Alfarano explained that: "*Ecclesiarum spatia descripsi, aliaque multa e vetustatis tenebris in lucem produxi, quae hominum incuria et temporum iniuria exoleverant.*"<sup>45</sup> Thus the plan's essential role is to reveal through gazing a concealed presence brought back to light through an intended metaphoric transparency of the drawing.

An important change at the Fabric is about to take place. The Florentine painter, sculptor and architect, Michelangelo Buonarroti (1475-1564) replaces in 1547 Giuliano da Sangallo the Younger (1443-1516), in the role of *Magister Operis*. Alfarano is at the site, and is an active witness to the changes, for the entire duration of Michelangelo's work there, which continued until his death in 1564. Michelangelo goes back to Bramante's design, claiming that "those who moved away from Bramante's design, like Sangallo did, have moved away from the truth". By then only the first storey of the new apse was built. This stage in the transformation is made visible by a 1546 fresco, executed by one of Michelangelo's friends, the writer and painter who narrated the lives of many of his contemporary artists, Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574), in the *Sala dei Cento Giorni*, in the *Palazzo della Cancelleria* in Rome. The fresco, portraying "Paul III Inspecting the Rebuilding of St. Peter's", is commissioned by the Archpriest of St. Peter's, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese (1520-1589), who resided in the palace. The basilica's apse appears under renovation (fig. 1.5). The plan, which is presented to the pope by the personifications of Lady Architecture, Painting, Sculpture and Geometry, is only partially visible. Lady architecture 'elegantly' hides the eastern portion of the basilica, hinting at the possibility of future transformations, and the absence of an overall plan.

Michelangelo resizes Bramante's ambitions by scaling-down the choir's proportions and scaling-up the greatness of the design.<sup>46</sup> Paul III confers full powers to Michelangelo, who has ability to make and un-make, as he pleases.<sup>47</sup> Portions of the already-built are subtracted from the palimpsest, un-making portions of the new apse. Making and re-making are the two faces of change. Michelangelo's design for the dome is brought to completion, with some editing, by his pupil Giacomo Della Porta (1541-1602), who became *Magister Operis* in 1573 and directed the *Fabbrica* until 1602.<sup>48</sup> As documented by significantly decreasing expenditures the works slows

<sup>44</sup> Alfarano started working at the drawing in 1569. The drawing was completed in its overall layout of the two plans in 1571 (Silvan 1992). Alfarano kept on editing it until 1576 (Cerrati 1914: XXX).

<sup>45</sup> Alfarano 1914: 4.

<sup>46</sup> Christof Thoenes states that already in Baldassarre Peruzzi's designs (Uff. 16 A, after 1527) and in those of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (Uff. 39 A, ca. 1534-7) the intention is to produce alternative "reduction plans". This, according to Thoenes, was a necessary outcome, due to the prostration of the city after the 1527 Sack of Rome (Thoenes 2005: 85). "*Finalmente fu dal Papa approvato il modello che aveva fatto Michelangelo, che ritirava San Pietro a minor forma, ma si bene a maggior grandezza, con soddisfazione di tutti quelli che hanno giudizio, ...*" (Vasari 1962: 84).

<sup>47</sup> "*Fare e disfare*" (Vasari 1962: 84).

<sup>48</sup> A small portion of Michelangelo's façade was executed, in correspondence to the Gregoriana and Clementina chapel. When Carlo Maderno's addition was built these elements were subtracted in order to join the new eastern arm with the western centralized body (Bellini 2006).

down after Michelangelo's death.<sup>49</sup> Construction seems to start again towards the end of 1575, and, until 1588, the focus is on completing the four corners of Michelangelo's plan: the Gregorin Chapel, San Michele Chapel, the Clementine Chapel and the Chapel of the Column.<sup>50</sup>

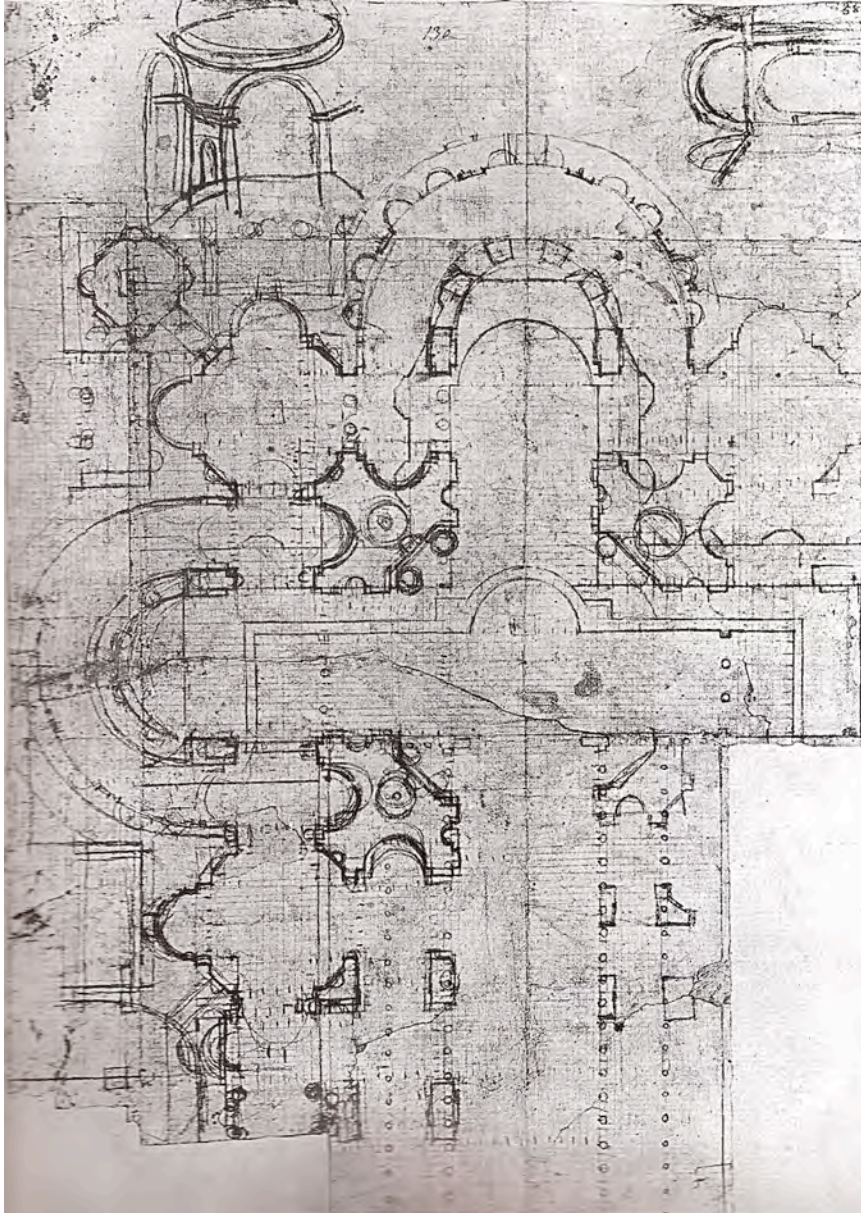


fig. 1.2  
Donato Bramante, c.1505  
Ichnographia  
Uff. 20 A  
© GDS Uffizi

<sup>49</sup> On average 50% for each year of work (Francia 1977: 97).

<sup>50</sup> Francia 1977: 105.





**fig. 1.3**  
Tiberio Alfarano, 1571  
Ichnographia  
Mix medium: hand drawing & print  
1172 x 666 mm  
© Courtesy of the AFSP

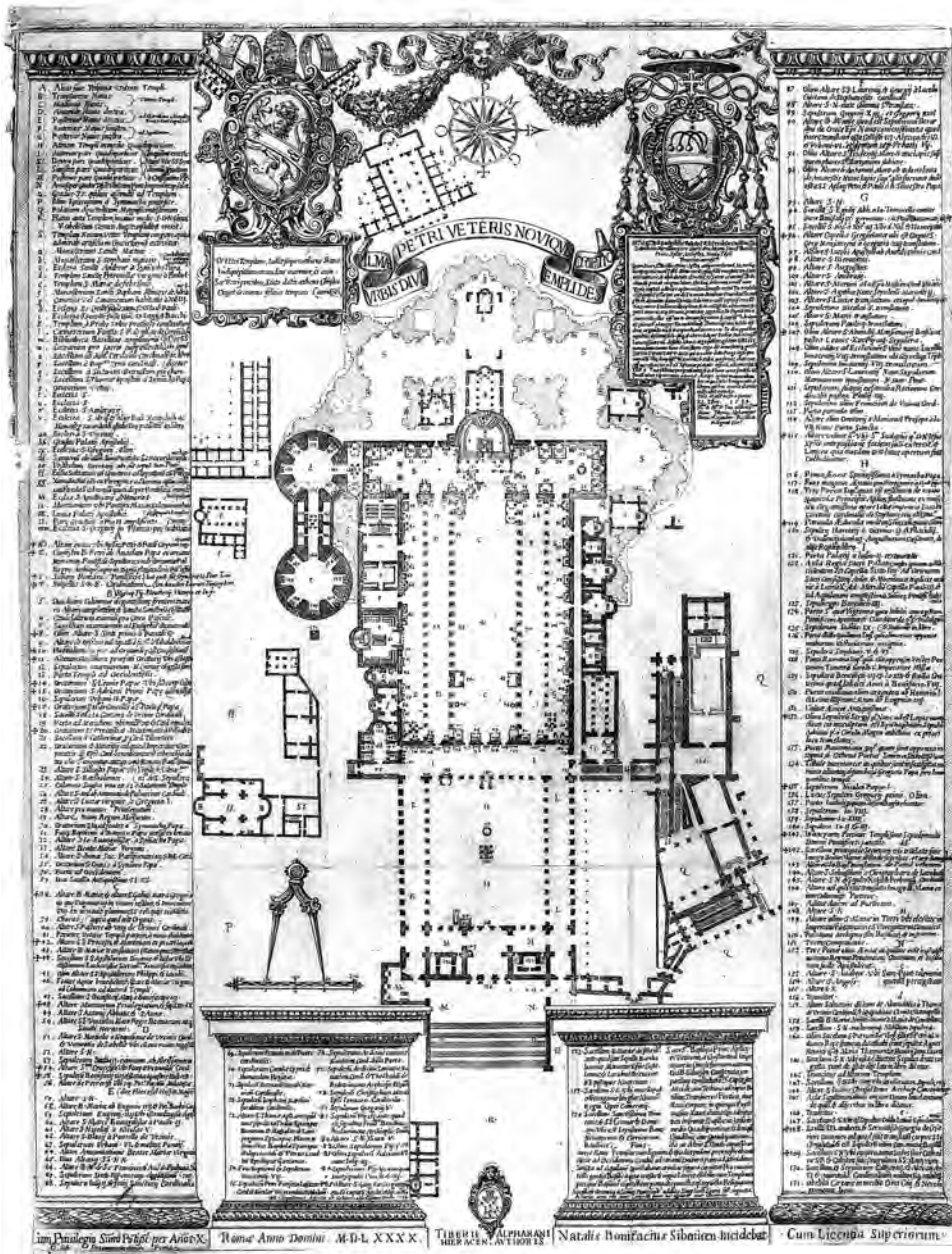


fig. 1.4  
Tiberio Alfarano, 1590  
Natalis Bonifacius Incidebat  
Ichnographia  
Print, bulino, 565 x 435 mm  
© Courtesy of the BAV



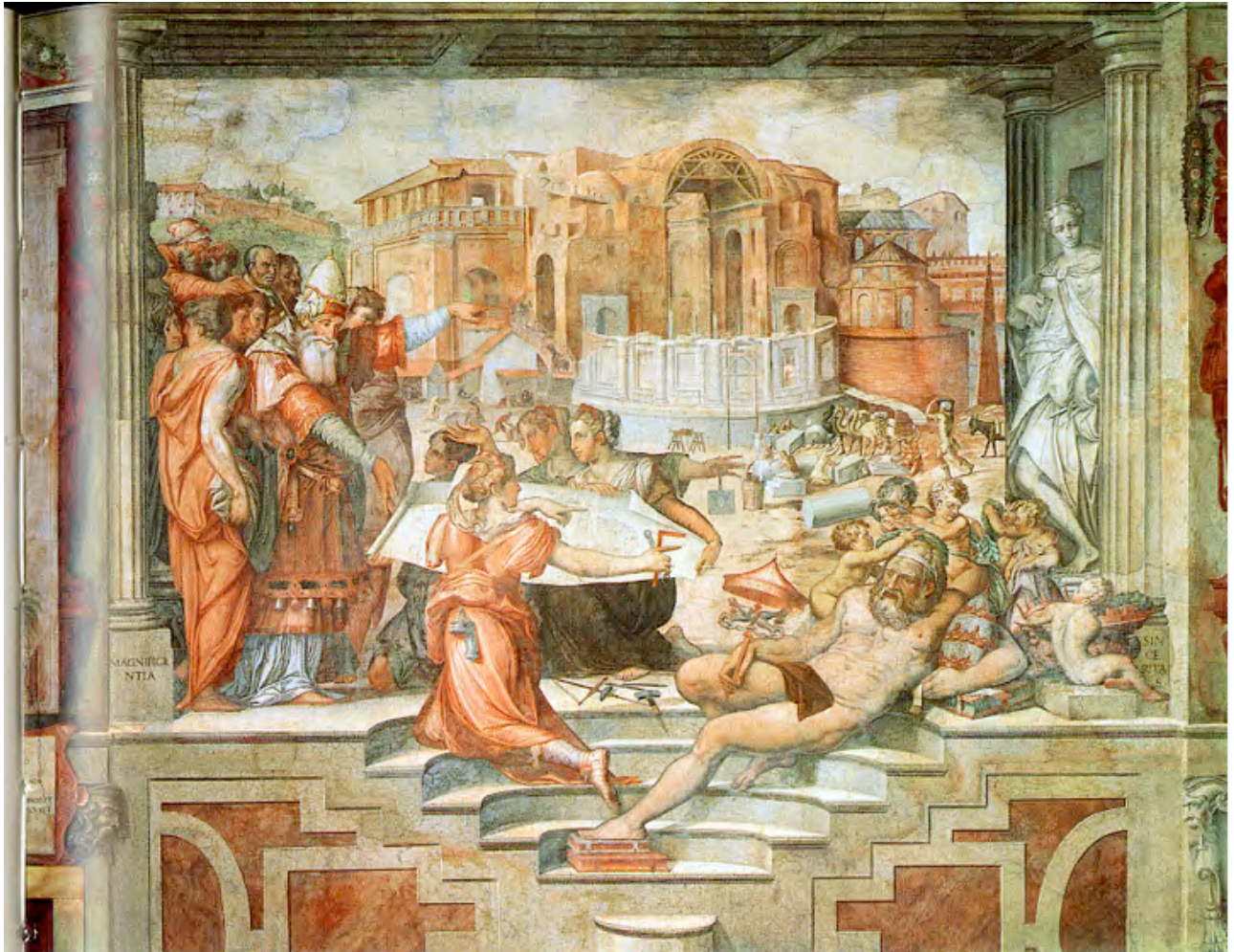
fig. 1.5  
Leonardo Bufalini, 1551  
Rome. "ichnographic city plan"  
© BAV

The future of the centralized portion of the basilica is determined. Michelangelo is able to build most of his planned addition during his lifetime. His design was carried on, after his death in 1564, by Jacopo Barozzi (1507-1573), also called Vignola, who is *Magister Operis* till 1573.<sup>51</sup> Alfarano starts drafting his hand-drawing after Michelangelo's plan is committed to paper by the well known engraver Stephanus Du Pérac "Parisiensis" (1520-1604), also known as Dupérac, in 1569 (fig. 1.5).<sup>52</sup> This document is of paramount significance in the making of Alfarano's drawing. A decoupage of this print is in fact used as physical support for the drawing, thus establishing a *terminus post quem* dating the plan.

<sup>51</sup> Orazi 1997. For at least ten years Bernardino da Siena is *soprastante* under Vignola (Francia 1977: 104).

<sup>52</sup> Alfarano started drafting the drawing in 1569 (Silvan 1992). Dupérac is active in Rome between 1560 and 1590. Dupérac is author of "*Nova Urbis Romae Descriptio*", a print dating from 1577, which provides an important document regarding the progress of the works at St. Peter's in the period under study. This map of Rome is not an ichnography like Bufalini's 1551 map, but rather a bird's eye view of the city (Ehrle 1908: 27). The print is titled: "*Ichnographia templi divi Petri in Vaticano ex exemplari Michaelis Angeli Bonaroti Florentini a Stephano Dupérac Parisiensi in hanc formam cum suis modulis accurate proportionateque delineata et in lucem aedita anno Domini ∞ DLXIX, Claudii Duchetti formis, Henricus Van Schoel exudit.*" Silvan (1992) attributes the drawing for this print to Vignola.





**fig. 1.6**  
Giorgio Vasari, 1546  
Paul III Inspecting the Rebuilding of St. Peter's. (Sala dei Cento Giorni, Palazzo della Cancelleria)  
Fresco commissioned by the Archpriest of the *Fabbrica* Cardinal Alessandro Farnese  
© Robertson 1985

Alfarano's drawing, currently preserved in the *Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro* (AFSP) located in St. Veronica's pier, in St. Peter's, is executed on several sheets of paper of various dimensions, quality and consistency, joined together and glued on wood.<sup>53</sup> A reading of the archeological layers of the 1571 ichnography suggests that a base drawing, portraying the old plan in its original integrity was firstly traced, with graphite on paper, making use of compass and ruler. A painter's grid was used to reduce to a desired scale various other drawings, which were used as support to reconstruct the old plan, and to establish a relationship with the new. Several sheets were used to form a base drawing, on which Alfarano initially outlined in graphite the plan of the

<sup>53</sup> The author of this dissertation wishes to acknowledge and express sincere gratitude to *His Holy Excellency* Monsignor Vittorio Lanzani, *Delegato della Fabbrica di San Pietro* who granted permission to view and study the 1571 drawing by Alfarano (February 2006 and June 2009). The AFSP is located in the Octagon of Simon Magus above the adjacent spaces of the Chapel of the Madonna of the column, inside the St. Veronica's pier.

old basilica (fig. 1.3, A.5).<sup>54</sup> Michelangelo's plan is quite literally added above the complete ichnography of the old Temple.<sup>55</sup> The beneficiary clerk in fact glued a print spoil, cut-out from one of the 1569 original prints by Dupérac's, adding Michelangelo's *ichnographiam* on his base drawing mounted on wood, thus producing a decoupage (Appendix A provides a complete literal description of the drawing; Animation 1 provides a short demonstration of the schematic sequence of making of the drawing).<sup>56</sup>

The beneficiary clerk relied on existing drawings, but he also measured St. Peter's directly on-site.<sup>57</sup> Despite the fact that western portions of the old basilica had to be demolished in order to start new additions, significant elements, which would allow one to accurately determine the relationship between the two bodies, still existed. At this time Bramante's *Tegurium* and the west portion of Constantine's apse form a hybrid structure protecting the main altar and the Constantinian *pergula*.<sup>58</sup> Our author positioned the old apse, in relationship to the new piers, correctly.<sup>59</sup> The dividing wall incorporates within itself the 11<sup>th</sup> row of columns, leaving the eastern half of the Constantinian basilica to exist beyond.<sup>60</sup>

<sup>54</sup> The drawing measures 1172 x 666 mm. See Appendix A for more details.

<sup>55</sup> The making of the drawing can be understood through Alfarano's use of the word "*adiecit*" (added). The word *Adiecit* comes from the lat. Verb *Adicio*, to add. "*Pro ichnographia templi Apostolorum principis in vaticano in tabella magna descripta. Haec est integra ichnographia antiquissimi Templi Sancti Petri Apostolorum Principis Romae in Vaticano a piissimo Constantino Imperatore extructi et a Beato Silvestro Sum. Pont. Consecrati, et a multis et sum. Pontificibus pulcherrimis Oratoriis amplificati denique collabentis Iulio II Pont. Max. deiecti in perpetuam illius memoriam Tiberius Alpharanus eiusdem Templi Clericus in hanc formam ut prius fuerat accurate modulateque delineavit, et desuper novi Templi Michaelis Angeli Bonaroti Florentini ichnographiam adiecit. Anno Dni MDLXXI.*" The author relies on Michele Cerrati's transcription of the drawing's title (Alfarano 1914: XXVII).

<sup>56</sup> The print is cut to eliminate the title. Some other minor editing happens in the center of the print where, white wash (*biacca*) is used to cover a circular columnar temple, which was planned around the main altar, but never built. Silvan is the first scholar to mention that Alfarano used a portion of Dupérac's print, and glued it onto his drawing (Silvan 1992). Cerrati does not put emphasis in his work on the hand drawing (Cerrati 1914). Thoenes affirms that despite the fact that the title of Dupérac's print wants us to believe that this is Michelangelo's final design for the basilica, the print's own preparation drawing was being completed while the print was *in the making*. The size of the copper plate in fact did not allow sufficient space to add the front stairs to the plan. The stairs were engraved in the upper portion of the copper. One would have to cut out the top portion of the print and reposition the stairs in the lower part of the sheet, adding them in their correct location (Thoenes 2000: 39).

<sup>57</sup> Cerrati informs us that Alfarano gives very detailed information regarding his survey method in G5. (Alfarano 1914: XLIX).

<sup>58</sup> The word '*Tegurio*' (also *tecurio*, *tiburio*) is a north Italian word meaning "a structure with a dome" (Kempers 1996: 231). The *tecurium* was built in 1507. Its demolition took place between 1592 and 1605, under the pontificate of Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605). It is only at this time that planning starts for the construction of the new main altar (Apollonj Ghetti, et al. 1951). The first row of columns of the Constantinian *pergula* was removed by Bramante. The outer screen of the *Tegurium* lies on their footprint (Tuzi 2002: 83-84). In 1532-36 shortly before Alfarano is attested at St. Peter's in 1544, both screen columns and architrave of north and south side of the transept are still standing, as it is possible to ascertain from a perspective view in the style of Marten van Heemskerck, dating ca. from 1538 (style of Marten van Heemskerck, ca. 1538, Statens Konstmuseer, Nationalmuseum, Stockholm, Coll. Ankersvärd 637).

<sup>59</sup> Silvan affirms that the position of the western edge of the apsidal wall is correct, when analyzed in relationship to the new basilica's footprint (1992: 18).

<sup>60</sup> The main nave had 22 rows of columns. For archeological evidence regarding the incorporation of the columns see Apollonj Ghetti, et al. (1951).

Alfarano's hybrid facture combining traditional drawing methods with the technology of decoupage, mimics the process through which the Basilica itself is renovated through additions and subtractions. The term decoupage comes from the French *découper*, literally to cut out. It entails gluing print cutouts on wood to decorate objects and furniture. Developed by Venetian cabinetmakers in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, in imitation of more expensive Chinese lacquer work, it was considered a low form of art, and it was also known as counterfeit lacquer. After gluing black and white prints on a wood support, they would often be hand colored, sometimes making use of gold paint and final coats of varnish, imitating the shiny lacquer technique.<sup>61</sup>

Decoupage assembles unrelated print cut outs to form a new whole. The representation technique chosen by Alfarano reveals his understanding of the nature of Renaissance additions, as the coming together of unrelated members, unified into a new whole. The cutting of Dupérac's print constitutes in itself an act of selection and alteration, continued by re-drawing and color painting onto the decoupage member.<sup>62</sup>

The beneficiary clerk's drawing could be interpreted, based on its hybrid facture, as a complement to Dupérac's print. *Drawing over* Michelangelo's plan he creates double plan. His portrayal of both plans stimulates the imagination of conservation, asking the onlooker to gaze beyond the image, questioning other possible futures. Alfarano makes visible and thus stimulates a dialogue between new and old elements, yet to be resolved.

After overlaying Dupérac's print cutout, he continued drawing on it, retracing concealed portions of the old basilica. Redrawing the old plan over again, might seem like a laborious procedure; however this is likely to be considered a necessary and essential step. Alfarano contemplates past and future simultaneously, through a metaphoric transparency achieved through a multilayered plan, a quasi-palimpsest demonstrating a simultaneous presence of old and new members, as if light had been used to bring forth a hidden layer, concealed from sight, reasserting the presence of the old within the new.<sup>63</sup>

Multi-layering and a reading of time are made possible through differentiated color renderings for the two plans, factored through drawing techniques similar to those used in the making of sacred texts. The drawing conveys not just a *likeness* of the plans, but it is also a reminder of the real

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<sup>61</sup> <http://www.rijksmuseum.nl/tentoonstellingen/van-kunst-tot-kastpapier?lang=en> (accessed on September 17<sup>th</sup>, 2009).

<sup>62</sup> The unit measure of the drawing is the roman Palm (cm. 22.3422). The drawing's scale is 1:385 (Silvan 1992). This was determined by the scale of Dupérac's engraving (Silvan 1992), (Bentivoglio 1997). Alfarano had to adapt to the scale of the print, which he must have intended to use from the beginning.

<sup>63</sup> The drawing incorporates the layering of roman mausoleums, churches and monasteries located in the proximity and within the perimeter of the basilica's precinct. It has been pointed out by scholar and Archeologist Pietro Zander, head of the *Ufficio Tecnico della Fabbrica di San Pietro*, in conversation with the author of this dissertation (AFSP, Rome, February 2006) at the presence of the drawing, that the drawing is reliable and accurate in terms of measurements and geometrical relationship between New and Old St. Peter's, but it is not as reliable, in terms of the positioning and measurements of the roman mausoleums and other sacred buildings. Silvan (1992) points out that Alfarano did not have an opportunity to survey the edifices to the west of the dividing wall, already demolished. He suggests that this might be the reason why Alfarano omitted these buildings in the print.

*presence* of the thing signified, the hybrid-body of the Temple represented through a hybrid-drawing, formed by the transference of a print merged with a hand-drafted drawing, expressing duality.<sup>64</sup>

Tiberio Alfarano's hybrid-drawing has been in many ways a neglected detail in the history of the basilica's transformations.<sup>65</sup> Primary attention has been given by scholars to the 1590's print, in its role of first hand documentation of the location of relics, altars, architectural spoils, in both new and old basilicas.<sup>66</sup> Alfarano is furthermore acknowledged for a reliable graphic survey of old and new members and their relationship, thus focusing primarily on the geometry of the plan and its measurements. Scholars neglected to provide an account for the significance of his use of color. The original color drawing has always been reproduced in black and white, disseminating a veiled image, not allowing a grasp of its metaphoric significance.

In keeping with the intention to facture a real effigy of the basilica, Alfarano might have been inspired by techniques of icon painting. An icon is a Holy representation made under specific circumstances to provide a close presencing with the divine. Since according to an ancient privilege only the canons of St. Peter's were allowed to touch and show the Holy Cloth to worshippers, Alfarano was so privileged.<sup>67</sup> Having laid a small print clipping representing the Holy cloth, attributed to Martin Schongauer, a master of the first engraving period (1470-1530), as incipit to his drawing in the top center above the ichnography, Alfarano is providing a real effigy of the Temple.<sup>68</sup> He stated that he would only score *one* sheet, thus alluding to the uniqueness of an original ichnography, conceived as an iconic portrait.<sup>69</sup>

Observing the stratigraphic layering occurring in some of the most venerated effigies of Christ, Alfarano was probably creating not just a drawing *per se*, but rather an icon. The use of decoupage might be inspired by Alfarano's knowledge and understanding of acheiropoietos, effigies made not by human hands, but generated by direct contact with a sacred original.

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<sup>64</sup> The word "presence" is charged here with the significance attributed to this word, by Hans Belting, in his discussion on the workings of icons "before the era of art" (Belting 1994).

<sup>65</sup> Documentation regarding the figure of the beneficiary clerk is limited and circumscribed, and so is information regarding the hand-drawing (Paluzzi 1975; Frommel 1994: 599). A most complete, and thorough account, is provided by Michele Cerrati (1914). Recent scholarly research provides an accurate analysis of the original drawing focusing primarily on its materiality and history (Silvan 1992; Bentivoglio 1997).

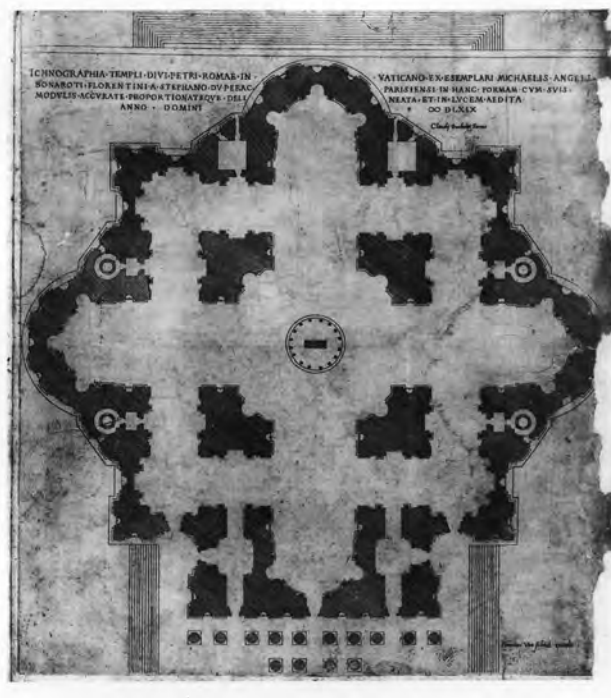
<sup>66</sup> Galassi Paluzzi (1975) offers a translation into Italian of Alfarano's descriptions of elements listed in the plan. See also (Francia 1977), (Rice 1997), (Bosman, 2004), (Kinney, 2005).

<sup>67</sup> *"Assai antico è il privilegio che i soli canonici della Basilica godono di toccare e mostrare ai fedeli il Sudario. E fu perciò che il Papa Nicola V, avendo coronato l'Imperatore Federico III nell'anno 1452, lo creò canonico onorario, per poter vedere da vicino la Veronica. Lo stesso fece Urbano VIII, quando Wladislao di Polonia venne a Roma."* Dissertazioni della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia. Vol. 5: 179 Roma Tipografia della Pace, 1894 (accessed online on February 21<sup>st</sup> 2010: [http://www.archive.org/stream/dissertazionide15unkngoog/dissertazionide15unkngoog\\_djvu.txt](http://www.archive.org/stream/dissertazionide15unkngoog/dissertazionide15unkngoog_djvu.txt).)

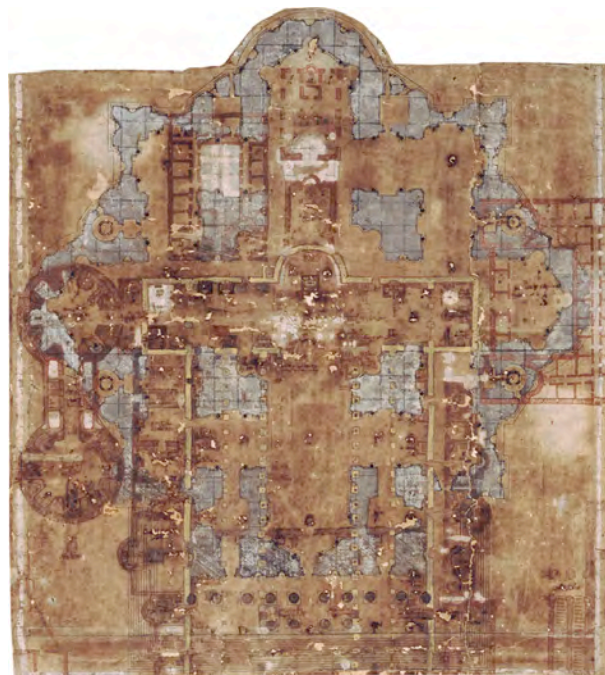
<sup>68</sup> The attribution of the print to Shongauer was made by Barbara Jatta, Director of the GDS of the BAV, in June 2009, at the presence of Alfarano's drawing in the AFSP, for this dissertation.

<sup>69</sup> Alfarano 1914: 4.





**fig. 1.7**  
Étienne Dupérac, 1569  
Copper print  
Michelangelo's "ichnography" for St. Peter's  
© BAV, Chigi P. VII 9, f. 39r



**fig. 1.8**  
Tiberio Alfarano, 1571  
Digital "fragment" of Alfarano's hand drawing  
corresponding to the portion of Dupérac's print  
decouped onto the base drawing (by author of the  
dissertation)  
© Courtesy of the AFSP

Having chosen not to draw by hand an effigy of Christ's Holy Face in his drawing, which he could have possibly copied directly from the actual original relic preserved in St. Peter's, but rather having chosen a print spoil for that, Alfarano might be alluding to the idea of prints as *acheiropietos*.<sup>70</sup> Prints were generated by placing in direct contact a sheet of paper with an original copper plate (*bulino*) or wood board (xylographic print), thus generating an engraving through the use of wet inks, leaving marks on paper. An original could produce numerous copies, thus extending the power of the depiction, becoming a 'traveling image'.<sup>71</sup>

The wood used by Alfarano, as physical support for the base drawing and overlaid print, might be the equivalent of wood supports used for the linen cloths carrying imprinted effigies of the Savior Jesus Christ. The Mandilyon of St. Bartholomew of the Armenian in Genoa, for example, is believed to be an *acheiropietos* created by direct contact of a linen cloth with Christ's face (fig. 7.4). This

<sup>70</sup> Giacomo Grimaldi, following in the same role as Alfarano to record the memories of the Basilica (Grimaldi 1620), made sure that the Holy effigy of Christ be copied directly from the original for inclusion in the frontispiece of his 1618 *Opusculum* dedicated to the sacred cloth (Grimaldi 1618; Bini 2002).

<sup>71</sup> Frascari (2009: 33) states that "photography is properly *acheiropoietic*."



was later mounted on a wood board and painted, over and over again, as it is attested by recent studies of this icon and its complex stratifications, occurred over a broad spectrum of time.<sup>72</sup> A process of *painting over* the original cloth, assured the survival of the image, fading in the original. This would also have affinities with Alfarano's notion of metaphoric transparency and *drawing over*, layering and stratifications.

Initiating a process by multiple authors, the layering, and wrapping of sacred images, did not take away from the sacredness of an original relic contained within, but rather demonstrated the veneration and worship of the image by each new generation to whom it was entrusted, as a kind of re-presencing of the object, which would then be re-contextualized and reinterpreted within an always-new cultural and at times geographical context, after a translation to a new location for example, with the addition of new layers of paint, frames and/or additional ornaments.<sup>73</sup>

The Mandilyon is a traveling image, or a traveling icon.<sup>74</sup> Alfarano intends to create a portrait that would be accessible to those who would not go to St. Peter's in visit or pilgrimage, and for that purpose he is preparing a print. The print was conceived as a medium, which would allow for the dissemination of the original drawn iconography. Dupérac's print was becoming known at the time, as the official plan of New St. Peter's. However, this print did not have the power of a complete story, given that it did not provide any memory of the old basilica.

Alfarano might have been inspired to work directly on Dupérac's print in order to revise the portrait depicted here, which was intended to move outside of St. Peter's, to become the official portrait. This would contribute to explaining why Alfarano merged hand-drafted drawing with decoupage. He had set himself to amend Dupérac's plan to create a real effigy, looking in two chronological directions. The beneficiary clerk intended for his work to be known to a larger audience. The 'twinned body' of the building, in the form of the print should leave St. Peter's, and contribute to disseminate the power of the image, allowing for a real *transitus* into these sacred grounds through representation (Day 2).<sup>75</sup>

The black and white print constitutes a first translation, by the author himself, of the original colored plan. Even though it would have been possible to hand color a print, the procedure would have been laborious, and possibly not all prints would ultimately incorporate this additional element. Alfarano modifies the drawing to account for the absence of color. The metaphoric transparency, blending the two plans into a simultaneous existence achieved through color, was

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<sup>72</sup> Wolf, Dufour and Calderoni Masetti 2004: 103-119.

<sup>73</sup> In addition to the Mandilyon, one could also think of the well-known Sancta Sanctorum in St. John in the Lateran, in Rome. This sacred effigy also demonstrated numerous complex layering and casing of the original Holy image of Christ (Marino 1995). In regard to the concept of re-presencing see the work of Bruno Latour (1998).

<sup>74</sup> Gerhard Wolf refers to this icon as the 'face who travels' (Wolf, Dufour and Calderoni Masetti 2004: 7).

<sup>75</sup> Alfarano 1914: 4, 160, 163. Alfarano stated that he would draft only one drawing, for a commodious use for the 'eyes' of the faithful: *'unoque folio perstrinxi ut commodius oculis fidelium proponerentur'* (Alfarano 1914: 4). Alfarano's indicated that the drawing would have to be conserved in the Basilica's archive: *'plantam antiquae Vaticanae Basilicae cum oratoriis et Sacellis ac Monasteriis, circa ipsam fideliter ac diligenter aere incidendam curavit, quod aes in Archivio eius Basilicae asservatur, ...'*. He then continues by introducing the idea of dissemination of the plan with the print: *"... atque impressam ad antiquitatem servandam divulgavit ..."*.

accounted for translating its significance through appropriate poché renderings and careful selecting of the portions of new and old to be included. The printed version thus presents a series of details, which differ from the original 1571 drawing. A dialogue generating substantial editing takes place, and a re-telling of the story occurs as the plan and iconographic details are translated from drawing to print. The two representations inform one another through comparison, revealing a complex narrative (Days 5 & 6).

Scholarly attention has focused mainly on scrutinizing the accuracy of Alfarano's drawing, as a survey providing documentary evidence, while scarce attention, if any at all, has been paid to the ontological meanings embedded in both drawing and print.<sup>76</sup> This might partly be due to the fact that only the print has left St. Peter's. The original drawing has had very scarce attention and only seldom been reproduced. The black and white print, focused the attention on questions of geometric outline, and has been studied primarily as the equivalent of a 'body schema' of the basilica's, to appreciate geometrical outlines, overall dimensions, and to derive information about where things were placed in relationship to one another, but did not examine what they signify. Based on a distinction between body image and body schema, it would be possible to raise a question about the absence of the interpretation of the numinous body, presenced in the drawing.<sup>77</sup>

The question as to why Alfarano was interested in a numinous representation and why he choose the language of icons, might have to do with the cultural, religious and political context which frames the representation. During the period in which Alfarano is at the site (1544-1596) the Council of Trent (1545-63) takes place as a response to the Lutheran challenge, leading to the Reformation of the Catholic Church. The Council ends just few years prior to the beginning of the drafting of the drawing. These were the early years of the Counter Reformation, which, initiated during the pontificate of Pope Pius IV (1559-65) in 1560, ended with the Thirty Years' War in 1648. Alfarano marked in his own notes the victory of the Catholic army over the Turks on October 21, 1571, the so-called "Lepanto battle". This event was recorded also by Giacomo Herculani, whom informs that on October 28 a mass was celebrated in Old Saint Peter's to express gratitude for the event.<sup>78</sup>

The contested legitimacy of sacred images and their authority was at stake; the implications for the theology of the Church of paramount importance. As Quenot argued: "the rejection of the icon is tantamount to rejecting the Incarnation of the Son of God".<sup>79</sup> It would not be unreasonable to suggest that Alfarano was contributed to a collective discourse for the reestablishment of

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<sup>76</sup> Bentivoglio (1997: 253) affirms that the 1590 print does not include the portions of Michelangelo's plan that were not executed. Silvan (1992) points out that Alfarano did not take into consideration the fact that the old basilica and the new have slightly diverging orientations. The main east/west axis of the old basilica is rotated 2 degrees counter clockwise in respect to the axis of the new one.

<sup>77</sup> Dominik Schaffhauser & Marc Breuer explain that a "body schema" is an "unconscious body awareness", which for example allows us not to have to consciously think of how we put one foot in front of another when we walk, we simply do it. It provides information regarding the body's position and configuration in space, i.e. it is a depiction of the volumetric object in space. The notion of 'body schema' is now being distinct from the notion of 'body image'. The body image provides information about sensations. The merged working of the two allows to experience embodiment and function in a normal way.

<sup>78</sup> *Calendari di Giacomo Ercolani*. Arch. Capit. della Basilica di San Pietro (Francia 1977).

<sup>79</sup> Quenot 1998: 56.

religious images such as icons, used as an aid towards religious devotion, against Protestant iconoclasm. His stress on the idea of making only 'one' drawing might be alluding to the idea of a sacred portrait.<sup>80</sup>

Combining hand-drawing with decoupage and rendering techniques of icon painting, the beneficiary clerk created a hybrid architectural representation that is unique among period drawings. This atypical merging of traditional architectural drawing with representation techniques abducted from sacred texts and *acheiropoietos* entails a relationship between word and image that was typical of religious visual imagery, and requires an appropriate approach to reveal the sacred meanings embedded.

The presence of icons framing the 1571 ichnography is an essential and overlooked aspect of its significance. While today might be assumed to be merely decorative, for Alfarano it had a powerful significance. The images were put in their own frames, requiring a careful cutting of the paper. This marginal framing provides key iconographic clues central to this interpretation, and constitutes a site of access, a portal, suggesting that an appropriate reading of the drawing would entail going through different levels of reading, just like for a sacred text, moving from a literal, to an allegorical, moral and anagogical reading.<sup>81</sup>

Art and architectural historians have dealt primarily with the literal meaning that can be drawn from the drawing. By applying only this reading, its significance has been reduced to that of a document to be inventoried. A literal reading though, would also include an allegorical interpretation of the making of the drawing (Appendix A).<sup>82</sup> The analysis offered in these '7 Days' moves through the levels of reading, into the significance of an allegorical, anagogical and moral reading.

The clippings, from various provenances, which form a top marginal frame of five icons, are decoupage in the drawing with an analogous technique to that used to include Dupérac's print-spoil. Their placement within the overall composition is of significance; being aligned horizontally in the top margin they form the *incipit* of the ichnography. They are cutouts from period prints and have been glued on the drawing after completing the drafting of the wall outlines.<sup>83</sup> Contrary

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<sup>80</sup> Alfarano 1914: 4.

<sup>81</sup> According to the Father of the Church Origen (ca. 182 - ca. 251) the Bible can be interpreted in the literal, allegorical, moral and anagogical sense. According to the distich "*littera gesta docet, quid credas allegoria, moralis quid agas, quo tendas anagogia*" (attributed to Augustine of Dacia and earlier to Nicholas of Lyra) "the literal sense teaches what happened; the allegorical what you believe; the moral what you should do; the anagogical where you are going". Frascari argues that drawings from the Middle Ages to the Renaissance period were based on a system of interpretation abducted from the reading of the bible according to the four methods described by Origen. (Unpublished lecture, Virginia Tech, PhD seminar, Spring 2005). For a discussion of the anagogical meaning by Frascari and its relationship with architectural drawing see (Frascari, *A Reflection on Paper*, 2007).

<sup>82</sup> Silvan (1992) is the only author to attempt a complete physical description of the layers and making of the drawing, without however providing an exegetic interpretation of the meanings associated.

<sup>83</sup> Alfarano 1914: XXVII. The print clippings partly cover the last drawn layer of the ichnography. A Veronica icon at the top center of the drawing and an icon of Saint Peter cover portions of the Monastery of St. Stephan major. The two print clippings, deteriorated around the edges, reveal the continuation of graphic lines underneath, outlining the building's walls. This also shows that the drawing is not conceived merely as a record, because the author would not have drawn over the outlines of buildings.

to prevailing scholarly literature, they are more than an “embellishment”, and lends the key to allegoric readings.<sup>84</sup>

A Holy face whose peculiar iconography, invented by Alfarano, results from assembling various print clippings, is positioned in the top margin of the drawing, which is the western side of the building, and aligned with the main vertical axis of the basilica.<sup>85</sup> Saint Peter stands on the right side of the Veronica, while Saint Paul is positioned to the left.<sup>86</sup> The series is completed by the insignia of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) to the far left and that of the Archpriest of St. Peter's, Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to the far right.<sup>87</sup> These iconographic elements are essential in the interpretation of Tiberio Alfarano's ichnographia as “hallowed configuration” (*Forma Sacrosanctae*), an inviolable a-temporal essence, which goes beyond a one-time likeness. It provides critical clues to delineate the presence and nature of a ‘twinned-body’ of architecture, manifested in building and drawing (Day 2).<sup>88</sup>

The problematic relation of *drawing* and *building* in the field of architecture is revealed by the “king's two bodies” theory, thus laying the foundations for a theory of architecture as a form of imagination in *absentia*. Beginning in the mid-thirteenth century, and surviving through the Renaissance, the “political body” of the king is given material representation through effigies that act as twins, and take the place of a demised king. Assuring continuity in a phase of transition, they substitute for the absent “natural body”, allowing overcoming this traumatic change.<sup>89</sup>

Analogously, during the transformation of a building, the drawing makes discernible the intangible presence of its “sempiternal body”, projecting past and future as a continuous duration and acting as a substitute, for what appears to be in the eyes of the onlooker, a construction site undergoing traumatic transformations. Drawings are produced in an in-between condition making visible and accountable a transformation that is invisible when looking in a present a-posteriori condition, at the building. Drawing for Alfarano constitutes a second body, an effigy, accommodating traces of change.

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<sup>84</sup> Silvan (1992) believes that these icons do not constitute an integral part of the original drawing but are a posterior embellishment.

<sup>85</sup> The Holy Face in this drawing presents unique iconographic details. The Veronica is surrounded by an evergreen garland with laurel leaves, a detail, which makes it an *unicum* within the history of representation of the Holy Face. Veronica's presence reveals Alfarano's intention to demonstrate the ‘hallowed configuration’ of the Temple. The Veronica in fact was a most sacred contact relic. The word Veronica is a pareymology, resulting from a felicitous combination of a Greek and a Latin word. During the Middle Ages it was believed that the word combined the Latin *vera* (true), with the Greek *eikon* (image) (Day 3).

<sup>86</sup> Peter and Paul are clearly identifiable by the inscriptions of their names and their typical iconographic attributes, respectively the Keys and the Sword.

<sup>87</sup> He was well known for his patronage of the arts and he was also Archpriest of St. Mary Major's, in Rome.

<sup>88</sup> With these words Alfarano gives the incipit of the title, of the short version of the 1582 manuscript accompanying the plan. This manuscript (G9 Archivio Capitolare) contains short descriptions of all the numbered and lettered elements in both drawing and print. The entire manuscripted text is transcribed in Appendix 39 by Michele Cerrati (Alfarano, 1914: LII). Giacomo Grimaldi, uses similar terminology to the one used by Alfarano when referring to drawings: “*Sequens pagina ostendit verum schema et exemplum sacrosancti ferri lanceae quae Salvatoris nostri Iesu Christi latus in cruce aperuit, quod exemplum et formam oculata fide sumpta fuisse affirmo ut etiam dixi in libro sacrosancti Sudarii et Lanceae*”. (Grimaldi, 96 v, 1972 [1620]).

<sup>89</sup> Kantorowicz 1957: 420. Ginzburg 1998.

An analysis of Veronica's iconographic attributes, and its positioning within the drawing, reveals a double symbolism, indicating both the human and divine nature of Christ, which is allegorically signified by two plans, Latin and Greek cross. Inquiring into the drawing techniques employed by Alfarano, such as the gold-paint *poché*, used to render the walls of the sacred Latin cross plan (*sanctae crucis formam*), the use of print spoils, and the azure *poché* over-laying the circular temple (Michelangelo's plan), allows for an allegorical interpretation.<sup>90</sup>

Regardless of the above-mentioned singularities, and the micro time-frame circumscribing its making, this drawing represents "the climax of the climax", a central moment in the macrohistory of transformation, which indirectly impacted the Basilica's future.<sup>91</sup> The microscopic time frame (1569-1576) feeds into the Basilica's sempiternal existence, providing Alfarano's individual account of the transformation, in its duality of past and future existence (Day 4).

Alfarano's drawing comments on the incomplete story depicted by Dupérac's plan, demonstrating how the new plan failed to circumscribe the original footprint, which was a necessary condition for the conservation of sacred burials. The old main nave and transept were in fact a cemeterial ground, resulting from a practice of burial *ad sanctum*, where entombments would take place in close proximity of a most sacred body, in this case that of the Prince of the Apostles. Witnessing and revealing through the drawing the survival of the sacred grounds, where excellent members of the Church were buried is an essential element, contributing to the preeminence of the Vatican basilica over all others.<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, Alfarano's plan makes a compelling visual argument for yet another significant transformation: the possible addition of a new *eastern* arm, completing the longitudinal plan, by circumscribing the surviving vestiges within the new Temple (Day 6).

Renewal aimed at maintaining continuity of identity despite changes, which invariably happen to physical appearance, is conceived as an imaginative form of conservation. The chiasmic relationship between conservation and design is embodied in the twofold meaning of the word invention, entailing the ability to create and innovate but also to find, and to discover something already present.<sup>93</sup> This duality is paradigmatically expressed in the building's careful disassembly and reassembly, spoil by spoil, relic after relic. Making visible both past and future dimensions simultaneously, through a hybrid merging of Greek and Latin cross. Alfarano's drawing allows imagining beyond a visible image, engaging the onlooker to complete the unfinished plan through contemplation (Day 3). Alfarano's work challenges the interpretation that, through the Renaissance renovation, the old temple was destroyed to make room for a new building. It makes visible instead a slow process of translation, as a kind of transference through reassembling of spoils and relics, aiming at re-building the Temple, giving place to a second "restoration", which is possibly an allusion to the second coming of Christ, when the bodies of the dead will be reassembled.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Alfarano, 1914: 6. That which is referred to by scholars as the Latin cross of St. Peter's is more precisely a Tau cross. This is often used to symbolize the Old testament and is used in the composition of the Chi-Rho cross, a monogram of Christ. The Chi-Rho cross is also referred to as Constantine's cross.

<sup>91</sup> Ginzburg 1993: 12.

<sup>92</sup> Alfarano 1914: XXVI.

<sup>93</sup> This signification is still present in the meaning of the word inventory.

<sup>94</sup> Alfarano makes reference in the manuscript to the "*novissimi templi*" as a "*secunda restauratione templi*

This investigation intends to fill in a blind spot and reveal the misrepresentations in the sources as a significant part of the account, to unveil the emblematic significance woven into the drawing through erudite iconographic language and advanced graphic rendering (Day 4).<sup>95</sup> Changing the scale from the macro-phenomena of transformation of the *Fabbrica* (1506-1626) to the micro-phenomena of Alfarano's drawing (1569-1576) it might be possible to rectify certain misrepresentations, which support a macro-historical claim according to which New St. Peter's is a new building, based on posthumous reconstructive drawings portraying overall designs.<sup>96</sup>

Changing the horizon from that of the whole renewal, to that exposed by 'stratigraphic drawings', including U 1A by Bramante, and U 100A, U 101A, U 264A, by Maderno, which guided major design shifts, the hybrid-body of the basilica formed by a multitude of members and authors becomes visible, and a more sophisticated understanding of the Renaissance transformation as an imaginative form of conservation arises. Stratigraphic drawings in fact do not portray the basilica as whole; they do not provide an overall plan, but rather focus on individual members, designed by individual architects, through the overlay of new strata, building on building, drawing on drawing. The gradual disassembly of Old St. Peter's happens simultaneously with new construction. The two bodies, merging, intertwining and overlapping, never were, nor are today, truly separate (Day 4).<sup>97</sup>

The "close-up look" on micro-discontinuities between body members, which become visible at drawings' edges, appropriately cut out and shaped-to-fit different building/body parts together "permits us to grasp what eludes a comprehensive viewing" (Ginzburg 1993:26) delineated by macro architectural history and makes visible the macro-discontinuities between body members. New St. Peter's is not a new building *per se* but rather a sempiternal building whose body is continuously renovated, through gradual substitutions made visible by stratigraphic-drawings (Day 4).

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*Domini*" in direct analogy with the Second Temple in Jerusalem (516 BC – 70 AD) (Alfarano 1914: 26-27). Cerrati explains that Alfarano explicitly stated and compared the glory of the new temple of Jerusalem to that of New St. Peter's. Alfarano explained that likewise the new Temple of Jerusalem, the New Temple of the Apostles will be more glorious than the Old because within it the entire human kind will be converted to Christianity, while in the Old only part of it was converted.

<sup>95</sup> Ginzburg, 1993: 28.

<sup>96</sup> Ginzburg 1993: 22. Bram Kempers (1996) supports the theory that when Bramante started work on St. Peter's no overall plan existed. It is referred here to several drawings and accounts, which provide hypothetical reconstructions of Bramante's design for a new building based on drawings, which represent only selected portions of the overall plan. An example of such drawing is U 1 A, where only the new western apse, chorus and two new main piers are shown. This member, west of old St. Peter's, falls entirely outside the footprint of the old Temple.

<sup>97</sup> Not even the *muro divisorio* had the effect of dividing them in the true sense of the word. Like the layers in the drawing, the wall unites disparate elements. The transverse wall had the function to contain the debris of construction and protect the eastern portion of the temple against weathering. On the western side of the dividing wall the tomb of the apostle Peter, part of the constantinian *pergula* and apse, survived with portions of the transept incorporated within Bramante's *tegurium*. Tronzo (1997) recently expressed the hypothesis that the *tegurium* could have been designed as a permanent element since its beginning. Portions of the transept were still standing and the paving of the old basilica still existed, concealed under a layer of construction site materials.

Alfarano's drawing informed a collective imagination surrounding St. Peter's Renaissance renewal, providing the basilica with a "second body", an iconic vision to be fulfilled. The drawing provided also an iconic portrait incorporating not just physical layout but also ontological meaning. Alfarano's suggestions are acted upon, when Maderno physically overlaid his own drawing (U 101A) onto this palimpsest, generating a stratigraphic drawing, fulfilling the "hallowed configuration" portrayed in the 1571 drawing (Day 4).

A critical revisiting of the concept of body to which the basilica's renovation is attuned might also add to our understanding of the concept of Renaissance renewal. The anthropomorphic model after which the renovation process of St. Peter's Basilica (1506-1626) is modeled, is not just the human body *per se* but rather a "corporate body" of theological significance and Zeuxian origin.<sup>98</sup> The corporate body as a plurality of persons within one body and within time, survives by means of continuous substitutions of single individual members while maintaining its identity. Architectural renovation, hinged on the concept of corporate body, is justified by the theory that it can be perpetual only by way of substitutions (Day 5).<sup>99</sup>

The Renaissance restoration by means of additions and subtractions of architectural spoils in temporal succession can be interpreted much like the sempiternal transformation of the "Church of God" described by St. Augustine (c.354-430), understood as a "corporate body" of which Christ is the Head. Iconographic clues in Tiberio Alfarano's 1571 hand-drawn *ichnographia* make visible the invisible corporate body. Various print clippings, drawing spoils, used in the making of the drawing are analogically related to building spoils which together with new elements are collaged in the three-dimensionality of the basilica and in the fourth-dimensionality of sempiternal time according to the concept of renewal of the corporate body (Day 5).

The ichnography manifests a literal presence of a physical footprint of truncated columns and walls preserved under New St. Peter's. These are the *vestigis* of Old St. Peter's, which archeological excavations, conducted during 1940-1949, brought back to light.<sup>100</sup> These vestiges form a literal footprint, a living relic of the Church of God, preserved within the New Temple, acting as reliquary. In 1620 Carlo Maderno re-copied Alfarano's print and included his new addition,

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<sup>98</sup> For a discussion of the influence of the myth of Zeuxis in "...painting, rhetoric and history..." in antiquity see Barkan (2000).

<sup>99</sup> Kantorowicz 1957: 294-95, 308.

<sup>100</sup> The excavations around the *confessio* area demonstrated the survival of portions of the *Muro Divisorio*, portions of the exterior walls and columns of both the main and secondary nave and transept -preserved as "vestigis" of Old St. Peter's (Apollonj Ghetti et. al. 1951).

which was to complete the renewed body (fig. 4.19).<sup>101</sup> Maderno's print demonstrates the key role played by Alfarano's ichnography within the macrohistorical process of renewal. The eastern addition completes the portrayal of the hallowed configuration framing the icon, and circumscribing the temple's old plan as a relic contained within a reliquary (Day 6).

An analysis of textual evidence and iconographic sources in Alfarano's work, together with observations of other significant literary and visual sources within the macrohistorical time frame of the renovation, allows delineating the cosmological time-dimension of the basilica. This dissertation concludes that the Vatican Temple is a paradigmatic example of 'architectural-conservation', understood as palimpsest always in-the-making, representative of the phenomenon of multiple authorship in sempiternal time (Day 7).

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<sup>101</sup> Maderno: oversize folder titled BAV, Cartella San Pietro, Pianta n. 4 in the GDS, BAV. The engraving is by Martino Ferrabosco. This is the tav. 6 of *'Architettura della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano'* by Monsignor Giovanni Battista Costaguti, (Costaguti, 1620-34).





## DAY 2.

### ARCHITECTURE'S TWINNED BODY: BUILDING AND DRAWING

*...a concrete symbol of the abstraction of the state:  
the effigy of the king, known as "representation"*  
—Carlo Ginzburg, "Representation"

In today's practice of architecture the problem of drawing is the problem of building; both are perceived as final ends. Mistaking the temporal nature of architectural work as being eternally unchangeable they have become fixed models of their own image projecting onto each other an unchanging vision of reality. Prior to this contemporary understanding a building was a perpetually unfinished entity, capable of being worked and reworked, including through the media of drawing, which was likewise conceived as ongoing endeavor.

The proliferation of literal representations, enhancing photo-realistic renderings, produces nowadays a typical dilemma when looking at drawings, regardless whether the image is computer generated or a photograph. Reality and imagination are treated as mirror images. Virtual pre-figurations have become contract-documents to be thoroughly fulfilled; meanwhile, accidents in-the-making are removed from the process.<sup>1</sup> Temporally speaking, drawings no longer project an image of process but a processed image portraying an eternally unchangeable vision of reality.

Time, the unending process of making, is removed from architecture, producing a disembodiment. The design process appears to be cut short, aiming only at arriving at an exact depiction of what a future building ought to look like, rather than discovering what the building will become through a design process, inclusive of a building's construction, and extending along its continuous existence.<sup>2</sup> The denial of the natural process of change implies that both buildings and drawings perpetuate a fixed image, facing the problem of assuring continuity despite and/or within change.

The problematic relation of drawing and building is paralleled in a mid thirteenth century fiction

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<sup>1</sup> The word accidents is used here within the *re-contextualization* of this Aristotelian often overlooked 5<sup>th</sup> cause, a concept given by Marco Frascari, in *Architects, Never Eat your Maccheroni without Proper Sauce* (2003), an anti-Cartesian phenomenological interpretation of the architectural design process.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of time and the changes associated to architecture through weathering see Leatherbarrow and Mostafavi 1993. For a discussion of how buildings adapt through time and age see Brand 1995.

about the "king's two bodies".<sup>3</sup> This fiction, which survived well into the Renaissance period, resolved a problem of continuity and identity: the continuity and identity of the state, threatened by the death of the human king or queen. The political body of the king was given material representation through effigies as twins that take the place of the demised king substituting for the absent natural body, even to the point of dressing and feeding the effigy.<sup>4</sup> The effigy from the Latin *effigies*, from the verb *effingere*, which means 'to fashion', to shape or to represent a person, is a kind of personification evoking real presence.<sup>5</sup>

The natural body of the king, whose life is bounded within time, is twinned with the political body of sempiternal existence. When the king dies the political body reigns *in absentia*, and soon after is reincorporated in the natural body of the next king. The continuity of the crown is guaranteed by the continuous existence of the political body within sempiternal time. Sempiternity is not a co-eternity with God's "timeless and motionless Now-and-Ever".<sup>6</sup> Christianity understood the human soul to be created at a certain moment and then continuing for the rest of time. The infinite duration of sempiternity has a beginning. Time characterizes the life of the natural body, which is mortal and subjected to infirmity. The survival of the political body is assured by continual substitutions of one natural body with a next, coinciding with periodic renewals.

Abducting within architecture the "king's two bodies" theory, allows laying the foundations for a theory of architecture as a form of imagination *in absentia*.<sup>7</sup> Drawing, in its role of effigy, allows controlling the passage from one condition to another. The event of a traumatic transformation is resolved, rather than by looking directly at the construction site, which would show an incomplete physical body, by looking at the sempiternal body of the building made visible by effigy-drawings,

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<sup>3</sup> The term fiction is used to refer to the concept of *persona repraesentata* (fictitious person or *persona ficta*). For a thorough discussion of this concept see Kantorowicz (1957: 273-313).

<sup>4</sup> Royal effigies were displayed during funeral rites for the first time in England in 1327. The body of King Edward II (1284-1327) is embalmed and an effigy is produced to accompany the body. This funeral marks the beginning of the ritual in medieval Europe (Kantorowicz 1957: 420).

<sup>5</sup> Hans Belting provides in *Likeness and Presence* (1994) a thorough account of the history of sacred images and their "tangible presence" from the Middle Ages onward, providing a present contextualization of the question of icons in Western Europe.

<sup>6</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz (1957: 273-313) discusses the nature of sempiternity in relationship to the notion of continuity and corporation, arguing that this category of time was introduced by scholastic philosophers during the XII century. The work of Thomas Aquinas (ca. 1225-74) formalizes the meaning of sempiternity within Christian doctrine. Aquinas explains *sempiternitas* as something "placed in the middle between *aeternitas* and *tempus*." (Kantorowicz 1957: 280).

<sup>7</sup> Frascari (24/07/2007: 17-18) explains in his essay *Elegant Curiosity*, the role of "abductive reasoning" as a kind of "inferring from effects" derived from the work of Charles Peirce: "A retrospective hypothesis in Charles Sander Peirce's semiotic language is called abductive reasoning—that is, reasoning in which explanatory hypotheses are formed and evaluated. Abduction is sometimes creative; hypotheses may be revolutionary, completeness is elusive, and simplicity is seen as complex. Abductive reasoning may be visual and non-sentential, but above all is based on an elegant sorting of clues and evidences, a conjectural reasoning that infers by an elegant selection the presence of absent invisible entities from their perceptible traces". See also Peirce, *Collected Papers* (1958). The question of architectural drawing as a form of imagination "in absentia" was raised by an international conference titled "Models and Drawings: the Invisible Nature of Architecture". Marco Frascari generated the call for papers for the 2<sup>nd</sup> Architecture Humanities Research Association (AHRA) conference, which was held at the University of Nottingham in England on November 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup>, 2005. (Frascari, Hale and Starkey 2007).

representing the fabric in a state of completion.

Marco Frascari argues that “the real architectural drawing does not result from a vision of the absent, but instead it provokes one. Rather than resulting from the gaze aimed at it, the drawing summons insight by allowing the invisible to saturate the visible, but without any attempt or claim of reducing the invisible to the visible lines of the drawing. The drawing attempts to render visible the invisible as such, and thus, strictly speaking shows nothing.”<sup>8</sup>

It is within this understanding of representation that effigies provide material representation to an invisible sempiternal body, acting as substitute. The invisible nature of the “Twinned persona” becomes visible during funerary rites when the demised king, or the body natural, and the effigy, making manifest the sempiternal body, are displayed together. Carlo Ginzburg underlines the role of effigies in controlling the traumatic event of death and the associated changes. “On the one hand the representation stands in for the reality that is represented, and so evokes absence; on the other, it makes that reality visible, and thus suggests presence”.<sup>9</sup>

Architecture is a two-bodied entity: the natural body (the physical building) and its twin, the sempiternal body (the drawing), stand in a relationship of signifier and signified. The building’s external appearance and essence are both represented in the drawing, the twin persona of the building. Evidence of a ‘twinned body’ of architecture can be found in Alfarano’s 1571 hand-drawing (fig. 1.3). An analysis of the icons framing the ichnography and their placement within the general drawing composition is the hinge to this reading. The icons framing the ichnography are drawing-spoils, elegantly selected by Alfarano from period prints.<sup>10</sup>

Alfarano placed in the center of the top margin a print clipping of the Holy face; this is, first and foremost, a reminder that this well-known relic is preserved within the basilica. Veronica’s sacred cloth carries a real impression of Christ’s face. The image is an *acheiropoieta*, not made by human hands; it had been transferred onto the veil through direct contact with the Saviour’s face. According to the legend, Veronica, a woman whose name means true icon, was moved by the sufferance of Christ while carrying the cross on the way to the Golgotha, offered him a cloth, so that he could wipe his face oozing blood and sweat.<sup>11</sup> Its status as one of the few touch relics (*brandea*) generated by direct contact with Christ’s face, makes it one of the holiest and most treasured relics within Christendom.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Frascari, *A Reflection on Paper*, 2007: 1-7.

<sup>9</sup> Ginzburg 2001: 63.

<sup>10</sup> Alfarano 1914: Introduction XXVII.

<sup>11</sup> For an account on the figure of Veronica and her myth derived from New testaments episodes see Kuryluk 1991.

<sup>12</sup> The relic is a linen cloth, measuring approximately 40 x 37 cm (Belting 1994: 221). The Holy cloth was found in the thirteenth century and it became since “the undisputed archetype of the sacred portrait of Christ in the west.” (Belting 1994: 208). This relic was conserved in Old St. Peter’s, in the second bay of the right nave aisle, inside a ciborium above Veronica’s altar (*Vultus sancti Altare*) by Pope John VII (705-707). In 1193 Celestine III (1191-98) places the “*sudario*” (shroud) inside a barred canopy (Wolf: 2000, 103; Belting 1994: 220). It was translated in its present location, in the southwest pier dedicated to Veronica, in 1606 (Galassi Paluzzi 1975: 406).

The print clippings, chosen to invent Veronica's singular iconography, are re-assembled by our author into a new whole, to reflect the double nature of Christ as both human and divine (fig. 2.1). The print clipping portrays the suffering Christ crowned with thorns.<sup>13</sup> Such iconography is not *per se* unusual; what is striking is the fact that Alfarano circumscribed the holy cloth with a garland print clipping, transforming it into a singular invention, unsupported by traditional representations.<sup>14</sup>

The sacred portrait of the saviour, representing the suffering Christ in his human attributes, might allegorically allude to the presence of the old cross plan in the iconography. The garland circumscribing the holy face, an allegoric symbol added to remind us of the victory over mortality of the resurrected Christ, could be alluding to the presence of the new central plan circumscribing the old Temple, signifying the resurrection of the Church into sempiternity (fig. 1.3).<sup>15</sup> This iconographic print clipping is layered underneath the central Holy Face *bulino* circumscribing it. This sequence of making reflects the *consecutio temporum* of the drawing, where the old temple is drawn above the new one, emphasizing the real presence of the old basilica.



**fig. 2.1** Tiberio Alfarano. Detail of Veronica's icon in the top center portion of the 1571 hand drawing. Print clippings from period prints glued onto paper mounted on wood support. The central fragment is a *bulino* while the outer elements are xylographic. © Courtesy of the AFSP

<sup>13</sup> Monsignor Vittorio Lanzani, Delegato della Fabbrica di San Pietro, kindly explained that this image does not belong to the rigorous iconographic tradition of the Holy Face. The reference to Veronica's veil is purely symbolic. The iconography employed in this drawing is an invention by Alfarano (AFSP, February, 2006). The provenance of the print clipping is not known. Barbara Jatta, Director of the Gabinetto delle Stampe of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV) identified the Holy face as a *bulino* engraving and attributed this print spoil to the school of Martin Schongauer (1448-1495), the most well known German printmaker before Albrecht Dürer. She also affirmed that the other clippings in the drawing including the garland circumscribing the Holy Face, are xylographic. The space between the central clipping (Holy Face) and outer one (garland) is filled with smaller print clippings representing foliage, fruits and wheat. A total of seven clippings are added by the beneficiary clerk to generate this iconographic invention. Barbara Jatta kindly examined the print clippings in this drawing in order to provide this information to the author of this dissertation (February 2006, June 2009).

<sup>14</sup> Traditional period representations portray the Holy Face surrounded by the halo and/or the crown of thorns. Morello and Wolf eds. 2000; Istituto Internazionale di Ricerca sul Volto di Cristo 1999.

<sup>15</sup> The wreath is the Christian symbol of immortality: "Do you not know that in a race all the runners run, but only one gets the prize? Run in such a way as to get the prize. Everyone who competes in the games goes into strict training. They do it to get a crown that will not last; but we do it to get a crown that will last forever." Saint Paul I Corinthians 9:24-25. The garland is formed by intertwined leaves of oak and laurel, fruits and flowers. Laurel's evergreen foliage traditionally symbolizes eternity. Oak is not only the tree from which Christ's cross was made but it also symbolizes endurance and the strength of faith and virtue (Cooper, 1978: 72, 96, 121; Ferguson, 1954: 33, 35). Alfarano refers to the remains of the old basilica in several places within the manuscript with this terminology (Alfarano 1914: 1, 9). He furthermore underlies how the new foundations did not affect the conservation of the cross-plan, which is preserved intact (Alfarano 1914: 3). See also Apolloni Ghetti et al., *Esplorazioni*, 1951.

Christ's "body natural" was referred to as "real body" (*corpus verum*), while the "mystical body" was synonymously indicated by the notion of "represented body" (*corpus fictum*, *corpus imaginatum* or *corpus representatum*).<sup>16</sup>

Leon Battista Alberti's stated that both form and appearance (*forma et figura*) are represented in architectural drawing. "It is the function and duty of *lineaments*, then, to prescribe an appropriate place, exact numbers, a proper scale, and a graceful order for whole buildings and for each of their constituent parts, so that the whole form and appearance of the building may depend on the lineaments alone."<sup>17</sup> Alberti explained that not only the figure of the building but also its form, which is the essence of the thing signified, is conveyed through drawing. Drawing has the potential to reveal not just *likeness* but *presence*, not just *body* but *soul* in terms of similitude by means of representation.

Vitruvius expresses the concept of drawing with the word "idea" (form or essence).<sup>18</sup> The form of a thing, defined by Plato as the essence (Greek *eidos*) or nature of something, provides continuity despite the changes that invariably happen to physical appearance.<sup>19</sup>

The 'real body' and the 'represented body' are joined in Alfarano's plan. The Basilica is delineated in both word and image as a corporeal and spiritual entity, a duality of body and soul (*corporalibus spatiis* and *spiritualis Ecclesia*).<sup>20</sup> The representation of the basilica's corporeality becomes the outward sign of the inward presence of the spiritual Church. The relationship between the two is one of similitude not likeness.<sup>21</sup>

The gold paint pochée of Old St. Peter's vestiges, rendered with a procedure similar to that used for illuminated books miniatures, is the sign indicating the sempiternity of the basilica.<sup>22</sup> The gold paint demonstrates the presence of the mystical body of the Church.

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<sup>16</sup> The Doctrine of transubstantiation expressed in the Dogma of transubstantiation (1215) officially designates the Eucharistic body as "*corpus verum*" (Kantorowicz 1957: 194-206).

<sup>17</sup> Alberti's concept of *lineamenta* has been translated often as drawing but also as design, ground-plan and form. Lang's discussion (Lang 1965) of the use of this term summarizes the interpretations that have been attributed to Alberti's use of the word *lineamenta* by different scholars. Lang concludes that Alberti had most likely the idea of ground-plan in mind. Its meaning though remains today somewhat undecipherable and requires further reflection. The original Latin text recites: "*Atqui est quidem lineamenti munus et officium praescribere aedificiis et partibus aedificiorum aptum locum et certum numerum dignumque modum et gratum ordinem, ut iam tota aedificii forma et figura ipsis in lineamentis conquiescat.*" Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, Florence Nicolaus Laurentii, 29 Dec 1485 [Library of Congress, Incun. 1485 A58 Vollbehr Collection. See also Alberti 1966: 19, and Alberti 1997.

<sup>18</sup> "*Dispositio autem est rerum apta conlocatio elegansque e compositionibus effectus operis cum qualitate. Species dispositionis, quae graece dicuntur ideai, sunt hae, ichnographia ortographia scaenographia.*" (Vitruvius Book 1997: I, 2, 2).

<sup>19</sup> Plato 2000: V-VII.

<sup>20</sup> Alfarano (1914: 1) refers with this terminology to the "Church of Peter" ("*beati Petri materialis Ecclesiae*") in the opening page of the 1582 manuscript, where he addresses Pope Gregory XIII.

<sup>21</sup> Like the most important case in Christianity, in the Eucharist, the visible signs are bread and wine, the inward invisible reality is the presence of Christ. The problem of representation is resolved by means of similitude not likeness (Rubin 1991).

<sup>22</sup> The description regarding the materiality of the drawing is based on direct observation, and on documentary information from the *Notiziario Mensile della Basilica di San Pietro* VI, 1 (Gennaio 1994),

Walls and columns of the Constantinian basilica were firstly outlined with graphite, traces of which are still visible around the edges. Subsequently Alfarano primed the walls with *bolus Armenus* in preparation for the gold paint layer. The red undercoating, still visible around the edges, could be an allegoric allusion to the blood from Christ's wounds, leaving a real impression on the Holy cloth (fig. 2.2).<sup>23</sup> The Armenian bole marking the walls edges signifies the presence of the "natural body" of the Church (*beati Petri materialis Ecclesia*) in its bloodily sacrifice.<sup>24</sup> This rendering is not unlike the one used by Gothic painters representing the wounded body of Christ "using some blunt instrument to *wound the surface* of the gilded sheet, and make the crimson undercoating of Armenian bole surge forth again" (fig. 1.2).<sup>25</sup>

Florensky (2000: 121-131) investigates the significance of gold in iconpainting tradition. The author explains the non-representational nature in the use of gold. Gold leaf earlier and gold paint later were used to make manifest an invisible world beyond that which is sizeable by the eye. "The gold is pure, 'admixturless' light, a light impossible to put on the same plane with paint-for paint, as we plainly see, reflects light: thus, the paint and the gold, visually apprehended, belong to wholly different spheres of existence."<sup>26</sup>

This is essential to Alfarano's iconic depiction in the form of the 1571 ichnography. He explains in his own words the process of making manifest, by bringing out to light that which is concealed in darkness (*vetustatis tenebris in lucem produxi*).<sup>27</sup> Alfarano refers to both the darkness of Dupérac's print and the darkness of the actual building, not allowing gazing into the sacred grounds of the temple.

Florensky explains that "the unstable surface of the Renaissance canvas simply does not correspond to the Church's ontology, an ontology that equates the process of making the icon to the shifting appearances of circumstantial reality, an ontology that therefore does not correspond even slightly to the ephemerality of the engraver's paper, for these ephemerality give the illusion of easy triumph over extreme difficulty."<sup>28</sup>

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where information regarding the drawing's materiality, resulting from the 1994 restoration executed by Pietro Tiburzi, assisted by Oscar Cocciolo, in the laboratories of the BAV, is succinctly provided. The author of this dissertation acknowledges the kind support provided by Mario Tiburzi, son of Pietro Tiburzi, and by Oscar Cocciolo whom provided additional details. Both are currently working at the conservation laboratories of the BAV. See also Silvan, Pierluigi, 1992.

<sup>23</sup> Roberts and Etherington describe in their dictionary on *Bookbinding and the Conservation of Books* (1981) that the Armenian bole is used to "provide a base for the gold leaf and to impart to it a greater depth and luster". The red coloration is due to the iron present in the earthy clay used for the preparation of the undercoating.

<sup>24</sup> Alfarano 1914: 1.

<sup>25</sup> Georges Didi-Huberman in *Confronting Images*, 205.

<sup>26</sup> Florensky 2000: 123.

<sup>27</sup> "*Ecclesiarum spatia descripsi, aliaque multa e vetustatis tenebris in lucem produxi, quae hominum incuria et temporum iniuria exoleverant.*" Alfarano 1914: 4. Nicholas of Cusa stated in 1440 in 'On Learned Ignorance' that "the precise truth shines forth incomprehensibly in the darkness of our ignorance", cited in Bond 1997: 28. Alfarano's words seem to echo this notion, alluding to the darkness of the new plan printed by Dupérac and the truth, which was revealed through his editing of it.

<sup>28</sup> Florensky 2000: 131.

The ichnography's 'metaphoric transparency' can be explained through a transforming of sight into gaze, darkness into light. The impenetrability of the printed surface is opened and becomes a *locus* of perception of invisible elements active within the real. Alfarano's drawing allows revealing the footprint of the old temple and the sacred burials herein present, which constitute the spirit of the church, materialized in the gold paint, abducting the language of iconpainting tradition into architectural representation, fashioning an icon. This Constantinian gold paint wall poché is the last drawn layer, just like the Holy Face print clipping is added above the garland, opening sight to gaze the presence of a sacred image underneath.

The presence of the represented body is reinforced by a three-figured deesis in the drawing's top margin (fig. 2.3). Saint Peter and Saint Paul, flanking Veronica's veil on the two sides, are essential in delineating this iconographic scheme, borrowed from traditional representations, going back to the beginning of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>29</sup> The 1525 altarpiece by the Bolognese engraver Ugo dei conti di Panico, also known as Ugo da Carpi (1480-1525), for Veronica's altar, is likely to have been a direct referent for Alfarano (fig. 2.4).<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>29</sup> Morello 1993: 155.

<sup>30</sup> For an analysis of this painting and the iconographic tradition from which it is derived see Morello and Wolf (2000: 211), Didi-Huberman (2004: 194-200), Hans Belting (1994: 208-224), Mancinelli F. et al. (1984: 324-25), Pfeiffer (1986: 106-126, 113-119). According to Wolf (2000: 211) da Carpi might have drawn directly from the true relic of the Holy face. Belting (1994: 222) describes with these words the painting: "It shows the female Saint Veronica with the relic standing between Peter and Paul, who represent the Roman church, thus bringing together the former and present owner. An inscription records that the artist has painted the panel without using the brush (*per Ugo Carpi intaiatore, fata senza penelo*)."

Currently this painting is at the AFSP, where Alfarano's drawing is also conserved. Alfarano describes in some details in his manuscript the "*Vultus sancti Altare*", corresponding to number 115 in the drawing, and mentions that this is the portrait of Christ "*ante passionem*" (Alfarano 1914: 107, 194). Giacomo Grimaldi (ca. 1560-1623) a canon, member of the Chapter of St. Peter's, notary and archivist of St. Peter's, provides in his *Instrumenta Authentica* (1620) a drawing of Veronica's altar, demonstrating the presence of da Carpi's piece in what was its original location, above the altar in the old basilica, where Alfarano would have been able to see it, when he was actively working at his drawing. Paul V commissioned the canons of St. Peter's to document the translations of relics and precious elements, which lead to the compilation of the *Instrumenta Authentica* (Rice 1997). The possible antecedent for da Carpi's scheme, and eventually for Alfarano too, is identifiable in Albrecht Dürer's *The Veronica between Peter and Paul*, dating from 1510 (Belting 1994: 222-223). Morello also reminds us, that "In the first twenty years of the 16<sup>th</sup> century various engravers used this iconographic model, probably with the intention of making a reference to Rome and its most famous church, Saint Peter's, where the reliquary of the Veronica is kept. [...] Around 1525 Parmigianino (1503-1540) drew a Veronica that was very similar to this one by Ugo da Carpi (c. 1480 – after 1525), who used it as the basis for an altarpiece which he painted literally using his hands, without brushes; it was placed in a chapel which was situated in the second bay of the right nave aisle of Saint Peter's where the reliquary of the Veronica was also to be found. With the demolition of the old basilica and its reconstruction, the painting was considered unsuitable for its original position." (Morello 1993: 155-156). Georges Didi-Huberman also provides an account of the relationship between Parmigianino and da Carpi (2005: 194-200). The *Vultus Sancti's* altar is subtracted from the basilica's palimpsest in 1606. On September 17<sup>th</sup> of 1605 the Congregation of the *Fabbrica* presided by Cardinal Giovanni Evangelista Pallotta (1548-1620) decided to start disassembling the eastern portion of the Old Basilica, and Paul V (1605-21) on January 24, 1606 confirms this decision. Pallotta was created Cardinal in 1587. He is Archpriest of the Basilica from 1588 till 1620 (Hibbard 1971: 156). Alfarano's 1590 print carries his insignia on the right side, top portion of the drawing. The papal decree confirming the decision dates from October 3<sup>rd</sup> (Kinney 2005: 16). At this time the pope requested the translation of the Holy face. Based on scholarly sources the history of this precious relic is ambiguous. Hans Belting (1994: 220-221) narrates





**fig. 2.2**  
Tiberio Alfarano 1571 hand-drawn  
ichnography  
Detail of the Constantinian basilica rendered  
with a gold leaf pochee, outlining walls and  
columns  
© Courtesy of the AFSP

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that the sacred relic was stolen in 1527, by the soldiers of Charles V, during the Sack of Rome, and that the Holy Face later “found its way into the relic chamber that Bernini built into the southwest pier supporting the dome of St. Peter’s.” He further states that the cloth is conserved in a crystal receptacle donated in 1350.



**fig. 2.3**

Tiberio Alfarano, Detail of the three figured deesis in the top portion of the 1571 hand drawing  
Print clippings from period prints collaged onto paper (the icons of Saint Peter and Saint Paul are xylographic) - © Courtesy of the AFSP



**fig. 2.4**

Ugo da Carpi, ca. 1525  
Veronica exhibits the Holy Face between  
Saints Peter and Paul.  
Altarpiece of the *Vultus Sancti*, second  
bay of the right nave in Old St. Peter's.  
Tempera and charcoal on canvas  
(158 cm x 145 cm)  
© AFSP

The three-figured deesis however has an eastern origin and a much older tradition in Rome going as far back as the 13<sup>th</sup> century. Such is the case with Saint Peter's votive icon of the Serbian Queen Mother Helen in Rome (fig. 2.5).<sup>31</sup> Here a medallion of the Holy Face surmounts the double portrait of Peter and Paul.<sup>32</sup> In Belting's interpretation, the medallion-type portrait is derived from Roman portraits (*imago clipeata*). According to the scholar this iconography allows representing Christ not as the suffering man whom has been crucified, but as the victorious emperor.<sup>33</sup>

This iconography is likely known to Alfarano through this and other models, such as the mosaic decoration of the hemispherical vault of the apse of the 5<sup>th</sup> century Church of St. Stephen in the Round in Rome, built by Pope Simplicius I (468-83). Here the cross at the Golgotha is represented underneath Christ's *imago clipeata* (fig. 2.6). The garland surrounding Alfarano's Veronica, possibly alludes to this traditional iconography and transforms the Holy Face in a

<sup>31</sup> Pietrangeli 1989: 307-311.

<sup>32</sup> For a thorough discussion of the traditional iconography of the *three figured deesis* see Belting 1994: 102-114, 115-143.

<sup>33</sup> Belting 1994: 109.

medallion type portrait.<sup>34</sup> The relationship between Veronica's medallion and basilica's plan in Alfarano's drawing appears analogous to the relationship between "imago clipeata" and "Golgotha's cross" in St. Stephen's.



**fig. 2.5**  
Saint Peter's votive icon of the Serbian Queen Mother Helen  
Vatican Treasure  
© Tesoro della Basilica (photo by Renzo Menici, from  
Pietrangeli 1989: 209)



**fig. 2.6**  
Mosaic decoration with Golgotha cross in the apse of Santo  
Stefano Rotondo, Rome, 7<sup>th</sup> century  
© The University of Chicago (from Belting 1994: 108)

<sup>34</sup> The Macedonian version of the Greek name of Veronica means Phere-nike, i.e. bearer of victory. Kuryluk 1991: 5.

The frescos of the hemispherical vault above the old apse of the Vatican basilica, which likely constitute an important precedent for Alfarano's drawing composition, presents Peter and Paul respectively on the left and right side of the enthroned Christ (fig. 2.7). Alfarano would have known this fresco, which was still an integral part of the basilica, incorporated within Bramante's *tegurium*. Alfarano's knowledge of the language of icons, inscribes the 1571 ichnography within a long-standing tradition of religious symbolism, according to which only the simultaneous presence of the 'Roman twins' Peter and Paul (like Romulus and Remus) allows for a representation of the Church of Rome.<sup>35</sup>

The iconographic composition of the fresco of the old apse suggests that a complete representation of the Church of Rome, would include the pope and the herd of God. The earthly world, signifying present time, is given presence underneath the *sopracielo*. The Lamb of God stands on an altar marked by a raised cross. Pope Innocentius III (1198-1216) is depicted on the left side, while on the right side, a personification of the *Ecclesia Romana* completes the representation.

Analogously, in Alfarano's drawing, the insignia of pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) and cardinal Alessandro Farnese, respectively to the far left and far right, in their respective roles of Vicar of Christ and Archpriest of St. Peter's, portray the present moment in Church history (fig. 2.8).<sup>36</sup> In addition, marking in the plan tombs and altars dedicated to church members completes the representation, by making visible the invisible mystical body formed by the union of Christ with the members of the Church. The old cross-formed plan is a burial place, expressing the real presence of the *Ecclesia Romana*.<sup>37</sup>



fig. 2.7  
Watercolor documenting the fresco decoration in the apse of "Old" St. Peter's basilica according to Giacomo Grimaldi © BAV (from Grimaldi 1972: 196-97)

<sup>35</sup> Belting 1994: 143. The unification of the Church of Rome into a *katholikos*, from the Greek *katholou*, i.e. universal, is possible through the participation of the two representatives of the eastern and western church, represented respectively by Peter as the principal apostle to the Jews and Paul, sent for the evangelization of the Gentiles. Morello 1993: 156.

<sup>36</sup> The visible head of the mystical body of Christ was the Roman Pontiff. Alessandro Farnese is head of the Congregation of Cardinals overseeing the renovation. For a thorough account on the life of Alessandro Farnese as patron of the arts see Robertson 1992.

<sup>37</sup> Torrigio (1622: 15-59) documents that the old basilica contained relics of more than 180 saints (Rice 1997: 36).





**fig. 2.8**  
 Tiberio Alfarano, Detail of the series of five icons in the top portion of the 1571 hand drawing  
 Print clippings from period prints collaged onto paper (all the icons are xylographic, but the central *bulino* representing the Holy Cloth)  
 © Courtesy of the AFSP

The significance of the contextual representation of old and new temple can be further explained through an understanding of Veronica's veil and its metaphoric transparency, made visible in iconographic representations such as the "The Procession to Calvary" (fig. 2.9) by Ridolfo Ghirlandaio (1483-1561).<sup>38</sup> The transparency of the veil, when light permeates through it, allows contemplation *ad faciem*. Gazing at the veil, the eye transcends the visible, penetrating beyond the physical two-dimensional medium, entering a metaphysical dimension.

The drawing's metaphoric transparency, made possible by differentiated color renderings indexes of the different temporalities of the two plans, allows the viewer to establish a figure-ground relationship between them, and penetrate beyond present time, contemplating a dual figure, where old St. Peter's vestiges concealed underneath, perceiving past and future simultaneously.

Applying retrospectively a Modern idea of a plan to St. Peter's, as horizontal cut, would literally describe what would be sectioned above ground level in 1571. The result would have been similar to what Leonardo Bufalini represented in his 1551 map of Rome, twenty years before Alfarano's drawing (fig. 1.5). Bufalini demonstrated the result of joining two half plans, as they appeared at that exact moment (fig. 2.10).

Alfarano's drawing instead is a footprint making visible what happens both above and below ground, before and after, recording the impression of the building on earth, meanwhile projecting onto it a future envisioned plan. It is a representation of process, making the passage of time visible, revealing a transformation merging two bodies, natural and sempiternal. The idea of plan changes over time and can be interpreted in ever slightly different ways by various authors within a same period. Through a merging of architectural and theological knowledge and representation Alfarano configures a particular idea of ichnography as a drawing capable of recording the imprint of the *spiritus* onto the physical matter of earth.

A literal reading of the 1571 drawing suggests a real presence of old vestiges conserved within the new temple. The drawing's title states: "This is the integral ichnography of the very old Temple of the Roman Prince of the Apostles Saint Peter in the Vatican".<sup>39</sup> The Latin adjective "integral" (*integra*) emphasizes the intactness of the Temple, conveying an idea of conservation

<sup>38</sup> This oil on canvas transferred from wood dates ca 1505 (London, National Gallery NG 1143).

<sup>39</sup> "Haec est integra ichnographia antiquissimi Templi Sancti Petri Apostolorum Principis Romae in Vaticano". Alfarano 1914: XXVII.

and completion. The 'very old' vestiges of truncated columns and walls were indeed conserved within the new temple. Portions of a physical footprint of Constantine's Basilica were brought back to light by archeological excavations conducted during the 1940's, demonstrating the appropriateness of Alfarano's portrayal, which revealed with the use of gold paint the sempiternal conservation of the numinous body of the church (fig. 2.11, 2.12, 6.3).<sup>40</sup>

The merged plans allow a reading of a physical and metaphorical relationship between the two. The simultaneous representation of old and new (natural and sempiternal body) expresses duality; this is also signified by a dual symbolism, factured through a decoupage, of the veil circumscribed by a wreath, symbolizing the centralized sempiternal body circumscribing the vestiges of the cruciform basilica.<sup>41</sup> This relationship can be explained in terms of two bodies, natural and sempiternal. Alfarano's iconic drawing provides access through metaphoric transparency to an invisible world beyond. The ichnography, conceived as iconic representation, is the instrument unveiling the hidden presence of Old St. Peter's, still present.



**fig. 2.9**  
Rodolfo Ghirlandaio ca 1505  
The Procession to Calvary  
© London, National Gallery

<sup>40</sup> Apollonj Ghetti et al. 1951

<sup>41</sup> A copper engraving spoil (veil) is surrounded by a xylographic print-clipping (wreath).

The Basilica is from the beginning a space of many purposes, acting as memorial, burial, and liturgy.<sup>42</sup> To define perdurance of identity within changes through time, one needs to define a certain stability of the image, which can be defined as a fabrication of memory through the making of a drawing-effigy, identifying stable elements, which allow sustaining identity. Old main nave and transept are the elected cemetery of the Church. Julius II stated that it is imperative to preserve them intact.<sup>43</sup>

Bramante's design assured that the foundations of the new temple fall outside this sacred ground. The eastern piers supporting the dome are placed right under the arms of the cross and, in order to be tangential to the interior corner defined by the main nave columns and the transept walls, they must have been drawn first (fig. 2.12). As a result the new nave's width corresponds to that of the old. The western piers are placed above the shoulders of the cross, outside Old St. Peter's, at a distance from the eastern piers, which is equal to the width of the old main nave. The eastern piers were erected after the western ones, but drawn first. They are the hinge to the design of the new plan and the placing of the dome. Such hinge is placed at the intersection of main nave and transept, under the arms of the cross (Animation 2).

The old ichnography reveals, predicts and generates the new. Veronica's icon is a reminder of the multi-temporal dimension of the drawing. The representation directs the gaze in two directions; looking towards the past allows having memory, while looking towards the future allows a pre-figuration of what is yet to come. Veronica's cloth is not just the memory of Christ's likeness but also an epiphany of his future presence.<sup>44</sup> The retrospective and prospective character of the design process can be experienced through the intermediacy of the drawing.

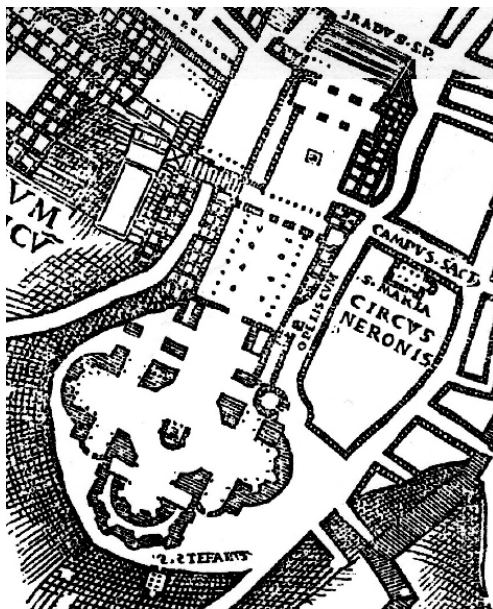


fig. 2.10  
Leonardo Bufalini 1551  
"Ichnographic city plan" of the city of Rome: detail showing the plan of St. Peter's basilica.  
© BAV

<sup>42</sup> Blaauw, Sible de 1994.

<sup>43</sup> Alfarano 1914: 3-4.

<sup>44</sup> "Memory thus had a retrospective and, curious as it sounds a prospective character. Its object was not only what had happened but what was promised. Outside of religion, this kind of consciousness of time has become remote to us" (Belting 1994: 10).

Similar to what happens during funerary rites where the natural body and sempiternal body are displayed together, funerary monuments use double portraiture.<sup>45</sup> The dual representation of the wall tomb of Pope Innocent VIII (1484-1492), by the early Renaissance painter and sculptor Antonio Pollaiuolo (ca. 1432-1498), portrays the dead pope's physical body supine and lifeless on a sarcophagus placed above the effigy of the pope, which instead represents him in sempiternal corporeal liveliness (fig. 2.13).<sup>46</sup>

In 1621, five years before the completion of the Basilica with the realization of the new façade by Carlo Maderno, this funerary monument is translated from the old to the new basilica, inverting the position of the two bodies (fig. 2.14).<sup>47</sup> The sempiternal body is now placed above the natural. This is the only tomb monument from Old St. Peter's with double portraiture, and it is also the only one translated into the new basilica. The other funerary monuments were translated to the grottoes, which makes this translation all the more significant.

Ugo Montini criticizes the reassembly of this monument. He explains that the inversion is detrimental to the original overall composition. The personifications of the theological virtues, which are meant to look after the body of the dead pope in the original composition are now completely separate from it. He furthermore argues that the cornice, which was designed to support the sarcophagus, does no longer have the role of support and has lost its reason to be.<sup>48</sup>

Louise Rice states that the translation of the monument to this particular location cannot be decided upon "out of clumsiness or ignorance".<sup>49</sup> "The living pope seems to look directly toward the viewer, and his gesture of blessing takes on a personal significance. The ideal viewer is the priest officiating at the altar of the Presentation, for it is he who, under normal circumstances

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<sup>45</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz explains that this type of "duplicated tomb monument" is used at the beginning of the fifteenth century. It can be observed in the tombs of popes, bishops and important personages of both the clergy and laity. Typically the body natural is portrayed, under the sempiternal body, supine and lifeless, while the sempiternal body is represented in corporeal liveliness. In the early representations the sempiternal body is also supine laying on a bed or sarcophagus, absorbed in the act of prayer while in later ones, and particularly during the Renaissance period, is seated on a throne-like chair (Kantorowicz 1957: 431-437). Butterfield 1994: 47-67

<sup>46</sup> Kantorowicz 1957: 431. The monument is commissioned by the pope's nephew, Lorenzo Cybo. It is executed by Pollaiuolo in collaboration with his brother Piero (ca. 1441-96), and it was begun in the year of the pope's death and completed in 1498. The four bas-reliefs on the two sides portray the personifications of the four cardinal virtues, Prudence, Strength, Justice and Temperance. The figure of Charity, in the above lunette, is flanked by Faith and Hope (Noè 2000: 205-206).

<sup>47</sup> The original location in the old basilica is indicated at number 109 in Alfarano's drawing. Alfarano points out that the body is translated in this location, in the nave of the Holy cloth (Grimaldi 1972: 215), from number 38 in the plan, in close to the Virgin's chapel in the main nave, by the 1<sup>st</sup> pilaster of the triumphal arch on the left (Alfarano 1914: 59, 104-105, 186, 193). See also Noè 2000:199-206, and Rice 1997: 93-94, 197-205. According to Rice this is one of the most important altars in Old St Peter's, this is due to the high esteem in which its founder is held. Innocent VIII donated to the basilica the relic of the Holy lance of Longinus. The tomb is disassembled in 1606. Cardinals Francesco del Monte and Maffeo Barberini are asked by the Congregation of St. Peter's, on November 16<sup>th</sup> 1617, to find an appropriate new location for its reassembly, which is identified "behind the second pier dividing the nave from the left side aisle" (Rice 1997: 198). See also Noè 2000: 200, 205; Pinelli 2000. Readon 2004.

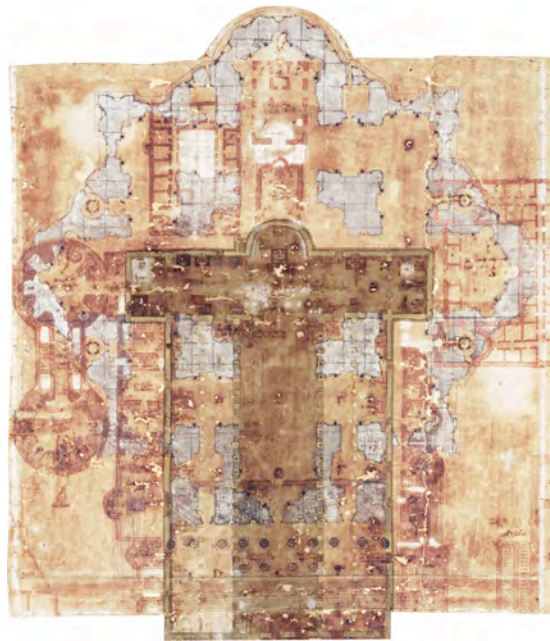
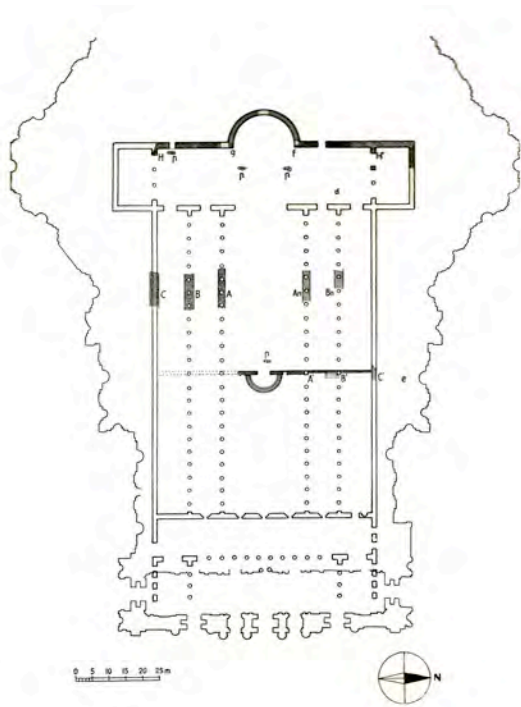
<sup>48</sup> Montini 1957: 300.

<sup>49</sup> Montini 1957: 300.

stands in the privileged spot. For the four *cappellani Innocenzani*, the illusion would have had obvious resonance: they earned their living by saying masses on behalf of the soul of the founder; ...<sup>50</sup> This of course explains the positioning of the tomb on this specific wall, in close proximity to the altar of the Presentation, but it does not however explain why two bodies were inverted.

The seated figure of Innocent VIII presents analogies with the iconography of "Christ in Majesty". Key attributes of this representation are the *mandorla* shape surrounding Christ and the throne on which he is seated; both are symbols of resurrection. "But because of his great love for us, God, who is rich in mercy, made us alive with Christ even when we were dead in trespasses—it is by grace you have been saved. And God raised us up with Christ and seated us with him in the heavenly realms in Christ Jesus." (Paul, Ephesians 2:6)

**fig. 2.11**  
 Vestiges of Old St. Peter's basilica rediscovered during  
 Archeological excavations during the 1940's.  
 © Santa Sede. Apolloni Ghetti et al., (1951: 149)



**fig. 2.12**  
*Noli me tangere* digital collage by author of dissertation  
 (based on alterations to Tiberio Alfarano 1571 hand-drawn ichnography)  
 By contrasting old and new plans with differentiated levels of transparency it is possible to  
 highlight the conservation of the footprint of old main nave and transept  
 © Courtesy of the AFSP (alterations to the original drawing by author of dissertation)

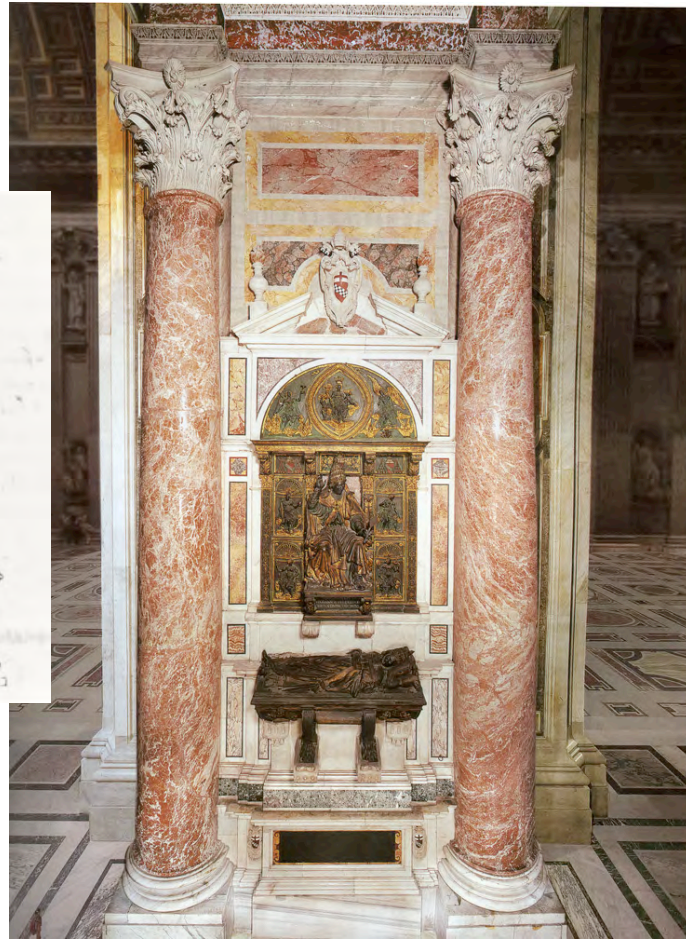
<sup>50</sup> Rice 1997: 199.



The representation of the enthroned Innocent VIII is a sign of his sharing in the beatitude of the resurrected Christ. The allusion is, of course, to Peter's throne (*cathedra Petri*) conserved in the basilica. The throne makes visible the invisible sempiternity of the papacy. The inversion might thus suggest editing the monument structure to reinforce the allegory, by placing the sempiternal body within the heavenly realm. This translation could also allude to an allegorical relationship between old and new basilica; where the vestiges of the old basilica lie now below the new temple's sempiternal body.<sup>51</sup>



**fig. 2.13**  
Giacomo Grimaldi (1972: 149)  
Funerary monument of Innocent VIII in  
Old St. Peter's  
© BAV



**fig. 2.14**  
Pinelli 2000  
Funerary monument of  
Innocent VIII in New St. Peter's  
© BAV

<sup>51</sup> The level of the old basilica is still accessible in the Vatican grottoes where the other tombs were translated. Here a cycle of frescos provides representation of the old basilica's interior and exterior. They are realized to "fulfill the wish of the Holy Father Paul V and it certainly makes everyone happy to see in this venerated place, the old St. Peter's basilica" (Grimaldi 1972: 306, translated into English in Lanzani 2003: 32). The drawings on which, the frescoed effigy, executed by Giovanni Battista Ricci (1537/45–1625), are based on, are illustrations in Giacomo Grimaldi's 1620 *Instrumenta Authentica* (Grimaldi 1972). The frescoes had the function of documenting the old basilica before it was reduced to its vestiges. As Grimaldi narrates it was the expressed desire of Paul V that "everything be diligently documented with paintings and written documents" (Grimaldi 1972: 148; Lanzani 2003: 30). For a thorough photographic documentation of the frescoes in the grottoes see Pinelli 2000. There had been a plan to reproduce Alfarano's plan in the frescoes of the grottoes; this plan however has not been carried forward (Lanzani 2003).

Innocent VIII's inverted monument becomes, from the Renaissance renovation onward, the key tomb typology in St. Peter's. The essential hierarchy of the two bodies, with the sempiternal body above, remains fixed, and only minor iconographic details change, presenting unique variations in each monument.<sup>52</sup>

A lead point drawing by Bernini (1656-57, Chig. A I 19, ff. 42v, BAV) demonstrates the visual relationship between baldachin and throne (fig. 2.15). Peter's throne is framed by the baldachin, occupying the focal point of the new apse viewed from the entrance. Peter's tomb located underneath the baldachin, in vertical alignment with its centre, is representative of the natural body, while the vacant throne, which represents the chair of the Vicar of Christ on earth, on which the Prince of the apostles once sat, represents the sempiternity of the papacy, constantly renewing itself.<sup>53</sup>

The two bodies of architecture, building and drawing, natural and sempiternal, are displayed together in Giorgio Vasari's 1546 fresco "Paul III inspecting the rebuilding of St. Peter's" in the first bay, on the west wall of the *Sala dei Cento Giorni*, in the *Palazzo della Cancelleria*, which is the primary residence of the "great Cardinal" Archiepiscopos of St. Peter's Alessandro Farnese (fig. 1.6).<sup>54</sup> Lady Architecture, Painting, Sculpture and Geometry present to Pope Paul III (1534-49) on the left, an ichnography of the new temple, according to a design by Antonio da Sangallo.<sup>55</sup>

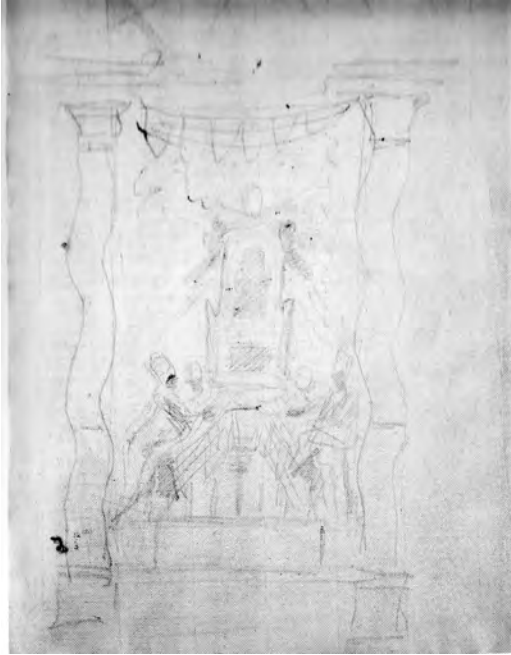
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<sup>52</sup> For example, in the funerary monument by Gianlorenzo Bernini for Pope Urban VIII (1647) the "natural body" is no longer represented in its corporeal features but merely substituted for, by the sarcophagus; or in a more recent 1929 example by Pietro Canonica, the "sempiternal body" of Pope Benedict XV is represented kneeling in the act of prayer above the sarcophagus. The examples are countless: monumental tomb of the countess Matilda di Canossa (born 1046, died 1115) by Gian Lorenzo Bernini and his workshop (1633-1644); tomb of Leo XI (pope from April 1<sup>st</sup> 1605 to April 27<sup>th</sup> 1605) by Alessandro Algardi (1634-44); tomb of Urban VIII (1623-1644) by Gian Lorenzo Bernini (1647); tomb of Innocent XI (1676-1689) by Carlo Marratta (1697-1701); funerary monument to Gregory XIII (pope from 1572 to 1585) by Camillo Rusconi (executed between 1715 and 1723); tomb of Alexander VIII (1689-1691) by Carlo Arrigo with Angelo De Rossi (1725); tomb of Innocent XII (1691-1700) by Ferdinando Fuga and Filippo della Valle (1745-46); funerary monument of Pius VII (1800-1823) by Bertel Thorvaldsen 1823-31); etc. (Pinelli, Antonio 2000).

<sup>53</sup> Virgilio Noè underlines (1994: 391) the fact that the sepulcher of Urban VIII positioned on the right side of the apse, in close proximity of the *confessio*, is in direct relationship with the tomb of Peter, continuing with the traditional practice of *burial ad sanctum*, and hinting directly to the apostolic succession expressed by the presence of the *Cattedra Petri* at the center of the apse. See also Peter Brown 1981 and Schütze 1997: 291.

<sup>54</sup> The "great Cardinal" Alessandro Farnese has a court composed of 277 persons. "He is Dean of the Sacred College from 1578, for he gathered round himself many learned and cultured man ..." (Von Pastor, 1952: XIX, 217-218). Giorgio Vasari (1511-1574) is introduced to Alessandro Farnese by Bindo Altoviti, a Florentine banker, and by Paolo Giovio, an historian responsible for the iconographic program of the *Sala* (Robertson 1985: 55). For the influence and contribution of Giovio see also Kliemann 1985: 197-210 and Robertson 1985: 225-233. Other sources providing descriptions of the iconographic elements of the *Sala* include: Cheney 1985: 271-276; Hartt and Wilkins 1994: 714-716; Grasso 2004: 175-192.

<sup>55</sup> According to Hartt and Wilkins (1994: 715) the plan in this fresco is by Sangallo, who is at that time *magister operis*. Bramante is represented amongst those surrounding the Pope.



**fig. 2.15**  
Gian Lorenzo Bernini  
Drawing for the cathedra of St. Peter's  
1656-57  
Black leadpoint 26 x 20 cm  
© BAV (Chig. A I 19, ff. 42v)  
from Morello 1993: 97

Natural body and effigy are displayed together, demonstrating the role of drawings and models in controlling the passage, from one condition to another. Vasari represents St. Peter's as body as well as drawing and building. The reclining figure to the lower right surrounded by *putti* has been identified as a representation of the Vatican and the other six hills of Rome.<sup>56</sup> An analysis of the iconographic attributes of the figure supports a possible re-interpretation of it as a personification of St. Peter as Vicar of Christ, holding with the right hand a Papal Umbrella, while embracing with his left arm a Papal Tiara, symbolizing the papacy.<sup>57</sup>

The Papal Umbrella is a sign of dignity carried by the pope's substitute during the transition period between the decease of a pope and the election of a successor. This might allude to a transition phase involving the substitution of the old temple with the new. Six *putti* mend the head of this figure and crown him with a laurel wreath symbolizing eternity.<sup>58</sup> The mending of the head alludes to renovation work started in the apsidal area. A *putto* to the far right, not engaged in immediate action, leaning towards the others, offers a crown, possibly alluding to the future crowning of St. Peter's with the erection of a new dome.<sup>59</sup>

The gesturing of the key figures underlines that the drawing is a medium where the analogy between body and building takes place. There is no direct comparison of the building with the body. Such comparison happens through the drawing's intermediacy. Lady Architecture points with her right hand at the personification of Peter, and holds a downward pointing compass and a

<sup>56</sup> Robertson 1992: 63.

<sup>57</sup> The three crowns on the *Triregnum* represent the triple power of the Pope as father of kings, governor of the world and Vicar of Christ.

<sup>58</sup> Alfarano's garland in the 1571 drawing also includes laurel leaves.

<sup>59</sup> The Crown and the 'mystical body' were comparable entities (Kantorowicz 1959).

square, alluding to physical measurements of the body and to a translation of anthropomorphic theory into building practice through the use of the drawing tools. The geminate body of architecture becomes visible in the gestures of the pope, simultaneously pointing at both drawing and building; with the right hand he receives the drawing, while with the left he is directing the construction. The fresco is plausibly an allegoric representation of St. Peter's, in its duality of body and building, symbolizing transformation and renovation into sempiternity.

The drawing-effigy, acting as second body, is a substitute allowing envisioning the future by demonstrating the Basilica's body as complete. Lady Architecture conceals with her body the eastern portion of the basilica, thus suggesting the implicit unfinished nature of design. The drawing is a medium projecting the imagination into the dimension of sempiternal time, allowing a vision of an absent future resurrected body.

Kantorowicz reminds us that during funerary rites the body of the king and his effigy were often displayed together.<sup>60</sup> Giacomo Grimaldi documents in the beginning of the seventeenth century that Alfarano's drawing was conserved within the fabric's archives, where it had been since.<sup>61</sup> Alfarano's indicated that the drawing would have to be conserved in the Basilica's own archive.<sup>62</sup> Drawing and building live together from the period when the traumatic passage from one condition to another took place, allowing controlling the transition from old to new St. Peter's, contributing to the construction of sempiternal memory.

Alfarano clearly stated that he would draft only one drawing. The image was drafted for a commodious use, for the eyes of the faithful: "*unoque folio perstrinxi ut commodius oculis fidelium proponerentur*" (Alfarano 1914: 4, 161).<sup>63</sup> This singular image is the icon, which is to remain in St. Peter's as twinned effigy of the original building. Dissemination was left to the print to be reproduced through copies, which were to leave the temple.<sup>64</sup>

<sup>60</sup> Kantorowicz 1957.

<sup>61</sup> "*Hic plantam antiquae Vaticanae Basilicae cum oratoris et Sacellis ac Monasteriis circa ipsam fideliter ac diligenter aere incidendam curavit, quod aes in Archivio eius Basilicae asservatur, atque impressam ad antiquitatem servandam divulgavit dicatam Evangelistae Car.li Pallotto Archiptero tunc Sixti Datario, ...*". The section of Grimaldi manuscript's *Descendenza Canoniatum*, relative to Alfarano is transcribed by Cerrati entirely (Alfarano 1914: 160-61). Cerrati does not provide though a date for the manuscript. Grimaldi died in 1623. It can be reasonably assumed that the drawing became part of the basilica's archives from the time of its completion or at the latest from the time of Alfarano's death in 1596. Chataud attests in 1762 that the drawing and the copper plate from which the 1590 print was engraved are conserved in the fabric's archives. At this time the copper plate was framed with a black cornice (Chataud 1762: 256).

<sup>62</sup> "*plantam antiquae Vaticanae Basilicae cum oratoris et Sacellis ac Monasteriis, circa ipsam fideliter ac diligenter aere incidendam curavit, quod aes in Archivio eius Basilicae asservatur, ...*" Alfarano 1914: 160.

<sup>63</sup> Alfarano's use of the verb "to inscribe" (*perstrinxi*) in reference to drawing reminds of the idea of 'wounding' the surface of the paper. Mary Carruthers explains how writing involved from the beginning a kind of physical labor. Sharp instruments were used to wound animal's skins to produce marks. She further argues that during the late Middle Ages the body of Christ is likened to "a written parchment". The "Long Charter" poem describes Christ on the cross, likened to "a piece of vellum, stretched out 'as parchment ought to be'. The blood which runs from his wounds is the ink (both red and black) which we see on the page, and the scourges and thorns of His torture are the pens which incised those inked letters onto the surface" (Carruthers 1998: 102-103). In Alfarano's drawing the dividing wall appears to be represented through a cut out of the paper, subtracted through scoring along its edges and removing the paper.

<sup>64</sup> "*... atque impressam ad antiquitatem servandam divulgavit ...*". Alfarano 1914: 160.

The role of drawing as substitute according to Alfarano is also supported by a note found in one of his manuscripts, where he described a drawing he drafted in 1571 to record a small church in proximity of St. Peter's that was about to be demolished. He explains that because of the demolition, no memory would be left of the church. The building had to be translated into drawing and placed onto paper, and only then the demolition was allowed to begun. Alfarano drafted a memory drawing, a substitute for a future absent building.<sup>65</sup>

Architecture is a two-bodied entity. The natural body or the physical building and the sempiternal body or the drawing, stand in a relationship of signifier and signified. The building's external appearance and essence are both represented in the drawing, the twin persona of the building.

In contemporary practice architectural drawings no longer demonstrate how to construct in a descriptive way, but have become prescriptive. Image forming is conceived as the visualization of a *final product*. This kind of representation is a pre-figuration of literal appearance but not an epiphany, which is the monstrosity of presence understood as a duality of body and soul. Iconographic drawing is not a final drawing or a literal one, providing material exactitude through photographic likeness, but rather a program of intentions to be revealed in time through the process of making. A drawing so conceived allows the imagination to grow and develop rather than be fixed. The process of making, whether drawing or building, is not just imposing idea on material but growing through it so that material influences the result rather than merely receiving it.

## Reflections on Contemporary practice

The retrospective and prospective character of the design process can be experienced through the intermediacy of the drawing-effigy, which allows articulating a dialogue between pre-existent and future design; something that happens rarely in today's practice where as-builts, in the form of measured drawing, and design drawings are kept separate. Rejoining these two temporal conditions within the same medium, through metaphoric transparency makes way for a simultaneous contemplation of past and future, allowing the former to inform the latter, conceiving a transformation of the building entailing continuity of identity.

Metaphoric transparency characterizes some of the hybrid techniques, merging drawings-on-photographs, used by Modern master of architectural conservation Carlo Scarpa (1906-78). In designing one of the windows looking toward the courtyard in Castelvecchio, Scarpa drew directly on a photograph, layering on it the new design and allowing, through metaphoric transparency, the reading of two time-layers simultaneously, thereby revealing a permeability of time (fig. 2.16).<sup>66</sup> Synecdoche allows perceiving the old building as whole, even when one can only see part of it, relying on the mind's ability to complete the in-visible, through imagination. Scarpa designed a building within a building, allowing a parallel and simultaneous perception of different

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<sup>65</sup> "Nel 1571... andai a misurare tutte quelle cappelle o per dir meglio chiese piccole contigue alla chiesa vecchia di S. Pletro, considerando che se si buttavano giu' mai piu' se potrebbe averne memoria come erano. Finalmente mesurati et posti con el compasso in carta forno ruinate." (Alfarano 1914: 163).

<sup>66</sup> Goffi 2006.



temporalities, through the merging of multiple unfinished images.



**fig. 2.16**  
Carlo Scarpa  
Free hand ink drawing on photograph (1950s-'70s)  
Detail of a window towards the courtyard. Sketch of the new  
interior window moldings.  
© Castelvecchio Museum

Scarpa's understanding of time frees him from modern perspectives guided by a concept of historical time. This differentiates his conservation philosophy from that of his predecessor Antonio Avena (1882–1961), who restored Castelvecchio during 1924–26, interpreting conservation as a process of Philological Restoration; as such, time is frozen at a specific moment, theoretically isolated within the history of the monument.<sup>67</sup> Restoration implies a false inversion of time. In Bergson's words, "we could not live over again a single moment, for we should have to begin by effacing the memory of all that has followed".<sup>68</sup>

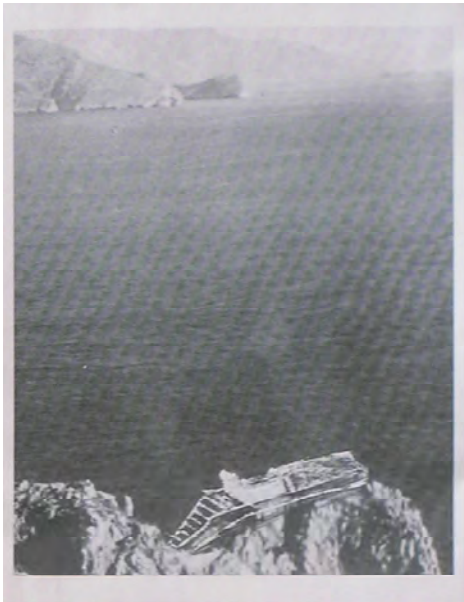
<sup>67</sup> "The problem of historical materials, which we can never ignore but can't imitate directly either, is an issue that has always concerned me [...] I've had nothing but trouble from planning rules in Venice and the bureaucracies who interpret them. They order you to imitate the style of ancient windows forgetting that those windows were produced in different times by a different way of life with "windows" made of other materials in other styles and with a different way of making windows. Anyway stupid imitations of that sort always look like humbugs and that's just what they are." Carlo Scarpa quoted by Richard Murphy (1990).

<sup>68</sup> Bergson 1983: 6. Simultaneity in Bergson's work is the possibility of two or more events entering into a single, instantaneous perception. Even though we are not aware if Scarpa read Bergson's work, given that a comprehensive list of his library collection is not presently available to scholars, we do know that Scarpa read and owned copies of Marcel Proust's work. Dal Co, Francesco and Giuseppe Mazzariol (1984) indicate that Scarpa owned a copy of Proust's *A la recherche*. "Bergson's ideas permeated Scarpa's thinking through Marcel Proust's literary work. Old recollections famously resurface when tasting a 'Madelaine', and other scattered fragments of the past jump back into life. In this synesthetic perception, time is associated with taste. Scarpa likewise made time visible through synesthetic drawings, associating color with time. In a Castelvecchio floor plan, for example, the south wall of the Napoleonic period is yellow, while the new

Avena's restoration created a mock-up of a historical palace, remodeling the castle based on sixteenth and seventeenth-century styles. Scarpa's work reveals the possibility to conceive of architectural-conservation as a form of invention and imagination concerned with the problems and modes of combining the old with the new, while assuring continuity of identity.

An early design sketch for Villa Malaparte (1938-63) by Adalberto Libera (1903-63) was, just like Scarpa's renovation sketch for Castelvecchio, executed on a photograph depicting the existing site *as is* (2.17). Libera's technique though, entailed working in a subtractive mode. He scratches the photographic film scoring the outline of the future building on the site, mimicking the process of carving into the mountain to initiate the building's construction. Even though this building project might be perceived as a starting-from-scratch, clearly the architect saw the site as nature's canvas being augmented, suggesting that there is no such a thing as a *carte blanche*.<sup>69</sup>

Contemporary electronic survey tools provide the field of conservation with documentation methods of unprecedented accuracy, contributing to generate the illusion that the past can be preserved, capturing an instantaneous still-shot, thus producing images without imagination.<sup>70</sup> Orthographic photography allows the production of exact replicas. Photographically produced orthographic drawings include elevations and roof plans. This eludes the question of whether likeness is sufficient to preserve essence. Currently the practice of conservation, once a form of invention and imagination where memory was not simply an archive for posterity, but was always in-the-making, has turned conservation into a form of still-preservation.



**fig. 2.17**  
Adalberto Libera  
Free hand sketch of Villa Malaparte on a site photograph  
© Talamona 1996

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additions on the façade, i.e. interior and exterior screens, are red. These colors demarcate the presence of time through the medium of drawing." (Goffi 2006: 297).

<sup>69</sup> Talamona 1996.

<sup>70</sup> For ex. The Leica Disto™ Laser Measuring provides an accuracy of 1.5 millimeters.

Rather than as images without imagination, orthographic photographs should become a substratum for the imagination of future buildings, not unlike the hybrid drawings-on-photographs by Carlo Scarpa. Furthermore, instead of being treated as templates to perpetually restore buildings according to an *as was* condition immortalized in an instantaneous still shot, they should be viewed as a canvas activating the imagination of the future.

The architectural conservation drawing does not portray an image to be preserved *as is*; it does not constitute an archival document to be inventoried, but rather an image that produces change. In order to be made sempiternal architecture and its twinned body, the drawing, necessitate to be interpreted as unfinished palimpsest always in-the-making, allowing the merging of multiple stories within a same canvas, unveiling through the *continuum* of time.

Effigy drawings, during the Renaissance period, are not a mere literal figuration of one's likeness at one specific time, but rather a blending of temporalities. Drawing is epiphanic demonstration, providing a moment of sudden revelation and insight into the essence of a building. Through sempiternal making, past and future mediate each other dialectically, enabling movement in both temporal directions. The role of effigy-drawings is central in the ritual shaping of the memory of the future.





## DAY 3.

### RENAISSANCE VISUAL THINKING

#### Architectural Representation as Medium to Contemplate a 'Hallowed Configuration'

"the image (of the icon) was to give the impression of the person and to provide the experience of a personal encounter"  
—Hans Belting, "Likeness and Presence"

In today's understanding, architectural drawing projects an image of likeness. Such representation renounces a dialogue with the humanities and becomes a narcissistic self-reflection of the visual world, projecting a fixed image rather than an image-of-becoming. The 'dominance of image' as the only legitimate way to generate design ideas should be challenged by undermining the notion that architectural drawing is a portrayal of likeness, restoring its full potential to represent a 'hallowed configuration', which entails an iconic representation of presence.

A critical analysis of Renaissance visual thinking can inform the present theory and practice of architecture. Alfarano conceived architectural drawing as a medium to contemplate iconic presence, through a depiction of a hallowed configuration. Hallowed configuration was not just a representation of likeness but also an epiphany of presence. An iconographical analysis of the 1571 hybrid ichnography of St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican, by Alfarano, provides clues about the interdependence of words and images, which allows through their simultaneous contemplation the experience of a "personal encounter", providing a site of access to the Vatican palimpsest.<sup>1</sup> Even though acknowledged by scholars as an essential document, the drawing has not been examined in terms of encrypted meanings expressed visually, through the use of iconographic language typical of icon paintings. In this regard its significance is still under evaluated, and its potential influence on architectural thinking yet to be uncovered.

The drawing exhibits advanced representation techniques, which escape more traditional architectural drawing methods. One has to wonder as to why Alfarano created a unique representation combining hand-drawing with decoupage and used rendering techniques of icon painting, and question whether the motives of the Counter Reformation supporting and regulating the visual language of sacred imagery, counteracting Protestant iconoclasm, did not influence its making in terms of technique, content and conception.<sup>2</sup> This hybrid merging of representation techniques used in the making of sacred texts with traditional architectural representation determines a relationship between word and image that requires an appropriate exegetic reading to reveal embedded meanings.

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<sup>1</sup> Belting 1994.

<sup>2</sup> Paleotti 2002 (1582).

Alfarano provides a narrative of St. Peter's transformation that goes beyond witnessing geometrical exactness describing a physical form, and powerfully enters into a much deeper and profound realm, that of its theological significance. He explains the relationship between old and new through a sophisticated spatial/temporal relationship between the measured/scaled drawing of superimposed plans, framed by a series of icons critically positioned in relationship to the architectural body of the temple, reminiscent of framing strategies used for holy images.

Such complex narrative is developed making use of a language that was well known to Alfarano, that of sacred texts, such as Psalters and Illuminated Bibles, where the interdependence between word and image reveals a complex relationship, where one informs the other.<sup>3</sup> The drawing becomes an effigy of the Temple, a twinned body, synonymous to the martyred body of the Church, offering itself as a substitute to allow experiencing a sacred presence.<sup>2</sup> This is possible because of the author's understanding of the relationship between humanities and visual form, derived from the understanding of the making and reading of sacred texts and the unique kind of experiencing of holy images.

Penetrating into the depths of this iconic drawing, and inquiring into its allegorical significance, allows opening up deeper levels of interpretation beyond the literal. This in turn provides preliminary answers as to the time-dimension of this image, and the processes that allowed Alfarano to embed his complex interpretation of the transformations, those already occurred and those still to take place, at Renaissance St. Peter's. The value of the ichnography goes beyond documenting and/or the making of an artistic piece, to realize a sacred portrait, an icon which summons contemplation, broadening our understanding of architectural drawing, often reduced in current practice to exact duplication of geometric form as a portrayal of photographic likeness.

Alfarano claims to represent a 'hallowed configuration' (*forma sacrosanctae*), which is an iconic portrait, embodying a-temporal essence beyond one-time likeness.<sup>4</sup> The Latin word "*forma*", whilst translated as configuration, is used here to indicate not just a geometrical outline but also an evoked sacred presence. Presence is charged with a significance, which Hans Belting (1994) explains relates to something beyond mere likeness, to embody essence.

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<sup>3</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987. Peers 2004.

<sup>4</sup> The title of Alfarano's manuscript *Forma Sacrosanctae Basilicae Beati Petri Principis Apostolorum*, a companion to the 1571 hand drawn ichnography, states the content and significance of the work. Alfarano conceives his hybrid drawing as a medium to contemplate a 'hallowed configuration' (*forma sacrosanctae*) of St. Peter's. *Forma* has a specific meaning in Latin, whose origin comes from the Aristotelian use of the word *eidos*; while the Latin word for figure is *morphe*; appearance is used to indicate the way in which light is reflected. *Forma Urbis* is the plan of Rome inscribed in stone during the period of Settimio Severo. The word *forma* is taken to entail both a geometrical outline but also a representation of essence.

The concept of "real appearance" discussed in a publication titled: "Renaissance Visual Thinking: Architectural Representation as Medium to Contemplate Real Appearance", by the author of this dissertation (2010), has been revised here as "hallowed configuration".

The complete title of Alfarano's manuscript reads as: *Forma sacrosanctae Basilicae Beati Petri Principis Apostolorum a Tiberio Alfarano descripta cum catalogo rerum celebrium ut facile quisque per elementa alphabetica et numeros omnia dignoscere possit*. BAV, Barberini lat. 2362. This manuscript is a short version of the original full length 1582 manuscript, providing a handier complement to the ichnography. Cerrati transcribes in *Tiberii Alfarani, De Basilicae Vaticanae* the entire text in Appendix 29 (Alfarano 1914: 179). This manuscript is translated into Italian by Galassi Paluzzi 1975: 374-420.

Estienne Robert (1503-59), in his *Thesavrvs lingvae Latinae*, gives the Greek correspondent of the Latin “*forma*” as *eidōs*, *idea*, *tutto*s. According to Plato in the *Phaedo*, *eidōs* is the immutable genuine nature of a thing, which gives identity, providing continuity despite the changes that invariably happen to its physical likeness. Alberti states that both form and appearance (*forma et figura*) of the edifice rest on the lineaments revealing not just likeness but presence.<sup>5</sup> Alfarano’s drawing should not be interpreted simply in terms of likeness, but also in terms of essence.

Giacomo Grimaldi canon of St. Peter’s, continuing in a role comparable to that of Alfarano in recording the memories of the basilica, refers in 1620 to the Holy Cloth as “hallowed image” (*sacrosancta imago*), using a terminology analogous to that used by Alfarano in reference to the 1571 ichnography (“hallowed configuration”, *forma sacrocanctae*).<sup>6</sup> Grimaldi also wrote a manuscript in 1618 dedicated to the Holy Cloth titled: “*Opusculum de Sacrosancto Veronicae Sudario ac Lancea ...*” (BAV, Archivio San Pietro cod. H 3), where he records significant events of the monstration of the Holy Cloth. During special occasions the sacred relic was held in monstration to selected personages, revealing its real presence. This effigy is an original legitimated image, which could have been used to produce copies.<sup>7</sup>

*Forma Sacrosanctae* is an iconic representation of presence reflecting an inviolable configuration. A representation of hallowed configuration could be defined as an iconic portrait, embodying a-temporal essence, which goes beyond a one-time likeness. This opens up questions of the relationship between image and prototype, enquiring how the image partakes in the original object.<sup>8</sup> The 1571 hybrid drawing is an ‘iconic portrait’, a metaphoric gate providing access into a spiritual realm, demonstrating the essence of that which is symbolized.<sup>9</sup> The drawing leads the contemplating viewer beyond the gate of the visible, into a transfixed realm, to reveal a veiled but potent significance.

Alfarano’s drawing, in its role of twinned body, is a real site of access to the Vatican Temple and its sempiternal existence, just like the Holy cloth, a contact relic, is an image, whose contemplation allows experiencing a real sacred presence. The image is more than a reminder, in that it partakes of the reality of the prototype exhibiting, according to Freedberg, the same powers attributed to the original.<sup>10</sup>

While reflecting counter views on the future of the basilica, the 1571 drawing provides Alfarano’s influential viewpoint regarding the ongoing debate on the most appropriate plan, to be adopted for the temple, Greek versus Latin cross. Such a well-known controversy has been amply

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<sup>5</sup> Alberti 1966: 19.

<sup>6</sup> Grimaldi refers to the Holy cloth also as “*sacrosanctum Sudarium Veronicae*” (Grimaldi 1972: 122).

<sup>7</sup> Grimaldi records these events in his “*Descrizione della Basilica Antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*”, Codice Barberini Latino 2733, 1972 [1620], and also in *De Sudario*, ACSP H 3, F. 209.

<sup>8</sup> Freedberg 1991.

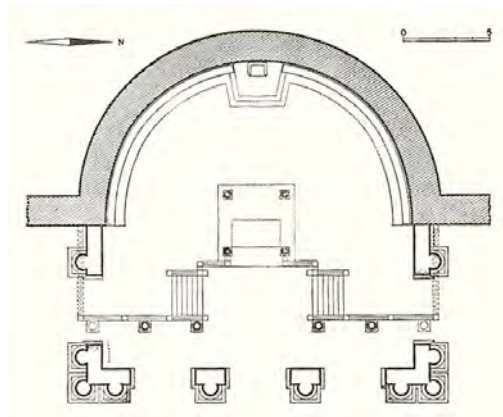
<sup>9</sup> This allows for a representation, which goes beyond a mere portrayal of likeness.

<sup>10</sup> Freedberg 1996: 72.

discussed.<sup>11</sup> Analysis of critical clues in this drawing indicates the presence and necessity of a hybrid-body merging two cross types.<sup>12</sup>

During the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, St. Peter's incorporated a series of transformations guided by the hands of several architects and popes. In a period of a century and a quarter, starting in 1506 under the pontificate of Julius II (1503-1513) and coming to completion in 1526 with the addition of a new façade, under Paul V (1605-1621), the body of the Vatican temple was quasi-entirely renovated. The re-consecration was held on November 18<sup>th</sup>, 1626. St. Peter's regeneration involved a gradual disassembly, and its reassembly as new St. Peter's. Alfarano's drawing, executed in a metaphorical middle point within the timeline of historical and architectural changes, is of great significance in order to understand the meaning of such changes, and connect the before with the after, revealing a *continuum* formed by old and new Basilica.<sup>13</sup>

**fig. 3.1**  
Reconstruction of the plan of Bramante's *tegurium*. It is possible to observe the hybrid body formed by portions of the surviving wall of the Constantinian apse and Bramante's new addition, framing within it 6 original columns of the Constantinian pergula. This drawing portrays the situation around the area of the confessio around Alfarano's period, when the *Tegurium* still existed.  
© Apollonj Ghetti B. M., & al., 1951



<sup>11</sup> The contributions by Arnaldo Bruschi, Christoph Luitpold Frommel, Franz Wolff Metternich, and Christof Thoenes, in "San Pietro che non c'è, da Bramante a Sangallo il Giovane" provide an essential framework to this question (Bruschi et. al. 1996). Other important contributions include Bruschi (1997), Kempers (1996), Wittkower (1962).

<sup>12</sup> Even though scholars have acknowledged the possibility that Bramante's design might entail from the beginning a longitudinal plan (Thoenes 1996), none argued that a hybrid plan entailing duality, was indeed needed based on theological premises.

<sup>13</sup> The work of the Dutch scholar Lex Bosman on Old St. Peter's spolia columns, points attention to the continuity between the two temples. "... apparently the concept to completely rebuild such an old and important church and consequently demolish the old structure was not a real option. In the case of St. Peter's, the complete replacement of the old church as such was never planned, but it has become the eventual result of the laborious process of designing and building. The use of *spolia* proved to be an almost necessary element in this process, since it made possible the demolition of the most important sanctuary of Christianity in Europe, and yet preserve the essence of the old structure after the building itself had disappeared" (Bosman 2004: 152).

The disassembly of the building happened simultaneously to new construction. The two bodies intertwining and overlapping, were never separate nor could they be said to be so today. Not even the so-called dividing wall built in 1538, between the new construction site surrounding the confession and the eastern portion of the old basilica, truly separated them.<sup>14</sup> The wall should be interpreted as a unifying element cleaving rooms and spaces into one another. On the Western side the tomb of the Apostle Peter, the Constantinian *pergula* and the old basilica's apse survived. These were incorporated within, and protected by, Donato Bramante's *tegurium* (fig. 3.1).<sup>6</sup> Portions of the transept were still erected. The original floors lay concealed underneath a layer of construction site materials.

Maintaining the identity of the temple throughout renovation was essential. The restoration (*instauratio*), was meant to be a conservation; the making was a re-making. Alfarano explains that, by understanding the new temple's design, he was converted to believe that the old temple did not perish with the erection of the new.<sup>15</sup> He attempted to make visible the design dialogue between the two plans, to reveal elements of continuity within change that assured survival of identity. He explained that the old main nave and transept remained untouched, and the new foundations, were located in the secondary aisles, outside the original footprint. This allowed for the conservation of burials located within the old Latin cross footprint (Animation 2).

The title of Alfarano's manuscript "The oldest and newest basilica" implies the presence and joining of two bodies, whose merging is demonstrated through a single folio, the one and only drawing drafted by him. In this iconic representation, Alfarano incorporates *as one* two plans, the oldest Latin cross and the newest Greek plan by Michelangelo, which together form a hybrid.

Alfarano's drawing, with its superimposition of physical and metaphorical layers, is a demonstration in-the-making of the presence of two bodies. Pope Julius II approved Bramante's experiment upon strict condition that the old cross be conserved. Alfarano witnesses and measures on-site the old Basilica, of which the eastern 'half' survives beyond the 'newer wall' (fig 2.10).<sup>16</sup> The drawing is a correct demonstration of the location of the old apse, in relationship to

<sup>14</sup> The location of *New and Old St. Peter's* came in use after 1538, only with the erection of the wall (Francia 1977: 51).

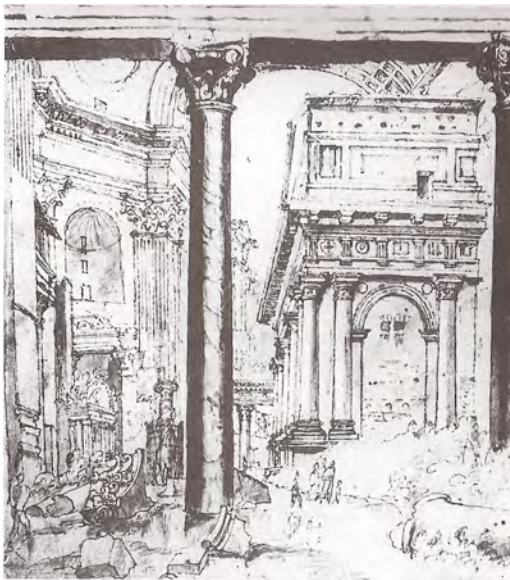
<sup>15</sup> "... *totus animus meus se convertit ad ecitandam in novo Templo reducendamque omnium fidelium devotionem, et ad evacuandam falsam illorum opinionem qui opinabantur totum pavimentum et omnia quae intra et circa antiquam Basilicam erant, in apertura fundamentorum novi Templi penitus effossa fuisse atque ablata, et propterea operae pretium fore existimavi, ea quae didiceram omnibus innotescere et propalare, fidelique populo si quis aliter sensisset veritatem astruere, scilicet quod fundamenta parietum novi templi Iulii II Pont. Opt. Max. iussu extra antiquam Basilicam designata iactaque fuerunt praeter quatuor parastatas intra minores naves fundatas, cum aliter fieri non potuerit, in quorum fundatione corpora quae reperiebantur, summa pietate ac diligentia in sepulturis vicinioribus recondebantur. Omnia quoque Altarium, Sacellorum et Sepulcrorum loca, tam intra quam extra Basilicam existential, praesertim quae in mediana et transversa Basilicae navibus erant, eiusdem summi Pontificis iussu intacta persistisse, nec unquam effossa fuisse, ut experimento comprobatum fuit*" (Alfarano 1914: 3-4).

<sup>16</sup> Cerrati informs us that Alfarano provides detailed information regarding his survey method in G5 Archivio Capitolare (Cerrati 1914: 288). According to a posthumous document dating from 1550, Julius II decides to take down "half" of the old basilica, in order to initiate new construction, while the remaining half stands on the original footprint. "*Et cosi resoluto il papa di dar' principio alla grandissima et terribilissima fabbrica di San Pietro; ne fece rovinare la metà*" (Frommel 1996: 51). The decision to demolish the remaining parts of the Old Basilica had not yet been taken. The Congregation of the Fabric of St. Peter's presided over by

new elements.<sup>17</sup> At that time Bramante's *tegurium* and the west portion of Constantine's apse form a hybrid structure protecting the main altar (Fig. 3.1 and 3.2).

Alfarano's ability to layer meanings through visual representation, witnesses his skillfulness, inventiveness and his imaginative understanding of architectural representation and conservation. It could be said that his drawing was valued because of its ability to fuse together both architectural and theological intentions. In his double role of member of the clergy and *connoisseur* architect, he held a privileged position and a rare viewpoint. He conveyed not just a physical survey of new and old elements, but also their metaphorical relationships.

Demonstrating the combined existence of both plans, essentially a decoupage of print clippings of various provenance, Alfarano in effect added his own commentary onto Dupérac's incomplete story narrated through the 1569 print; recording the essence of the transformation shortly after Michelangelo's death, demonstrating not just the newest added member but also its relationship with the old. Alfarano's plan is a commentary onto an incomplete story of 'instant architecture', which does not allow contemplating beyond the engraved paper.



**fig. 3.2**  
1544 View from the north of the old transept towards the altar by Martin Van Heemskerck demonstrating the survival of the screen columns and their architrave (1498-1574) (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Collection Anckarvård, n. 637  
Pen and ink with white wash on paper  
© Millon & Lampugnani 1997

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Cardinal Giovanni Pallotta took this decision on September 17, 1605 (Hibbard 1971: 156) with the approval of the pope Paul V (1605-21). During the pontificate of Clement VIII (1592-1605) every effort is made to conserve surviving vestiges of Old St. Peter's; the roof is restored (Hibbard 1971: 156) and efforts are made to "shore up the walls of the nave, which were sloping dangerously to one side" (Rice 1997: 33).

<sup>17</sup> Recent scholarly research has pointed out that Alfarano did not take into consideration the slightly diverging orientations of the old and new basilica. The west/east axis of the Old Basilica is rotated 2 degrees counter clockwise in respect to the New Basilica (Silvan 1992).

An inscription in the lower left corner states that Michelangelo's new Temple's ichnography is added above the Old plan. Alfarano aligned Michelangelo's central plan cut out above the hand-drawing by means of a painter's grid, which is still partly visible; the grid might have likely been useful to reduce to scale one or more preparatory drawings of the old plan used to annotate original measurements by our author, or even other drawing sources on which he relied.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently, he redrew on the added print the old elements, hidden by the overlay. The hidden presence of the old was thus reasserted in the new.

The 1940's and 50's archeological excavations around the confession area brought to light vestiges of old St. Peter's, such as truncated column and plinths and walls remains, including portions of the dividing wall (fig. 6.3).<sup>10</sup> The old Basilica did not cease to exist with the erection of the New temple, but rather it was incorporated within it.<sup>19</sup>

The gold paint rendering of the old plan, alludes to a duality of body and spirit, making manifest an allegorical presence of the real cross. Gold, a material that signifies everlastingness, is used to allude to both a literal conservation of the original physical footprint and the presence of the Church as spiritual entity.<sup>20</sup> The gold paint and the Armenian bole undercoating revealed on the edges are the *matter* of the building; gold is the visible sign of the sempiternity of the old Temple, while the red bole presences the material body of the church in its bloodily sacrifice.

St. Peter's is a cemeterial basilica. The main nave had been used since the beginning as a burial ground.<sup>21</sup> Alfarano's representation reveals the conservation of the entire footprint (*totum pavimentum*). New St. Peter's is defined by its relationship with the Old. The challenge for the vaulting of the dome was set by the necessity to remember the presence of the sacred crossing,

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<sup>18</sup> Alfarano surveyed the basilica directly, but he recorded that he relied on three drawings by other authors, of these one included a representation of both plans (Cerrati 1914: XLIX). In order to understand how Alfarano cuts out Dupérac's print, one can compare the fig. 1.6 and 1.7. He proceeded by cutting out the steps and repositioning them below, where they belong. He then cuts-out the title of the print in the top portion and removes it permanently. Later he cut out a printed one-line frame of the print. Later he conceals with *biacca*, the edges of the paper of the print, so that it would no longer be visible. The *biacca* used to cover the edges, which is presently visible because of the aging and darkening of the support paper, was likely to be imperceptible in the original condition. Hints of the original color of the paper, much lighter, are visible along the edges of the overall sheet, which has been preserved because of the presence of a frame, which is no longer present.

<sup>19</sup> Alfarano makes specific reference to the fact that Julius II, aimed to preserve holy sepultures, by founding the new piers within the side aisles. Alfarano 1914: 3-4. See full text citation of in note 15 in this chapter.

<sup>20</sup> Didi-Huberman (2004: 205) describes the use of gold by Gothic painters when wounding "the surface of a gilded sheet, and make the crimson undercoating of Armenian bole surge forth again". See also Day 2 and the analysis of the gold paint and the red bole as signifiers of the spirit of the Church and the bloodily sacrifice of the Martyrs buried in these sacred grounds. Witness Lee (1998: 968) explains that gold is taken to signify the divine nature, because of its everlasting and pure nature; he further explains that it is the first mineral cited in Exodus 25:1-9 as a material to be used by Moses in the making of God's Temple. Gold was of course used to make visible the haloed presence of an icon (Léonide Ouspensky and Vladimir Lossky 1982: 54). Regarding the practice of creating embossed gold haloes in icon paintings see also Cormack 2007: 33.

<sup>21</sup> de Blaauw 1994.

which foretold the new pier's position (Animation 2).<sup>22</sup> This aspect, together with St. Peter's burial, is essential in maintaining material and spiritual continuity. Peter's body is the first stone on which Jesus laid the foundation of his Church, marking in a spiritual, temporal and material understanding the beginning of the fabric.

The old side aisles are interpreted as a peripheral portion of the body, whose vestiges could be retouched. The two eastern piers fall within this area. The western piers fall outside Old St. Peter's original footprint, above the shoulders of the cross. In 1571 new and old basilica are joined by the newest wall; only the western half of the Constantinian basilica was un-built, yet surviving as footprint, underneath.

The hallowed configuration is revealed in merging the Latin and Greek cross generating a hybrid-plan incorporating original cross and new members. The terminology of hallowed configuration is significant. Alfarano's plan does not portray what was present at the site in 1571. The actual plan would have been more alike Leonardo Bufalini's 1551 map (fig. 2.10). A careful comparison of Alfarano's hand-drawing (1571) with this plan supports the claim that Alfarano's interest lay in representing something other than what is called, *ante litteram*, an instantaneous still-shot. Bufalini's plan shows the result of the transformations as literal survey, demonstrating an actual layout, making visible the coexistence of two unmerged members, a surviving eastern-arm and a new centralized western-portion, joined by a dividing wall.<sup>23</sup> Bufalini provides a representation of *as is* conditions above ground; while Alfarano is looking both above and below ground as if through a metaphoric transparency of the drawing/site, through a simultaneous gazing of the merged presence of two plans, where neither one is complete without the other.

Alfarano's representation should not be interpreted as a final drawing, or a literal one providing (in modern terminology) a photographic likeness of the represented object; attempting to portray instead a program of intentions to be revealed in time through a re-making entailing a memory always in-the-making, rather than memory as inventory of things past. The outlined drawing, a 'wire diagram' of the thing signified, emphasizes the importance given to capturing a multi-temporal configuration; uniting the figure of a thing with its essence, rather than focusing on an unstable one-time likeness.

Alfarano's hybrid drawing is a representation of process, showing the merging of two plans. He did not just draw that which existed above ground level in 1571, but rather drew both footprints as complete, superimposing them, demonstrating the merging of the two. The two plans blend within the same space-time frame, due to an intended virtual transparency. This allowed for

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<sup>22</sup> As stated in Day 2 a careful dialogue between the two plans determines the position of the new piers; according to the pope's wishes, the piers should not interfere with the original main nave and transept. In 1506 Bramante positions the eastern piers right under the arms of the crossing, determined by the meeting of the old transept with the main nave, placing them outside this sacred ground (U 20A). The north-south distance between them, is equal to the width of the old main nave. When the width of the main nave is placed in the east-west direction, the location of the western piers is foretold. As a result, the tomb of the Apostle is not placed in the geometric center of the piers' crossing (see Appendix B: Animation 2).

<sup>23</sup> This drawing offers only a schematic survey of the basilica's plan in 1551. For example, Bufalini only draws four columns of the Old Basilica still standing to the east of the dividing wall, rather than eleven. The scope of Bufalini's work was to offer a general survey of the *entire* city.



different temporal-layers to be simultaneously perceived, even though, in a literal, physical and experiential sense, the new building was raised above the old. The drawing focuses on the before and after rather than a now; being in essence a representation of becoming.

This happens effectively with Alfarano because of the superimposition and virtual transparency. The result would not have been as effective if the two plans had been simply placed side by side onto a same sheet. Superimposition entails weaving the two, through a contemplative eye, transforming seeing into gazing. Alfarano's differentiated color renderings for the two plans, allowing for an ability to distinguishing the two, meanwhile merging them.<sup>24</sup>

Alfarano represents the essence of the hybrid-body as the result of a transformation where two bodies coalesce, ultimately emphasizing continuity within change. The drawing provides a reading of the renovation as continuum work-in-progress, which qualifies the building as an unfinished opera, reflected in the making of the drawing.

In the 1590-print the newest wall disappears.<sup>25</sup> The old walls, rendered with solid black ink, are visually dominant and appear in the foreground of the representation. By outlining only the western portion of the new Basilica's that fall outside the old footprint, the gesture of circumscribing the old temple, signifying its conservation, within the new, is emphasized (fig. 1.4).<sup>26</sup>

The presence of Veronica's veil in the drawing's top margin provides clues into the theological significance. Alfarano alludes to the intention to represent the 'vera icona',<sup>25</sup> or real effigy, of the Temple.<sup>26</sup> Understanding icons is a necessary step in grasping the significance of this drawing. Veronica's veil provides access to an invisible world beyond. Through contemplation *ad faciem* this icon drawing can be read in its temporal and spatial depths, to reveal its qualities and virtues. The veil is the instrument, which allows revealing a hallowed configuration, an inviolable sempiternal portraiture, capturing the essence of the thing signified beyond a one-time likeness.

Shortly after Alfarano's period, and still within the cultural framework of the Renaissance renovation, the analogy between architectural drawing and Veronica is supported by visual evidence in St. Veronica's Chapel located in St. Peter's Grotto, under Veronica's pier. The vaults' frescoes (1630-33) depict significant episodes in the history of Veronica's veil (fig. 3.3).<sup>27</sup> In all the frescoes but one the subject is a particular historical event in which Veronica's veil is held in monstrance.<sup>28</sup> The anomaly in the series depicts "The presentation of the project for the chapels

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<sup>24</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987.

<sup>25</sup> The etymology of the word Veronica, combining *vera* (true) with *eikon* (image), might possibly suggest that the idea of a twinned body is implicit in the notion of effigy.

<sup>26</sup> Marco Frascari argued the analogy between architectural drawings and Veronica as effigy. The making of the Veronica becomes essential in understanding the nature of iconic drawings. The Veronica, a linen cloth laid on Jesus' face and carrying an imprint of it, works like a mask, providing access to a world beyond (unpublished lecture, October 2004, PhD Seminar, Washington-Alexandria Architectural Center, Virginia Tech).

<sup>27</sup> The frescoes are executed by Guidubaldo Abbatini (1600-1656), Carlo Pellegrini (1605-1649) and others, for Urban VIII (1623-44). For an analysis of these fresco paintings see Silvan 1989 and Pinelli 2000: IV, 863-866.

<sup>28</sup> "*ostenditur sudarium*" (Grimaldi 1972). The practice of monstrance (*ostensio*), derives from a late

to Urban VIII" (fig. 3.4).<sup>29</sup> Gian Lorenzo Bernini accompanied by a pupil presents a drawing to the pope, at the presence of other Church members. Bernini is kneeling before the pope, holding the drawing with his right hand, demonstrating his design.<sup>30</sup> The events portrayed are contemporary to the execution of the fresco, and memorialize present-time for future-memory, providing testimony to the significance of drawing as demonstration of a hallowed configuration.<sup>31</sup>

Comparing structural narration and overall compositions of this event with the episodes narrating the monstration of the Holy veil in the same chapel, it becomes apparent that the architect assumes a role analogous to that of Saint Veronica. This suggests that the architect held a privileged position, witnessing, like Veronica, the epiphany of an iconic portraiture.<sup>32</sup> Similarly, architectural drawings, when presented for the first time to their patrons, demonstrate through contemplation *ad faciem* a hallowed configuration.<sup>33</sup>

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Middle Ages ritual, that of displaying the host after the miracle of transubstantiation, following the affirmation of the doctrine of transubstantiation. The term is used in fifteen-century ecclesiastical Latin, to indicate the displaying of sacred objects, such as relics. The transparent receptacle used to exhibit the consecrated Host is called monstrance (*ostensorium*). The word *ostensio*, from Latin *ostens*, means stretched out to view.

<sup>29</sup> These are the chapels in the main piers.

<sup>30</sup> The drawing is an orthography demonstrating the *face* of the pilaster looking towards the center of the basilica. Drawing is understood as a gate into the essence of a represented object.

<sup>31</sup> Lavin (2005: 139) states that this is "a remarkable testimony to the importance and the self consciousness of the entire undertaking". It has also been suggested that the subject for this fresco might be Bernini's own idea. "[...] one cannot but mention, particularly for the chapel of the Veronica, how there are also represented absolutely contemporary events, like *The presentation of the project for the chapels to Urban VIII*, where the Barberini pope and Gianlorenzo Bernini are caught as though in a photograph (Torrigo 1639: 201): an image that in the realism of its portraiture has qualities of vitality and freshness unknown to the other scenes. In this case at least one may believe that the choice of the subject does not derive from Ciampelli's programme, so much as, rather, from the time when Bernini became director of works in the chapels: perhaps a tribute from the artist who worked under his direction, perhaps from Pellegrini, his pupil; or perhaps an idea of Bernini himself, who wanted to immortalize, in the more 'private' space of the Grottoes, the affectionate relationship, of mutual admiration and trust, that bound him to his famous patron" (Pinelli, 2000: IV, 865)

<sup>32</sup> Florensky explains how "icon painting was a way of obtaining a supersensible perception" granted only to selected individuals, because "icon painting is the transfixing of heavenly images" (Florensky 2000: 67-68). Raphael represented the architect imagining his design while inspired by angels hovering above him (Raphael, Uffizi, GDSU f. 1973 r, v)

<sup>33</sup> There are numerous representations of this kind. It is famous the oil painting by Jacopo Chimenti da Empoli, portraying Michelangelo presenting to Pope Leo X and to Cardinal Giulio de Medici a drawing for the Laurenziana Library (Florence, Casa Buonarroti). Others include: a fresco in the Vatican Palace, Sala di Costantino depicting Clement VII being presented with a Latin cross plan of St. Peter's by a cardinal, Raphael is possibly included in the group of personages participating in the event (Kempers 1996: 232); Giorgio Vasari's oil painting "Cosimo de Medici among his artists", Florence, Palazzo Vecchio, Sala Cosimo I; Giorgio Vasari's 1546 fresco "Paul III inspecting the rebuilding of St. Peter's" in the first bay, on the west wall of the *Sala dei Cento Giorni*, in the *Palazzo della Cancelleria* in Rome, and in the following century the frontispiece for Carlo Padredo *Descrizione fatta della Chiesa Antica e Moderna di S. Pietro* dating from 1673, by Carlo Maratta, presents a fictitious encounter between Constantine and Julius II to discuss the plan of St. Peter's, here the plan held by an angel is Alfarano's own 1590's print. "Monstrance" (Latin *monstrancia*) and the kindred word "ostensorium" (Latin *Ostensio*) entail a demonstration through viewing, and are used to indicate the showing to the faithful of the Eucharistic body of Christ lifted during consecration at mass, or exhibited during processions when the host is carried within the *Ostensorium*, i.e. the monstrance reliquary, through the city. Grimaldi uses the word monstrance to refer to the demonstration of the outline of the relic of the Holy Lance. Grimaldi uses interchangeably the words

Comparing the two narratives, architectural drawing and iconic representation become linked. Architectural representation through the drawing of effigies becomes the fundamental principle of authority in architectural making; its legitimacy is related to religious, theological and spiritual foundations.

Iconic representation is a hallowed configuration summoning a real sacred presence, in other words providing something beyond merely literal representation; “the image was to give the impression of the person and to provide the experience of a personal encounter.”<sup>34</sup> Monstrance through drawing entails the epiphany of the thing shown. Alfarano’s drawing in its role of substitute becomes a real site of access to the Vatican Temple.

Freedberg inquires into the question of inherence of the prototype in the image and turns to the psychology of dreams and the psychology of response to explain our interaction with sacred images extending this to the workings of other images. It is only through dreams that “the distinction between image and reality collapses so readily”.<sup>35</sup> Freedberg goes as far as stating that “the power of images might reside, at least in some cases, on the fusion of image and prototype”.

The relationship between holy image and prototype is one of inherence, that is to say that one is present in the other in a real sense. Alfarano conceives drawing as a medium carrying all the marks of its making and re-making like an original; in so doing the image formed is informed by the prototype, and partakes in its essence, making St. Peter’s truly present in the drawing; *vice versa* the drawing is also present in St. Peter’s, having the power not just to explain *pro memoria* its past, but also to generate future changes.<sup>36</sup>

Alfarano’s decision to represent the hallowed configuration through one chosen drawing is significant.<sup>37</sup> The chosen drawing is an ichnography, which, like the etymology of the word

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*ostendit and demonstrate*, i.e. “to demonstrate”. *Sequens pagina demonstrate exemplum sanctissimi crucifixi ex aere olim inaurato quatuor cla... in summitate ciborii sanctissimi Sudarii Veroniceae, [...]* Grimaldi 95v, 1972 [1620]. Filippo Buonanni in 1715 explicitly uses the word “ostensio” in reference to “orthography” and “sciography” in his 1715 book “*Numismata summorum pontificum temple vaticani fabricam*”: “Basilicae delineamenta exprimantur per orthographiam, vel ex sciographia ostendatur prospectus exterior, vel interior scenographiae beneficio aperiat” (Buonanni 1715: 8).

<sup>34</sup> Belting 1994: 11.

<sup>35</sup> Freedberg 1996: 68-87. Florensky also enters into a discussion about the nature of dreams and the notion of time to get into an understanding of the workings of icons, he explains that dreams are “our first and simplest entry into the invisible world” and are an “ontological reflection of our world” (2000: 34, 42).

<sup>36</sup> The power of this drawing to generate change is demonstrated, for instance, by the fact that Maderno uses Alfarano’s drawing as physical support for his early designs (U 101A) to generate the outline of the eastern addition, as it will be discussed in Day 4.

<sup>37</sup> Alfarano explicitly states that he traces only *one* drawing (*unoque folio perstrinxit*) (Alfarano 1914: 4) He chooses this to be an *ichnography* rather than an *orthography* or a *sciography*. Vitruvio lists three types of drawings: *ichnographia*, *ortographia* and *scaenographia*. Vitruvio, I, 2, 2 (1997). Raphael in his well-known 1519-20 letter to Leo X (1513-1521) lists plan, elevation and section as the type of drawings that should be used by architects. For a thorough analysis of the letter and its significance see Thoenes 1986 and Frommel 1984. The ichnography is the *chosen* orthographic projection through which to attempt the

suggests, has an iconic quality, which goes beyond likeness, implying a relationship of similitude between signified and signifier, which is resolved through appropriate representation strategies. From the Greek *iknos* (track, footprint) and *graphia* (writing), the ichnography is a 'track-drawing', which allows tracking changes, making the passage of time visible. The ichnography is the chosen instrument providing memory traces on the 'drawing-site', acting like a veil and bearing the traces of the building's presence within time.<sup>38</sup>

The notion of footprint might be related here to the idea of *acheiropoiotos*, images not made by human hands but rather produced by an original. The impression left by the building on the ground is literally a footprint, not unlike the traces left on the cloth by Holy Face.<sup>39</sup> This original trace and its presence on the site is sacred.

The Vatican palimpsest, portrayed in Alfarano's drawing, is a track-drawing, sharing in the nature of effigies such as the Holy cloth, producing an "enduring physical impression", which might ultimately approach infinity like the original that produced it.<sup>40</sup> Such impression though is not a perfect duplication, aiming at reproducing likeness, but rather an imperfect image, a trace reminding of a real presence beyond the physical cloth.

The luminous gold paint of the Constantinian Basilica's walls, layered above Michelangelo's azure walls *poché*, brings to the foreground the numinous body of the basilica, providing it with a tactile and corporeal presence, as if the building was indeed present as a whole on the paper. The notion of footprint entailed that the body is whole when leaving the imprint; this is very different from the modern idea of plan as horizontal section. The solid gold *poché* is an aid in providing the body with a haptic presence. One can empathetically feel the presence of the building as whole; the *poché* provides one with a sense of its *gravitas* (presence and weightiness), sensing the whole physical and spiritual body of the building in the footprint.

A period drawing by Cesare Nebbia shows architect and patron in the foreground examining the plan and pointing to construction work in the middle ground where St. Peter's is being erected (fig. 3.5). The plan of the original basilica is shown as dots on the ground recording the footprint, and mirroring the impression on earth of the building while laying its foundations. The architect holds the plan vertical. Building and columns are 'raised up' from the footprint, in a parallel with Christ's ascension, which was also said to leave a footprint in stone. The orthography is an elevation raised up from the footprint.

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portrayal of the effigy. This type of representation is essential to Alfarano in delineating the *forma sacrosantae*.

<sup>38</sup> Alfarano tracks the site changes in the drawing, all the way back to the presence of roman mausoleums underneath the basilica. Those structures are outlined in his drawings, similarly to other temples and churches, with red ink. A crossed hatched *pochée* completes their rendering. The mausoleum's walls are drawn last, after completing the rendering of Michelangelo's walls with white wash and azure coloration. The roman mausoleums appear to be drawn more sketchy and imprecise, compared to the outline of Old St. Peter's footprint.

<sup>39</sup> The Holy Face which can be interpreted as an orthographic view is related here to the idea of ichnography in as much as this is a track drawing, i.e. an imprint of the building's footprint on the ground, not unlike the imprint of Christ's face on the cloth.

<sup>40</sup> Belting (1994: 4) discusses the sudarium of St. Veronica as "enduring physical impression" left by the body of Christ and anticipating to the devoted Christian the future vision of the savior.



**fig. 3.3**  
Guidobaldo Abbatini, Carlo Abbatini and others,  
ca. 1630-33  
Saint Veronica exhibits the Holy Face to  
Emperor Tiberius  
Chapel of St. Veronica. Transept and Nave.  
Vault  
Fresco  
© 2000 Franco Cosimo Panini (info@fcp.it)



**fig. 3.4**  
Guidobaldo Abbatini, Carlo Abbatini and others,  
ca. 1630-33  
The presentation of the project for the chapels  
to Urban VIII  
Chapel of St. Veronica. Transept and Nave.  
Vault  
Fresco  
© 2000 Franco Cosimo Panini (info@fcp.it)  
from Pinelli 2000: 1155





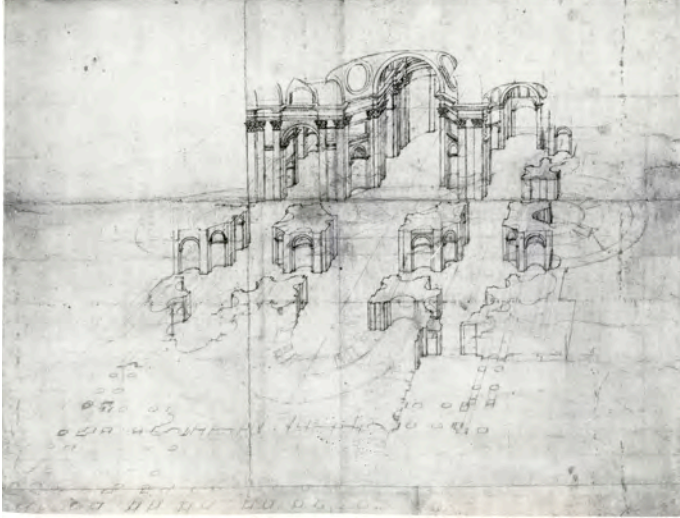
fig. 3.5  
 Cesare Nebbia  
 The foundation of St. Peter's  
 © Department des Arts Graphiques, inv. 5314

The hierarchy of the signs and marks *on paper* used in the construction of Peruzzi's U 2A reflects how different graphic techniques can be used to reflect and make manifest the relationship between the construction of the drawing and the *on site* temporal construction (fig. 3.6).<sup>41</sup> The construction lines of the perspective plan are traced in black lead, while the footprint of the building is traced in sanguine, making a clear distinction between the two. Sanguine seem to allude to a material presence of the building on site, while lead lines make manifest an invisible yet present geometry, possibly outlined with the use of ropes on site. Brown ink is used to outline the elevated portions of the building, providing a more accurate and precise vertical profile of piers and vaults. The brown ink detailing appears in contrast with the free hand footprint lines, as if the two indicated two different ways of seeing and perceiving.<sup>42</sup>

The drawing's *consecutio temporum* reflects the construction of the building. The lead construction lines, which are traced first, correspond to the laying down of the ropes used to mark the essential alignments; follows the tracing of the footprint in sanguina, corresponding to the marking and opening of the ground for the wall's foundations. Finally the brown ink demonstrating elevated portions of the pilasters, demonstrates how new construction started from the west.

<sup>41</sup> Emmons 2010.

<sup>42</sup> The vertical profiles indicate a reality, which could later be perceived in the real condition, while the footprint, which can be perceived as a whole in the drawing, can never be perceived as such in real life.



**fig. 3.6**  
Baldassarre Peruzzi  
Perspective of the interior of St. Peter's  
© Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Uffizi (U 2A)

Interestingly the portions of pylons and main eastern piers that are cross-sectioned are outlined with the same brown ink, but with a lighter line weight, than the vertical lines.<sup>43</sup> Even though this is clearly a perspective drawing, the idea of plan as footprint and the idea of an horizontal section are both present, and the rendering of the two varies.

Alfarano's solid footprint poché, allows presenting the fabric as whole, in and on paper. The tactile quality of the relieved poché is the index of such presence; conversely a simple geometric outline, demarcating the outer edges, like in Peruzzi's drawing would more apt to conveying a sense of horizontal sectioning of the wall.

New and old plan do not simply overlap, they appear to be merging in Alfarano's drawing, generating a tension between the two that can't be explained simply on the basis of urban stratigraphy, and needs to be understood in terms of allegoric significance. Alfarano represents in a non-literal way the result of a transformation where two bodies, Greek and Latin cross, coexist and intertwine, emphasizing continuity within change and revealing the presence and necessity of a composite plan.<sup>44</sup>

Veronica's iconography in this drawing is the result of the gluing and assembling of different print clippings, from various provenances, carefully trimmed and reassembled to form a new iconography. The elements selected and re-assembled, reflect the double nature of Christ as both human and divine. The image of the suffering Christ, in the top center of the margin, can be interpreted as an allegory to the presence of the old basilica; while the evergreen garland

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<sup>43</sup> It is interesting that we do talk of the thickness of a line in a drawing as 'line weight', which seems to carry the memory of its materiality, associating a sense of weight with the thickness of the line.

<sup>44</sup> The composite plan, a composite body created by joining a central and a longitudinal plan, was codified in the renaissance architectural treatise by the *quattrocento* architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1502), in his *Trattato di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte Militare* (1967 [1474-1482]). For an analysis of the composite plan theorized by di Giorgio and St. Peter's see Thoenes (1996: 284-285) and Belluzzi (2002: 40-41).

surrounding the Holy Cloth, reminder of the victory over mortality of the resurrected Christ, could be read as an allegory of the new central plan circumscribing the old. These iconographic elements reveal a double symbolism, reflected by the two plans. According to Alfarano's iconography, only the merged presence of the two plans satisfies the hallowed configuration.

The placement of the Veronica within the general composition is the hinge to our understanding of the central plan as symbol of restoration. Alfarano makes reference in the manuscript to the renewal as a "second restoration" of God's Temple.<sup>45</sup> The theological meaning embedded in the overlaid central plan could be argued to be a representation of the restored Church of God.

The historical context setting the horizon for the drawing's preparation, contributes to shaping its content and significance. The question whether the Vatican basilica could be the main church of Christendom was open to debate.<sup>46</sup> The Lateran Basilica, also founded by Emperor Constantine, contends this primacy on the theological basis that the head of the Apostle Peter is conserved there and on historical primacy, being the first church founded by the roman emperor in 315 AD.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Alfarano 1914: 26-27.

<sup>46</sup> Cerrati provides a thorough account of the development and origin of this question, which according to him goes as far back as the XII century. Pietro Mallio, canon of St. Peter's during the pontificate of Alexander III (1159-1181), contributed to addressing the question through his *"Descriptio Basilicae Vaticanae"*, which is one of Alfarano's sources. Alfarano in fact stated in the earliest draft of his manuscript that his work is a *"Supplemento alli libri di Maffeo Vegio e Petro Mallio ..."*, i.e. an addition building onto and in continuation of the work of the fifteenth century humanist and the twelfth century canon (Alfarano 1914: XVI). Visitors and pilgrims whom approached the city of Rome through Andrea Palladio's "Description of the Churches in the city of Rome", published in 1554 (Palladio 2000), would have been aware that "beneath the high altar there is *half* the body of Saint Peter and *half* that of Saint Paul". Palladio starts his narration with the description of the "first" of the seven most important churches, that of *San Giovanni in Laterano*, "which is also the Pontiff's seat [...] on the Celian Hill", dedicated to the Saviour, Saint John the Baptist and Saint John the Evangelist. The Basilica of St. Peter's comes second, right after San Giovanni. The other five churches are, in order: San Paolo "*on the Via Ostiense*" where the head of Paul is found; Santa Maria Maggiore "the first in Rome to be dedicated to the Virgin Mary"; San Lorenzo fuori le mura "on the via Tiberina"; Santa Croce in Gerusalemme, and lastly San Sebastiano "outside of Rome on the Via Appia" (Hart and Hicks 2006: 103-114).

<sup>47</sup> The Lateran basilica was known as *Urbis et Orbis omnium Ecclesiarum Mater et Caput* (Alfarano 1914: XX). The primacy of the Lateran as mother of all churches, is recognized by a twelfth-century inscription on the pediment of its porch: "Dogmate Papali Datur ac Simul Imperiali quod sim cunctarum mater ecclesiarum/hic salvatoris celestia regna datoris/nominee sanxerunt cum cuncta paracta fuerunt/quaesmus ex toto conversi supplice voto/noster quod hec sedes tibi Christi sit inclita sedes" (Bertelli 2001: 188-89; De Blaauw 1994: 452). The Vatican basilica is in fact the *second* to be founded and *only* incorporates half of the *body* of Peter. The foundation date is uncertain. Construction work is believed to have started between 319-322. The Basilica is completed by the time of death of Emperor Constantine in 337 (Grimaldi 2001: 5). The subject matter is discussed by the beneficiary clerk Giulio Hercolano (1502-1567), the older brother of Alfarano's mentor Giacomo, in a manuscript draft, *De Prestanzia* (1566-67), composed under the pontificate of Pius V (1566-May 1<sup>st</sup> 1572), with the intent to demonstrate the preeminence of the Vatican temple, arguing that it is more important to possess the *body* than the *head*. Giulio Hercolano, "*Iulii Hercolani civis Romani, nec non sacrosanctae Basilicae Principis Apostolorum de Urbe beneficiati de eiusdem sacrosanctae Basilicae praestantia dignitate excellentia et antiquitate liber Anno Dni MDLXVII* (ff. 25 and following, G 8 Archivio Capitolare, Vatican). Cited by Michele Cerrati (Alfarano 1914: XVIII-XXII). It is under his pontificate that Alfarano is working at the preparation and drafting of his 1571 hand drawing. The insigna of Pope Gregory XIII, is added to the drawing after 1572.



In 1569 Pius V conceded primacy to the Lateran Basilica, which is officially recognized as “mother” and “head” of the Church of Rome and the Christianized world.<sup>48</sup> The Augustinian Onofrio Panvinio (1529-1568), librarian of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, contributes to the ongoing debate with a manuscript that Alfarano cites as one of his primary sources.<sup>49</sup> Panvinio’s intent is to support the thesis that the Vatican temple is the preeminent church of Christianity.<sup>50</sup> The attributes of *Mater et Caput* are essential in defining primacy. The transformation and re-definition of the basilica’s body contributes to this end.<sup>51</sup> Within this historical and theological horizon Alfarano’s work contributes to the discussion through a visible demonstration through drawing, that St. Peter’s is indeed *Mater et Caput* of all churches.<sup>52</sup>

The final cause of the drawing is a depiction of a hallowed configuration, realized through a hybrid-drawing, revealing the merging two cross types. The drawing is a paradigmatic instrument, chosen to demonstrate through visual thinking the theological significance of the renewal. This iconic representation, merging technical architectural language with that of Christian iconography, provides an epiphany of essence.<sup>53</sup> Iconographic and architectonic elements in the drawing reveal

<sup>48</sup> Cerrati 1914: XXIII. Bull. Vat. II: 72; Martorelli 1792: 252. The event is commemorated in a marble inscription affixed in the portico of the Lateran basilica stating the following: “*Sacrosancta Lateranensis ecclesia omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput.*”

<sup>49</sup> The manuscript by Onofrio Panvinio is titled: “*De Prestantia Basilicae S. Petri*” (Alfarano 1914: XXI) Panvinio a well-known and recognized historian in his time, was also one of the librarians at the Vatican library. Etienne Dupérac collaborates with him, provide his works with printed illustrations.

<sup>50</sup> One of Panvinio’s chapters is titled: “*Elogia Basilicae Vaticanae quod prima sit Urbis et Orbis Mater Caput Magistra Fundamentum omnium Ecclesiarum et sedes B. Petri*” (Cerrati 1914).

<sup>51</sup> At this time (1569) Etienne Dupérac just completed the set of prints portraying Michelangelo’s design; Vignola is *magister operis* and works on the plans of Michelangelo’s design, followed by Della Porta in 1572, whom is respectful of Michelangelo’s design (Francia 1977: 102). The central portion is in process of completion. Bramante’s pilasters are reinforced; the works in preparation of the cupola started. Michelangelo raised the drum before his death in 1564 (Francia 1977: 103). The *inception* of the renovation, at the time of Nicholas V (1447-1455), reveals the intention to enlarge the temple in order to amplify its visibility (Grimaldi 2001: 17). Bernardo Rossellino’s design for the new temple initiated construction in 1452-55, by laying the foundations for the enlargement of the apse of the old temple. The *vetustas* of the temple determined the opportunity for the renovation. The project by Rossellino entailed the substitution of the transept and choir. Based on a 1538 drawing by Sangallo, Henry Millon determined that the wall of the main nave was 3 ½ *palmi* off the plumb line (Millon 1994).

<sup>52</sup> Cerrati suggests that Alfarano might participate in some form to the discussion even if not directly (Cerrati 1914: XXIII). He also believes that by the time the beneficiary clerk completed his manuscript (1582) the question is resolved and the Vatican Basilica is unquestionably the main church of Christendom; Alfarano was no longer motivated by the need to demonstrate the preeminence of the Vatican Basilica. (Cerrati 1914: XXIII, XXXII). Antonio Lafréy 1575 engraving acknowledges St. Peter’s a prominent position within “The Seven Principal Churches of Rome”. The basilica is presented in the foreground of the perspective field, in the center of the composition, lower part of the sheet. Saint Peter’s preaching to the visiting multitude of pilgrims appears larger in scale than any other figure in the drawing, possibly suggesting the recognized preeminence of the basilica at this time.

<sup>53</sup> Alfarano is conscious of the role of drawing as substitute, generating memory of an original. He narrates how in 1572, after measuring a series of chapels contiguous to Old St. Peter’s, he translated them *into* paper. The chapels were demolished to prepare the site for the laying down of new foundations for the fourth chapel in the north side. The original text recites: “*Nel anno seguente 1571 in detto pontificato volendosi fundare la quarta cappella nova pur verso tramontana rincontro detta sacrestia del palazzo, non molto discosto dal sopraddetto loco, io trovandomi presente andai a misurare tutte quelle Cappelle o per dir meglio chiese piccole contigui alla chiesa vecchia di S. Pietro, considerando che se si buttavano giù mai*

that only a double symbolism, demonstrating the simultaneous merged presence of two plans, resulting from the addition of a Greek cross onto the original “holy cross figure” (*sancta crucis formam*) fulfills the hallowed configuration.<sup>54</sup>

St. Paul uses three analogies to explain the mystical union of Christ with the faithful: “the physical body, the bride and bridegroom, and the spiritual temple or building”, all of which are present in Alfarano’s drawing.<sup>55</sup>

The “physical body” analogy can be revealed analyzing the position of Veronica’s veil. It is clear that it stands in a relationship of head to body with the Basilica’s footprint, which materializes the presence of the “real body” (*corpus verum*) of the church. The “Church” (*corpus Christi mysticum*) is made by Christ as “head” and by the archbishops, cardinals and all the clergy representing the “members” of the Church’s body.<sup>56</sup>

The “bride/bridegroom” (*sponsus/sponsa*) analogy acknowledges the role of Mary as mother of Christ and the Church (*Mater Ecclesia*). “The bishop of Hippo compares this motherhood of the faithful in the mystical body of Christ to the motherhood of Mary. On account of this function of giving birth to the new members of the body of Christ, the Church is most like to the blessed Virgin Mary, who bore the physical body of Christ.”<sup>57</sup> The superimposition of physical and metaphorical layers in the drawing, is a demonstration of the presence of two bodies, joined together in sempiternity, providing presence to the bride/bridegroom. The Old basilica’s Latin cross is the visible sign of the presence of the *sponsus*, while Michelangelo’s new Temple’s

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*più se potrebbe avere memoria come erano. Finalmente mesurati et posti con el compasso in carta forno ruinate*” (Alfarano 1914: 163).

<sup>54</sup> Alfarano (1914: 6-7) refers to the Constantinian plan as “*sanctae crucis formam*” or “*sanctae Crucis signum*”.

<sup>55</sup> Stanislaus Grabowski (1957: 33) analyzes the work of the Early Church Father Saint Augustine (354-430) and his influence on Christian thought and particularly how this shapes the thinking about the constitution of the Church as mystical body of Christ.

<sup>56</sup> This analogy is analyzed in more depth in Day 2.

<sup>57</sup> The bishop of Hippo explains his doctrine of the Church through the metaphor of bride and bridegroom to signify the unity of the Church with Christ. “*totus Christus, unus ille, unus vir, vir integer, perfectus vir, una persona, sponsus et sponsa, duo in carne una*” (Contra Donat. Ep. 4, 7 [PL 43, 395-96]; cited in Grabowski 1957: 19); “*Totus Christus caput et corpus est. Caput unigenitus Dei Filius, et corpus ejus Ecclesia, sponsus et sponsa, duo in carne una*” (Eph. 5:23, 30, 31; cited in Grabowski 1957: 19). Grabowski 1957: 28. Pope Innocent III (1198-1216) transformed the Holy Cloth in a symbol of the universal Church. He initiated the tradition of the annual monstration of the veil, through a ritual procession outside the Basilica through the city of Rome (Wolf, 2000: 103-114). When pope Innocent III established the ritual celebration of Veronica’s icon it was intended as a liturgical commemoration of the “Wedding at Cana” during the Epiphany. The celebration emphasizes the marriage between Christ and the faithful who through contemplation of a “*visio beatifica*”, would have prefiguration of the end-of-time encounter with Christ. The narrative of these events suggests that an image of Mary would also be involved in the celebration. The procession started in St. Peter’s and moved to the Holy Spirit hospital founded by Pope Innocent III, to arrive at Santa Maria in Sassia (Wolf 2000: 104). The analogy of the Church as Bride is prosperous during the period of the temple’s “*instauratio*”. The prominent Augustinian theologian Egidio da Viterbo (1469-1532), made numerous references to the Church as “divine Bride”. During his opening remarks, addressing the Fifth Lateran Council (Lateran Basilica on May 3<sup>rd</sup> 1512) Giles uses the terminology of “divine Bride”, “Bride forsaken by her Spouse”, or simply “Bride” in reference to the Church (Olin 1969: 45-47). Giles was general of the Order since 1507.

central plan ichnography, signifies the presence of the *sponsa*.

Amedeo Belluzzi argues that central geometries are considered, during the Renaissance period, most suitable for the design of sacred temples dedicated to the worship of the mother of God.<sup>58</sup> Belluzzi points out that Giorgio Vasari indicated explicitly that an oval plan (*pianta ovata*) would be most appropriate to the worship of Mary.<sup>59</sup>

Vasari's fresco in the *Sala dei Cento Giorni* (fig. 1.6, 3.7) presents Lady Geometry holding in the left hand a small pendant depicting Solomon's seal, this is positioned centrally within the foreground of the fresco's overall composition, attesting to the significance of the gesture.



**fig. 3.7**  
Giorgio Vasari, 1546  
Detail from "Paul III Inspecting the Rebuilding  
of St. Peter's" (Sala dei Cento Giorni, Palazzo  
della Cancelleria) © Robertson Clare

<sup>58</sup> Belluzzi 2002: 37-47. He also cites other sources, which support this interpretation, such as Krautheimer 1954 and Conforti 1989.

<sup>59</sup> Stefanelli 1970.

Paul III's attire as Hebrew High Priest, or as new Solomon, reinforces the message.<sup>60</sup> Solomon's seal is formed by two intersecting triangles; the one pointing upward signifies fire, the sun and masculinity, while the one pointing downward signifies water, the moon and femininity.<sup>61</sup> The geometry of the two inverted triangles alludes to the joining of feminine and masculine elements in the plans of St. Peter's, unveiling a double symbolism.

Paul III (1534-1549) decided on the erection of the dividing wall, built in 1538 by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger. The wall has the well-known function to protect the eastern half of the old basilica from work taking place in the adjacent construction site. It could be argued that the wall acknowledges the presence and identity of two bodies, bride and bridegroom. According to Ennio Francia it is only after the erection of this wall that the locution of New and Old basilica originated; the two became independent after its erection.<sup>62</sup> The new condition allowed for the regular celebration of Mass and other liturgical rituals in both churches.<sup>63</sup>

Alfarano refers to the dividing wall as 'newer wall', but also as 'great wall cleaving new and old'.<sup>64</sup> Rather than as an element of separation, it was interpreted as a new intersecting element,

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<sup>60</sup> Clare Robertson points out that "The Pope is dressed, somewhat unexpectedly, in the attire of a Hebrew high-priest. The significance of this is not altogether clear, but contemporary evidence suggests that this costume was favored by Paul" (Robertson 1985: 62-63). Thoenes highlights that Paul III is portrayed as the "new" Solomon (Thoenes 1997: 22).

<sup>61</sup> Willard 2007: 221. Interestingly, a detail in one of the panels in the right portal of the central door of the atrium of the old basilica by Antonio Averlino known as Filarete (ca. 1400-1466) depicting the "Crucifixion of Saint Peter's", demonstrates an association of the downward pointing triangle with the crucifixion of Peter. The body of Peter is, in fact, inscribed in an equilateral triangle formed by the horizontal arm of the cross post and two inclined ladders, used by his executioners to climb alongside the inverted cross. The bronze door by Filarete portrays in the top panels on the right and left portal respectively Mary and Christ, alluding to the division of the Church in a right side as the *female* side and a left side as the *male* side. De Blaauw affirms that it is custom for the male and female to occupy each a side of the nave during the celebration of liturgy. St. Peter's provides according to the scholar some of the oldest piece of evidence in regard to this ritual: ICUR-NS II nr. 4213: AD SANCTUM PETRUM APOSTOLUM ANTE REGIA/IN PORTICU COLUMNA SECUNDA QUOMODO INTRAMUS/SINISTRA PARTE VIRORUM/LUCILLUS ET IANUARIA HONESTA FEMMINA. The left side entering the basilica is the "pars virorum", while the right side is dedicated to the "honesta femmina". De Blauw formulates the hypothesis that likely instead than using the main door, the side doors would be used. The women would enter through the north door, while man through the south door (De Blaauw 1994: 504). The counter-façade of the Constantinian Basilica presents on its left side a mosaic of the Mater Ecclesia, which is believed to be due to the patronage of Pope Gregory IX (1227-1280). This would correspond to the right/female side of the basilica confirming De Blaauw's argument. Based on this it is possible to affirm that the Constantinian Basilica was itself a hybrid, and the renaissance editing of the palimpsest was a re-telling of a story, which was already part of the true image of the basilica. This door was translated and adapted, becoming the door of the new Temple.

<sup>62</sup> Francia 1977: 51. Pinelli 2000: 45.

<sup>63</sup> Louise Rice (1997) states that a portable altar is in use in Old St. Peter's in place of the main altar. Old St. Peter's remained in use for liturgical purposes until the seventeenth century (Thoenes 2005: 67). Mass could still be celebrated on the original main altar in the *confessio* area, which remained protected by Bramante's *Tegurium* until ca 1592, when the *Tegurium* was disassembled. Giacomo Grimaldi points out the pragmatic necessity of the erection of the wall to provide weather protection to the sacred site. Grimaldi (1620) refers to it as *Murus dividens novam a veteri Basilica*.

<sup>64</sup> Alfarano (1914: 61-63, 69, 89) refers to it as *pariete noviter, novorum parietum* and *maximos parietes veterem et novam intersecantes*.

assuring continuity and contiguity.<sup>65</sup> It is a shared threshold joining two bodies, suturing the surviving structures to the new, thereby providing lateral stability, so that the two sides hold one another up.<sup>66</sup> The two buildings are ultimately one; bride and bridegroom form one “spiritual temple”.<sup>67</sup>

Bramante sees St. Peter’s as metaphorical merging of the Pantheon with Massenzio’s Basilica.<sup>68</sup> His intention to put the Pantheon on St. Peter’s is interpreted in a literal sense by Krauss and Thoenes (1996: 179) explaining that his aim is to elevate a dome of the same dimensions and geometry, on four main piers.<sup>69</sup> The allusion to the crowning of the basilica with the Pantheon though, does not just entail the erection of a dome but also the superimposition of a central plan, a Greek cross onto a Latin one.<sup>70</sup>

The presence of Marcus Agrippa, builder of the Pantheon, in Vasari’s fresco, next to the “Rebuilding of St. Peter’s” becomes only more significant considering that the temple was re-dedicated to the Virgin Mary, after being converted to Catholic Church by Pope’s Boniface IV in 609.<sup>71</sup> Vasari’s representation of Solomon’s seal, and particularly the downward pointing triangle, might be reading into Bramante’s design an allusion to the central geometry of the Pantheon, as allegoric significance to Mary, as the feminine element added to the existing basilica.<sup>72</sup>

Rudolph Wittkower pointed out that a significant number of centralized churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary are realized in the period between 1490 to 1530. He affirms that, “in retrospect it

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<sup>65</sup> The *pariete noviter* (new wall) is essential in maintaining the stability of the western portion of the basilica while the eastern portion is being erected.

<sup>66</sup> Rice points out that the amount of work spent in decorating this *wall*, and translating altars against it, from old St. Peter’s that were progressively disassembled, suggests the idea that it was conceived as a permanent element rather than a temporary one. She also describes the coexistence of two basilicas, which are from an administrative view point independent for about a century, but from the ecclesiastic viewpoint inseparable, and points out that Thoenes is the first to argue that the dividing wall might have been conceived as permanent (Rice 1997: 255, 258).

<sup>67</sup> Grabowski 1957: 33

<sup>68</sup> Pergolizzi 1995: 17.

<sup>69</sup> This is also discussed by Hibbard (1971: 65), who stated that Vasari is our source for this.

<sup>70</sup> “Bramante’s scheme of St. Peter’s is based on the idea of the Pantheon” (Campbell 1981: 3-8).

<sup>71</sup> Robertson 1992: 63. It is well known how the building of the Pantheon by the roman general Marcus Agrippas (c. 63 BC–12 BC) is interpreted during the renaissance as a prefiguration of the rebuilding of St. Peter’s. The Pantheon, a pagan temple originally dedicated to Cybele, mother of all gods, is *converted* by Pope Boniface IV (608-615) to Catholic Church in 609, upon the donation of the monument by the Byzantine emperor Phocas (Hanson 1978: 266). Fabricius (2003: 182) points out that Gregory the Great (590-604) is the first to encourage the appropriation of pagan edifices to be used for Christian worship. It remained since dedicated to the Virgin Mary, mother of Christ and of “all the saints” (Kinney 2005: 35) with the title of “Santa Maria ad Martyres”. The *Book of Pontiffs* (69.2) states: “At that time he asked the emperor Pochas for the temple called the Pantheon, and in it he made the church of the (glorious mother of God) the ever-virgin St. Mary and all (holy) martyrs [...]” (Fabricius 2003: 146). During the renaissance it is also known as Sancta Maria Rotunda (Lotz 1977: 69).

<sup>72</sup> According to Frommel (*Cappella Julia*, 1996: 112), Julius II devotion to the Virgin Mary, becomes evident with the founding of the Holy House of Loreto, designed by Bramante. The Holy House is also based on a composite plan. Earlier accounts of devotion to the Virgin Mary go back to the “renaming and redeccorating” of the church of St. Andrew in Rome, which became Santa Maria delle Virtù. This happened under the pontificate of Pope Sixtus IV, after a miraculous event of a bleeding image of the Virgin, which had been damaged by vandals (Lotz 1977: 68).

would almost seem an historical necessity that the mother church of Christianity, St. Peter's, was planned by Bramante, and planned as a centralized building".<sup>73</sup>

Recently Christof Thoenes interpreted Bramante's façade as portrayed on Caradosso's medal, to be the west façade, and not the eastern one, as it has been most often acknowledged (fig. 3.8).<sup>74</sup> Had this project been executed, the Basilica would have been two-faced, with an old face looking east (fig. 3.9) and a new one looking west, like a *Janus bifrons*.<sup>75</sup> Old and new basilica might have been intended for a period as two coexisting churches.

A 1593 map of Rome offering a bird's eye view from the *Janiculum*, looking east, by the Florentine painter and printmaker Antonio Tempesta (1555-1630), shows two bodies integrated into one cohesive structure (fig. 3.10).<sup>76</sup> The duality of the Vatican temple is also acknowledged by a 1575 engraving by Giovanni Battista Cavalieri commemorating the Holy Year (fig. 3.11). Two distinct denominations recognize a dual identity; the old temple is indicated as "Frontispiece of the Old Basilica of St. Peter's" (*Frontispicium Basilicae S. Petri Vetus*) while the new one is indicated as "New Fabric of St. Peter's" (*Fabrica S. Petri Basilicae Nova*). Two churches coexist together on the Vatican site until Pope Paul V (1605-1621) decides on the undoing of the eastern side. This might possibly qualify St. Peter's as a double church, for at least half a century.<sup>77</sup>

Alfarano's renderings of the wall poché of the two plans provides relevant clues in this respect. The gold paint of the old walls, is not only the visible sign used to indicate the presence of the mystical body, the spirit of the Church but it can also be interpreted as an allusion to the sun, as the masculine element. The red undercoating revealed around the edges of the gold paint, furthermore signifies the church and its bloodily sacrifice, eminently the sacrifice of Peter; the Basilica is in fact founded on the place of his martyrrium.<sup>78</sup> Alfarano explicitly stated that the old

<sup>73</sup> Wittkower 1962: 25. Cited in Bosman 2004: 62. Wolfgang Lotz (1977:67) affirms that during the Renaissance the majority of *ex-novo* centrally planned churches were dedicated to the Virgin Mary; they all have a miraculous image on the main altar, which is often the reason for the choice of the site. Several essays on the centrally planned churches can be found in Adorni (2002). Here a series of centralized plan churches (late fifteenth century, early sixteenth century) are analyzed by different scholars, including: Santa Maria della Pietà in Bibbiana, Santa Maria delle Carceri in Prato, La Madonna dell'Umiltà in Pistoia, Santa Maria Incoronata in Lodi, Santa Maria della Croce in Crema, La Beata Vergine dei Miracoli in Brescia, Santa Maria della Consolazione in Todi, La Madonna di San Biagio in Montepulciano, santa Maria della Steccata in Parma, Santa Maria di Campagna in Piacenza, Santa Maria di Macereto in Visso and the Beata Vergine della Giarra in Reggio Emilia, San Sebastian in Milan. They are all dedicated to the Virgin Mary but with the exception of St. Sebastian in Milan.

<sup>74</sup> Thoenes 1996: 290. Bram Kempers (1996: 214-218) agrees and supports Thoenes claim, and provides an historical analysis of Thoenes' argument.

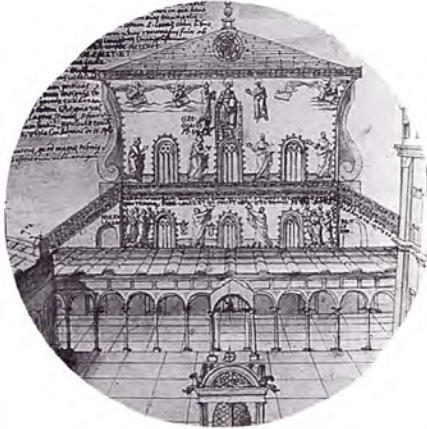
<sup>75</sup> The old eastern façade was realized by Pope Gregory IX (1277-1241), substituting an earlier one by Pope Leo the Great, dating from the fifth century (Pinelli 2000: 30-32).

<sup>76</sup> Christof Thoenes points out that the portions of the old basilica are represented shortened omitting entirely the representation of the atrium. For an analysis of this engraving see Thoenes (2000: 41, 115).

<sup>77</sup> The phenomena of double churches is discussed by Attilio Pracchi (1996). He explains that in most cases the phenomena was connected to liturgical and climatic reasons, and points out that usually one of the two churches was dedicated to Mary.

<sup>78</sup> According to Cerrati, Alfarano is one of the first attempting to demonstrate, "with good arguments", that Saint Peter's martyrdom takes place at the Vatican, and not at the Gianicolo, as many believed. Cerrati also informs that Alfarano's argumentations are based on the work of Giulio Hercolano (Cerrati 1914: 7).

plan is associated with the figure of the body of the crucified Peter.<sup>79</sup>



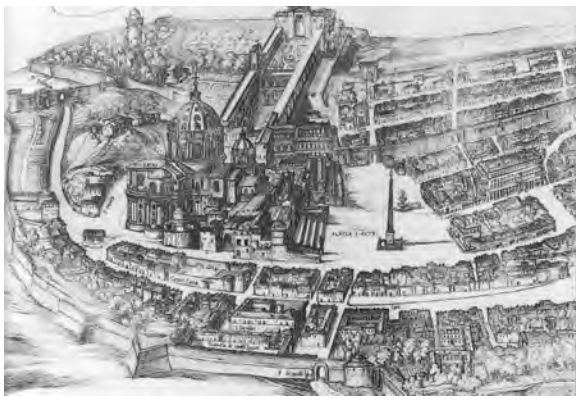
**fig. 3.9**  
Domenico Tasselli da Lugo  
Watercolor  
Atrium and façade of St. Peter's before 1609-10  
© BAV Taselli-Grimaldi Album, Cod. A64 ter, f. 10r  
Image from Spagnesi 1997: 91



**fig. 3.8**  
Cristoforo Foppa known as Caradosso  
Foundation medal for the laying of the first stone of New St. Peter's  
(1505)  
Milan, Civiche Raccolte Archeologiche e Numismatiche (Cat. N. 284)  
© Millon & Lampugnani 1994: 325

<sup>79</sup> Alfarano 1914: 7, 25. Thoenes acknowledges this and further argues that this argumentation would later support the decision to add an eastern arm to complete the form of Peter's cross (Thoenes 1997: 24-25). See also De Maio 1978: 309-351. Comparing Michelangelo's fresco (ca 1542-50), commissioned by Paul III for the Cappella Paolina in the Vatican Palace, representing "The Crucifixion of Peter" with Bufalini's 1551 plan of Rome, it is possible to ascertain that the body of Peter on the inverted cross, and the orientation of the plan of the Vatican temple present interesting analogies. Bufalini's map seems to possibly take its orientation from the placement of St. Peter's plan in the lower left corner. Looking at the edges of the map it is possible to ascertain that the head of *Favonius*, blowing from "*occidens*", is aligned with the main longitudinal axis of the plan of St. Peter's. The plan's orientation is very different from the 1557 Dupera-Lafréy's plan, executed only six years later, where St. Peter's is presented with the "head" up, in the upper right corner of the overall map. Here "*occidens*" is oriented towards the topside of the drawing in relationship to the viewer. Bufalini must have seen St. Peter's as the *axis mundi* of Rome and the Christianized world.<sup>79</sup> The placing of St. Peter's plan with this orientation in the map and its positioning in the lower left corner of the overall composition defines it as the *beginning* of the map, orienting the perception of the entire city in relationship to it. The *upside down* orientation of the Basilica reminds of the position of Peter's inverted cross, explaining perhaps the unusual orientation of the basilica's apse facing west, rather than east. Bufalini's devotion to the Basilica is testified in his last will, prepared in 1552, one year after completing the plan, where he expresses the wish to be buried within the "*ecclesia Sancti Petri principis Apostolorum*" and precisely in the chapel of "*sancta Marie della Febbre*". At the time when he is writing his last will, Bufalini lives in the proximity of the basilica, in "*Burgo Sancti Petri*", and precisely in Palazzo Dell'Aquila. Francesco Ehrle (1911: 13-14, 55) suggests that Bufalini's choice to represent the plan of Rome not from a bird's eye view, but rather as ichnography, is due to his background, closer to the world of engineers and mathematicians, than to that of painters. For an analysis of this Michelangelo's fresco painting of Saint Peter's crucifixion see Kliemann and Rohlmann (2004: 79-80), Baumgart and Biagetti (1934), De Tolnay (1960), Fehl (1971), Steinberg (1975), Wallace (1989).





**fig. 3.10**  
Antonio Tempesta, watercolor  
Detail of the 1593 "Map of Rome"  
View of St. Peter's from the Janiculum  
© Il Polifilo (Image from Thoenes 2000: 75)



**fig. 3.11**  
Giovanni Battista Cavalieri, engraving  
Celebration of the Holy Year in 1575 in front of St. Peter's  
© Bonsignori editore (Viale dei Quattro Venti 47, Roma)  
(Image from Spagnesi 1997: 332)

The rendering of the walls' poché of the New plan in Alfarano's drawing supports the reading of the central plan as allegoric reference to Mary. Dupérac's original oblique hatchings in the decoupage print, is covered by Alfarano, with a layer of white wash (*biacca*), onto which a layer of turquoise lean tempera is added (fig. 1.3 and fig. 3.12).<sup>80</sup>

Both plans are present in a state of completeness, as if intact and whole, suggesting a representation of metaphorical presence, rather than literal likeness. This would be in line with the meaning and significance of *Acheiropoietos*, such as the Veronica. This kind of iconography portrays "an image that no longer would veil (as appearance) but would rather reveal (as apparition), that no longer would need to represent but would efficaciously make present the divine Word".<sup>81</sup>

<sup>80</sup> Mario Tiburzi, who restored Alfarano's drawing in 1996 in the laboratories of the BAV, describes the poché of Michelangelo's walls as follows: "*tempera magra color turchese chiaro dato su uno strato di biacca*" (Silvan 1992: 5). Such layer could be a preparation for a silver leaf. The oblique hatching, in fact, is still visible underneath, suggesting that this could possibly be an undercoating, a preparation layer, rather than a final one. The azure tempera (*caeruleum*) rendering of Michelangelo's walls might allude to the Virgin Mother. This color symbolism was often associated with the Virgin.

<sup>81</sup> Didi-Huberman 2005: 189.



Alfarano's drawing and complementary manuscript, escape chrono-historical classifications, demonstrating an a-temporal representation of substance. Alfarano's understanding of architectural drawing could be likened to a sacred text where symbolic meanings are revealed through appropriate visual language; by implication these deeply embedded analogies serve as a powerful discourse witnessing the continuity between word and image, between humanities and visual form.

The adjective *sacrosanct* used as attribute to configuration, in reference to the ichnography, refers not only to its being the most holy, but also to its inviolability. The description under the drawing reads: "This is the intact ichnography of the very old Temple of St. Peter's Apostle and prince". The Latin adjective *integra* (intact) refers to the wholeness of the Temple, preserved in metaphoric integrity, where significant parts stand in for the whole. Defining an inviolable configuration entails a process of carefully selecting elements to be remembered while letting go of others, which are effaced from memory.

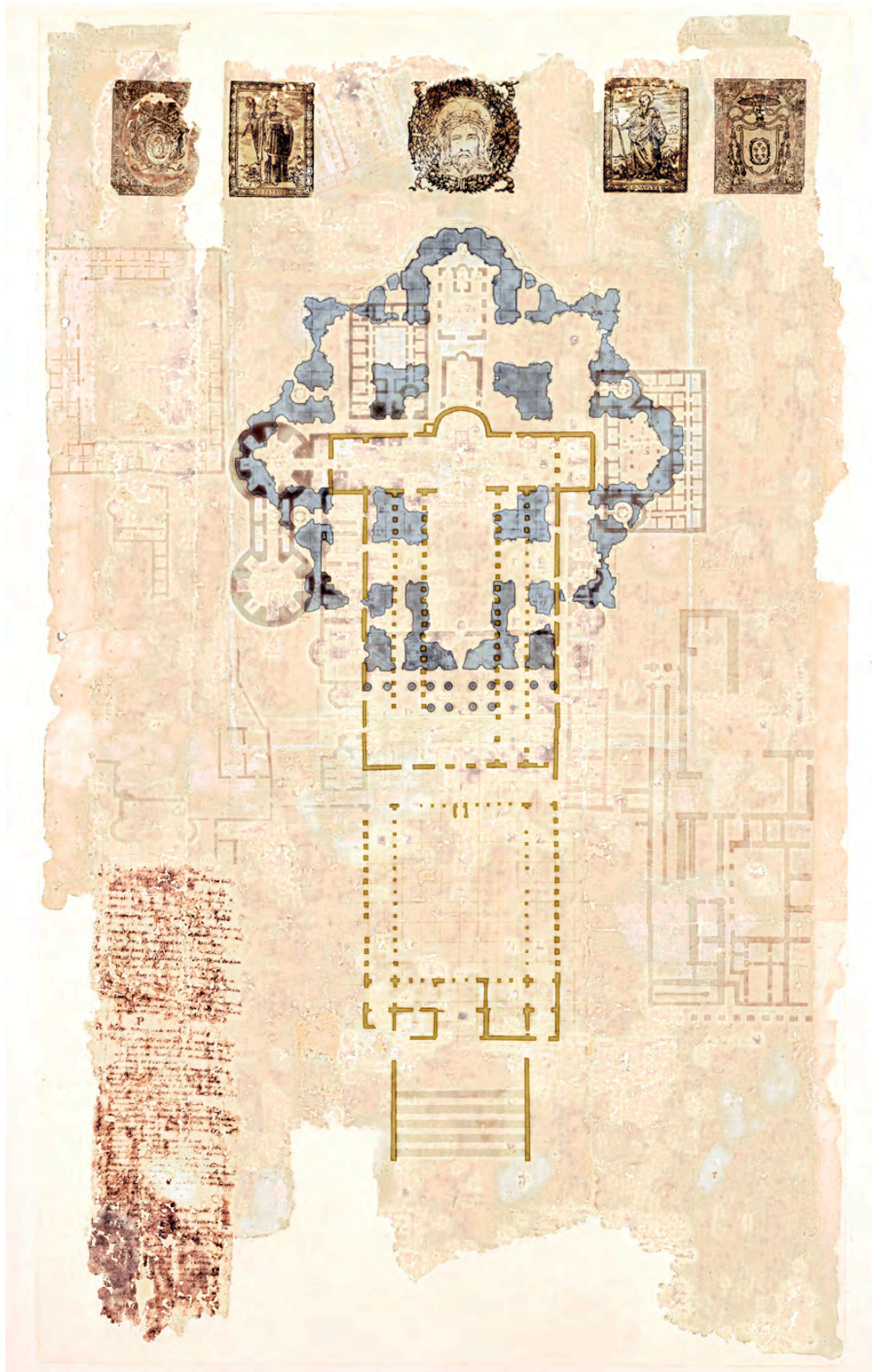
Old St. Peter's is an ineludible presence in Alfarano's drawing. The pavement of the Old Basilica was maintained throughout renewal, and restored in 1574.<sup>82</sup> This has been interpreted as the intention to maintain the eastern portion of the Old Basilica. It is to be observed though, that after Michelangelo's death in 1564, Antonio Da Sangallo raised the level of the new pavement on the western side beyond the 'newest wall'. The restoration could rather be interpreted as the intention to maintain, although concealed, the iconic vestiges, which constitute the traces of the original footprint and the living body of the Church of Christ. The pavement was treated as a relic, encased but not erased. Alfarano's drawing is an instrument that makes visible the invisible presence of Constantine's Basilica, conserved underneath, and inside the new.

The drawing is not just a representation of likeness but rather an epiphany of presence, a mindful contemplation that allows revelation and insight beyond the visible. The intention of the renaissance *instauratio* is the conservation of the Temple into sempiternity. The making is to be interpreted as a careful re-making, which entails the creation of memory. The manuscript's title implies the presence of two buildings, oldest and newest, joined into one.<sup>82</sup> The attributes of new and old do not imply the existence of an old building and a new one as separate entities. Despite what seems to be a physical substitution in the realm of the visible, the invisible essence perdures in what is but a transformation, aiming at editing the Vatican palimpsest.

Alfarano carefully factored in the medium of the drawing the merging of two plans. Old basilica and the new temple, form together a hybrid-body. It is to the continuity of time, and the joining of members, that the drawing and the locution of new and old point to. The ichnography is the instrument carrying the imprint of a hallowed configuration, revealing the passage of time and thus making visible an invisible real presence of the hybrid-body of St. Peter's as the union of bride and bridegroom.

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<sup>82</sup> "The Oldest and Newest Structure of the Vatican Basilica" (*De Basilicae Vaticanae Antiquissima et Nova Structura*).



**fig. 3.12**  
Digital restoration of Tiberio Alfarano's 1571 hybrid drawing. The digital restoration aimed at removal of the darkening of the paper due to aging. By so doing the color renderings of the two plans and their contrast is highlighted.  
© author of this dissertation

Alfarano kept working at his drawing as a palimpsest, through a continuous work in progress from 1571 until 1576. The plan demonstrates the location of newly translated altars, relics and other elements of significance in both their original location and new one simultaneously.<sup>83</sup> The drawing exists in a multi-temporal dimension looking in the direction of both time-past and time-future, allowing, like in a dream, a free flowing backwards and forward in time.<sup>83</sup> Alfarano never erased the former location of a translated element, but rather kept the memory of it.<sup>84</sup> By so doing he underlies the relationship between old and new, and the continuity between them, emphasizing perdurance of essence while allowing for the imagination to proceed beyond the visible materiality of the drawing.

Alfarano's drawing has been defined as a rough draft, and interpreted as a preparation drawing for a possible future print.<sup>84</sup> The drawing should instead be viewed as an original, which is always in-the-making and carries all the marks of its transformation, like the basilica's own body.

St. Peter's is truly present in the drawing; likewise the drawing is present in St. Peter's. The relationship between drawing as palimpsest in-the-making and building in its varying states of undoing and becoming, is one of inter-dependence, to the point that Alfarano's drawing becomes synonymous to St. Peter's Basilica offering a concordance that is strongly reminiscent of the power ascribed to Holy images.

In anticipation of the un-building of the eastern portion, Alfarano proposed a design for the addition of an eastern arm, suggesting the necessity to extend the foot of the square cross. He favored, just like Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) in his 1577 *Instructiones*, the Latin cross.<sup>85</sup> Alfarano argued that the original footprint should be contained entirely within the new temple. The drawing's intention are acted upon a few decades later, when Maderno starts his design process by looking backward and adopting Alfarano's drawing as initial canvas, literally layering onto it his initial design drawings (U 101A) to appreciate the addition of the eastern arm, circumscribing the foot of the cross. Alfarano's drawing is *pro-memoria*, an imaginative canvas for the future iterations of St. Peter's (Day 4).

The drawing in its role of twinned body proves to have the ability to effect changes over time, confirming the interdependence of drawing and building. A complete story can only be told, by simultaneously looking in two directions in time, providing a representation of becoming through a hallowed configuration. Hallowed configuration is the equivalent of a collective daydreaming, where "a collective decision was made, a rule established" according to which a future imagination can be developed.<sup>86</sup>

Alfarano's work reveals the imagination of conservation sharing in the fictional nature of daydreams: "what is fictional in dreams and daydreams, like what is fictional in games of make-believe and representational works of art, can be constructed as a matter of what is to be

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<sup>83</sup> Florensky 2000: 35.

<sup>84</sup> St. Peter's own plan is present in both a former and future location at the same time.

<sup>85</sup> Borromeo 1983. The "*instructiones*" are composed shortly after the end of the Council of Trent in 1563, and are a reflection of Borromeo's efforts to contribute to the reformation of the Catholic Church.

<sup>86</sup> Walton 1990: 43-45.

imagined rather than what actually is imagined".<sup>87</sup> New St. Peter's is not a new building erected from scratch, but rather a continuation of the old defined according to a collective daydream which constitutes a mandate to imagine within certain given rules of the game, preserving the unity of the account through a careful re-making of the tale; other participants in the daydream are called for acceptance of the rules and imagine according to certain imaginings which are considerate appropriate, thus imagining what they are *supposed* to imagine, staying within a given palimpsest.

The rules of the game are depicted in Alfarano's fictional prop quite clearly. A first rule is that no piers should be given foundation within the main nave and transept of Old St. Peter's; the preservation of this cemeterial ground is essential in maintaining continuity of identity. A second rule is the inscription of the old plan within the new; no sacred ground should be left uncovered. A third rule, is the making of a hybrid plan combining Greek with Latin cross. In this way the beneficiary clerk's drawing becomes a substratum for the imagination, allowing to imagine according to a collective daydream, agreed upon by all participants and guiding the imagination of what is ought to be; within given rules each participant might happen to imagine a proposed alternative, which derives through the fictional prop a certain degree of objectivity. Thus the rules of the game even though constitutive of a mandate, are descriptive in nature, rather than being prescriptive of an actual likeness.

This imaginative process is not unlike that which lead to the recent 1992 addition of a new tower, to Frank Lloyd Wright's Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum (1943-59) in New York, by Gwathmey Siegel & Associates Architect. The new addition derives its imagination by metaphorically looking backwards, adding prudently onto an existing palimpsest, finding inspiration and legitimacy into an unrealized fantasy, found in one of the original rendered perspective sketches, where a tall and slender volume was present in the background of the spiral body of the main exhibit space (fig. 3.13). Wright's original drawing is assumed as provider of a hallowed configuration, lending legitimacy to the design addition, which is foretold by looking backwards. Through this process, Wright's own drawing has been acknowledged a value of iconic substitute capable of expressing a hallowed configuration to be fulfilled in time, through a process of making.

## Reflections on Contemporary practice

In today's practice, drawing should enhance our ability to read beyond that, which falls within the eye at any one time, grasping into the essence of a portrayed object, transcending a single spatiotemporal condition. Architectural drawing should be interpreted as a palimpsest, an unfinished text carrying the marks of its making and re-making, unfolding in a continuous process of layering different strata of meaning, including but not limited to geometrical exactness.

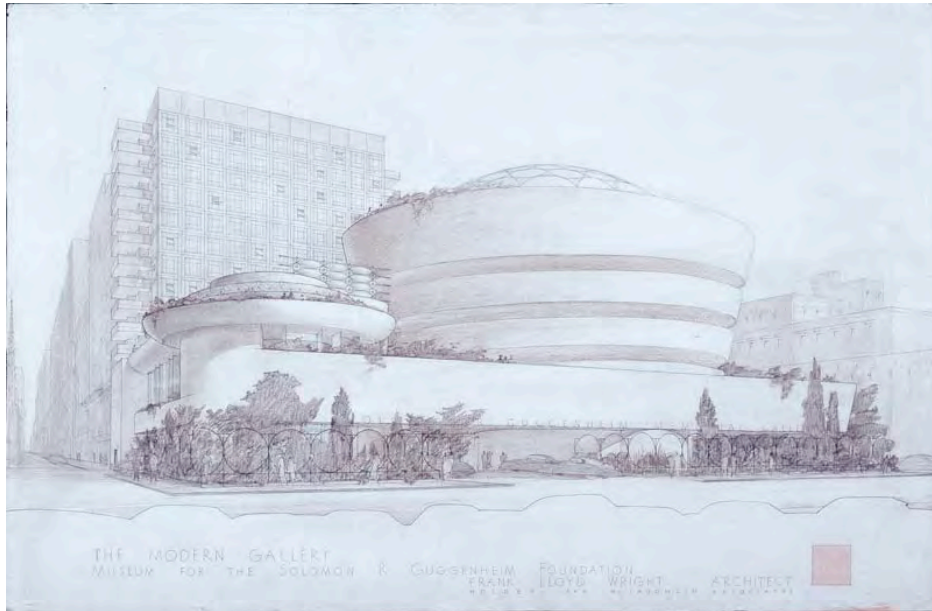
Architectural conservation drawings and likewise orthographic photographs, which are now used to document an 'as is' conditions, should be used to go beyond the portrayal of a simulacra, which is a fixed image projecting a likeness onto a finished building, imposing idea on material. Sylviane Agacinski reminds us that "the 'passingness' of things is experienced today through modern forms of representation such as photography. It was for representing perishable things that images were first condemned, branded with the seal of illusion".<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>87</sup> Walton 1990: 43-45.

<sup>88</sup> Agacinski examines concepts of time as they relate to modern photography (2000: 15, 65-105).

**fig. 3.13**  
Frank Lloyd Wright, Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum,  
New York, 1943–59  
Ink and color pencil on trace, 26 x 39-5/8"  
© The Frank Lloyd Wright Foundation, Scottsdale, AZ.



The nature of drawing is to be unfinished, allowing the twinned body, which is the building, to change. To restore a drawing's potential to summon real presence through effigy-drawings, one needs to go beyond an understanding of it as simulacra, which merely accounts for a portrayal of likeness. Drawing and building should project onto each an unfinished image, being capable of redefining each other over time.

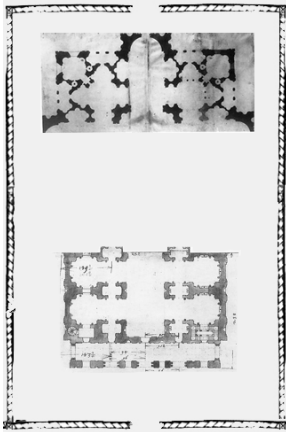
The well-known historian Cardinal Paolo Giovio (1486-1552), who assisted Giorgio Vasari with the program for the "Sala", affirms that painters similarly to writers should attempt the portrayal of *vera effigies*, transforming historical accounts into allegorical narrations.<sup>89</sup> Alfarano's reading of architectural renovation as constant work-in-progress, reflected in the making of the unfinished drawing (...1569-1571-1576...)<sup>90</sup> qualifies the building as an unfinished fabric, whose

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<sup>89</sup> For a thorough analysis of the figure of Giovio see Zimmermann (1995). Vasari reports that all of the mottoes in the "Sala" were authored by Giovio (Kliemann 1985). According to Kliemann his understanding of effigies, as something beyond a mere simulacra understood as a likeness unable to summon a real presence, is inspired by the writings of Cicero: "*statuas et imagines, non animorum simulacra, sed corporum, studiose multi summi homines reliquerunt: consiliorum relinquere ac virtutum mostrarum effigiem none multo malle debemus summis ingeniis expressam et politam*" (Cicero, *Pro A. Licinio Archia poeta oratio*, 12, 30; cited in Kliemann 1985: 210).

<sup>90</sup> Alfarano started drafting the drawing in 1569, and officially completed it in 1571, when he presents it to the Archpriest of the Basilica Alessandro Farnese (Silvan 1992). In 1576 though he is still editing it (Alfarano 1914: XXX).

palimpsest is revealed over time. An architectural drawing so conceived is not a final drawing or a literal one providing a one time visual likeness, but rather a program of intentions, an allegorical narration which is to be revealed, in time, through the process of making, fulfilling a hallowed configuration, which goes beyond the conservation of a prescriptive, yet unstable and ever-changing appearance, providing the illusion of eternity.



## DAY 4.

### STRATIGRAPHIC DRAWINGS AND THE DRAWING OF MEMBERS: The “Exquisite Corpse” of Architecture

*“For the body is not one member, but many”*  
— Saint Paul, 1 Corinthians 12:14, *King James Version*

Reducing the scale of observation from the macro-phenomena of presentation drawings to the micro-phenomena of working drawings it is possible to rectify certain mis-representations, such as posthumous reconstructive drawings portraying overall designs according to which New St. Peter's in the Vatican (1506-1626) is a new building.

A close-up look at working drawings enables grasping at what eludes a “comprehensive viewing”.<sup>1</sup> New St. Peter's is not a building *ex novo*, but rather a sempiternal one, whose body could be interpreted as an ‘exquisite corpse’, resulting from continuous substitutions and additions by multiple authors, made visible by ‘stratigraphic-drawings’.<sup>2</sup> The observation of stratigraphic-drawing's edges makes visible the invisible macro-discontinuities between body members.

Sempiternity, an eternity with a beginning, is a cosmological time-dimension, which implies that identity perdures through constant change.<sup>3</sup> Buildings do not become sempiternal, achieving quasi-eternal existence, by being preserved, but rather through a constant re-generation process.

Macro architectural-history tends to “describe in the mode of the continuous” that which is rather “a series of discontinuities”, caused by heterogeneous interventions, characterized by partial-renovations of building/body members.<sup>4</sup> Replacing a teleological driven approach to architectural

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<sup>1</sup> Ginzburg 1993: 10-35.

<sup>2</sup> The word stratigraphy is a hybrid formed by the Latin word *stratum* (layer) and the Greek word *graphos* (the drawn). Stratigraphic drawings are used in the field of archeology and usually refer to vertical sections demonstrating the sedimentation of time layers in an archeological site. The terminology is used here to refer to architectural footprints (ichnography) layering of drawings/strata on top of one another horizontally.

<sup>3</sup> Kantorowicz 1957: 273-313

<sup>4</sup> “Furet had rejected narrative and, more specifically, literary narrative, as an expression, typically



history, which accounts for facts towards a “final ending”, with the micro-history of discontinued events, that which is often described as the construction of a new Temple replacing the old one, can instead be critically reinterpreted as a series of discontinuous interventions informing a progressive regeneration.<sup>5</sup>

Focusing on the *alpha* and *omega* of the renaissance transformation of the Vatican Temple, and particularly on Donato Bramante’s drawings (U 1A, U 20A) for the addition, of a new choir and apse, started in 1506 under the pontificate of Julius II, and, on Carlo Maderno’s drawings for the addition (U 100A, U 101A, U 264A) of an Eastern arm and a new façade, initiated in 1607 under the pontificate of Paul V (1605-1621) and completed in 1626, it is possible to observe that the process of the “*Templi.Petri.Instauracio*” is none other than an assemblage where new body members are added onto an original palimpsest, never completely effaced, and of which traces remain.<sup>6</sup>

Several XIX century drawing reconstructions of Bramante’s design for St. Peter’s by illustrious scholars have generated the belief in the existence of a complete design, intended to replace the old basilica with a new one. Despite the fact that recent scholarship points out that, it is very well possible, that no overall plan ever existed, the perception that renaissance St. Peter’s is built *ex novo* survives.<sup>7</sup>

The earliest mis-representation, in the form of drawing reconstruction, attempting the portrayal of an *as-if* plan by Bramante, is published in 1875 by Swiss scholar Heinrich Geymüller (1839-1909) (fig. 4.2).<sup>8</sup> The argument is based on the observation that Bramante would not have

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teleological, of the “history of events”, whose time “is made up of a series of discontinuities described in the mode of the continuous: the classical subject matter of the narrative [récit]. Against this type of “literary” narration Furet contrasted the examination of serial ethnographic history, problem by problem” (Ginzburg 1993: 23).

<sup>5</sup> There is a *continuity* of time but a *discontinuity* of interventions, entailing changes in patron/architect/intention throughout renovation. It is interesting to note that the terminology used by scholars who focus their research on the translation of architectural elements, such as Louise Rice (1997), for example, is quite different from that of scholars who look at the macro-phenomena of the Renaissance *instauratio*. Rice often speaks of the “disassembly”, “reassembly” of altars. Analogously scholar Lex Bosman who focused (2004: 18) on a study of *spolia* columns in St. Peter’s states that “no mention is made of ‘replacing’ the existing building with a new one, but words like ‘renovate’ and ‘restore’ are chosen”. Christof Thoenes (1997: 18) affirms that there is no precedent for what happens at St. Peter’s during the renaissance, explaining that not before, nor after, it is possible to find another example of what he defines as a “complete substitution” initiated by Julius II, which leads to the “destruction” of the “old” building and its “reconstruction” from the foundations up. See also Thoenes 1996: 149-158.

<sup>6</sup> The foundation medal used to commemorate the *beginning* of the renovation in 1506 by Julius II, carries on the verso the inscription: (*Templi.Petri.Instauracio.Vaticanus. M[ons]*).

<sup>7</sup> “tanto che egli [Bramante] non sia mai giunto a definire un progetto esecutivo completo, univoco e descritto all’infuori delle parti da eseguire con maggiore urgenza- come il coro di Giulio ed il nucleo della cupola con l’inizio delle strutture adiacenti” (Bruschi 1997: 179). Kempers (1996: 213-251) points out that contemporary scholarship is divided regarding the typology planned, designed and worked for, at St. Peter’s during the Renaissance period. Frommel (1994: 399-423) argues for a centralized building, while Thoenes (1996: 281-303) argues that the longitudinal plan is the one pursued.

<sup>8</sup> Geymüller 1875.



drawn U 1A as an incomplete member, unless the overall plan would have been symmetrical (fig. 4.1).<sup>9</sup> This hypothesis is based of course on the underlying assumption that an overall design was needed.<sup>10</sup>

A long-standing mis-representation by French architect Paul Letarouilly (1795-1855) titled “Another project by Bramante?” (U 20A II) presents a variation for a hypothetical centralized plan (Letarouilly 1963: 34) (fig. 4.3).<sup>11</sup> This 1882 reconstruction is based on the scholar’s selection of a western portion of U 20A, which he mirrors east (fig. 4.3).<sup>12</sup> A 1955 drawing by Wolf Metternich (1996: 13-22) incorporates Geymüller’s reconstruction with the plan of old St. Peter’s, highlighting the presence of the foundations of the Nicoline’s walls by Bernardo Rossellino (1409-1464), according to Bramante’s U 20A (fig. 4.4).<sup>13</sup>

Based on Bramante’s U 20A though, one could support the claim that it would be possible for U 1A to be the furthering of a member of an otherwise unfinished plan. U 20A is in fact conceived

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<sup>9</sup> U 1A has been cut all along the lower edge; because of that, the center of the drawing, used to construct the plan, has been cut out (Millon and Magnago Lampugnani 1994: 602).

<sup>10</sup> One of the pitfalls of the reconstruction is that it generates a plan without a monumental main façade, representative of the main church of Christendom. All four sides would be identical. Earlier designs for a centralized plan, such as the 1549 one by Antonio da Sangallo reproduced in an engraving by Antonio Salamanca (Milan, Cívica Raccolta Stampe Achille Bertarelli), presents a semi-detached main façade, at the foot of the cross, flanked by towers (Millon and Magnago Lampugnani, 1994: 168, 647). Similarly Baldassarre Peruzzi’s plan (New York, American Academy of Rome, inv. N. 23), executed during the pontificate of Paul III (1534-49), presents an elaborate main façade realized with a colonnade portico all around the main entrance (Millon and Magnago Lampugnani, 1994: 626).

<sup>11</sup> Letarouilly 1963: 34.

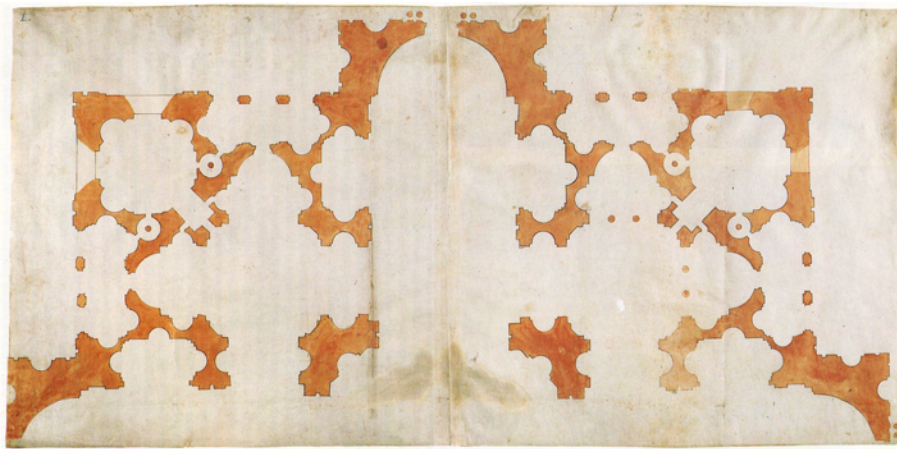
<sup>12</sup> This reconstruction is discussed and reproduced in Thoenes (1996: 288). Letarouilly (1963: 32) also reproduces Geymüller’s plan with the title: “One of Bramante’s early plans for the Basilica”.

<sup>13</sup> The drawing is reproduced in Franz Wolff Metternich, 1996: 13-22. This reconstruction provides a hypothesis for the genesis of the centralized plan through an editing of Rossellino’s original design for a longitudinal cross. Bernardo Rossellino (1409-1464) is nominated “engineer of the palace” in 1452 by Nicholas V (1447-1455). These “reconstructive-drawings” (figs. 4.2, 4.3, 4.4) are echoed in a number of scholarly publications, which unquestioningly adopt them as the unfulfilled configuration for the renaissance transformation. Geymüller’s reconstruction which Thoenes poignantly calls a *-Rorschach inkblot figure-* has become part of well known architectural history texts (Thoenes 1996: 288). It appears in Nikolaus Pevsner’s “Dictionary of Architecture” first published in 1966. This dictionary, meant for a scholarly divulgation of architectural terminology and history, reproduces Geymüller’s reconstructive plan, and labels it as a the “original plan *by Bramante* in 1506” [italic my emphasis] (Pevsner et al. 1966: 359). The attribution of the posthumous “mis-representation” back to the *magister operis* completes the illusion. The front cover of George Hersey’s book *High Renaissance Art in St. Peter’s and the Vatican* (1993) portrays in the frontispiece Wolf Metternich’s reconstruction of the centralized plan. The idea implicit in the representation, which reaches the reader’s imagination, is the implicit acceptance of a complete design for a new building, which substitutes the old one. Geymüller’s 1875 reconstruction is presented by this author as the reconstruction of the plan “after Bramante” in 1506 (Hersey 1993: 68). In the same book, Wolf Metternich’s reconstructive plan is used to present to the reader the project by Rossellino, began in 1452, (Hersey 1993: 39), promoting the existence of a complete design for a centralized plan. Recently, a 2001 article by Alfredo Maria Pergolizzi, in a publication by the *Soprintendenza per i Beni Artistici e Storici di Roma*, illustrating key historical moments of the basilica’s transformation, attributes Geymüller’s plan to Bramante (Pergolizzi 1995: 18). Peter Murray also reproduces Geymüller’s plan and titles it “St. Peter’s plan according to the early design by Bramante” without any mention of Geymüller (Murray 1978: 70).

as an assembly of members that can be alternatively selected and joined together, in a variety of different combinations. The top portion of U 20A (western side of the basilica) could be interpreted as half of a symmetrical plan, but it can also generate, when adjoined with the lower left side (south east) a composite plan. Furthermore, an alternative composite plan could be derived joining the top member with the lower right side (north east).

Ultimately, this confirms that there is no evidence to support the existence of a complete and prescriptive design (Thoenes 1996: 288). Bramante's plan-member (U 1A) is a development of the design studies in U 20A, representing a first addition/enlargement, which is to take place on the west side, outside the Temple's footprint, which perdures intact for the time being. U 1A is the laying down of a transformative element, added onto an existing palimpsest.

The cited drawing-reconstructions have been questioned by recent scholarship.<sup>14</sup> Arnaldo Bruschi (1997: 177-194) suggests that a complete design might have never existed, and further elaborates on Bramante's process, arguing that Donato's architectural anthropomorphism, entails that the fabric's body is formed by an assembly of members.<sup>15</sup>



**fig. 4.1**  
Donato Bramante, 1505 Parchment  
plan. Florence, GDSU (U 1A)

Brown ink, light ochre watercolor, 54.4 x  
111 cm (inscription on the recto:  
"Bramante Arch. & Pit."; on the verso:  
"Pianta di Sto pietro di mano di  
bramante che non ebbe effetto")  
Provenance: Vasari's "Libro"

© Millon & Magnago Lampugnani  
1994: 167

<sup>14</sup> Christopher Thoenes disproved the longstanding 'mis-representation' portrayed by Geymüller. The composite plan, joining central and longitudinal plan, is codified in the early renaissance architectural treatise by Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1502), in his chapter on the design of Temples (di Giorgio Martini 1967: II, 395). Thoenes cites di Giorgio Martini as possible reference for the design of St. Peter's new plan, and reminds the reader, that this is also the plan type adopted for the design of the great Italian cathedrals, such as Pavia's, where Bramante is known to have worked, before arriving in Rome in 1499 (Thoenes 1996: 281-303). Thoenes also argues that the main piers' geometry is the result of the necessity to mediate between a centralized and a longitudinal plan, to work out a composite plan geometry.

<sup>15</sup> Despite the fact that Alfarano's drawing is executed above Dupérac's plan, the drawing palimpsest is interpreted by the beneficiary clerk as a corporate effort, including the early work by Rossellino, and later Bramante, possibly Sangallo, Michelangelo's own and of course the old basilica. Interestingly, Alfarano's 1590 print (fig. 1.3) shows only a member of the new plan, circumscribing the plan of old St. Peter's. This member is analogous to what Bramante demonstrates in U 1A. Likely this is due to Alfarano's intention to emphasize the gesture of circumscribing with a new *frame* the old church, an intention which is inherently implicit in the laying of the first transformative member.



fig. 4.2

Heinrich Geymüller's 1875 reconstruction of Bramante's design based on the parchment plan (U 1A) from 1505  
© Einaudi (image from Pevsner et al., 1981: 359)

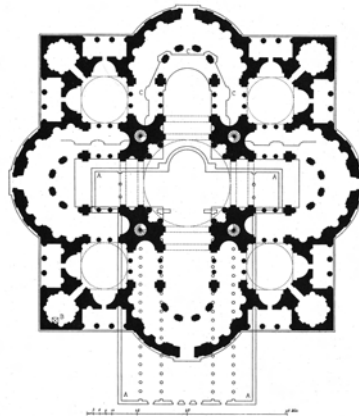


fig. 4.3

Paul Letarouilly's 1882 reconstruction of Bramante's design based on U 20A  
© Letarouilly 1963: 34

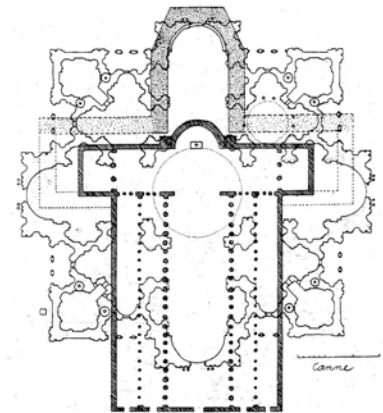


fig. 4.4

Wolf Metternich 1955 reconstruction of Bramante's design, based on Heinrich Geymüller's  
© Electa (Image from Metternich, 1996: 15)

Bramante, states in the *Opinio*, on Milan's Cathedral that four distinct architectural members form the fabric's body. These are the central nave, guiding like a "master member" (*corpo mastro*) the entire edifice, the side aisles, the intermediate aisles and the Tiburio with transept (Bruschi et al. 1978: 367).<sup>16</sup>

The mis-representations spread the belief that with each new construction-period, and each new *Magister operas*, a comprehensive review of a hypothetical overall project takes place. The transformation of the fabric though is made of a series of discontinuities, which only together form a continuum. An overall design possibly never existed.<sup>17</sup> Bramante's plan-member U 1A provides one of the multiple beginnings for the renovation of the existing fabric, starting a new significant alteration through a slow fast-track design process, intending for this element to become the "master member" guiding the overall renewal. The building's composite body combining a Greek and a Latin cross is the result of a hybrid assembly, informed by Renaissance architectural language of additions and subtractions, based on Leon Battista Alberti's lexicon, appropriated also by Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548-1616).<sup>18</sup> In Scamozzi's words the restoration

<sup>16</sup> Arnaldo Bruschi supports the interpretation of Bramante's U 1A as a portion of a centralized plan (1997: 158, 167). Christoph Luitpold Frommel (1997: 602) orients the plan-member *vertically*, rather than horizontally, operating a 90° degree rotation counterclockwise, which differs from earlier reproductions of the plan, implicitly suggesting that the member should be mirrored along a vertical axis of symmetry (fig. 4.5). This representation suggests that the drawing-member is not a representation of what is intended to be built first, even though, as it is known, the only part of the hypothetical centralized plan realized is the western side. By placing the drawing vertically, the scholar implies that the design has not been completed as originally planned to form a Greek cross.

<sup>17</sup> Kempers 1996: 213-251.

<sup>18</sup> Aline Payne discusses the nature of architectural creativity during the renaissance period, and particularly the work of Sebastiano Serlio, as a metaphoric collage, based on a process of assembling or "bricolage", which is inspired by "assemblage strategies" in the work of the Roman poet Horace (65-27

(*ristaurazione*) of a building is a process of “taking away, alteration and addition” to existing buildings (1997: I, II, 7).<sup>19</sup>

The Renaissance corporeality of buildings is based on the Zeuxian body, understood as an *assembly* of individual members, through a process of “selective unification”.<sup>20</sup> Giorgio Vasari’s painting “Apelle paints Diana’s Portrait”, dating after 1563, illustrates an episode narrated in Pliny’s *Natural History* (XXXV, 64), providing an account on the Zeuxis myth.<sup>21</sup> Vasari portrays the painter surrounded by three women, revealing the process of assembling the body by carefully selecting parts out of several models, fitting them together to form a unified whole (fig. 4.5).<sup>22</sup> The Zeuxian concept, of assembling a body by selectively appropriating members from different bodies, entails that even when likeness points to unity and wholeness, the body is still a corporate. Seamless joints carefully hide the assembly of parts.<sup>23</sup>

Fredrika Jacobs (2005: 96) points out that the creative process of Renaissance sculptors did not just entail the traditional Zeuxian method, but also, borrowing elements from the work of others. In her interpretation of a *Small Bronze Demonstration Model* by the Mantua sculptor Pier Jacopo Alari-Bonacolsi, called Antico (1460-1528), she states that “with each of the limbs and head separate from the torso, which itself was cast into two pieces, Antico’s bronze allowed for the creative reconstitution of the figure or even an interexchange of its pieces with *other* fragments [...] Ironically, at least some of the articulated skeletons used in anatomy lessons were also

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BC) and the 5<sup>th</sup> century BC, Greek painter Zeuxis (Payne 1998: 20-38).

<sup>19</sup> “... e finalmente la *ristaurazione* è quella, che levando, permutando, & aggiungendo à gli edifici vecchi, per ridurli in più bella, e comoda forma; il che si tratterà nel X & ultimo libro, che ad honor d’Iddio, e beneficio universale sarà il compimento di tutta l’opera” (Scamozzi 1997: I, II, 7). The treatise’s tenth charter though was never written. Alberti, 1997: 4. See also Frascari 24/07/2007 for a thorough discussion of the concept of elegance in Alberti’s work. Raphael speaks about roman buildings being “restored many times”. The examples he cites though are actual conversions, where a change of use took place, such is the case with Nero’s “*casa Aurea*”, which became Titus Termae, house and amphitheater (Raphael 1978: 474).

<sup>20</sup> Jacobs 2005: 96.

<sup>21</sup> For a narration of the myth of Zeuxis and its revival in the renaissance period see Vickers 1997: 3-21 and Barkan 2000: 99-109.

<sup>22</sup> Possible each model would cover the body, but for the part that the painter is going to copy. For an analysis of this painting see Kliemann and Rohlmann 2004: 35-37.

<sup>23</sup> The myth of the construction of the fortified walls of Thebes by Amphion, entailed that he assembled the walls out of loose stones, and arranged them with the sole sound of the music produced by his lyre, which becomes the unifying element, determining the wall’s composition. An interpretation of the myth is provided by the title page of Claude Perrault’s “*Treatise of the Five Orders of Columns in Architecture*” (London: 1708). Recently Peter Zumthor’s Termal Baths at Vals have been arranged through what they called a “Stone Laying Score”, which was used to inform the tectonics of what they describes as a “regularly irregular” wall. The layered stones pattern is composed of varying sequences of three different thicknesses existing within a 15 cm horizontal grid. The horizontal grid lines guides the masons, who could choose stones of different lengths, with specifications regarding minimum overlap and minimum length, thus allowing for some degree of improvisation during the execution. The score is interpreted as being non prescriptive but rather descriptive, its *performance* required interpretation and participation from the masons (Hauser 2007).

compilations of separate bodies” (fig. 4.6).<sup>24</sup> With the use of architectural spoils and building spoils the borrowing becomes not only *metaphorical* but also quite *literal*.<sup>25</sup> The *Demonstration Model* makes visible, something that is usually intentionally well hidden, in both ancient and renaissance tradition; those are the joints between members, forming the body. Organological metaphors of the body-as-assembly are in fact used to sustain the integration of parts.<sup>26</sup>

In the introduction to “On the Art of Building in Ten Books” Alberti (1988: 4) states: “It often happens that we ourselves, although busy with completely different things, cannot prevent our minds and imagination from projecting some buildings or other. Or again, when we see some other person’s building, we immediately look over and compare the individual dimensions, and to the best of our ability consider what it might be taken away, added or altered, to make it more elegant.”<sup>27</sup>



**fig. 4.5**  
Giorgio Vasari's "Apelles Paints Diana's Portrait"  
Casa Vasari, Florence, after 1563  
© 2004 Abbeville Press (Image from Kliemann and Rohlmann, 2004: 37)

<sup>24</sup> Vesalius composed a skeleton out of two different bodies (Jacobs 2005: 96).

<sup>25</sup> The Basilica of St. Mary of the Angels and Martyrs in Rome is a Renaissance incorporation of a roman building-member, originally known as the bath of Diocletian (298-306 AD), converted into a new church, begun by Michelangelo, one year before his death, in 1563.

<sup>26</sup> Similarly in the painting workshop practice of the Renaissance, artists would make use of cartoons or templates to create figures, which would be reused times and again, to create always new body assemblies. Bambach established that between 1430 and 1600 cartoons were common practice (Bambach 1999). See also the collaboration between Masolino and Masaccio whom shared templates in the creation of their panel paintings (Strehlke and Frosinini 2008).

<sup>27</sup> Alberti 1997: 4. Alberti's comments on the origin of the art of sculpture. In the introductory paragraph of the *De Statua* he explains it as a "literal" process of editing an existing palimpsest: "[...]the arts of those who attempt to create images [*effigies*] and likeness [*simulacra*] from bodies produced by Nature, originated in the following way. They probably occasionally observed in a tree-trunk or clod of earth and other similar inanimate objects certain outlines [*lineamenta*] in which, with slight alterations, something very similar to the real faces of Nature was represented. They began, therefore, by diligently observing and studying such things, to try to see whether they could not add, take away or otherwise supply whatever seemed lacking to effect and complete the true likeness." (Alberti 1972). According to Alberti, the "outline" is present and deciphered in the *materiality* of a physical object. The outline is not the thing without material indications, but it is present in the thing and it is the results of the imaginative process of making as re-making, that proceeds by progressive additions and subtractions to achieve a "complete and true likeness". This might help shed some light on the Renaissance *architectural design process* as "re-making", given that this passage was mirrored in his treatise on architecture (Alberti 1997: 4).

The art of building follows a process of progressive adjustments performed onto existing buildings.<sup>28</sup> The imaginative process of making is a re-making, by means of continual additions and subtractions deciphered in the materiality of a physical object towards an elegant definition of the represented idea. This also implies the unfinished nature of the art of building and sheds light on the Renaissance concept of architectural-conservation as a re-making, revealing a literal process of editing an existing palimpsest. St. Peter's through the eyes of the *magister operis*, succeeding one another, is clearly some other person's building. The process of designing is one of assembling parts by taking away, adding or altering an existing palimpsest.

The alteration process shares elements with the 1920's-30's surrealist *cadavre exquis* (exquisite corpse) game, where several authors are responsible for a final result. The essential characteristic of the game is a basic rule governing the "articulation of a body", as an orderly assembly of members (shoulders, upper body, legs, etc.) with the exception of one allowed transgression, that the standard lexicon of the body can be partly replaced by random elements, subverting anatomic coherence, in a metamorphic process, which leads to the making of a "hybrid body" (fig. 4.7). "The anatomical frame provides an artificial englobing space, like the stage space [...], an open anatomy filled by random limbs [...]"<sup>29</sup>

### Reflections on the Exquisite Corpse of architecture

Each artist in the group contributes to the collage. The game played by Jacqueline Lamba, André Breton and Yves Tanguy, aiming at creating a body out of the addition of individual members, reflects the collaborative nature of the work, taking place through time. The "anatomical frame" rule is the equivalent of Alfarano's concept of hallowed configuration.

Le Corbusier's Beistegui Apartment, at 136 Champs Elysées in Paris (fig. 4.8), is one of the best, even though largely undocumented examples, of exquisite-corpse architecture in the modern period, presenting the addition of a modern fragment onto the roof of an existing two-storey apartment building.<sup>30</sup> Gorlin (1982: 61) states: "the ruins of the Beistegui contain the memory not only of its former state, but relates to the cycle of creation and destruction admired by Le Corbusier. He even saw the effects of war as an opportunity and a proof of the major steps necessary to reconstruct the overcrowded and chaotic city". The apartment was designed by Le Corbusier for the Count Charles de Beistegui, a collector of surrealist art work. Gorlin compares the Beistegui apartment to Magritte's Minotaur Cover. The apartment constitutes an anomaly within Le Corbusier body of work, and qualifies it as one of the few examples out of his repertoire

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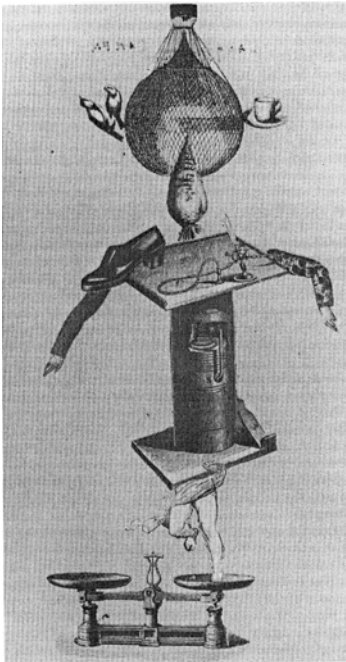
<sup>28</sup> Frascari, 24/07/2007.

<sup>29</sup> Adamowicz 1998: 82-83.

<sup>30</sup> The Beistegui apartment was destroyed during World War II. Benton 1987. Gorlin 1982: 50-65. Another example during this period is possibly the Maison de Verre in Paris, by French architect Pierre Chareau. Here the relationship is reversed. The first two floors of the original palimpsest were removed to make room for a new building member, maintaining an original third floor supported by a steel structural frame, which became an integral part of the architectural expression of the Maison.

that does not fall into the realm of instant making, and seems to possibly borrow from the exquisite corpse assemblies strategies.<sup>31</sup>

In this project Le Corbusier accepts the existence of a building-text onto which he adds a new member, realizing an exquisite corpse.<sup>32</sup> This appears to be in contrast to his well-publicized ideas for Paris, as they became known in the 1925 *Plan Voisin*, where he preached the reduction of the existing city's fabric to a *carte blanche*, effacing the historic palimpsest, but for a few key monuments of the historic city, which are identified, isolated and preserved.



**fig. 4.7**  
1938 Jacqueline Lamba, André Breton and  
Yves Tanguy  
© Adamorowicz 1998



**fig. 4.6**  
Pier Jacopo Alari Buonacoli called Antico  
“Small Bronze Demonstration Model”  
© 2005 Jacobs 2005: 97

<sup>31</sup> At the Chapel of Notre-Dame du Haut at Ronchamp (1950-54) Le Corbusier reused materials that were left from the old church, which had been destroyed (Brades et al. 1987). Here also old elements are held withing the new as hidden relics.

<sup>32</sup> A contemporary exquisite-corpse approach can be read in the 1993 “Storefront for Architecture”, by Steven Holl and Vito Acconci. Here architect and artist are co-authors of an exquisite corpse where the first element was provided by the historic fabric at 97 Kenmare Street in New York, to which they added a renewed storefront, aiming to “challenge the symbolic and literal enclosures that grid New York art by uniting the interior and exterior into a mutable architectural gesture” (Ritter 2001). A *storefront* is by its very nature a *mutable* element in a façade composition, due to short use-cycles, which tend to reflect the adaptation of this element to ever-changing contingencies. The authors designed a mutable “formal joint” (Frasconi 1984: 24) uniting exterior and interior by means of puzzle-like portals of various sizes, made out of steel frames and light concrete panels, which can be engaged by passerbyers. These interactive panels remind of a secret, pivoting side door of the Olivetti Store in Venice by Carlo Scarpa, embedded in a puzzle-like composition of stone panels, forming an “exquisite” addition to an historic wall.

The character of each individual intervention in the Renaissance transformation of St. Peter's underlines the stratigraphic nature of the architectural renewal, where a multiplicity of authors were responsible for a final assembly. This is witnessed through drawings and models representing solely the portion of the basilica, which is going to be altered, making visible an invisible assembly of body-members. A significant difference between Renaissance body assembly techniques and the modern exquisite corpse is that the parts put together were never random, unlike the modern game, where each artist is aware only of his own contribution.

One of the rules of the surrealist game was folding the paper before adding the next body part, with the consequence that the resulting body was an assembly of fragments. In the case of St. Peter's one is not dealing with the notion of fragment, but rather with a notion of members, carefully chosen, and put together to form a harmonious whole, seeking unity as point of arrival.<sup>33</sup> The surrealist idea of fragment instead entails a random cut, while the seams between body members at Renaissance St. Peter's are not accidental, but rather exhibit the precision of a skilled surgeon, thus incisions and suturings are anatomically correct.

Ernst Gombrich's comment on the workings of "double images" (2000: 3-30), which allow a viewer to switch from one reading to the other, help us understand the invisible workings of Alfarano's plan. In the case of Gombrich the ambiguity of the reading rests in the question: is this a "Rabbit or Duck?" (fig. 4.9). Gombrich (2000:5) states that, "the shape on the paper resembles neither animal very closely. And yet there is no doubt that the shape transforms itself in some subtle way when the duck's beak becomes the rabbit's ears and brings an otherwise neglected spot into prominence as the rabbit's mouth. [...] we are compelled to look for what is 'really there', to see the shape apart from its interpretation, and this, we soon discover, is not really possible."<sup>34</sup>

The ambiguity of Alfarano's plan lends itself to the reading of a "double image", encrypted in the plan. The hybrid drawing, formed by a hand-drawn plan of the old basilica, joined with an added decouped new plan, might allude to the composite plan, as a hybrid, merging central and longitudinal cross. The double image in the drawing signifies a simultaneous presence of two plans. Is this a "Latin or a Greek cross"? This question has challenged architectural historians for over a century, since when a conspicuous number of original drawings were rediscovered in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>35</sup>

Even though one "cannot experience alternative readings" simultaneously, in looking for "what is really there", one cannot but remember the other plan, while trying to switch the reading and disentangle the two images. The difficulty of experiencing alternative readings generates ambiguity. A dual representation, allows ambiguous, yet precise shifted alternative readings, making possible moving from one image to the other, to generate a hybrid. The hybrid expresses

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<sup>33</sup> The modern fragment is independent from the whole, while a fragment in the Renaissance understanding is part of a whole. Vesely 1996.

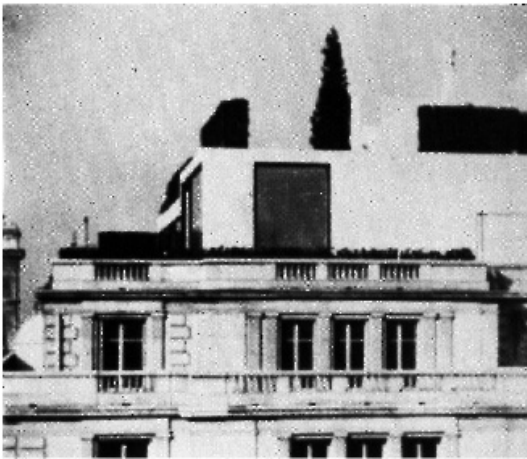
<sup>34</sup> Gombrich 2000: 5.

<sup>35</sup> Kempers 1996: 214.

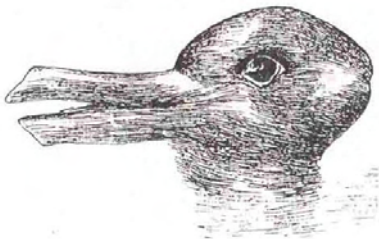


duality in the simultaneous merged presence of a Greek and Latin cross. Double images are inextricably connected parts of one another. Even when the other becomes visible, it is impossible to separate its presence from the totality. The image remains embedded in the representation.

Alfarano reveals the presence of a double image, analogous to the one that can be found in Bramante's U 20A. The new plan is revealed contemplating the old one. The double image forms a representation where two entities cannot be separate. The width of the new main nave corresponds to that of the old. The eastern piers fall under the arms of the old cross, tangential to the interior corner defined by main nave and transept. The pier's northern edge is marked in Alfarano's drawing by the presence of the gold columns of the main nave of old St. Peter's. The western edge of the pier is marked by the rendering of the old transept wall, which overlaps onto it. The traces of the old palimpsest, never completely effaced, reemerge into new body members.



**fig. 4.8**  
Le Corbusier's Beistegui apartment, at 136 Champs Elysées in Paris 1930. Fondation Le Corbusier, Paris.



**fig. 4.9**  
Rabbit of Duck?  
© National Gallery of Art, Washington DC  
Image from Gombrich 2000: 5

Alfarano's drawing indicates the presence of a hybrid, formed by merging two cross types. The beneficiary clerk's intent is to assure that the dialogue between past and future continues, on the Vatican site. The metamorphosis of the temple is represented through this drawing-effigy, demonstrating an image of *becoming*. The complexity of the hybrid-body goes beyond that of two joined plans; numerous other preexisting buildings, both sacred and pagan, are also part of St.

Peter's palimpsest. Stratigraphic drawings, representing solely the members of the basilica to be added to the whole, make visible the invisible hybrid-body formed by a corporation of members.<sup>36</sup>

Howard Hibbard (1971: 158) describing Maderno's final plan design for a new eastern arm addition (U 264A), stated that the "project is on a sheet that is not exactly matched to the upper sheet on which is the plan of the older part of the church".<sup>37</sup> The sheet is literally cut off east of the Gregoriana and Clementina chapel.<sup>38</sup> The two plans, central member and eastern addition, are drawn on two sheets that have never been permanently joined, and remain to this day movable stratigraphic-drawings (fig. 4.10).<sup>39</sup>

The upper portion of U 264A is a faithfully redrawn member of Michelangelo's plan, according to Dupérac's 1569 print. The member corresponds to the portion erected on the western side of the dividing wall. The lower portion is a representation of the new eastern member, added by Maderno.

The two members/sheets *overlap* along a north-south joint, which runs along and onto the facades of Gregoriana and Clementina Chapel, already built. The drawing's edges duplicate on both ends the liminal portion of the design along the margin, allowing a precise juxtaposition of the sheets. The edge-facades of Gregoriana and Clementina, drawn on both ends of the two sheets, like the seams of an exquisite corpse, guide the addition of the body-member, suggesting to overlap the sheets (fig. 4.11 and 4.12).

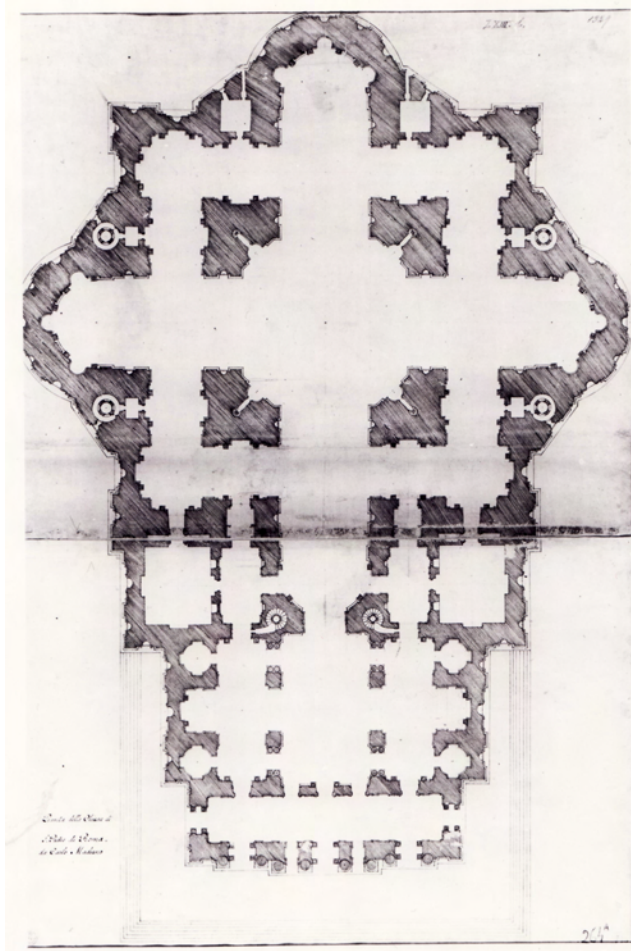
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<sup>36</sup> Bramante U 1Ar, Maderno U 101A, U 100A, U 263A, U 264A, Della Porta's wood model of Michelangelo's dome, etc. Michelangelo's addition of a 'model-member' for a new chapel design was inserted by him onto Antonio da Sangallo's model of St. Peter's (Millon and Hugh Smith 1976). The phenomena of stratigraphic-drawings and individual body-members models is witnessed also by numerous other projects during the Renaissance. One example is that of Santa Maria Novella in Florence with the addition of Brunelleschi's dome structure.

<sup>37</sup> Uffizi U 264A (851x563). Two sheets, joined; brown ink. The drawing does not provide a scale, which is reconstructed by Hibbard as 100 palmi = 82.4 mm (Hibbard 1971: 158).

<sup>38</sup> Howard Hibbard provides accurate descriptions for U 100A, U 101A, U 264A (Hibbard 1971: 158-159). The scholar provides a detailed analysis of several of Maderno's surviving hand-drawings including scale, materiality, providing also historical and architectural criticism.

<sup>39</sup> This treatment is very different compared to previous attempts. Drawings, which form a composite plan by using separate sheets, are usually permanently joined. An example would be Baldassarre Peruzzi's U 14Ar, where the architect studies a composite plan formed by a central portion and a longitudinal one. The two parts are drawn on two separate sheets, which are permanently joined. The line of the joint falls exactly where the central plan and the longitudinal one meet (for an analysis of this drawing and its reproduction see Marcucci 2000: 151). The drawing, is currently preserved at the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe in the Uffizi in Florence. Presently, the two members are framed together, however the two sheets are set a few millimeters apart leaving a void between them. In most photographic reproductions it is not possible to appreciate the separation between the two sheets, and what appears to be an ordinary joint in the paper, is actually a void (Hibbard, 1971; Stalla 1997; Spagnesi, *Carlo Maderno*, 1997).



**fig. 4.10**  
Maderno U 264A. Plan of St. Peter's with eastern addition  
© Courtesy of the GDSU

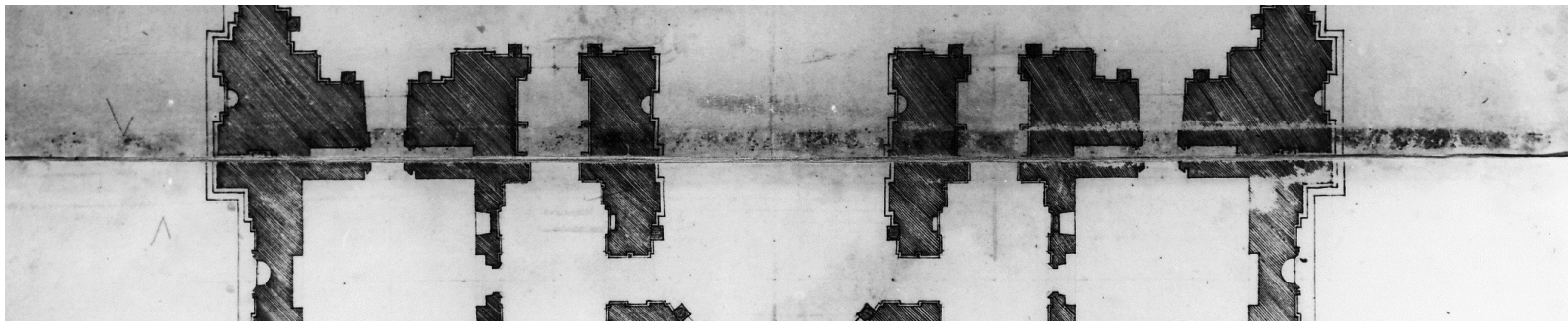
In order to appreciate the consequential nature of the two members, one needs to juxtapose the drawings, with a movement from east to west, till the outer corner of Gregoriana and Clementina in the two overlap.<sup>40</sup> The physical gesture of aligning the sheets, *from east to west*, alludes possibly to the fact that construction will start with the new east façade and narthex, and gradually move towards the west meeting-end of the two drawings.<sup>41</sup> The existing terminating

<sup>40</sup> In order to demonstrate the addition of Maderno's member, it is necessary to physically overlay the lower sheet onto the upper one, where Michelangelo's plan is redrawn. A shaded area in the lower edge of the upper sheet, demonstrates exactly where the two members use to overlap, causing a darkening of the paper.

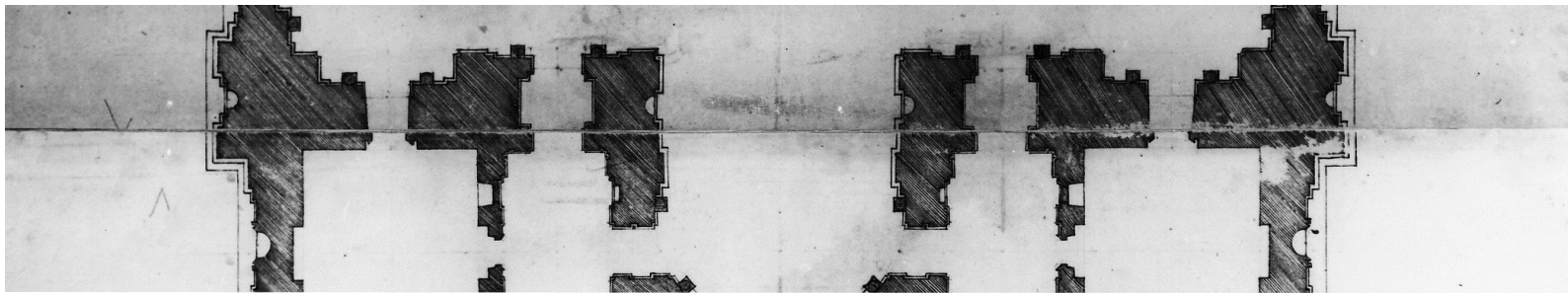
<sup>41</sup> Spagnesi explains that Paul V decided to demolish the remains of the old basilica to the east of the "muro divisorio" to erect a new façade and nave; work starts from the façade moving towards the direction of the cupola. The demolition starts in 1607 in correspondence of the area where the new façade will rise. Maderno sends to the pope a print of the complete revised plan of the eastern arm, executed by Matthaeus Greuter in 1613. At this time the centering for the 1<sup>st</sup> level of arches of the new narthex-façade are put in place (Spagnesi 1997: 264). For an analysis of Maderno's design for the façade of St. Peter's see Roca de Amicis 1997: 279-284. For the overall addition of the eastern arm by Maderno see Hibbard 1971; Stalla 1997: 269-274; Spagnesi 1997: 261-268, Benedetti 2000: 103-120.

facades of Gregoriana and Clementina, which are *drawn-over*, are literally torn down in 1612-13 in order to complete Maderno's extension.<sup>42</sup>

Observing the edges of U 264A it is possible to notice that the hinge between the two portions of the hybrid body, marked by the physical separation of the two drawing-members, is the place where the switch in the double image takes place. The macro-discontinuity identifiable in this joint reveals the nature of the body as composite. Maderno's representation method makes visible, through the mobility of the sheets, the otherwise invisible process of assembling body & building parts.



**fig. 4.11**  
Maderno U 264A, Detail of the joint between the two sheets  
© Courtesy of the GDSU



**fig. 4.12**  
Maderno U 264A, Detail of the joint between the two sheets  
Digitally altered to overlap the lower edge with the upper one to reunite the two members  
© Courtesy of the GDSU

<sup>42</sup> Howard Hibbard (1971: 155) explains that, "The facades were ultimately and reluctantly torn down in 1612-13 in order to join the chapels to Maderno's choir and sacristy".

This macro-discontinuity is not unlike that revealed by the surrealist painter René Magritte (1898-1967) in “The Eternal Evidence” (1930). The painter’s process is one of selecting and appropriating different body-parts sequentially added (fig. 4.13), which do not perfectly fit together, revealing the inherent game of combining different members.<sup>43</sup> Magritte makes visible the invisible process of creating an exquisite corpse, by framing each body-member separately and leaving a void between the fragments.

The articulation between body parts, forming St. Peter’s, is a continual re-working of an itinerant invisible joint, between new and old members, which coexist in an unbroken continuum. The hinge, identified in the lower edge of Bramante’s U 1A, became visible, and literally materialized with the erection of the dividing wall.<sup>44</sup> The threshold through this wall-hinge is demarcated by a series of five steps, which lead from the level of the old temple to the level of the new one.<sup>45</sup>

When Maderno designed the eastern arm addition, he looked at the duality expressed by St. Peter’s as one of the clearly identifiable permanent characters to be reflected through the

<sup>43</sup> In this painting Magritte alludes to Zeuxis’ game of adding body parts from *different* models. To emphasize this, Magritte select a different view-point for each body part, revealing the game of fitting the parts together, which belong to different bodies (Paquet 2000: 53). Philippe Comar also affirms that the process of assembling body parts originates in Plato’s *Symposium*, where the Greek philosopher (ca. 428-ca. 348) “invents an anthropological fantasy to explain the evolution of the human body [...] early humans he says were bisexual and double in all their parts. As a punishment for overweening pride, Zeus, lord of the Gods, cut them in two and scattered them. Since then, each human has wandered the earth, yearning for its other half and striving unceasingly to regain its shattered unity” (Comar 1999: 39-41).

<sup>44</sup> Louise Rice (1997) makes the point that from ecclesiastic viewpoint “new and old” members of the basilica while coexisting, and until the demolitions of the eastern arm (fig. 2.10) are one and the same. Christof Thoenes formulates the hypothesis that the “dividing wall” could be at first conceived as a permanent element meant to join rather than separate old and new members (Christof Thoenes. *Alt und Neu St. Peter unter einem Dach. Zu Antonio da Sangallo’s ‘Muro Divisorio’, in Architektur und Kunst im Abendland. Festschrift zur Vollendung des 65. Lebesjahres von Günter Urban*, edited by M. Jansen & K. Winands, Rome, 1992: 51-62; cited in Rice 1997). Gaetano Miarelli Mariani supports this hypothesis too; he stated that the “dividing wall” started in 1538 and completed in 1546, presents such a rich decorative apparatus that it should be interpreted as a permanent element. It was demolished only in 1614 (Miarelli Mariani 1997: 229-242).

<sup>45</sup> The central plan is 1.2 m above the eastern side of the basilica. “... *scala dei gradini semicirculari che sale alla porta maggiore: la struttura muraria di questa scala e’ stata rinvenuta nella sua integrità; furono invece asportati i masselli di travertino di quasi tutti i gradini. Questi erano cinque e l’ultimo formava un ripiano semicirculari. La soglia fungeva anche da gradino. Nel disegno del Grimaldi, lungo il primo gradino si legge “Ostium ducens in novum templum”* (Apollonj Ghetti et al.1951: 213). According to Apollonj Ghetti et al. (1951) when Sangallo erected the wall in 1538 the intention is to keep the floor of the new basilica on the same level as the old. The wall’s vestigies are still present under the pavement of the new basilica (Apollonj Ghetti et al. 1951: 147-160, 207-216). The original threshold through the central door of the dividing wall was found again during archeological excavations, 1.2 meter below the level of the new floor in the 1940’s (Apollonj Ghetti et al. 1951: 147-160; 207-216) Furthermore Pope Gregory XIII (1566-1572) makes significant renewal works within the old basilica. Louise Rice points out that the commission of a new floor in 1574, in addition to the restoration of a number of altars, points out his intention to conserve it permanently (Rice 1997: 24).



**fig. 4.13**  
Magritte  
The Eternal Evidence 1930  
Oil on canvas  
© Gallimard 1993  
Image from Comar 1999: 40

renovation, as it was clearly expressed in Alfarano's representation of an hallowed configuration. This might in fact have been perceived by the Ticinese architect as one of rules shaping a collectively agreed upon imagination.<sup>46</sup>

A lesser known version of Maderno's eastern plan (fig. 4.14) dating from 1623, demonstrates the intention to maintain a continuous series of steps, running alongside the drawing's hinge, keeping the two body-members at different levels.<sup>47</sup> The three-dimensional edge-joint is a threshold articulating the moment of passage between the longitudinal extension entering into the central temple. A 1613 plan-section engraving demonstrates Maderno's intention to reinforce the perception of separate identities, providing the new barrel vault with a higher ceiling (fig. 4.15).<sup>48</sup>

"... each disjunctive element is ultimately part of an englobing whole, characterized as the surreal of the *merveilleux*. Rather than reducing the disjunction of the parts, the englobing term as stage, frame, box or anatomy simply display the *merveilleux* as a space of paradox" (Adamowicz 1998: 82-83).

Rumors spread that Maderno failed to align the two bodies (fig. 4.15).<sup>49</sup> The intentional and careful misalignment of the body-members is interpreted as a design error, on the part of the Ticinese architect. Some thirty-years after the completion of the addition, attempts are made to hide the suturing, which blatantly revealed the hybrid, by adding a new marble skin to the naked brick floor; matching the existing marble finishes on both sides and leveling the two misaligned

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<sup>46</sup> Robert Stalla argues that Bramante's intention to place the Pantheon above the *Tempio della Pace* is at the base of Maderno's design. Stalla expresses the hypothesis that Maderno's addition is essentially based on the plan of roman basilical structure, with a particular reference to Constantine's basilica in the Foro Romano (Stalla 1997: 269-274). U 264A reflects the duality of the two bodies more clearly than the final design, presented to the pope in a print by Matthaeus Greuter in 1613. U 264A in fact integrates in the eastern arm a specular-reflection of the western apse on the eastern side. In this way the transition between "foot of the cross" and central plan is emphasized by the experience of passing through a narrow entrance into the eastern-arm of the Greek cross. Piero Spagnesi highlights how in this version, Maderno is responding to a desire of the *Congregazione della Fabbrica* to complete Michelangelo's plan adding alongside additional spaces necessary for pragmatic necessities related to the liturgical program (Spagnesi 1997: 261-262). Matthaeus Greuter's print (May 1613) reproducing Maderno's last plan design, allows to appreciate the intent to differentiate the two members, even though the "foot of the cross" is now an extension of the eastern-arm, continuing throughout with the same width. The differentiated renderings of the walls's *poché* of the two members, reveal that Maderno perceived a clear and distinct character between the two.

<sup>47</sup> The plan reveals visible the possibility of some editing of Maderno's built work, by continuing the side aisles with the same width towards the new façade. The plan is not acted upon.

<sup>48</sup> Hibbard describes eloquently the result: "Maderno made the nave higher and wider than the older arms and his vault is pierced with six windows. These changes make a contrast with the old church [the author refers here to Michelangelo's addition] and help to preserve the unity of the Michelangelo-Sangallo interior. As originally surfaced with brick pavement the contrast was far more striking since the level of the nave floor was then considerably lower than the marble paving of the crossing and the step that one notices in the vault was echoes below" (Hibbard 1971: 71). Maderno's vault is 6 palms higher (Stalla 1997: 271).

<sup>49</sup> Stalla 1997: 271. Piero Spagnesi supports the theory that Maderno intentionally misaligned the two sides in order to accentuate the differentiation (Spagnesi 1997: 264).



floor levels accomplished this.<sup>50</sup> Maderno's paradox is now concealed, by hiding the hinges of the exquisite corpse. The original intention to reveal the disjunction, alike the seams of an exquisite corpse was misunderstood by his contemporaries, revealing a cultural sensibility that privileged the union of the parts, to form a seamless body.

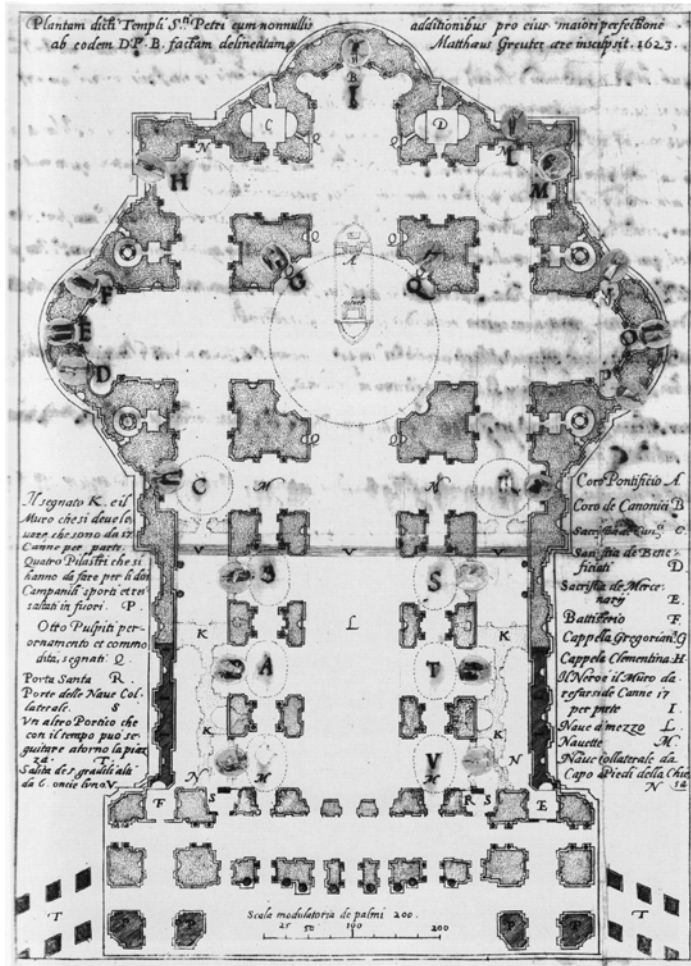


fig. 4.14  
Matthaeus Greuter after Papirio Bartoli. Plan of New St. Peter's 1623, with additions made by the Congregation of the Fabbrica in 1626.  
BAV ACSP, H55, f.32 c.  
© BAV  
Image from Rice, *The Altars and Altarpieces*, 1997

Earlier versions of Maderno's addition, such as U 101A and U 100A (fig. 4.16 and 4.17) work through a representation method similar to that described for U 264A.<sup>51</sup> These drawing-members

<sup>50</sup> The new flooring is realized by Gian Lorenzo Bernini in 1650, under Innocent X (Spagnesi, 1997: 266).

<sup>51</sup> U 101A's drawing scale: 100 palmi=58.5; sheet dimensions: mm 252x332. Hibbard describes Maderno's Uff. 101A as a drawing in "Brown ink, blue wash. Ink writing over pencil. Two scales in ink and pencil; lower scale, 100 palmi=58.5 mm; upper scale, 100 units = 77.5 mm. It was quite surely to be attached to the older church at a point just east of the Gregoriana and Clementina, without a special choir and sacristy, as shown by Thelen. The façade is especially far from the later elaborations, even if one imagines a columnar adornment to be added, which is at least to be doubted. This is the widest of Maderno's early nave projects; it has a façade as wide as the nave, almost as wide as the church through the Clementina-Gregoriana chapels. Its seven doors and elements such as the stair west of the portico have no relationship to the other projects. Since a text of 1608 reports that the Congregation was insistent on 5

need to be re-joined to the existing palimpsest to appreciate his addition. Both drawings are at the scale of Dupérac's 1569 print, which is of course also the scale of the original 1571 drawing by Alfarano.<sup>52</sup> It is possible that Maderno worked, at least in the early design stages, directly on Alfarano's plan.



**fig. 4.15**  
Matthaeus Greuter Longitudinal section-plan of St. Peter's, 1625. BAV ACSP, H55, f.32 c. © Hertziana Library Image from Rice, *The Altars and Altarpieces*, 1997

The rendering of the wall poché in U 101A, executed with light azure watercolor matches closely Alfarano's rendering of Michelangelo's walls.<sup>53</sup> It would have been advantageous for Maderno to

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portals, this is more than likely an early somewhat informal essay" (Hibbard 1971: 158). U 100A has no scale but Howard Hibbard confirms it is the same as A101; 227 x 316 mm. Hibbard provides the following description for U 100A: "Pencil, brown ink; pasted down No scale but the same as A101. A variant of the Dupérac plan that provides large chapels left and right for choir and sacristy and a porch, above which we must imagine a benediction loggia. Michelangelo's ten freestanding columns have been eliminated but their spacing has between roughly retained and the four column portico is now directly before the central piers. Four more columns are drawn in pencil east of the portico. The walls of the two large chapels diverge as they go east from the Gregorian and the Clementina, presumably so that their eastern faces could be broad enough to carry the articulation shown and still allow the outside walls to join the older chapels at an architecturally reasonable point. This project presents the minimum possible divergence from the Dupérac plan while providing the space wanted by the pope, congregation and canons. [...] it is perhaps possible to date this project before October 1606 ..." (Hibbard 1971: 158). For U 264A the scale is reconstructed by Hibbard: 100 palmi = 82.4; sheet dimensions: mm 851x563 (Hibbard 1971).

<sup>52</sup> The author of this dissertation measured the length of the hinge-joint from side to side, and also the width of the main nave in both drawings, and compared this measurement with Dupérac's 1569 print, to find that and they match. Alfarano used the roman Palm (cm. 22.3422) as unit measure for the drawing, using the scale of 1:385, which is obviously the same used by Dupérac in his print (Silvan 1992).

<sup>53</sup> The choice of color is unusual and matches closely Alfarano's pochée for the central plan. A light brown or reddish color would perhaps be more suitable to convey the materiality of stone and brick. Bramante's U



match his drawing, not just with Dupérac's plan, evaluating his design in relationship with Michelangelo's plan, but also with Alfarano's drawing, evaluating the possibility to circumscribe the original foot of the cross, thus realizing something that shares in the nature of an exquisite corpse by multiple authors (fig. 4.18; Appendix B: Animation 1; Appendix C: Interpretive drawing 2).<sup>54</sup> Maderno brings to completion the body's renewal adding what he calls the "third" portion, realized "in conformity with Alfarano's plan". Alfarano's hallowed configuration of a double image, merging two plan types, has been fulfilled.<sup>55</sup>

Maderno's eastern addition, and possibly his design method, are inspired by an interpretation of Alfarano's hallowed configuration for St. Peter's transformation, suggesting the necessity of a hybrid to which the Ticinese architect conforms. Alfarano's decoupage technique, might have inspired Maderno's feeling of otherness, making his interpretation, which aimed at revealing the exquisite corpse misalignment of the seams, ahead of his time. Maderno's own method of working with stratigraphic-drawings overlaying them onto an original palimpsest is likely learned from Alfarano's own decoupage technique.

When Maderno re-printed Alfarano's 1590 print, with the addition of his façade design, he made visible his design method, leaving a clue of his overlaying directly on Alfarano's drawing his own stratigraphic-drawings; demonstrating that his addition completes the iconic portrait of the basilica according to a hallowed configuration (fig. 4.19).<sup>56</sup>

The process of arriving at the composite plan by progressively adding drawing members, is not unlike that of drawing a cat as described by Gombrich (2000: 7): "I well remember that the power and magic of image making was first revealed to me, not by Velázquez, but by a simple drawing game I found in my primer. A little rhyme explained how you could first draw a circle to represent a loaf of bread (for loaves were round in my native Vienna); a curve added on top would turn the loaf into a shopping bag; two little squiggles on its handle would make it shrink into a purse; and now by adding a tail, here was a cat."<sup>57</sup>

Rather than two separate buildings, the old and new Basilica are to be viewed as an ever-changing continuum. Often described as a destruction of the old temple, is better reassessed as a complex process of disassembling/reassembling of individual body-parts, at both the macro and

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1A uses a orange watercolor in the rendering of St. Peter's new added western footprint, which can possibly be a reminder of the materiality of the building.

<sup>54</sup> The wall pochée of U 100A instead matches Dupera's print and was likely to be overlaid by Maderno onto this print.

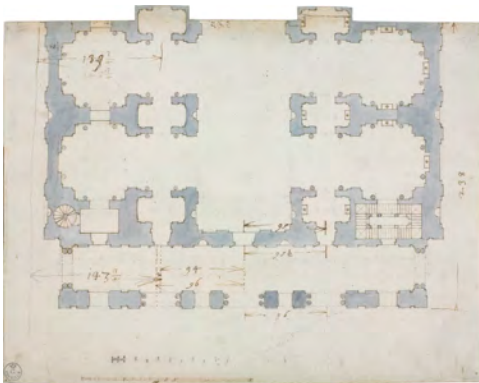
<sup>55</sup> "[...] *i seguenti pontefici hanno poi sempre, chi piu' e chi meno tirata avanti la fabbrica sinche' nell'Augusto pontificato di N. Sig.re Papa Paulo Quinto al quale era riserbato il terminarla, S'e' fatta la terza parte di cosi' grand'opera col darle il desiderato fine. [...] Havend'io dunque dato alle Stampe il nuovo Tempio in questa forma che conveniva all'ammirabile sua struttura ho risoluto di mostrare in questo luogo la forma della basilica antica segnando le cose piu' notabili d'essa; conforme alla pianta stampata l'anno 1590 dal'Alfarano chierico di S. Pietro; ampliata da me, col accrescimento e finimento della nova pianta come terminata coll'antica*". Maderno's "third" addition entails the existence of two previous members. The first element is the Constantinian Basilica's, and the second one is Dupérac's plan, added above Alfarano's.

<sup>56</sup> Engraving by Martino Ferrabosco included in Costaguti (1684).

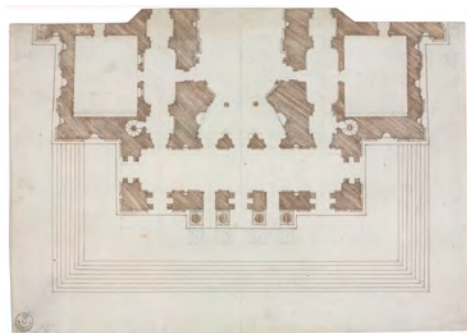
<sup>57</sup> Gombrich 2000: 7.

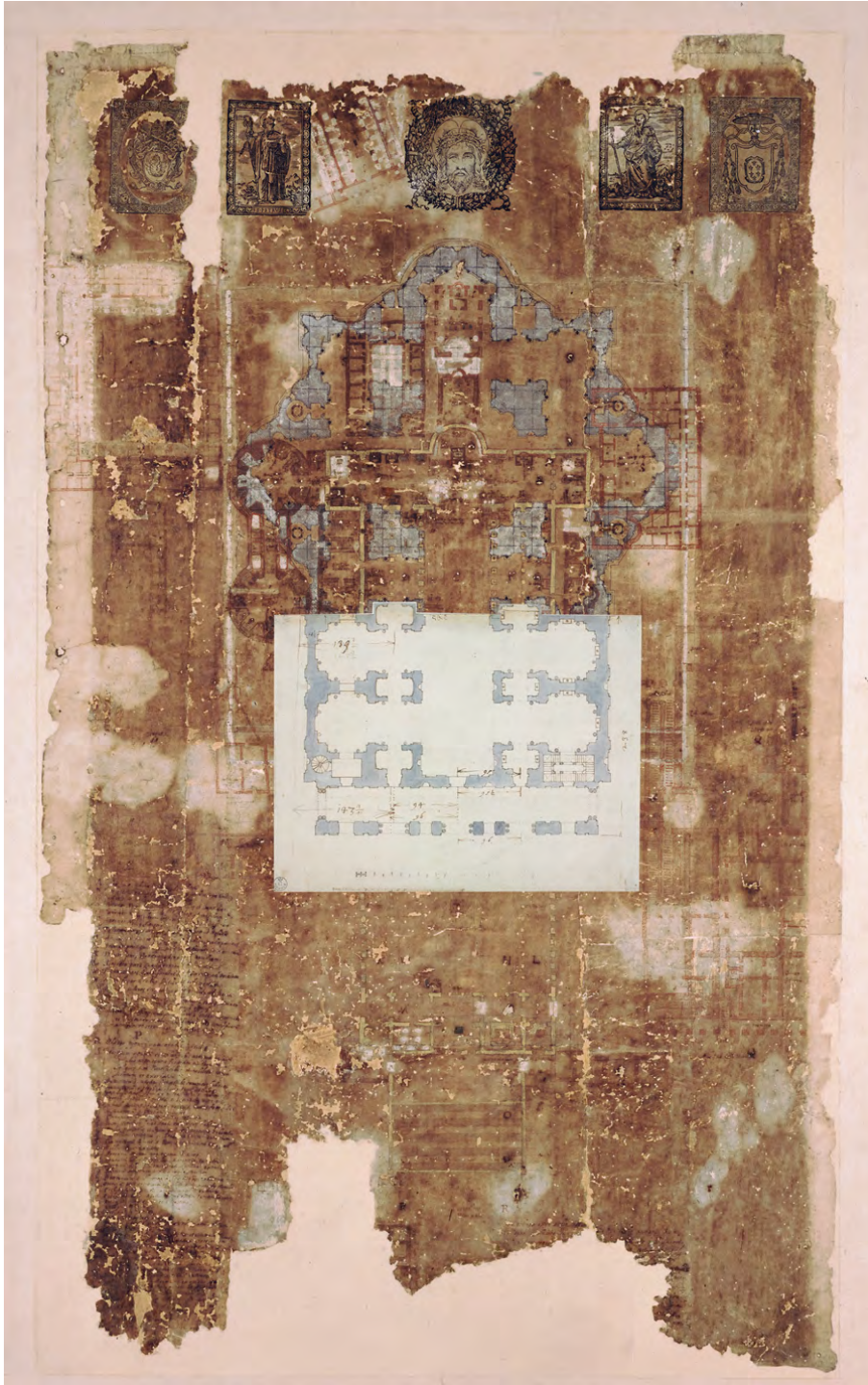
micro scale, to allow for a metamorphosis of the temple.

**fig. 4.16**  
U 101A, Eastern addition  
© Courtesy of the GDSU



**fig. 4.17**  
U 100A, Eastern addition  
© Courtesy of the GDSU





**fig. 4.18**

Digital superimposition of Maderno's U 101A stratigraphic drawing onto Alfarano's 1571 drawing demonstrating the renaissance exquisite corpse by multiple authors

© Courtesy of the AFSP (created by author of dissertation)

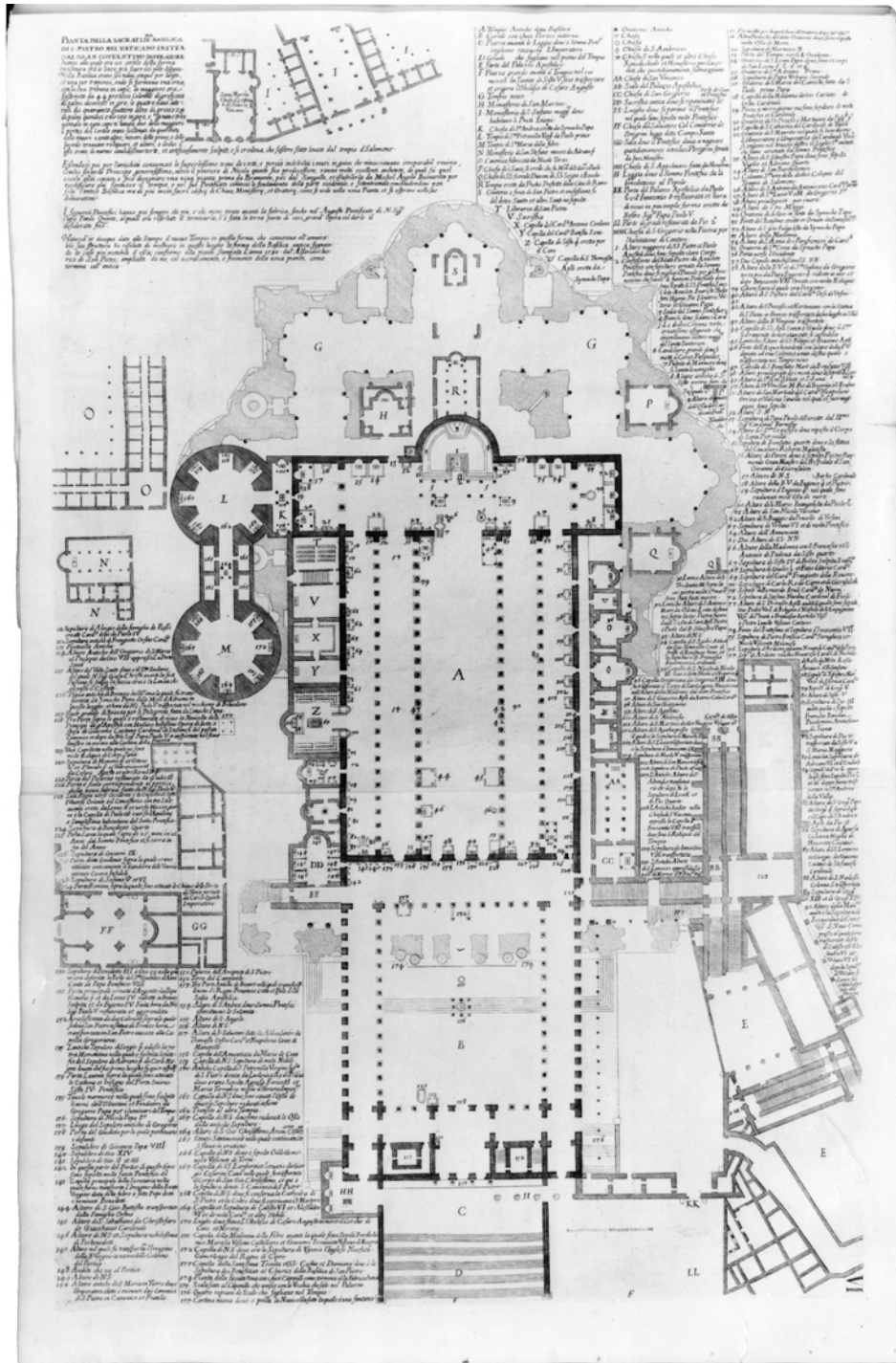


fig. 4.19  
 Carlo Maderno  
 Print by Martino Ferrabosco (Costaguti 1620-34:  
 Tav. VI);  
 © Courtesy of the LOC

The design process, described by Alberti as an elegant selection of appropriate members, becomes evident when looking at stratigraphic-drawings, which demonstrate the conception of individual-members, revealing the invisible process of continuous additions and subtractions. The hybrid-body of St. Peter's is a composition of members. It is the result of an assemblage articulated in Renaissance architectural language of additions and subtraction, illuminated by a concept of Zeuxian body.

The concept of restoration (Lat. *instauratio*) embodied in the Renaissance renovation of St. Peter's, assumes a diametrically opposite significance, than that attributed to this word in contemporary theory and practice of architecture. The contemporary notion of restoration, fathered by French architect and theorist Eugène-Emmanuel Viollet-Le-Duc (1814-1879), involves the act of reinstating a level of completeness, inspired by a principle of "unity of style"; essentially being an operation of reversing time.

The 1837 renovation drawings for the restoration of Sainte-Chapelle by Félix Duban and Jean-Baptiste Lassus, which later inspired Viollet Le Duc's concept of "unity of style", reveal that despite an addition in-style, the design method makes visible a character of otherness through the juxtaposition of separate stratigraphic-drawings layered and taped together (fig. 4.20). Observing the drawing's edges, it is possible to observe that the connection between members attempt a seamless transition; thus revealing that, that which is deceptively presented in the mode of the continuous is rather the joining of disparate elements.

Restoration, according to definitions provided by contemporary standards, attempts a reversal of time; aiming to go back to a previous moment in a building's life, to recapture a previous likeness. Contemporary standards, unlike Viollet Le Duc's, acknowledge that the reconstruction of a previous likeness *as was*, should be achieved as far as possible without conjectures and avoiding new inventions, it should be an accurate reconstruction based on documentary evidence.

Conversely, in a Renaissance understanding, restoration is focused on a dialogue between past and future building, allowing for renewal, meanwhile assuring continuity of identity, embracing change rather than denying it. The disjunction between past and present, conservation and architecture might be addressed by no longer conceiving of architecture as an object-of-time but rather as a *means of representing it*.

Alfarano's hybrid drawing and Maderno's own stratigraphic-drawings share elements with a 1920's-30's surrealist *cadavre exquis* (exquisite corpse) where several authors are responsible for a final result. The surrealist game is analogous to the Renaissance architectural renovation process, engaged quite literally in a dialogue with pre-existing elements. A building is born in time and continues being edited by means of additions and subtractions.

The time-lapse between additions at Renaissance St. Peter's as well as in the more recent



**fig. 4.20**  
Félix Duban with spire by Lassus  
Restoration project for Sainte-Chapelle,  
1837  
© Médiathèque de l'architecture et du  
patrimoine. Photo Patrick Cadet, courtesy  
of CMN, Paris



examples cited, generates the surreal character of the hybrid-body. The juxtaposition between additions from various periods, determines heteroglossia rather than an ideal “unity of style”.<sup>58</sup>

By combining hand-drawing with decoupage print, Alfarano comments on the incompleteness of the 1569 print, lacking a complete vision, which can only be achieved through a double image, combining old with new members. Alfarano’s 1571 drawing and 1590 print portray the merging of two plans within the continuum of time forming a hybrid body. The locution of new and old do not imply a separate existence of an old and a new building. Despite what seems to be a visible physical substitution, the invisible essence perdures, in what is but a transformation of physical likeness. Christof Thoenes states that the Basilica of St. Peter’s is only one. The title of Alfarano’s manuscript *De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura* alludes to that.<sup>59</sup>

Modifying the comprehensive viewing delineated by macro architectural history, allows a gaze into the hybrid-body of the temple, formed by a multitude of members joined together through sempiternal time. St. Peter’s is as an endless work in progress, an unfinished collage, providing a paradigmatic model for a critical reassessment of the concept of architectural-conservation in contemporary theory and practice. Architecture is not eternal, it cannot be conserved *as is* nor *as was*, but rather it is sempiternal. The process through which a building’s life can be extended into sempiternity requires imagination.

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<sup>58</sup> Payne (1998) argues for a metaphoric process of architectural collage through an analysis of renaissance literature and architecture.

<sup>59</sup> “*La basilica era una sola, che nella storia era apparsa sotto strutture diverse: De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura, per citare ancora il trattato dell’Alfarano [...]*” (Thoenes 1997: 24).



## DAY 5.

### RESTORING THE CORPORATE BODY: HETEROGLOSSIA VERSUS UNITY OF STYLE

#### The Nature of Architectural Spoils in Alfarano's 1571 *Ichnografia*

*"From whom the whole body, being fitted and held together by that which every joint supplies, according to the proper working of each individual part, causes the growth of the body for the building up of itself in love"*  
—Ephesians 4:16

*"The distance comes from the sense of gazing over an elaborate windowsill into another world"*  
—Glenn Peers, *Sacred Shock*

A critical revisiting of the concept of body to which the renovation of St. Peter's Basilica in the Vatican (1506-1626) is attuned adds to our understanding of the process of making as remaking, through the reuse of architectural spoils. This might inform our understanding of the Renaissance concept of *instauratio* as architectural renewal, and further our understanding of the nature of architectural spoils, and their role in the renovation process.

The anthropomorphic model after which St. Peter's renovation (1506-1626) takes place, is not just the human body *per se*, but rather a corporate body of theological significance and Zeuxian origin.<sup>1</sup> The model is not just a physical body, understood as an assembly of members, but rather a corporate body, understood as a plurality of persons within one body and within time, surviving by means of continuous substitutions, of single individual members, maintaining its identity. Architectural renovation, hinged on the concept of corporate body, is justified by the theory that nothing can be perpetual, if not by way of substitutions.<sup>2</sup>

During the Renaissance, the Vatican Basilica established itself as the main church of Christendom. The transformation and re-definition of the Temple's body contributes to marking the *axis mundi* of Christianity, centered on the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles. St. Peter's renewal, by means of additions and subtractions of spoils, body-members, in temporal succession, can be interpreted much like the sempiternal, quasi eternal, transformation of the Church of God,

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<sup>1</sup> The zeuxian body is formed by selectively appropriating members from different bodies, entailing that such a body is indeed a corporate-body. Antonio Averulino also called Filarete discusses anthropomorphic theories of architecture. He affirmed that the body is the model for architectural making. The first model was found according to him in the very body of Adam, the first man created. God himself gave proportions, in Adam. Nature however altered such perfect proportions, and Adam's descendance no longer displays them perfectly. Filarete also stated that the "head" is the most perfect member of the body, and from its measures the rest of the body's measurements were derived (Filarete 1972: I, 18.).

<sup>2</sup> Kantorowicz 1957.

understood as a corporate body of which Christ is the Head, based on the interpretation of the theology of the Church, and the writings of the Church father Augustine (c.354-430).<sup>3</sup>

According to Augustine's theology "members are being added . . . every day, while the church is being built up".<sup>4</sup> The corporate nature of the Church as a spiritual entity is reflected in the way the church-as-building is assembled (Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, XXII, XVIII, 1978).<sup>5</sup> The corporate body is not just a plurality of persons within one body, but rather, a plurality-in-time, constantly renewing itself. This metaphoric model for renewal suggests that even when the physical likeness of the temple's body is visibly altered, it remains a representation of everlasting essence, enduring within the continuity of an endless fabrication process.

According to Augustine's theology, the Church of God endlessly renews itself. "Indeed this house, the City of God, which is the holy Church, is now being built in the whole world after the captivity in which the demons held captive those men who, on believing in God, have become like 'living stones' of which the house is being built."<sup>6</sup>

This suggests the presence of a plurality of souls, a collective body, where each stone is a living being.<sup>7</sup> The matter of the church is composed of bits and fragments, relics and architectural spoils. The conceptual metaphor for the renewal of corporate bodies is telling: "For just as the [present] people of Bologna is the same that was a hundred years ago, even though, all be dead now who then were quick, so must also the tribunal be the same if three of two judges have died and been replaced by others, it is still the same legion. Also, with regard to a ship, even if the ship has been partly rebuilt, and even if every single plank may have been replaced, it is nonetheless always the same ship."<sup>8</sup> Renewal is achieved through continuous unbroken

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<sup>3</sup> The Church Father Augustine (354-430) described the Church as a corporate union, based on an analogy with the human body understood as the aggregation of a plurality of members (Grabowski 1957: 13-14, 19). This metaphor goes back to Ephesians 1: 22-23 and the writings of Saint Paul's, later incorporated into Augustine's theory of the Church. "The body of Christ is the Church." Grabowski, 1957: 3-92. "And indeed if He is the head, He has a body. His body is the Church". "*Et utique si caput est, habet corpus. Corpus autem ejus sancta ecclesia.*" Augustine, Enar., Psalm 138, 2 (PL 37, 1784) cited in Grabowski, 1957: 17. The head of the Church is Christ, the Church is the body of Christ." "Caput Ecclesiae Christus, Ecclesia Corpus Christi." Augustine, Epistles, 10, 3 (PL 35, 2057) cited in Grabowski, 1957: 17. "For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ." 1 Corinthians 12:12, King James Version.

A thorough discussion of the concept of sempiternity, within medieval political theology, can be found in Kantorowicz (1957).

<sup>4</sup> Augustine 1972: XXII, XVIII.

<sup>5</sup> According to Grabowski (1957) the corporate nature of the church as *edifice* is very clear in the writings of Augustine. "those who share in this good have holy fellowship with him to whom they adhere, and also among themselves; and they are one City of God, and at the same time they are his living sacrifices and his living temple" (Augustine 1972: XII, IX, 2).

<sup>6</sup> Augustine, 1972: VIII, XXIV, 4.

<sup>7</sup> Robert Ousterhout argues that the stones of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem are considered sacred to the point that they "*were reemployed insofar as possible in each successive reconstruction*" (Ousterhout 2003: 13).

<sup>8</sup> Kantorowicz 1957: 295. The metaphor of the ship is also used to explain the *restoration* or *reassemblage*



substitutions of individual members, assuring continuity of identity through time. Architectural renovation, hinged on this concept, is justified by the theory that nothing can be perpetual if not by way of substitution.<sup>9</sup>

St. Peter's *instauratio* by means of additions and subtractions of spoils, in temporal succession can be interpreted much like the renewal of the sempiternal Church of God, understood as a corporate body of which Christ is the Head.<sup>10</sup> The idea of the Church as 'body of Christ' (*corpus Christi*), represented by means of anthropomorphic metaphors denotes the unity of the head and members in one body. This analogy rests on a principle shared by Renaissance anthropomorphic theories of architecture, the unity of the human body formed by a corporation of members.<sup>11</sup> This principle allows the Greek painter Zeuxis to select and assemble certain body parts, of different women, and turn them into one complete and unified body.<sup>12</sup>

The Apostle Paul wrote, "He put all things in subjection under His feet and gave Him as head over all things the church, which is His body, the fullness of Him who fills all in all" (Ephesians 1:22-23).<sup>13</sup> Augustine's theology of the church, inspired by the writings of Paul, is at the basis of Christian doctrine. Augustine described the Church as formed by God as head, joined with its

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of bodies at the end of time according to western Christianity (200-1336) (Walker Bynum 1995: 88-89).

<sup>9</sup> Kantorowicz 1957: 308.

<sup>10</sup> "St. Augustine studies the relations existing between the head and the body and applies them to the Church conceived as the body of Christ. The body is composed of many members united under one head, so, too, the Church has many members, but only one head, Christ. In a physical body organic unity is essential, if the Church is the body of Christ, then it too must possess an internal unity" (Grabowski 1957: 18). For the theory of the body in Augustine's writings see also Miles (1979).

<sup>11</sup> Alberti defines this as the notion of compartition (Lat. *partitio*): "Compartition is the process of dividing up the site into yet smaller units, so that the building might be considered as being made up of close-fitting smaller buildings, joined together like small members of the whole body." (Alberti 1997: I.2.8). Morphological analogies used to explain the relationship between parts and whole building assembly can also be found in Alberti (1997: 7.5.199 and 1.9.23-24).

<sup>12</sup> For a thorough discussion of the myth of Zeuxis and its influence during the Renaissance period see Barkan (2000).

<sup>13</sup> Augustine's theories are revived by the Augustinian Cardinal Egidio da Viterbo (ca. 1469 – 1532), a prominent theologian at the time of Julius II (1503-1513). Esther Gordon Dotson (1979) argued that the primary source for Michelangelo's iconographic program for the Sistine Ceiling is Augustine's "City of God". She further argued that Michelangelo is influenced by Egidio da Viterbo. Egidio was *Vicarius generalis* of the Augustinian order from 1506-1507 and *Priore Generale* from 1507-1518 (Olin, 1969: 45, 46, 47). Augustine believed that the highest faculties of man, such as mind, reason, and the soul (*anima*), manifest themselves in the head. (Grabowski, 1957; Miles 1979). The main altar is located in that portion of the church corresponding to the *head* of the architectural body. The Siennese *quattrocento* architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1439-1502) produced numerous over-lay representations of the body with church plans, in his treatise on architecture and engineering (1967 [1474-1482]), making the analogy visible in the medium of the drawing. As it is argued by Lawrence Lowic, Francesco's understanding of the human analogy, and its abduction in architectural theories, is based on Augustine's theology of the church. The scholar provides an accurate discussion of the relationship between Francesco's human analogy and Augustine's "City of God" (Lowic 1983). Holy relics located underneath the altar, constitute the *soul* of the church, and are a life-giving element. Every church is a burial place and, since 401 AD, every altar is required to contain the relic of a saint (Geary 1990).

members, the saints and all the faithful, which form the body.<sup>14</sup>

Both Alfarano's 1571 drawing, and 1590 print, are conceived as iconic portraits, creating a metaphoric gate providing a portrayal of essence, which goes beyond a one-time likeness; both are frontispieces, leading the contemplating viewer beyond the gate of the visible, into a transfigured realm, to reveal an embedded significance, making visible the invisible presence of a corporate body (fig. 1.3). The drawing process mimics the restoration process. Reading into the making of the drawing, analyzing medium and techniques, allows interpreting the allegoric significance of the renewal. Various print clippings, drawings' spoils, incorporated in the drawing, are homologically related to buildings' spoils, which are assembled together in the three-dimensionality of the basilica and in the fourth-dimensionality of sempiternal time, according to the renewal of the corporate body.

In conceiving the plan as iconic portraiture, Alfarano framed the basilica's footprint with a series of iconographic clues unveiling a signified significance. According to Saint John's Gospel (10:7) Jesus states "*I am the gate*".<sup>15</sup> Contemplating the visible drawing allows perceiving invisible elements "active within the figure", grasping a veiled meaning.<sup>16</sup> The presence and position of the Holy Face in the top center of the drawing, compels one to look at the ichnography as vertical representation, as a frontispiece, to be entered through contemplation *ad faciem*, not unlike a believer would contemplate an icon.<sup>17</sup>

Pavel Florensky describes the operating mode of icons as a "carrying over", a kind of transference, which opens a window towards "ontological self-identity"; "icons were not simply windows through which they could behold the holy countenances depicted on them but were also doorways through which these countenances actually entered the empirical world."<sup>18</sup> Icons were a place of encounter, opening a window into a world beyond the picture frame.

Alfarano is the icon painter of a doorway. He is like those who "create the art because they are the ones who contemplate the persons and events that the icon must depict".<sup>19</sup> His presence at the site, for a period of over half-century, allows him to witness significant changes and transformations, gaining personal in-sight into their metaphoric and religious significance. He emblematically portrayed himself, in the 1590 print, as a messenger, placing his own insignia at the base of the *axis mundi* of the representation, corresponding allegorically to Adam's burial on the Golgotha at the foot of Christ's cross (fig. 5.1).<sup>20</sup> His emblem, a tower inscribed within a

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<sup>14</sup> "The body of Christ is the Church. And indeed if He is the head, He has a body. His body is the Church. The head of the Church is Christ, the Church is the body of Christ." (Augustine, Epistles; from Grabowski, 1957: 17).

<sup>15</sup> The door of the Holy Year symbolizes Jesus.

<sup>16</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987: 8.

<sup>17</sup> This substantiates an analogical relationship between body/building and book.

<sup>18</sup> Florensky 2000: 65, 71-73.

<sup>19</sup> Florensky 2000: 67.

<sup>20</sup> In Aramaic, *Golgotha* literally means the *skull*; this is also the place of Adam's burial on this site, according to Matthew 27: 33.

frame, surmounted by a winged haloed cherub's head, is a symbol of ascent, alluding to the world-axis connecting higher and lower realm and exposing, with the symbolism of the cherub, his role as messenger of God, providing orientation to others, unveiling with his work hidden significances.<sup>21</sup> By placing his emblem in the bottom margin, in line with the main axis of the cross/plan, Alfarano identifies himself with Adam, in his emblematic role of Christian archetype of the man reborn through Christ's sacrifice, thus offering a visual clue of his sentiments of devotion towards the basilica, as representation and embodiment of the body of the Church.<sup>22</sup>

Alfarano's overall drawing composition is inspired by traditional iconographic schemes, portraying the birth of the Church, as it is signified in the event of the crucifixion. Comparing Alesso Baldovinetti's "Trinity with Sts John Gualbert and Benedict" with Alfarano's print, it becomes apparent that the old plan is conceived as allegoric representation of the crucified Christ (fig. 1.4 and fig. 5.2); this is also explicitly stated in the manuscript companion to the drawing. Contemplating the drawing's perceptible elements, allows grasping an invisible reality beyond the visible, and possibly apprehend the 1590's iconography, as representation of the Church born on the Golgotha. The 1571 drawing puts 'Christ's head' at the top, suggesting that the sheet can be read not only horizontally, as plan (Vitruvian man), but also elevationally, as crucifixion.<sup>23</sup> The experience of walking from the entry to the altar, is equivalent to ascending a tower, raising up and getting closer to a higher realm, which can be achieved metaphorically contemplating the iconography.<sup>24</sup>

Alfarano is a messenger, raising the veil of a metaphorical *sopracielo*.<sup>25</sup> The working of the

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<sup>21</sup> For the significance of the tower in Christian iconography see Cooper 1987. See also Dempsey 2001 for the iconography and significance of the renaissance *putto*.

<sup>22</sup> This is a reminder that the way to the higher realm is through "the gate", i.e. Christ. "...the sleep of Adam clearly stood for the death of Christ; and Christ's side as he hung lifeless on the Cross, was pierced by a lance. And from the wound there flowed blood and water, which we recognize as the Sacraments by which the Church is built up. This, in fact, is the precise word used in scripture of woman's creation; it says not that God 'formed' or 'fashioned' a woman but that he 'built it' [the rib] into a woman. Hence the apostle also speaks of the 'building up' of the body of Christ which is the Church." (Augustine 1972: XXII, XVII). Adam's skull at the foot of the cross is substituted by Alfarano's emblem. Countless representations of the crucifixion portray the key iconographic elements described. We list here only a few well known examples, which can be used for comparison: Giotto's "Crucifixion" in the Scrovegni Chapel in Padua ca. 1305, Masaccio's fresco of the Trinity in Santa Maria del Fiore in Florence (ca. 1428); Alessio Baldovinetti's "Trinity with Sts. John Gualbert and Benedict (tempera on panel) also in Florence (1470-72), Galleria dell'Accademia. Note that Alfarano is buried in the sacristy, where according to tradition, the beneficiary clerks find a resting place (Alfarano 1914: XII).

<sup>23</sup> Leach (2002: 210-225) makes a connection between the Vitruvian man representation and images of Christ. Some Renaissance authors seemed to interpret the Vitruvian man as upright, as it is possible to ascertain for example in Leonardo's famous image, even though the original text of Vitruvius indicates him laying on the ground.

<sup>24</sup> On Jacob's ladder and the analogies with the tree of life see Kuntz, Marion Leathers and Paul Grimley Kuntz (1987).

<sup>25</sup> "The practice of covering paintings with protective cloths in general and solemnly uncovering cult images in particular", is common during the "late medieval and early modern material culture". A canopy above an altarpiece, or a curtain hanging from a rail placed before sacred images on a separate structure, constitute essential types of *sopracielo* (Schmidt 2007: 192).

drawing reminds one of “the veil, that is, the curtain of the tabernacle which, according to the oldest Eastern tradition, symbolizes the sky separating earth from heaven”<sup>26</sup>. In Baldovinetti’s representation the curtain, is pulled away by angels, revealing the Holy Trinity, and uncovering a transcendent world within a visible representation.<sup>27</sup>

Alfarano builds a complex iconographic frame for both drawing and print, which is essential in providing access to an encrypted significance, through contemplation. Glenn Peers states that “Frames, or simply edges, margins, transitional spaces generally, were sites of interpretation and complementary signifying”. He further observes that in the Byzantine framing of icons “margins, edges, details of works of art, the framing device cease to be liminal and become integral” (Peers 2005: 5-7).

Analyzing the marginalia in the 1590 print, it is possible to observe that key elements of the 1571 hybrid drawing, have been substituted with new ones, translating their allegoric presence. In the top center of the print, a winged cherub’s head supporting festoons on each side, with a wind rose below, substitutes Veronica’s veil (fig 1.4 and 1.3).<sup>28</sup> Schmidt notes that, “the meaning of *revelatio* is made even more explicit when it is angels who are opening the curtains to literally reveal the sacred image to the beholder.”<sup>29</sup> The winged cherub’s head, might be read in light of Schmidt’s observation, as the messenger, which makes revelation, possible, an act metaphorically symbolized by the lifting of the veil.



**fig. 5.1**  
Tiberio Alfarano, 1590  
Detail of Tiberio Alfarano's emblem  
Print, bulino  
© Courtesy of the BAV

<sup>26</sup> Kantorowicz 1957: 67.

<sup>27</sup> According to Exod., xxvi, 31, the Veil of the Tabernacle, which separates the Holy Place from the Holy of Holies, is embroidered with cherubims. Two large sized angels on the two sides, represent the guardian spirits. The practice of unveiling sacred images transforms through time (Schmidt 2007). It starts as an act of physically veiling, by hanging cloths in front of sacred images, and develops into a metaphorical veiling achieved pictorially, within the frame of the canvas. Schmidt sees the beginning of this practice in the myth narrated by Pliny in his Natural History (XXXV, 65), which tells the story of the “illusionistically-rendered curtain” which Parrhasius depicted to deceive Zeuxis. Schmidt (2007: 192) affirms that the myth “would make much more sense if protective cloths for pictures really existed at the time”.

<sup>28</sup> It is possible that the substitution had to do with questions raised about legitimate sacred portraiture brought forth by the Counter-Reformation and particularly by the work of Cardinal Gabriele Paleotta (1522-1597). The Veronica chosen by Alfarano in fact was not part of a rigorous iconographic tradition, depicting the true image of Christ.

<sup>29</sup> Schmidt 2007: 192, 206.

Traditional iconographies of Veronica's veil often make use of the allegory of raising the curtain, to reveal Christ's effigy. Christine Sciacca documents the concealing and revealing of sacred images within sacred codices, with actual fragments of fabric sewn into a page.<sup>30</sup> The early thirteenth century Gradual and Sacramentary of Hainricus Sacrista, where historiated initials are covered with small pieces of fabric is telling. A depiction of the "Assumption" (fig. 5.3) demonstrates how, the raising of the veil by angelic figures, allows the epiphany of Christ's image. The reader identifies with this gesture, by literally raising the silk cloth, unveiling an image concealed within the text, allowing the beholder to gain access to the heavenly realm.

By placing Old St. Peter's plan in the foreground through a solid black ink *pochée* rendering, while outlining only the portions of the New Temple outside the old, on the western side, Alfarano unveiled the presence of the old vestiges, concealed within and under the new, revealing the conservation of the entire floor (*totum pavimentum*), demonstrating the real presence of the body (*corpus*) of the Church.<sup>31</sup> Alfarano makes visible the hallowed configuration, requiring that main nave and transept's floor, together with Saint Peter's burial, be treated as inviolable elements; their permanence is essential in maintaining material and spiritual continuity.<sup>32</sup> New St. Peter's is defined by a relationship with the Old, through the fulfillment of a hallowed configuration, establishing key elements to be selectively remembered in order to assure perdurance of essence.

Alfarano factored in the 1571 drawing a double-image (Day 4), which allows switching the reading, from new to old plan and *vice versa*; in contrast Dupérac's 1569 print provides only a veiled representation of St. Peter's, which does not allow grasping the significance of the hallowed configuration, as a complex representation of before and after, above and below. Alfarano's drawing reveals the possibility to interpret conservation as a form of invention and imagination where an image can be embedded within another, and a building can dwell within another, allowing a simultaneous narration of multiple stories, merging within the continuum of time, yet maintaining their own identities.

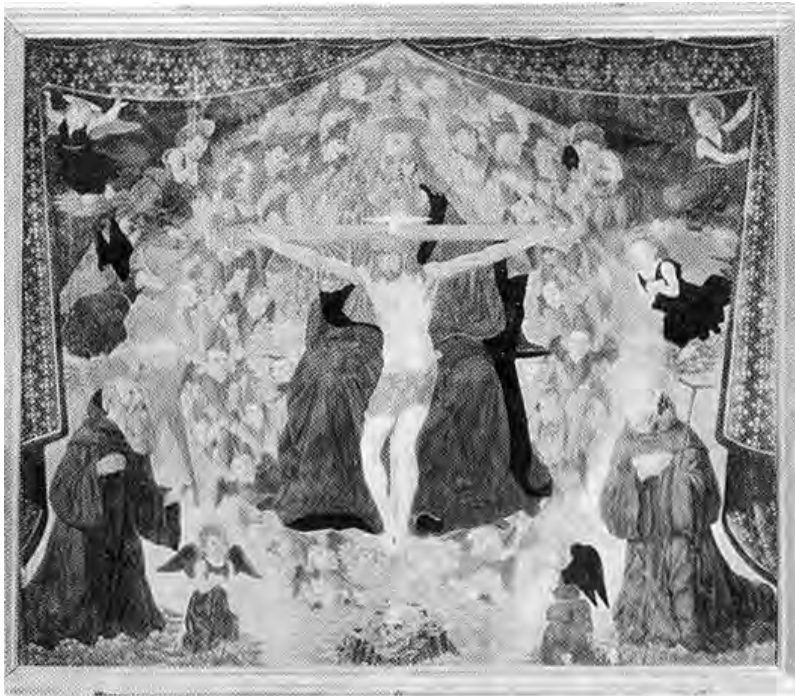
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<sup>30</sup> Sciacca 2007: 181-82.

<sup>31</sup> Alfarano 1914: 3. St. Peter's is the result of a practice of building *ad corpus*, a custom that is mentioned in the 5<sup>th</sup> century Theodosian Code: "No person shall transfer a buried body to another place. No person shall sell the relics of a martyr; no person shall traffic in them. But if anyone of the saints has been buried in any place whatever, persons shall have it in their power to add whatever building they wish in veneration of such a place, and such building must be called a martyr" (Cod. Theod. 9.17.7); cited in Hansen (2003: 144). Alfarano outlines only the elements, of Michelangelo's plan, which fall outside the original footprint, emphasizing the gesture of circumscribing Old St. Peter's. Both Bramante's U 20A, representing new and old plan together, and Bramante's U 1A, portraying only the elements to be erected on the western side, outside the old temple, might have inspired Alfarano's 1571 and 1590 combined representation of old and new plan. Furthermore the 1590 print only shows the western portions of the new plan, like Bramante U 1A.

<sup>32</sup> The conservation of the central nave and transept were essential for the project's approval. It is famous the opposition of Julius II to Bramante's first project, which envisioned a 90 degree rotation of the main axis of the Basilica and the translation of the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles. The preservation of '*totum pavimentum*' was a condition *sine qua non* for the project's approval (Alfarano 1914: 3-4).

Combining old vestiges with new elements, reveals evidence of an embedded representation of the mystical body, as corporational concept of the Church.<sup>33</sup> When referring to main nave, transept and side aisles of the old temple, Alfarano makes use of the word “body” (*corpus/corporis*).<sup>34</sup> The Basilica’s vestiges, its tombs and altars represent the “real body” (*corpus verum*) of the Church. Michelangelo’s new centralized member, is instead indicated as “new temple” (*templum novum*). The word *corpus* is reserved for the Constantinian Basilica.<sup>35</sup> The old Latin cross is quite literally the body of the Church. The material and spiritual presence of the mystical body is demonstrated, indicating one by one in the drawing, major altars and funerary monuments. The numerous sepultures in close proximity of Saint Peter’s own, are a demonstration of the venerability of the Temple.<sup>36</sup>



**fig. 5.2**  
Alesso Baldovinetti, 1470-72 ca.  
Trinity with Sts John Gualbert and Benedict.  
Tempera on Panel  
Florence, Galleria dell'Accademia  
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Image from Schmidt 2007: 210

<sup>33</sup> Kantorowicz, 1957: 194-206.

<sup>34</sup> Letters B, C, D, E, F, G in Alfarano’s print. The following is a description of the main nave by Alfarano: “*Corpus sive Mediana Navis Basilicae*” which corresponds to letter C in the plan. The paving of the cruciform plan is conserved in its integrity up to Alfarano’s time (Alfarano 1914: 180).

<sup>35</sup> This might be due to the fact that the new member is still under construction, and does not yet house burial places and altars. Burials in the New Temple’s are limited; this privilege is accorded only to popes and sovereigns (Cancellieri 1788: 76).

<sup>36</sup> For an analysis of the main altars and the numerous burials in St. Peter’s see Rice (1997).

The reflectivity of the gold paint, marking the walls of the old Basilica, is an index revealing the presence to the numinous body of the Church. God is *lux perpetua*, being light first and perpetuity after. The altar above St. Peter's tomb is indicated with a red ink cross, inscribed within a gold paint pochée.<sup>37</sup> Julius II intended to spare the main nave and transept preserving sacred burials. Archaeological excavations conducted during the 1940's proved that a literal footprint of the Old Basilica is indeed present underneath New St. Peter's (fig. 2.11).<sup>38</sup>

Veronica's icon, decoupled in the drawing, stands in a relationship of head to body with the Basilica's footprint. The Holy Face crowned with the imperishable wreath is the visible head of the Church; while the body, renewing itself in-Time, finds representation through the figuration of the basilica's footprint. The coat of arms of pope Gregory XIII and Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, demonstrate present-Time in Church history. The marking of tombs and altars dedicated to "Holy Martyrs, Popes, Confessors, Virgins and Great Prefects", makes visible a corporate body, within the continuity of time, uniting past with present members.<sup>39</sup> The old Latin cross is, in fact, a sacred ground where important members of the church are buried *ad sanctum*, in close proximity of the burial of the Prince of the apostles.<sup>40</sup>



fig. 5.3

"Assumption". Gradual and Sacramentary of Hainricus Sacrista, New York, Pierpont Morgan Library. M. 711, fol. 112. Weingarten, second quarter of the thirteenth century.

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<sup>37</sup> The indication of the wall pochée with gold might also be an allegoric reference to the "gold cross". Alfarano narrates: "*supra quoque Beati Apostoli Corpus Crucem magnam ex puro auro factam centum quinquaginta librarum summa cum veneratione posuit, in qua scriptum est: Constantinus Augustus. Et Helena Augusta. Hanc Domum Regali simili fulgore. Coruscantem auro circumdant*" (Alfarano 1914: 28).

<sup>38</sup> Apollonj Ghetti (1951: 149) document the archeological excavations conducted in the 1940's and provide a plan reconstruction of the surviving vestiges of the basilica.

<sup>39</sup> "*sanctotum Martyrum, Pontificum, Confessorum, Virginum et magnorum virorum perfectorum*" (Alfarano 1914: 38).

<sup>40</sup> The Basilica has from the beginning three main functions: *mensa*, for the celebration of the Eucharist; *coemeterium*, for the burial of Christian martyrs, primarily in the main nave; *martyrium*, for the memorial of the martyrdom of Peter, focused around the apse and transept (de Blaauw 1994: 503). The different parts are connected through "screened-joints". Dale Kinney points out that "The transept was clearly a separate space, visible to the nave through a grand triumphal arch but separate from the aisles by pairs of columns carrying walls" (Kinney 2005: 18).



The ichnography is the instrument, making visible an invisible mystical body. Peter and Paul respectively to the right and left of Christ's effigy, complete the representation of the Church of God (fig. 1.3). The sempiternal body of the Church, in its duality of body and soul, becomes visible through the contextual representation of old vestiges and new footprint, incorporating both relics and architectural spoils.

The beneficiary clerk's drawing is fundamental in grasping the significance of the transformation. Alfarano's drawing demonstrates the presence of Old St. Peter's given back (*restituatur*), inside the New.<sup>41</sup> Renewal and transformation entail conservation. Alfarano intends to contribute to an ongoing debate, aiming at establishing St. Peter's primacy as the Mother Church of Christianity. The Lateran Basilica was attributed juridical primacy, based on the fact that it was the first of the seven churches founded by Constantine. Alfarano lifts the veil, providing a visual demonstration of St. Peter's as worthy spiritual representative of the Church of God, creating a representation of the numinous body of the Church as mystical union of "Head", Christ's true effigy, and "body", materialized in the relics of saintly bodies.<sup>42</sup>

Scholars have extensively investigated the use of spoils in Renaissance architecture as reused materials metabolized into the body of buildings.<sup>43</sup> "A concrete case of fragmentary architecture is the *architettura di spoglio* (architecture of spoils). This is not an architecture of prefabricated romantic ruins, or of post-modern "instant history", but it is a way of producing architecture as the assimilation of prior architectural artifacts. Buildings are cultural texts that are generated by assembling fragments, excerpts, citations, passages, and quotations. Every building is then both assimilation and transformation of other buildings. Every architectural piece echoes other pieces into infinity, weaving the fabric of the text of culture itself."<sup>44</sup>

Spoils are fragments borrowed either literally or metaphorically from other palimpsests.<sup>45</sup> The word spoil, from the Latin *spoliare*, from *spolium*, means to plunder. Spoil architecture is the result of a plundering of architectural texts, embodied and reinterpreted within a new context. Hansen Maria Fabricius' work on Early Christian architecture, grounds the use of spoils in Christian tradition.<sup>46</sup> The 4<sup>th</sup> century Constantinian Basilica was made entirely out of spoils.<sup>47</sup> The

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<sup>41</sup> "Quare fiet ut fidelium amor pietas et devotio hactenus erga dictam Basilicam semper habiti, in dies magis ac magis in novo templo restituatur et augeantur et praedictorum locorum spatia nulli amplius in dubium vertantur, etiam si haec quae adhuc superses antiquae Basilicae pars demoliretur" (Alfarano 1914: 4). New St. Peter's wraps its body around the Old, which spiritually inhabits within. The mortal spoils of the Old Basilica are re-clothed with immortal habits.

<sup>42</sup> The Holy Face incorporated in the drawing is a reminder of the actual presence of this most sacred relic in St. Peter's. The relic of the Holy veil is considered the visible "Head" of the Church on earth.

<sup>43</sup> Frascari 1991, Bosman 2004, Hansen 2003, Kinney 2005: 16-47.

<sup>44</sup> As Frascari points out, this phenomenon is present in all architectural ages; a climax is reached during the Middle Ages. He explains that "The circumlocution *architettura di spoglio* refers to buildings partially or totally composed of elements and fragments taken, either actually or conceptually, from preexisting buildings produced in other times or by other cultures." (Frascari 1991: 22-23).

<sup>45</sup> Mary Carruthers (1998) explains a similar phenomenon, which takes place in literature with a metaphoric plundering of pagan writers by Christian authors.

<sup>46</sup> "Translation is a key word in the use of spolia, which basically consists of moving old buildings parts to

practice of re-cycling and reusing materials, of various provenances, continues in the making of new St. Peter's, and is made official in a *Breve* by Pope Paul III, dating from July 24, 1540.<sup>48</sup> Hansen points out that "the use of conspicuously old building material must have been preferred to 'stylistic homogeneity'. The early Christian use of the phrasing '*rediviva saxa*' to designate the appropriation of old building material is a reflection of this attitude. Stones are reborn or renewed when put to use in another building."<sup>49</sup>

It is possible to speculate on the possibility that architectural spoils and relics, during the Renaissance period, might share in the nature of being interpreted as incorruptible matter capable of embodying essence. Architectural spoils are understood, similar to relics, as living

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new places." (Hansen 2003: 117). According to Hansen "spolia", are dealt with, for the first time in the modern sense of the word, as "reused material", during the renaissance period, however the use of spoils in architectural practice begins much earlier. He bases this affirmation on Raphael's "Letter to Pope Leo X" c. 1519 and Vasari's *Vite*, (Hansen, 2003: 11). For the complete text of Raphael's letter and a commentary by Renato Bonelli, see Bruschi et al. 1978: 459-484. The word spoil is used in reference to reused materials observed in the Arch of Costantine (313-15), which are relics from Traian and Antonino Pio's monuments. Note that Raphael identifies spoils with their author: "*da l'arco di Costantino, il componimento del quale è bello e ben fatto in tutto quell che appartiene all'architettura, ma le sculture del medesimo arco sono sciocchissime, senza arte o disegno alcuno buono. Quelle che vi sono delle spoglie di Traiano e di Antonino Pio sono eccellentissime e di perfetta maniera.*" (Raphael 1978: 474-75).

<sup>47</sup> "*fatta tutta di spoglie*" (Fantozzi 1994: 15). Cited also in Bosman (2004: 38). For an analysis of spoil elements in the Costantinian St. Peter's see Hansen (2003: 12, 41-51); Bosman (2004); Kinney (2005: 16-47); Tuzi (2002). For the modern notion of the fragment see the work of Linda Nochlin (1994) and the recent collection of essays edited by Barry Bergdoll and Werner Oechslin (2006).

<sup>48</sup> Paul III grants permission to the *Deputati della Fabbrica di San Pietro* to deploy materials from roman monuments to be used in the building of St. Peter's. Sites of choice include the Roman Forum, the Terme of Caracalla, Adrian's palace, etc. (Francia 1977: 83, Arch. Vatic., Armadio XLI, 18, f. 95). The terminology of 'recycling' would be most appropriate for materials, which lost their original meaning and were appropriated not because of a particular significance attributed to them, but rather because of an economic opportunity. The word reuse is appropriate when the selection entails a real "translation", which entails that the element is treated as a unit of signification.

<sup>49</sup> Hansen 2003: 258. "In classical Latin, *spolium* literally meant the skin or hide stripped off an animal. In plural *spolia* was used figuratively to designate the violent taking of something, as typically, the spoils of war. Cicero (mid first century B.C.), for instance, used the term to describe how Verres robbed the province of Sicily of antiquities. However, the term *spolia* was rarely used in the modern sense designating reused architectural elements. Instead, it has been observed that in the fourth century, when reuse in building had become current, governing officials legislating on the practice preferred the phrase *rediviva saxa* (reborn or renewed stones) to the word *spolia* with its implicit negative associations. The linguistic detail seems to indicate a fascinating association of restoration with recycled materials [...]. One possible implication in the appropriation of obsolete architectural elements to new structures was that the recycled part was allowed to live on in the present" (Hansen 2003: 14). In 1452, Leon Battista Alberti writes about the reuse of architectural elements in his architectural treatise. The term "revived" (*redivivus*) is used by the renaissance architect to refer to architectural elements used times and again, taken from one building and incorporated into another. "*Lapidum alii redivivi et fortes et succosi, quales sunt silex Marmora et eiusmodi, quibus innatum est, ut sint graves et sonori; alii exhausti leves surdi, quales sunt tofinei et sabulosi. [...]*". Alberti 1966 [1485]. Vitruvius (1997: 7.1.3) uses the word "redivivum" to refer to recycled materials used in the making of mortar. "*Statuminationibus inductis rudus si novum erit, ad tres partes una calcis misceatur, si redivivum fuerit, quinque ad duas mixtionis habeant responsum*".

matter, and treated as imperishable.<sup>50</sup> The transference of relics, a typical example of *translation-em*, is referred to, within Christian tradition as “*Furta Sacra*”, and it is understood as the appropriation and translation of relics, from one place to another.<sup>51</sup> Reason for this act is the belief that relics embodied the power of the saint, which made them highly desirable objects.<sup>52</sup> Relics are the fulcrums of spiritual life; since 401 AD every consecrated Church should have a relic, set under the main altar, in communication with the exterior, through a “small window of manifestation” (*fenestrella confessionis*).

The act of translation, from the Latin *translationem* is a kind of transporting, of a thing from one place to another. A current understanding of translation, as *transliteration* of words from one language to another derives from this process of transporting objects, either relics or spoils, from an original cultural context to a new one. The word-sign is transliterated, meanwhile significance is altered to some degree. Transliterating words/objects from one space/time condition to another requires interpretation.

The religious lexicon is abducted into architectural language; key words are interchangeably used. In the well-known 1519 “Letter to Pope Leo X”, Raphael refers to the ruins of Rome as relics, arguing that knowledge of the ancient roman spirit can be achieved surveying their vestiges.<sup>53</sup> Earlier, the Sienese architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini refers in several places in his treatise on civil and military architecture (ca. 1480), to surviving roman ruins as “relics of antique edifices”.<sup>54</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> Hansen points out that “buildings were invested with a metaphorical meaning as a means of aiding the believer’s intuition of religious mysteries and truths. [...] Peter described the Church as constructed of living stones, that is, the people constituting the Christian community” (Hansen 2003: 199). See Peter 2: 4-5.

<sup>51</sup> The translation of the body of St. Mark’s, from Alexandria to Venice in 827 AD is well known. The body of the saint dismembered into parts, is concealed under pieces of pork and brought to Venice by ship, where it was to become the new patron of the city (Geary 1990).

<sup>52</sup> The theft of relics is not accidental, it is an operation planned within the religious establishment. According to traditional belief, the theft would not take place unless, according to God’s will, it was meant to take place. The translation gives rise to a change of meaning, generated by a new cult of the relic, within a new community.

<sup>53</sup> “. . . considerando dalle reliquie che ancor si veggono per le ruine di Roma la divinitade di quelli animi antichi, non estimo fôr di ragione credere che molte cose di quelle che a noi paiono impossibili, che ad essi paressero facilissime. Onde, essendo io stato assai studioso di queste tali antiquitati, e avendo posto non piccola cura in cercarle minutamente e in misurarle con diligenza, e leggendo di continuo li buoni auctori e conferendo l’opere con le loro scripture, penso aver conseguito qualche notizia di quell’antica architettura.” (Raphael 1978: 469). “che io ponessi in disegno Roma antica, quanto cognoscer si può per quello che oggidì si vede, con gli edifici, che di sé dimostrano tal reliquie, che per vero argomento si possono infallibilmente ridurre nel termine proprio come stavano, facendo quelli membri che sono in tutto né si veggono punto, corrispondenti a quelli che restano in piedi e si veggono.” (Raphael 1978: 472).

<sup>54</sup> “E certamente a me pareva cosa imperfetta et inetta a quietare le menti delli intelligenti seguire le opere senza ragione regolata et autentica autorità; e in quella parte he per li antichi a noi è rimasta insegnata non mi parse possere seguire più valida autorità che quella di Vetruvio. E questa mia fatiga tanto meno grave pareva, massime avendo io concordato li ditti soi con quelle poche di reliquie delli antichi edifici e sculture che per Italia sono rimaste, delle quail io stimo avere visto e considerato la maggiore parte” (Di Giorgio 1967: 296); “Non è parte alcuna delle case che per le ruine e reliquie delli edificii antichi meno si

According to Diana Webb “the term ‘relics’ is less likely to signify human remains than any object or objects which had formed part of, or been in contact with, a shrine, from dust and chips of masonry to fragments of cloth.”<sup>55</sup> Relics are perceived as living saints acting within a hosting community.<sup>56</sup> Their presence is made manifest by the miraculous power of their physical remains. Bits and fragments of saintly bodies are believed to participate in heavenly life. Bodies gain saint hood through earthly martyrdom, and in this regard, relics are the resurrected body.<sup>57</sup> Division and fragmentation of saintly bodies, and their dissemination throughout Christendom, is a means of spreading their power and, at the same time, of expanding Christendom.<sup>58</sup>

The Medieval and Renaissance discussion on material continuity and relics is relevant, because it is an expression of the problem of assuring continuity of identity, which is reflected by concerns surrounding architectural renovation projects, where the body of a building undergoes significant transformations, yet attempting to maintain a core essence. As scholar Lex Bosman pointed out the problem of continuity is seldom addressed when examining St. Peter’s Renaissance transformation, even though “no mention is made of ‘replacing’ the existing building by a new one, but words like ‘renovate’ and ‘restore’ were chosen”.<sup>59</sup>

Following Carolyn Walker Bynum’s recommendation, in order to understand concepts of identity within a certain context, we need to question concepts of change: “we will learn a good deal about any cultural moment by asking what conception of change, whether implicit or explicit, tends to dominate its various discourses.”<sup>60</sup> Metaphors regarding the resurrection of the body are significant, because of the grounding of architectural theory in anthropomorphic theories. The body is, in all respects, the model for the making as well as the re-making of buildings. Christian theology contributes to defining the idea of body to which renovation is attuned. Particularly the relationship between body and soul through time, and the material transformations occurring to the Christian persona, beyond death, might enlighten our understanding of architectural renovation.

One of the metaphors used by Augustine to explain the concept of bodily resurrection is that of a “reassembled statue” (City of God, book XXII, ch. 29 1972). According to Bynum, Scholastic

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*possit comprehendere e la forma sua descrivere che li camini [...]* (Di Giorgio 1967: 331).

<sup>55</sup> Webb 1999: 26.

<sup>56</sup> “If we keep in mind this concept of the living relic, then it is easier to understand why they would become involved in social, political, and economic affairs of the communities in which they lived. [...] the historical significance of the translations is drastically altered if the relics are recognized as living persons. The theft of such relics then becomes a ritual kidnapping and the translation becomes the story of how an important powerful individual leaves his home, wanders through many dangers, and finally is welcomed into a position of honor and authority in a new community.” (Geary 1990).

<sup>57</sup> Walker Bynum (1995) discusses the theological aspects of the nature of relics as resurrected bodies.

<sup>58</sup> An interesting discussion of the fragmentation and anatomical study of saintly bodies can be found in the writings of Katharine Park (1994, 1995).

<sup>59</sup> Bosman 2004: 15, 18.

<sup>60</sup> “The question of change is, of course, the other side of the question of identity.” (Bynum 2001: 19).

writers favor metaphors of resurrection through reassemblage.<sup>61</sup> “Change was simply a scattering of static bits (the dust of Genesis 3.19) that could be restored by reassemblage”. Material continuity is a central concern addressed through the use of inorganic metaphors such as that of “reforged statues”, “recast vessels”, and “rebuilt temples”.<sup>62</sup>

Bodily resurrection is firmly established in Christian doctrine. God will reassemble decayed and fragmented corpses at the end of time, granting the incorruptibility of eternal life. Resurrection entailed radical change. “Augustine repeatedly asserted that God would reforge or recast or recollect in heaven (or in hell) the bits that constituted the person in life”, and in so doing, particles do not necessarily go back to the same organ to which they originally belonged.<sup>63</sup>

The bodies of saints, and their relics, which are believed to participate in the glory of the divine world, are believed to be incorruptible. During the Middle Ages the basis is formed for the belief in material continuity, as a means to continuity of identity. “It is physical continuity of a tiny, weighable fragment of the person that constitutes life after death ...”.<sup>64</sup> As Caroline Walker Bynum (1995) explained soul-body dualism, which often characterizes the Christian persona, implied the necessity of material continuity for bodily resurrection.

The concept of synecdoche, entailing that the smallest fragment can stand in for the whole, is central to Renaissance conceptions of relics and sacred objects.<sup>65</sup> Holy fragments are conserved in reliquaries, which are vessels awaiting the end-of-Time. The sempiternity of the receptacle is a necessity, dictated by the belief in bodily resurrection, attained through material continuity. Analogously, a church-building is a sempiternal vessel, containing the bodies of saints, awaiting the end-of-Time resurrection of the body that is to come.

The analogy of the church as corporate union, elaborated by Augustine, is reflected in both the way reliquaries and churches are put together, as an assembly of individual members. A similar meaning of incorporation of fragments, even of a conspicuous building’s vestige, is abducted in the domain of architectural theory from that of Christian theology.<sup>66</sup> According to Hansen, the emphasis on the use of spoils, results in heterogeneity.<sup>67</sup> This is linked by recent scholarship with

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<sup>61</sup> Other metaphors include the “seed metaphor” and the idea of “reclathing” (Bynum 1995: 63-71, 121).

<sup>62</sup> Walker Bynum 1995: 72.

<sup>63</sup> Walker Bynum 1995: 103; Augustine, book XXII, 29, 1972.

<sup>64</sup> The bodies resurrected at the end of time are those given during mortal life. Walker Bynum 1995.

<sup>65</sup> Bertelli 2001: 136.

<sup>66</sup> Michelangelo’s appropriation and incorporation of the monumental remains of the Baths of Diocletian in Rome, in the construction of Church of St. Maria degli Angeli e dei Martiri is a paradigmatic example. Pope Pius IV (1559-65) initiated this project in 1563. On this subject see also Hansen (2003).

<sup>67</sup> Kinney 2005. Hansen (2003: 173) states that “The aesthetics of variety and heterogeneity, which has been named with the Latin rhetorical term of *varietas*, was closely connected to the appreciation of beautiful materials. In rhetoric *varietas* stands for qualities of variety and multiplicity in eloquence. In classical, Roman rhetoric as formulated by e.g. Cicero and Quintilian, *varietas* was recommended when something important had to be emphasized, as monotony tired and undermined the attention of the audience”.

theories of rhetoric and biblical exegesis.<sup>68</sup> Dale Kinney, affirmed that “.. *varietas* is also biblical. The bride of Psalm 44, an easy allegory of the Christian Church according to Saint Augustine, is *circumamicta varietate*, ‘enveloped in many colors’. The walls of the heavenly Jerusalem are described as green, standing on foundations adorned with green, blue, red and purple gemstones. It is not impossible that such passages encouraged the builders of St. Peter’s to seek variety in their spolia, but even if it was unsought, the colonnades’ diversity could have been perceived as meaningful.”<sup>69</sup>

Heterogeneity is also a reflection of the corporate nature of the spiritual Church, reflected in the way the church-building is assembled, being composed by spoils, each of which, lives a second life, in a continuous renewal.<sup>70</sup> This entails that architectural renewal naturally leads to stylistic heteroglossia rather than unity of style. Starting in 1279 each column in the main nave of St. Peter’s was topped with a medallion, representing the head portraits of the popes, making a direct connection between the variety of the heterogeneous marble shafts, and the individual members forming the corporate body.<sup>71</sup> This could be interpreted as a Christian reinterpretation and a literal incarnation of the Vitruvian concept of the body/column metaphor.<sup>72</sup>

The corporate nature of reliquaries, which often contain relics from different bodies, might further inform an understanding of the nature of the corporate body as both spiritual and material entity, assembled out of relics/fragments from different bodies. “Speaking reliquaries”, such as arm reliquaries and skull reliquaries, formed by the collection of bones from different saints, can be interpreted as allegoric representation of corporate bodies.<sup>73</sup> Augustine’s resurrection metaphor, based on reassembled statues, entailing that, matter will not necessarily go back to the same body-part from which it originally came, is confirmed by the making of *arm* and *skull* reliquaries; those in fact did not actually contain parts of the arm or skull, respectively and/or exclusively.<sup>74</sup>

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<sup>68</sup> Brenk, Beat. ‘Spolien und ihre Wirkung auf die Ästhetik der *varietas*. Zum Problem alternierender Kapitelltypen’, in *Antike Spolien in der Architektur des Mittelalters und der Renaissance*, ed. Joachim Poeschke, Munich, 1996: 49-80. Cited in Kinney 2005: 29.

<sup>69</sup> Kinney 2005: 29.

<sup>70</sup> The father of church history Eusebius (263-339) interpreted (History of the Church X. 4, 388) “... ‘*ecclesia*’ as meaning not only the building but also its members” (Hansen 2003: 200).

<sup>71</sup> The medallions were added by pope Nicholas III (1277-1280). Grimaldi 2001: 11; Chattard 1762: XXIX.

<sup>72</sup> Vitruvius 1960: 6-7, 72-75, 90-97, 102-106. For a history of the body/column metaphor see also Rykwert 1996. For a discussion of the concept of Vitruvian ‘body’ see McEwen 2003.

<sup>73</sup> Body bits and fragments found inside these reliquaries did not belong to just one individual saintly body. Hahn 1997: 20-31; Belting 1990: 82-83.

<sup>74</sup> Arm Reliquaries, common during the Middle Ages, are proven to contain relics, which belong to the bodies of several saints. Arm reliquaries together with skull reliquaries are also known as “speaking reliquaries” because they supposedly indicate the physical part of the body to which relics belong. However Bynum and Gerson argue, that the terminology of “speaking reliquaries” should be revised, introducing the term “body-part reliquaries”, on the basis that “The traditional German term for them, ‘speaking reliquaries’, implies of course, that the shape expresses or ‘speaks’ the body part beneath; yet we have much evidence that many body-part reliquaries did not in fact contain the bone or body part depicted.” They further suggest that the shape of “arm reliquaries” might be used “to offer the blessing traditionally given by a living bishop in the liturgy.” (Bynum and Gerson 1977: 4). Possibly the key to the reading is the partition of the body, which is made visible in the representation of an individual member of the body

Speaking reliquaries might be a “tell-tale detail”, raising our consciousness about the nature of the body of the church as ‘in-corporation’.<sup>75</sup> The process is not unlike that of assembling sculptures out of fragments as described by Fredrika Herman Jacobs whom stated that the Renaissance process of *imitare* (imitation) is to be interpreted as a process of “selective unification” of individual members to form a unified whole (fig. 4.6).<sup>76</sup>

Bynum and Gerson formulate the hypothesis that body-part reliquaries are “both container and content”, making visible the “restoration and apotheosis of the fragments...”. They could be interpreted as metaphoric projections of the body in the moment of resurrection. Arm reliquaries, analogously to Last Judgment frescoes, depict the rising of mortal limbs and bodies, towards the incorruptibility of heaven (fig. 5.4 and 5.5).<sup>77</sup> The church-building is itself a representation of the resurrected body. The stress on the everlasting duration of architecture, which can be found in architectural treatises, underlines that their projected life span is modeled after sempiternity, the time-dimension of the Christian persona.

Just like the reliquary is built up of fragments of saintly bodies, the church is built up of spoils. This visual synecdoche tells us that the *pars* stands *pro toto*.<sup>78</sup> Relics and spoils give life and presence to the *Mater Ecclesia*, as both mother and matter of the church. The corporate nature of the spiritual Church is reflected in the way that the church-building is assembled. Spoils, each of which living a new life in a continuous renewal, compose the edifice. Regeneration happens by way of substitution, while conservation of substance takes place through a change of form, which at times can be quite radical.<sup>79</sup> This seems to be possibly justified by resurrection metaphors

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through the reliquary. Furthermore the specific body part chosen and its mode of representation, might have unique significances in each case.

<sup>75</sup> Frascari 1984.

<sup>76</sup> Jacobs 2005: 96. See also “Replication and Restoration: Ancient Bronze Techniques and the Construction of the figure in Cinquecento Painting.” In *From the Parts to the Whole*, Acts of the 13<sup>th</sup> International Bronze Congress, Cambridge, Massachusetts, May 29 – June 1, 1996. *The Journal of Roman Archaeology*, Supplement 39/2 (2002): 273-85.

<sup>77</sup> Possibly this gesture reciprocates God’s blessing, signified by his “hand & arm” coming out of the clouds in several Middle Ages and Renaissance representations. For an analysis of the representation of God’s hand in Christian iconography see Kirgin 1976. An example is Signorelli’s Last judgement, St. Brizio Chapel, Orvieto Cathedral (1499-1504). Margaret Miles (1994) argues that the representation of the resurrected body is a means for the faithful to project him/herself into this other dimension. The resurrected body depicted in the Last Judgment becomes the model, given that a real one is lacking, into which to project the imagination of the Christian believer. “These paintings forcefully directed viewers to imagine and to begin to incorporate the blissful body of the redeemed, [...]. Constructing, in imagination, the resurrected body was the first step toward inhabiting that body, however briefly and proleptically” (Miles 1994).

<sup>78</sup> With arm reliquaries, the arm truly represents the *totum* of the resurrected body. You do not need to see the whole to perceive it. Arm reliquaries were also carried in procession through the city in vertical position, demonstrating the resurrected body to the viewer. The raised arm pointing towards heaven reciprocated God’s gesture of blessing found in many traditional representations. The imagery of the reliquary arm provides a visual metaphor corresponding to a “figure-of-speech”, i.e. ‘the hand of God’, representing his power.

<sup>79</sup> A paradigmatic example is that of the Church of San Salvatore in Spoleto, which, after suffering fire damage, was “reassembled” in the IX/X c., without concern for grammatical coherence in reassembling the architectural elements, by monks. They used the salvaged fragments of the columns and the massive



fig. 5.4  
Signorelli, The Last Judgment, S. Brizio Chapel, Orvieto Cathedral, 1499-1504. *Wlaker Bynur* 1992: 292.

fig. 5.5  
Arm Reliquary. Meuse District/Lorraine, c. 1220-1230  
Silver on wood, bronze-gilt, Precious stones, niello. H. 64.8 cm, W 10.2 cm.  
The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The Cloister Collection.



such as that of a reassembled statue used by Augustine (*City of God*, 1972: XXII, 29).

Alfarano's cut-and-paste of Michelangelo's plan onto his drawing of Constantine's basilica, is in itself a building-over a drawing's spoil. A decouped fragment of Dupérac's print is overlaid on a basic graphite layout of the old plan, on which Alfarano draws over, with various colored inks, gold paint, and tempera, to make visible the hallowed configuration of the Basilica.<sup>80</sup> The images portraying Saint Peter and Saint Paul, the insignia of pope Gregory XIII and Archiepiscopal Alessandro Farnese, as well as Veronica's veil and surrounding garland, are also print spoils, selected from various sources, clipped from a pre-existing context, and re-contextualized into this drawing, building a specific significance.

Bynum points out that Hugh of St. Victor discusses creation as change, and explains that "God can make something from nothing, make something into nothing, make a greater new thing from a smaller and a smaller new thing from a larger, human beings can only divide a thing into parts or assemble parts into whole."<sup>81</sup> The clippings of print's spoils in the top portion of the drawing are the product of an analogous process of "dividing things into parts" and "assembling parts into whole". Alfarano's drawing technique is based on a decoupage of print spoils, mimicking the physical additions and subtractions of architectural spoils to the church-building, reflecting the renewal of the spiritual Church.<sup>82</sup>

Alfarano's drawing method is important because it makes visible a working process, which entails a collection of members, which is analogous to the building process of St. Peter's, yet invisible when looking at the fabric in its present condition. The analogy between 'drawing spoils' and

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pilasters of the prior building. The process of reassembly is evident because there is no attempt to rebuild according to stylistic unity (Frasconi 1991). This is very different from the cyclical ceremonial renewals of the Ise Temple in Japan which is reconstructed every 20-years to carefully resemble its previous twinned incorporation on a parallel site next to it, yet each new temple is not identical to the previous one. Each new reconstruction entails minimal and often seemingly unnoticeable changes, which become apparent only when comparing the temple's appearance centuries from its current incorporation through photographic still shots (unpublished paper by Tara White, RISD 2005).

<sup>80</sup> A representation of hallowed configuration (*forma sacrosanctae*), could be defined as an iconic portrait, embodying a-temporal essence, which goes beyond a one-time likeness.

<sup>81</sup> Walker Bynum 2001: 22.

<sup>82</sup> The paper on which the drawing is executed was glued on a wood support, which might have been employed by Alfarano in order to create a vertical representation, analogous to an icon painting, also executed on wood boards. It is also possible that the wood might allude to the wood of Christ's cross and/or the earth onto which the building's footprint is marked (horizontal representation). The original wood however has been removed during a restoration that took place in 1994 in the laboratories of the BAV. The drawing has been repositioned on Japanese paper and mounted on a new wood support (*Notiziario Mensile della Basilica di San Pietro*. Anno VI, Gennaio 1994, 1: 2). The Holy Face, signifying the presence of Christ as "head" of the Church, is the result of a collage of several print clippings, of various provenances. The central *bulino* engraving represents the traditional cloth, with the head of Christ crowned with thorns and surrounded by a four-lobe halo. This print-spoil is circumscribed by a xylographic garland, framing the veil, also a print clipping. Analogously the *insigna* of the Pope and the Archbishop are the result of the cut and paste of period prints, to which he adds a frame from a different and unidentified sources.



'building spoils' is demonstrated by a case in point, which is very important because it exemplifies the relationship between drawing method and building method. The spoils of the first pair of columns of the main nave, entering old St. Peter's, were reused in new St. Peter's, and placed to frame the main threshold, marking the left and right side of the sacred precinct of the Vatican Temple.<sup>83</sup> Lex Bosman points out that, the two Africano columns signified, while in their original location, the presence of Peter and Paul as pillars of the Church.<sup>84</sup>

Pompeo Ugonio's *Historia delle Stationi di Roma* (1588) is a well-known guide to the churches of Rome during Alfarano's period.<sup>85</sup> Curtio de Franchi, whom became canon of St. Peter's in 1568, informs Ugonio of the direct analogy between the Africano columns (*Lucullan marble*) and the apostles Peter and Paul.<sup>86</sup> Alfarano points out their singularity and uniqueness throughout the city of Rome and in the world, which makes them stand out from all others, acknowledging their significance.<sup>87</sup>

Alfarano's 1590 print recognizes the importance of Peter and Paul, placing two print spoils, respectively to the left and right side of the Father, generating a three-figured deesis, symbolizing the Church of Rome. The 1590 print translates the iconographic presence of the apostles, with metaphoric imagery; two columns, framing the print on the left and right side stand in for them (fig. 1.4). These 'paper-columns' are metaphoric containers that, just like reliquaries, incorporate different Holy bodies, providing a listing of key altars and relics, being a manifestation of the corporate body, making visible the multitude of members, which form the body.<sup>88</sup> The two columns possibly allude to the significance of Peter and Paul as pillars of the Church.<sup>89</sup> The paper-columns stand in for the corporate body, formed by a multitude of members.

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<sup>83</sup> Bosman 2004.

<sup>84</sup> Bosman (2004: 136) cites Pompeo Ugonio's 1588 "Historia delle Stationi di Roma": "*Le due prime colonne avanti le porte son tenute di gran prezzo. Et veramente di quella pietra detta Africano, non ve ne sono altre simili d'equal grandezza. Et ho per pia & giuditiosa consideratione, quella che vdi fare un giorno à M. Curtio de Franchi honorato Canonico di questa chiesa, cioè che significativamente fussero alla prima entrata sua poste queste due si rare & pretiose colonne, per mostrarci, e rapre sentarci avanti le due pretiose che la sostengono colonne della chiesa, san Pietro & san Paolo.*"

<sup>85</sup> O'Malley et al. 1999: 149.

<sup>86</sup> Chadwick 2008: 76.

<sup>87</sup> "*praeter duas primas columnas eximias valves Basilicae proximas, quae habent palmos septem in crassitudine et integrae sunt, e marmore affricano speciosissimo inaestimabilis quidem praecii, et decoris nullibi unquam similes per Urbem neque per orbem repertae, quae usque hodie Basilicam ingredientibus cernuntur*". (Alfarano 1914: 9). An Italian translation can be found in Galassi Paluzzi, Carlo (1975: 374-375).

<sup>88</sup> The numbering of sacred places, such as altars and relics (1-174), starts at the top of the left column, after the lettered indexes of significant parts of the church (letters A-S, a-y and aa-mm). The low numbers are used to indicate the places closest to the main altar, and the burial of Peter.

<sup>89</sup> Hansen (2003: 160) describes the practice of the incorporation of relics within columns, a practice taking place in the Carolingian world before 1000. He further comments, that "The idea was related to the prolific metaphor of columns representing Apostles, as suggested in the New Testament. By placing the relics in the columns, the bones of saints and maybe even of Apostles literally became the pillars of the church".

The 1590 engraving demonstrates the nature of the Temple's plan as portal. The presence of two columns framing the drawing, possibly alluding to the significance of Jachin and Boaz, reorients the viewer.<sup>90</sup> The ichnography is part of a larger context, a frontispiece, laid out similarly to those of Renaissance architectural treatises.

Frasconi points out that the frontispiece “acts as an allegorical gate, through which the reader enters into the text. The Orthodox representation is that of a door or a triumphal arch decorated with sculptures and figures that stand for the principal concepts embodied in the writing [...] and developing a dialogue between the bodies of the personifications and the body of the architectural construction”.<sup>91</sup>

The ichnography, framed within the two columns and topped with a series of insignia, icons and festoons, is to be read as an allegorical gate into the Temple of Christianity, providing access to an un-veiled presence of old St. Peter's, encrypted within the new temple. By ‘raising up’ the plan from the horizontal into vertical plane, the frontispiece-plan is transformed into a frontal elevation, providing a synoptic view, analogous in its role and significance to a frontispiece. Iconic contemplation is thus made possible by changing the “angle of imaginative confrontation”, with a tilt of the drawing from horizontal to vertical representation, switching the reading from temporal vestiges to the sempiternity of the resurrected temple, transforming sight into gaze, paper into portal.<sup>92</sup>

Alfarano provides access, through the icon-drawing to a reality that could not be experienced by literally looking in a present condition at the actual building. This possibly suggests that it is a mistake to believe that photorealistic renderings, visual duplications of an actual likeness, are the best way to access a building, whether real or imagined. Through the contemplation of effigy drawings depicting a hallowed configuration, interpreted as a metaphorical representation signifying essence, it is possible to experience a kind of real *transitus* that religious icons allow.<sup>93</sup>

The Africano columns were later reused by Carlo Maderno, and placed to frame the main entrance into the narthex of New St. Peter's in 1610.<sup>94</sup> Recognizing the importance of Peter and Paul

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<sup>90</sup> The name Jachin comes from the word ‘kun’, meaning established, fixed, certain, while Boaz literally means ‘By Strength’.

<sup>91</sup> Frasconi 1988: 19.

<sup>92</sup> Leo Steinberg in “The Flatbed Picture Plane” (2010) described the “tilt of the picture plane” from horizontal to vertical, describing a 1950's piece by Robert Rauschenberg (1925-2008) where “a square patch of growing grass held down with chicken wire, placed in a box suitable for framing and hung on a wall. [...]”, was executed as a response to the request to participate in an exhibit on ‘nature in art’. The piece as Steinberg explains entailed a ninety-degree rotation and a “transposition from nature to culture”. Steinberg explains that these “picture fields no longer simulate vertical fields, but opaque flatbed horizontals”, unlike the “Renaissance picture plane (which) affirms verticality as its essential condition”. However the modern vertical ‘flatbed’ is no longer a penetrable frame, but rather opaque and flattened as Steinberg explains. Interestingly Francesco di Giorgio (1967) drew the body in both plans and sections of several of his church drawings.

<sup>93</sup> Florenski 2000.

<sup>94</sup> The two columns are placed in the new location on 8 October 1610 (Hibbard 1971: 173). See also

might have seemed an essential design element to the Ticinese architect.<sup>95</sup>

Baldassarre Peruzzi's U 108A r, v drawing of the columns of the Old St. Peter's (ca 1520-27) carries detailed information regarding dimensions and materiality of the 22 pairs of columns framing the main nave (fig. 5.6).<sup>96</sup> Peruzzi's drawing is essentially an abacus of architectural spoils to be reused in the regeneration of St. Peter's. Bosman (2004: 32) points out that "Peruzzi first drew all 22 column shafts of the north colonnade, all of them numbered in such a way that the shafts number 1 up to and including 15 are represented standing upright; the numbers 16 up to and including 19 are represented lying down with the written remark '*interra*' (on the ground), with nr. 20 in the same lying position while the numbers 21 and 22 are crossed out." Bosman explains that the columns lying down are the ones already subtracted from the architectural palimpsest.

An observation of the relationship of the columns drawn on the recto and verso of Peruzzi's U 108A reveals furthermore a very interesting detail. Only two columns are precisely aligned on the two sides of the sheet, matching in the recto and verso, as if the two sides of the drawing

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Alfarano (1914: 9); Grimaldi 1620, Barber. Lat. 2733, f. 175.

<sup>95</sup> Even the design of the new capitals added to the *spolia* shafts of the old columns, and the design of the lunette above the central door of new St. Peter's, might be inspired by the 1590 print.

<sup>96</sup> It is interesting to notice that all the columns are drawn without bases or capitals, as if already spoils, even though some were still erected. The bases are in many cases, as witnessed by the findings of the 1940's excavations, left in place, becoming a physical memory of the actual footprint of the temple. The question as to why the capitals have not been recycled remains open. Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (1568-1644), future pope Urban VIII, member of the Congregation of the Fabbrica since 1608, took a personal interest in the design of the new capitals. He questioned Maderno's design, and became his "severest critic". Hibbard (1971: 69). Barberini's main concern was for the "total loss of Michelangelo's centralized church with its unified exterior climaxed by the great dome". Regarding the design of the capitals, Maderno defended himself explaining that the composite, combining the Ionic capital with the Corinthian acanthus flower, and a *mask* were inspired by Michelangelo, "the master the cardinal admired so much" (Hibbard 1971: 69). Barberini follows up with specific recommendation to introduce "winged heads" to replace the mask. The Bible describes the room called "the Holy of Holies" in Salomon's Temple as being decorated with winged cherubims. "The cherubim were placed in the inmost part of the temple, with their wings spread wide, so that one wing of each cherub touched a side wall while the other wing, pointing toward the middle of the room, touched the corresponding wing of the second cherub." (1 Kings 6: 27). If the façade design is openly alluding to the Temple of Solomon as Bosman (2004) seems to believe, it is possible that Maderno's composite capitals might be an allusion to that as well. According to Juan Bautista Villalpando, Salomon's Temple's columns are a composite of Doric and Corinthian (Tuzi 2002: 29). According to Kinney (2005) bases and capitals of Old St. Peter's columns are as "miscellaneous" as the shafts. The scholar points out that one of the most admired capitals in St. Peter's, drawn by Bernardo della Volpaia is a composite (drawing in Sir John Soane's Museum, London, Codex Corner no. 151). Alfarano states that the columns of the main nave are Corinthians (Alfarano 1914: 9). The column in Alberto Alberti's drawing is also Corinthian. When analyzing the executed capitals, it is possible to observe that the ionic capital with the egg-and-dart motif of the echinus, which is also present in Alfarano's columns, topping the shafts, is combined with a winged-head and a unique flower and fruit festoon suspended from center to center by ionic volutes, resembling the ones supported by the central winged head in Alfarano's print. Furthermore the winged head supporting festoons on both sides in Alfarano's print, is duplicated in the lunette above Filarete's door, the central portal in both old and new St. Peter's, which is visually framed by the preceding open portal defined by the *Africano* shafts.

communicated through this element. These were the first pair of columns entering St. Peter's, which were still standing when the drawing was executed. Interestingly all the columns on both sides are identified with numbers, except for these two, which are indicated with the letter 'P'; this could be simply meaning P for *Prima* (first), but it is also possible that the letter P stands in for Peter.<sup>97</sup> The same happens on the verso side, where the column to the far right of the sheet in the upper corner is also indicated with the letter 'P', which could stand in for Paul, while all others are indicated with a numerical sequence. The precise correspondence on the recto and verso seems to suggest that Peruzzi believed that the twinned relationship between the two columns had to be maintained. They are indicated as an indissoluble pair. This consciousness is likely to have been common knowledge at St. Peter's workshop.

Maderno might have also been inspired by Alfarano's print to design the central portal of the new temple, as allegorical entry into the kingdom of heaven.<sup>98</sup> Carlo Maderno was well acquainted with both Alfarano's drawing and print, and worked directly onto Alfarano's drawing when testing preliminary designs for the eastern addition (Day 4).<sup>99</sup>

According to Lex Bosman, "The position assigned to these two columns by Maderno embodies a twofold meaning; like the other columns in the narthex taken from the old basilica they represent the substance of the architecture of the early Christian basilica of Constantine, and on top of that, they bear the special meaning as representing the two most famous apostles, saint Peter and Paul. Apostles as allegorical support for a church, in the meaning of the church as building, as well as the church as institution in a much older concept of course."<sup>100</sup> The scholar further argues, that "Maderno did not place these columns on the inside of the church or anywhere else, but in the main entrance of the narthex. This specific place would be the most appropriate place to build a visual reminder of the columns that king Solomon placed in front of the atrium of this Temple, the two columns Jachin and Boaz, which in later exegesis also acquired the meaning of the apostles."<sup>101</sup>

The reuse of the columns is not a mere archaism. The spoils are not used exclusively in their original meaning, to signify the presence of Peter and Paul, and in this regard their time-dimension is not anachronism, but rather a simultaneity where various temporalities are transfixed into a sempiternal present. It is through their re-positioning that they acquire an

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<sup>97</sup> Twenty columns are drawn on the recto side and twenty-two on the verso. The main aisle of St. Peter's had in fact twenty-two pairs of columns leading up to the transept. It is possible that the two missing columns on the recto had already moved to a different place. Lex Bosman explained that the columns represented vertically were still standing on site, since the eastern half of St. Peter's was still erected, while those represented horizontally were already taken down for a future reuse.

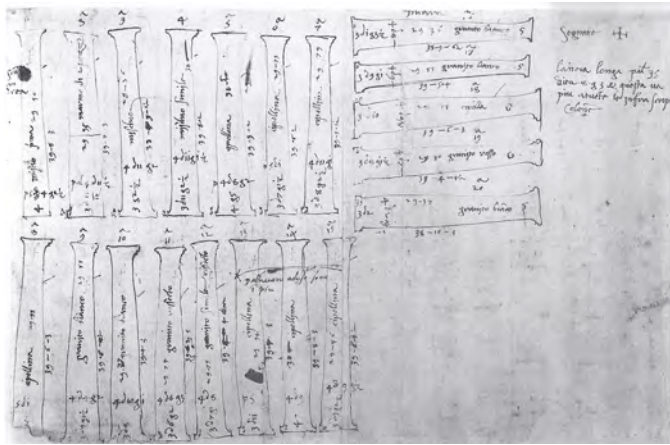
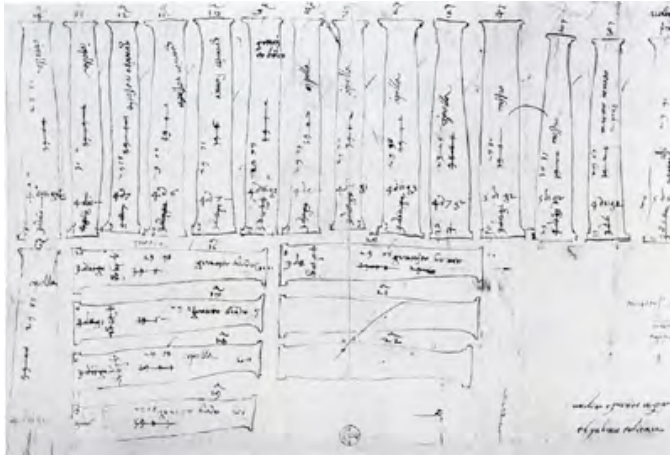
<sup>98</sup> In 1607 Carlo Maderno won the competition for the completion of the New Basilica. On March 7<sup>th</sup> 1607, demolition of the remaining parts of the Old Basilica started. At the same time the foundation stone for Maderno's eastern extension was laid. New St. Peter's was consecrated in 1626.

<sup>99</sup> Maderno re-printed in 1620, Alfarano's print adding the eastern façade.

<sup>100</sup> Bosman 2004: 137-8.

<sup>101</sup> Bosman 2004: 138.

additional transformed meaning, alluding also to Jachin and Boaz, generating a new metaphor.<sup>102</sup>



**fig. 5.6**  
Baldassarre Peruzzi  
Spoil columns of St. Peter's  
U 108A r (above) and U 108A v (below)  
© Gabinetto dei Disegni e Delle Stampe  
Museo degli Uffizi, Firenze

Alfarano makes use of the word 'translation' interchangeably when referring to the relocation of sacred relics and architectural spoils, an example being that of the Holy column (*Columna sancta*).<sup>103</sup> This supports the belief that certain architectural elements were understood as relics

<sup>102</sup> For a thorough analysis of the meaning and significance of the pillars of Jachin and Boaz see Tuzi (2002). These were two freestanding bronze pillars placed outside Solomon's Temple. Some of the most well known interpretations include that of "cosmic pillars", "tree of life" (May 1942). The columns, even though incorporated in the façade, were not load bearing (Tuzi 2002: 31). Alfarano makes several references, in his 1582 manuscript, to numerous elements in St. Peter's, which make allusion to the Temple of Solomon, such as the 12 spiral columns framing the Constantinian *pergula*, which were believed to be actual spoils, and among them also to the well known Holy Column. Alfarano 1914: 6, 8, 9, 16, 18, 19, 27, 29, 32, 33, 47. Jachin and Boaz were also associated with the masculine (father) and feminine (mother) element, and might be in this regard a clue to the embedded significance in the plan of the basilica.

<sup>103</sup> The Holy column, believed to be the one column in the Temple of Solomon, against which Jesus leaned when preaching in the Temple, was translated in proximity of an altar, "88" in the plan, from the previous location, "25" in the plan, to the right side of the Constantinian *pergula*. The description of number 88

in their own rights. The Holy column is a contact relic (*ex contactu*); it is in fact believed that Jesus leaned against it while praying in Solomon's Temple.<sup>104</sup> Touch relics are indexes revealing the presence of the sacred.<sup>105</sup> Direct physical contact is essential in order to assure a transfer of sacredness from holy bodies to artifacts. Alfarano emphasizes the contiguity of new and old elements, when stating that Julius's II first stone adheres to an older wall.<sup>106</sup> Direct contact between new and old elements, between relics and architectural elements, is an essential modality in the making of St. Peter's.

The transformation of St. Peter's entailed a disassembly, meant for a reassembly into a new comprehensive order, intended to reorganize the memory of the past, and incorporate a present understanding of it.<sup>107</sup> The duplicate representation in the drawing of several altars and elements translated from old to new St Peter's, including the Holy column, demonstrating their location, both before and after renewal, emphasizes continuity of identity of a corporate body within change. Being reassembled according to Augustine's understanding of bodily resurrection, where parts do not necessarily go back to the same location, provides an answer to the question of

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states: "*Altare S. N. nunc columns S.ta translata*". For a thorough description and analysis of the history and myth regarding the 12 columns of the Temple of Salomon and St. Peter's see Tuzi (2002).

<sup>104</sup> "*Ante quod fuerat circumsepta cancellis ferries a quodam Card. De Ursinis (25) una ex 12 columnis vitineis quae dicitur sancta, supra quam Dominum Nostrum Iesum Christum, cum populo in porticu Salomonis praedicaret ...*" (Alfarano 1914: 47). The operation of moving the Holy Column, from the old to the new body of St. Peter's, takes place in one day, on May 1<sup>st</sup> 1544. "*A di primo di Marzo 1544 fu trasportata la Colonna Santa dal loco dove stava a quel nicchio novo dove adesso è senza toccar terra; il loco dove stava però era fra l'Altare Maggiore et dove sta adesso al piano della Chiesa*". (Arch. Capit., G. 5: 68; Alfarano 1914: 158). "*Recordo come al di primo di Marzo 1544 fu trasportata la Colonna Santa del loco dove stava in detto loco dove è senza farla tochar terra; el loco dove stava era el pavimento della Chiesa Vecchia in nel mezzo del spatio che è dal Altare Maiore al loco dove sta al presente*" (Alfarano 1914: 202). The translation is executed assuring that the Holy column would not touch the ground. The Holy column is not taken out of its original context and stored for later usage. The operation takes place in a short time-span and in a single operation, which compared to the sempiternal life span of the building is but a moment, assuring continuity and respect for the livelihood, of a sacred relic, attesting to its unique treatment and status as a spoil. The other spiral columns, part of the original *pergola* by Constantine, were reused in the framing of the niches carved out by Bernini in the four pilasters framing the central space in St. Peter's. The columns taken from Constantine's Pergola were also treated as relics, of Old St. Peter's, but also as relics of the Temple of Solomon in Jerusalem, from which they were believed to originate (Tuzi 2002).

<sup>105</sup> Often "touch relics" are attributed miraculous properties. "Gregory of Tours (c. 539-c.594) even claimed that clothes left the night over the tomb of a saint had absorbed so much "virtus" that they weighed more than before. The profusion of the so called *brandea*, pieces of cloth that had touched some important relic and thereby taken over some of its power, are proof of its conviction" (Hansen 2003: 152).

<sup>106</sup> "adhaerens parieti" Frommel 1996: 23. Alfarano also states that "*Sacrarij parimodo adhaerens parietibus basilicae*" Alfarano 1914: 74.

<sup>107</sup> Disassembly, just like anatomical dissection, is a way of knowing. For an analysis of the culture of dissection during the Renaissance period see Carlino (1999) and Sawday (1995). According to Mary Carruthers' interpretation of Hugh of St. Victor, "[Mnemonotechnically speaking] 'to collect' is to reduce those things which are written or spoken about at greater length to a brief and commodious summary [...] for indeed human memory delights in brevity" (Carruthers 1998: 33, 64, 95); for the concept of "re-collecting" (*colligere*) see also Carruthers (1998: 154, 193, 330 n20, 359 n90). It is interesting to note that the making of bread entailed that a "starter dough" (sourdough) from the old bread would be used to make new bread.

identity versus material continuity, allowing for an imaginative understanding of the process of architectural-conservation.

Architectural spoils and relics share in the nature of being incorruptible matter. *Redivivus* is an architectural element used times and again. The character of heterogeneity, resulting from the use of spoils, is a reflection of the corporate nature of the body of the church, which provides a metaphor for renewal assuring continuity of identity despite change.<sup>108</sup> That which might be perceived as architectural anachronism, resulting from assembling fragments from different periods, is to be interpreted as a representation of sempiternity, where past and present members coexist simultaneously.<sup>109</sup>

Maderno exhibited an early sensibility for anachronism, revealing the game of assembling members, at the level of macro additions, made visible through careful misalignments of levels, revealing the seams between body-members (fig. 4.10, 4.11, 4.12, 4.14). Maderno's own intention was misunderstood by a predominant theological and architectural philosophy which privileged a sense of unity, where assembled members form one cohesive body; once Maderno completed his addition the seams of the exquisite corpse, were concealed wherever possible, leveling the two sides of the basilica's floor and covering interior walls with a homogeneous marble skin unifying the interior.<sup>110</sup>

The character of heterogeneity generated by the use of spoils-as-members in Renaissance St. Peter's was veiled by a seamless re-assembly into a unified body. Members survive as integrally assimilated elements within a renewed body. Old St. Peter's vestiges became visible only when portions of the original footprint were brought back to light by the 1940's archeological excavations, where truncated columns reappeared, still marking an original location. Such vestiges were, intentionally meant for concealment from sight.

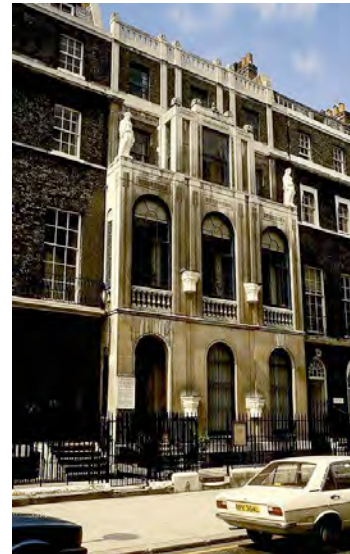
In his treatise on civil architecture Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554) gave guidelines, as to how to reuse spoil columns from various provenances so as to properly fit them together, into a new assembly, to form a unified whole. He explained how to integrate spoil columns in a loggia design when reused shafts did not match in size and height. New pedestals are to be dimensioned accordingly, to make up for different heights, so that an uninterrupted architrave can be placed on the top, providing a sense of unity.<sup>111</sup> The architect is an expert collector, one who skillfully

<sup>108</sup> This renewal theory is justified by the belief that nothing can be perpetual within Time, if not by way of substitutions (Kantorowicz 1957).

<sup>109</sup> For a theory of renaissance anachronism see the work of Nagel and Wood 2005, and Sankovitch 2006.

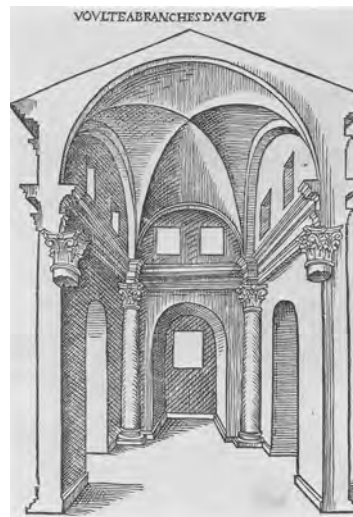
<sup>110</sup> Maderno's own micro-additions of architectural spoils, such as the two Africano columns added to the main façade, aim on the other hand to form a unified whole, generating a seamless body, reaching for a simultaneity effect.

<sup>111</sup> Serlio 1994: 326. The process of assembling becomes only more evident when there is no attempt to rebuild according to stylistic unity. Salvaged from the destruction caused by fire in the Church of S. Salvatore in Spoleto, columns, capitals and architraves of dissimilar proportions and orders were reused in the reconstruction. Column shafts exceeding the needed length were cut down to dimension, and those too short were propped on bases, perhaps using capitals or other architectural elements, sometimes placed



**fig. 5.7**  
John Soane  
Lincoln Inn Fields 13, London  
Façade

**fig. 5.8**  
Sebastiano Serlio  
The five books on architecture (1994)  
Perspective section of a  
cross-vaulted space



and meaningfully disassembles and reassembles architectural elements from an existing palimpsest, in such a way that old and new story might merge.

The analogy between architect and collector is epitomized in the figure of John Soane (1753-1837), leading British Neoclassical architect who turned his London house into a museum.<sup>112</sup> Lincoln's Inn Fields 13 is a showcase of architectural fragments, which starts on the façade (fig. 5.7).<sup>113</sup> Soane applied a series of four roman capitals to the new façade, the 1<sup>st</sup> order of capitals is placed at eyesight, in starkling misalignment with the façades order. The roman capitals are left incomplete. The absence of column shafts, makes us perceive the capitals as isolated elements; however, they are aligned with a second upper pair of roman capitals, thus suggesting the presence of a shaft, which we perceive through a visual synecdoche. The capitals stand in for the absent columns, carrying within themselves information about the whole. The proportions of the open space (shaft height) to the column diameter provides information about the whole assembly. The positioning and use of the roman capital-member clearly state that they belong to a period other than that in which they now exist, as if to say that the past cannot be restored, yet it can fashion the present. An early Modern understanding of individual members is prone to revealing anachronism, emphasizing the presence of a gap between past and present.

The added Roman capitals are literally *borrowed* from antiquity, this addition is more like a citation within a new text, where the quote is revealed by explicitly citing an original source, yet absent. This is the expression of a modern anachronism, where an original text is quoted but not translated, becoming the expression of a tectonic archaism (*prisca*) resulting in a real anachronism. In St. Peter's fragments are collected and displayed together with new elements forming a new metaphor (*verba traslata*), which provides recollection and interpretation of the past.<sup>114</sup> Soane's façade might metaphorically borrow from an illustration in Serlio's treatise on architecture, showing a perspective section of a cross-vaulted space, where two capitals appear floating in the foreground (fig. 5.8); the shafts appear cut out right underneath the capitals, demonstrating their horizontal anatomical section, thus sustaining a shifting notion from member to fragment. The placement, sizing and making of the capitals-fragment tells us through a visual synecdoche that the part carries information about the whole, once again underlying the unity of individual members within one body.

Carlo Scarpa's reintegration of broken statuary exhibited in Palazzo Abatellis, reveals a synecdoche-play, which allows completing the image of a body through a substitution (fig. 5.9).<sup>115</sup> The recognition of the nature of the past as a collection of "cosmically scattered

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upside down with a lack of stylistic unity.

<sup>112</sup> In 1883 he obtained an act from the Parliament that allowed transforming his house in a national museum.

<sup>113</sup> The house was the result of the unification of three row houses into one. The new façade unified the three buildings into one.

<sup>114</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between Lorenzo Valla's categories of language (*verba traslata* [metaphors], *ficta* [neologisms] and *prisca* [archaisms] and how these complement Alberti's architectural metaphors, see Frascari, *Elegant Curiosity*, 2007.

<sup>115</sup> Goffi 2006.



fragments”, which cannot be completed other than in a contemporary language, is evident in the gap-reveals left by Scarpa between new stand and historic sculpture-fragment. The past is recognized a character of otherness revealed through the use of different materials, and the design of appropriate joints articulating the passage of time.<sup>116</sup> Scattered fragments merge with the preexisting image of a body; the total collage of parts reveals a Zeuxian game of adding/subtracting pieces to form a complete, yet unfinished body, constantly renewing and reinventing itself. Architectural reveals disclose an eternal game of alterations in an attempt to constantly redefine an implicitly unfinished image of an ever-changing form.<sup>117</sup>

Is this destruction or re-creation? Spoil architecture is undeniably the result of literally plundering a pre-existing text.<sup>118</sup> Yet in this understanding to imagine is to conserve. Past and future are inextricably connected through a process of creating memory. Renaissance renewal theory is sustained by a concept of memory as selection and appropriation of fragments, recollecting the past into a newly recreated order, thus inventing the future. Change is not to be interpreted as “replacement-change”, which would imply a ceasing of being, but rather as “an unfolding of an essence or core forever present”.<sup>119</sup> “It is physical continuity of a tiny, weightable fragment of the person that constitutes life after death . . .”<sup>120</sup> In modern and contemporary understanding spoils openly reveal their nature as fragments. Open voids left between new and old, are the sign of a fragmentation of the body image, yet allowing for an imaginative renewal.

Walker-Bynum reminds us that “popular culture has moved away from concerns with mind/body dichotomies and turned instead to issues of integrity versus corruption or partition”, which might explain our contemporary shift to an understanding of preservation as integral conservation of the totality of an object in *as is* conditions. This enlightens a present understanding of conservation, which conceives of perdurance through integral preservation, resisting the idea of conservation as re-making of an existing palimpsest, which is rather to be preserved ‘as is’ or ‘as was’, according to preservation and restoration strategies respectively.

In many ways Maderno anticipated with his design approach a sensibility that will establish itself only much later. Contrasting Maderno’s work with that of the early modern period we can better appreciate his work as a manifestation of the concept of corporate body as assembly of individual members with perceivable and distinct individuality. There is however one substantial difference.

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<sup>116</sup> Work of contemporary architects MS&R in the Mill City Museum conversion, in Minneapolis, Minnesota, reveals an acknowledgement of the gap between new and old members through the realization of expansion joints, which are used to articulate the disjunction between different time periods and different material.

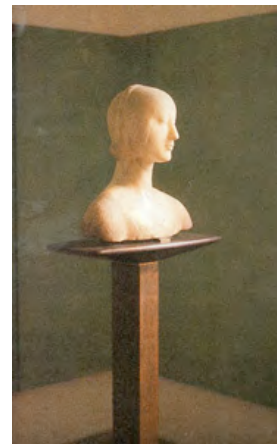
<sup>117</sup> This body fragmentation is not unlike that revealed in “The Eternal Evidence” (1930) by René Magritte. The painter frames each body-fragment separately, leaving a void between them indicative of body-parts, which belong to different bodies, sequentially added (fig. 4.14). For the changing notion of fragment see the work of Dalibor Vesely (1996).

<sup>118</sup> Josef Rykwert (1996) reminds us that “the Greek word trope means a turn or a twist, hence the twisting of words”.

<sup>119</sup> Walker Bynum 2001: 20.

<sup>120</sup> Walker Bynum, 1992: 250.

**fig. 5.9**  
Palazzo Abatellis  
Carlo Scarpa’s design of a  
stand for the bust of  
Eleonora D’Aragona (1953)



Maderno expressed translation of spoils through the making of new metaphors, unifying new and old members into a simultaneous existence; conversely modern sensibility reveals an appreciation of fragments of the past as anachronistic spoils contrasted with a present which is disjointed, providing a canvas onto which to display them as a clearly articulated past element. However, in both, Maderno earlier and Soane later, there isn't a conception of restoration as a going back to the past, entailing the restoration of a past image, but rather a creation of a present which incorporates within itself the past, through a process of making which entails re-making.

By coming to the fore, old St. Peter's plan in Alfarano's print takes us within, revealing the significance of the transformation as a form of conservation. Looking at Alfarano's plan we stand on the doorstep of a temple, gazing into a metaphoric significance, which lies beyond a drawn image. Restoring the concept of corporate body in present practice might provide a paradigmatic model to retune contemporary architectural sensibility, when dealing with the dilemma, between design and preservation, in the transformation of historic buildings. The intent is to inform critical reflection on contemporary notions of architecture and conservation, in light of an alternative cosmologic paradigm for inventions in existing fabrics. Heteroglossia rather than stylistic unity typical of early modern and contemporary restoration strategies is an index revealing a sempiternal assembly of time-pieces each reflecting, in its own individuality, the presence of a corporate body in-the-making.



DAY 6.

## FRAMING THE ICON: RE-CLOTHING A BODY CONTAINED

Skin-Deep Conservation *versus* the Imagination of Preservation

*"For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up by life"*

—2 Corinthians 5.4

A critical look into current approaches to the conservation of memnic buildings with a focus on façadism, helps understand some of preservation's inner contradictions.<sup>1</sup> Looking into a Renaissance practice of re-clothing a body, as an imaginative form of conservation, might contribute to critically rethink current notions beyond conservation *as is*, toward unveiling meaningful forms of invention, embodying a duality of preservation and design, embracing change, rather than denying it, meanwhile allowing for preservation of essence.

Façadism is possibly the clearest indicator of the present disjunction between architecture and conservation. The disjunction is quite literally materialized at the dividing of a skin-deep façade preserved *as is*, and an entirely new edifice erected behind it, where new and old elements rarely engage in a meaningful dialogue. Restoration of a one-time likeness seems to be assumed as the last *viaticum* to resurrect identity. This focus on exterior likeness significantly contributed to making façadism a widely accepted practice, reducing the perception of what constitutes heritage to be only skin-deep.

Façadism is a cosmetic form of conservation, reducing architecture to a void shell, a simulacrum of the past. This is the case with countless interventions of urban conservation projects, claiming the preservation of historic street scapes, without regard for the interior of the building, which is permanently erased from memory.

Medieval and Renaissance discussion on material regarding the resurrection of the body allowed for dealing with the imagination of change. Perdurance of essence, despite the corruption of a physical body, was overcome through a particular kind of imagination. Relics were the last remains of saintly bodies on earth and were believed to be a pre-figuration of the resurrected body. Holy bodily bits were believed to be imperishable matter, empowered with all of the saintly attributes. Their end-of-time clothing is the reliquary. The reliquary preserves Holy body fragments until the end of Time, extending their life into sempiternity. Sempiternity, an eternity

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<sup>1</sup> Schoettle 1983. Richards 1994.

with a beginning, is the cosmological time dimension of the Christian persona as a duality of body and soul.<sup>2</sup> For a building to be sempiternal meant that its life had a beginning but not an end. Its survival within Time entailed constant changes. The allegorical language of scriptures is translated in allegorical representation. Liturgical rites are a careful metaphoric representation of the theology of the church. Clothes, reliquaries, spoils, the church as edifice, any kind of religious artifact, essential in performing liturgical rituals, make use of this kind of representation.

A relic, encased within a reliquary, makes its container holy. Similarly the incorporation of a relic into a sacred building created a kind of identity between the Church as spiritual entity and the church as building, materializing and substantiating the corporate body.<sup>3</sup> Wrapping was a metaphor for resurrection: "For this perishable nature must put on the imperishable, and this mortal nature must put on immortality."<sup>4</sup> Clothing, as an allegoric process is widely used in Christian imagery, to describe various processes, not last that of reclothing bodies at the end of Time.<sup>5</sup>

Clothing metaphors are used in the language of theology and in the scriptures to describe changes of state. To become a Christian you put on Jesus. This process is allegorically described as being clothed in white garments allegoric of purity, characterizing the absence of original sin.<sup>6</sup> The *habit*, clothing of the body, from the Latin *habere*, to have, is a representation of what one is constituted of, meaning of what one is.<sup>7</sup> One of the metaphors for resurrection is being clothed with immortality. But how does the immortal body exhibit itself? What are these immortal clothes? To understand one needs to look at the making of reliquaries, and comprehend what they have in common with the making of churches.

The preservation and veneration of relics is an act of conservation. The reclothing of the body at the end of time is materialized in the reliquary to enable a faithful to see such body.<sup>8</sup> "What finally



**fig. 6.1**  
 Sancta Sanctorum Icon ca. 600  
 Acheiropoietos image of Christ  
 Painting on canvas fixed on walnut  
 panel (142 x 58.5 cm)  
 St. John in the Lateran, Rome

Revetment 1198-1216 © 1994  
 University of Chicago Press  
 Image from Belting 1994: 66

<sup>2</sup> The beginning of human life, as a body and soul duality, begins with conception. After the death of the body the soul endures forever. For a thorough understanding of the concept of sempiternity see Kantorowicz, 1957. The stress that can be found in architectural treatises such as Francesco di Giorgio's *Trattato di Architettura, Ingegneria e Arte Militare* [1474-1482] on duration, underlines that the projected life-span of buildings was modeled after sempiternity. Unpublished conference paper on "Francesco Di Giorgio Martini's Time-Cosmology: The Sempiternity of Architecture" by the author of this dissertation, presented at the 2006 RSA Conference in Chicago.

<sup>3</sup> Every church was a burial place; there was no church consecrated without incorporating a Holy relic. Since 401 AD every altar was required to contain the relic of a saint (Geary 1990).

<sup>4</sup> St. Paul's first letter to the Corinthians (15:53).

<sup>5</sup> This idea of putting on immortality refers to the idea of wearing something, as another translation of 1 Corinthians 15:53 makes even more clear: "this corruptible must be clothed with incorruption, and this mortal must be clothed with immortality." Three in fact were the modes of salvation and reclothing is one of them. Regurgitation and reassemblage are the other two (Walker-Bynum 1995: 119).

<sup>6</sup> The pope's white vestments clothe him with purity, while the red mantle (*cappa rubea*) clothes him with the martyrdom of Christ (Paravicini-Bagliani 2000). This symbolic wearing of different robes allows for the figuration of a spiritual process. The ritual dressing of columns with so-called *Paramenti sacri*, a kind of liturgical clothing, which occurred during the period of pass over is analogous to this. Columns were dressed with precious fabrics, with a predominant violet color, indicative of the passion of Christ.

<sup>7</sup> The etymology of the word habit from the Oxford English Dictionary gives the following definition: "[...] Holding, having, 'haviour'; hence the way in which one holds or has oneself, the mode or condition in which one is, exists, or exhibits oneself."

<sup>8</sup> "These paintings forcefully directed viewers to imagine and to begin to incorporate the blissful body of the



are these objects [reliquaries]? Are they containers that reveal or represent their contents? Are they exteriors that hide or transmute what is inside? Or -to pose the more audacious question- perhaps they are not containers at all? For, [...] they were also liturgical props [...] they were revered as saint”.<sup>9</sup> Relics are dressed with “imperishable matter”, which becomes the physical representation of the resurrected body.

Using Belting’s terminology they were not just likenesses; but also embodied a real presence, as a sacramental epiphany. “Miracles, stressed the supratemporal presence of saints, who worked miracles through their images after their death, thus demonstrating that they were really still alive.”<sup>10</sup> There was no distinction between image and thing represented. Icons expressed a real presence (effigy), and not just a likeness (simulacra).

Icons were often clothed with permanence. This was the case with the Sancta Sanctorum icon (ca. 600) in the Basilica of St. John in the Lateran (fig. 6.1), dressed with a silver casing (ca. 1200).<sup>11</sup> “Peeled back like clothing to reveal a body beneath”, the revetment of the Sancta Sanctorum has “the dual purpose of revelation and access”.<sup>12</sup> Icons were gates open into a sempiternal existence, made visible using durable materials, endowing the reliquary with lastingness. Immortality was put on as a garment; wrapping conveyed permanence.<sup>13</sup>

A similar treatment was applied to architectural spoils, clothed with imperishable vestments. The incorporation of spoil columns in Santa Prassede (817-824) in Rome within Baroque vestments is an example (fig. 6.2). Hansen Maria Fabricius describes this early baroque intervention, initiated by Cardinal Carlo Borromeo, as a “modernization” tending to serialize the interior, by covering columns shafts, capital and trabeation with stucco.<sup>14</sup> The column capital, freed in the twentieth century, emerges from its vestment, just like the face of the Sancta Sanctorum icon from the silver casing.<sup>15</sup> The same meaning of incorporation and assimilation of fragments, even of an entire church, is transposed into the domain of architectural theory from that of theology. Different bodies and body fragments alike, live one inside the other.

The Church father Augustine suggested that the relationship between soul and body can be understood in terms of inner and outer man.<sup>16</sup> The body is the outer man. The inner man is the soul, which is clothed by the outer man’s fleshy body. This conceptual model suggests a relationship of container/contained. Just like the incorporation of a relic renders the reliquary

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redeemed, to weave the resurrected body into the present fragile moribund body. Imagining the resurrected body was the first step toward inhabiting that body, however briefly and proleptically.” (Miles 1994).

<sup>9</sup> Walker-Bynum and Gerson 1977: 6.

<sup>10</sup> Belting 1994.

<sup>11</sup> The icon’s revetment is made under Innocent III (1198-1216). See Peers (2004: 125-6) and Belting (1994: 65-68).

<sup>12</sup> Peers 2004: 125.

<sup>13</sup> For a discussion of this idea see Florensky (2000) and Belting (1994).

<sup>14</sup> Hansen 2003: 95-96.

<sup>15</sup> Note that right below the window in the silver casing of the Sancta Sanctorum, which allows the viewing of the sacred portrait is a relief of a winged cherub’s head, embossed in the revetment, representing the messenger revealing the true image of Christ.

<sup>16</sup> Augustine, *De Trinitate*, 1963.

holy, analogously the incorporation of a relic into a sacred building creates a kind of identity between body of a saint and building-reliquary. Different bodies live one inside the other, determining a transfer of holiness from one to the next.

The church could be interpreted as a representation of the resurrected body. The stress on the eternal duration of these fabrics, which can be found in architectural treatises, underlines that their projected life-span is modeled after sempiternity. The Renaissance architectural anthropomorphic model is imbued with a theological understanding of sempiternity, as the time dimension of the Christian persona.<sup>17</sup> The church is an imperishable body that the faithful puts on, and metaphorically inhabits during his mortal life. The church-edifice is a “revelatory body” awaiting for the end-of-Time.<sup>18</sup> Through wearing this second body wrapped around the mortal one, it is possible to start experiencing sempiternity. The church is a metaphoric gate through which the heavenly city can be accessed. Incorporation of the relic within a church enables the liturgy to be physically experienced. Once the relic is within such building, then the church becomes part of the heavenly city, being contained within it.

Alfarano’s 1590 print is a presentation of a building within another building. The plan of old St. Peter’s is contained within the new. The beneficiary clerk stresses, both in word and image, the necessity to *circumscribe* the old vestiges. In the 1582 manuscript he stated that the old basilica is “delineated within the new Temple”, and that the “new Temple circumscribes it”, emphasizing a relationship of container/contained.<sup>19</sup> The decouped garland circumscribing the Holy face in Alfarano’s 1571 drawing, is an iconographic element to be put in relationship with the central plan superimposed by Michelangelo and surrounding the old basilica. Veronica’s icon is made essentially by two print spoils, where a veil of the suffering Christ and a garland, symbol of the triumph of the resurrected Christ are combined together. They could be read as a visual analogy of the old basilica, whose vestiges lay concealed underneath and within the new basilica, triumphing above.

In 1620 Grimaldi stated that “Our most Holy Father [wishes] to encircle the body of Heaven’s gatekeeper with a crown made up of the many saints whose bodies rest in this basilica” (Rice 1997: 36).<sup>20</sup> Louise Rice states that, “Paul V deliberately set out to surround Peter’s tomb-altar at the center of the church with a ring of saint’s tomb altars arranged around the periphery” (Rice 1997: 36).<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore Alfarano visually emphasizes the act of framing, by outlining in his 1590 print only the western portion of the New plan. The parts of the new temple, which fall within the old

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<sup>17</sup> In his discussion of sempiternity Francesco di Giorgio Martini (1967: 370) cites several of his sources, which include Cicero’s *Tuscolane*, Plato’s *Timaeus* and Aristotle’s *De Anima* and *Metaphysics*.

<sup>18</sup> Miles 1994: 75-90.

<sup>19</sup> “*delineatam intra novi Templi*”; “*novi Templi ambitum circumdata*.” (Alfarano 1914: 4).

<sup>20</sup> The original Latin text reads as “... *volens idem sanctissimus dominus noster, ut aetherei ianatoris corpus plurim sanctorum, quorum corpora in hac basilica quiescent, corona circumdaret*” (Grimaldi 1972: 70). Crown and mystical body were comparable entities (Kantorowicz 1957).

<sup>21</sup> A fresco titled “Return of Gregory XI from Avignon” in the Vatican Palace and the preparatory drawing, present in the lower left corner show an analogous detail with a personification of St. Peter’s surrounded by *putti* and being crowned with a laurel garland. A reproduction of this fresco can be found in Franklin 2009: 315.

footprint are not drawn, thus calling attention to the gesture of circumscribing. Alfarano intends to signify the conservation of the old vestiges as relics, suggesting an integral continuity between new and old. The representation of the old plan, in the 1571 version, is rendered with gold paint, suggesting everlastingness.<sup>22</sup> Old St. Peter's did not perish with the new construction, but rather, it was conserved within it. The new allegorical reclothing signifies physical and metaphysical sempiternity. The relationship between new and old is not just one of layering, in a physical and temporal sense of above/below, before/after, but also one of container/contained.

When Carlo Maderno re-printed in 1620 Alfarano's 1590's ichnography, including his new addition, completing the body's renewal, he acknowledged the key role played by Alfarano's iconic portrait, within the macro-historical process of renewal.<sup>23</sup> Maderno goes back to Alfarano's print with the intent to reveal how his new eastern addition completes the Temple's ichnography, *framing* the icon, circumscribing the old basilica like a relic. With Maderno's extension of the nave Alfarano's hallowed configuration was fulfilled.

Alfarano's ichnography reveals through careful renderings, in both drawing and print, the literal presence of a physical footprint and living relic of truncated columns and walls, conserved within the new Temple-reliquary. The vestiges of Old St. Peter's, brought back to light by archeological excavations (1940-1949), are signified in the drawing by the use of gold paint (fig. 2.11 and 6.3).<sup>24</sup> The quasi-imperishability of gold is the index of the everlastingness of a signified essence. This rendering, executed above Michelangelo's walls, makes the old plan stand out into the foreground of the representation.<sup>25</sup>

The 1590 print, which is Alfarano's own process of translation of his color drawing, in the black and white graphics of an engraving, substituted gold paint with a solid black ink *poché*. The new *poché* makes it appear as if on a foreground layer of the representation; the new plan is only partly drawn in, elements falling within the old basilica's plan are entirely omitted. The old walls come to the foreground contained within a new frame.

By outlining and foregrounding the old plan, Alfarano makes visible the invisible presence of the basilica's footprint inside the new temple, thus calling attention to the incompleteness of Dupérac's 1569 print, pointing to the necessity to elongate the foot of the cross, circumscribing

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<sup>22</sup> The sempiternal existence of living relics was made visible by the use of durable materials in the making of reliquaries. Materials were chosen for their durability but also for their preciousness. Immortality was put on as a garment. "Crystal or gold reliquaries associate body bits with permanence, paintings in which body parts are assimilated to reliquaries or statues... treat the body as permanent locus of person. The preciousness of the reliquary was not just ostentation of power, but also a reminder of the sempiternity of the object." (Walker Bynum 1992: 295).

<sup>23</sup> One of Maderno's 1620 prints is contained in the oversize folder titled BAV, Cartella San Pietro, Pianta 4 in the GDS, BAV. The engraving is by Martino Ferrabosco. This is the tav. 6 of '*Architettura della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano*' by Monsignor Giovanni Battista Costaguti (Costaguti 1620-34).

<sup>24</sup> The excavations conducted around the *confessio*, demonstrated the survival of vestiges of the *Muro Divisorio*, and of the exterior walls and columns of both main and secondary nave and transept (Apollonj Ghetti et. al. 1951). In the 1590 print the dividing wall is omitted, thus placing emphasis on the idea of container/contained.

<sup>25</sup> This must have been particularly evident when the drawing was first executed. In its current state the darkening of the paper, due to aging, significantly diminishes the contrast.

the old basilica entirely.

Alfarano affirms that, “it would not be illogical” to conceive an extension of the foot of the Renaissance square cross.<sup>26</sup> His concern is that the old footprint be contained inside the new. Alfarano is known to have drafted a proposal for an elongated plan.<sup>27</sup> Christof Thoenes believes that this project could be the one listed as “Tav. 27” in Bonanni’s “Numismata” (fig. 6.4).<sup>28</sup> Thoenes explains that the author of this plan literally transplanted Michelangelo’s façade to the east, in order to add a series of three chapels on each side elongating the foot of the cross and thus entirely circumscribing the old plan.<sup>29</sup>

In a letter addressed to Pope Paul V, Carlo Maderno stated that “it is commanded to save the vestiges of the old relics and the memory of the Holy Sylvester, with reverence to Constantine, and that the new building must circumscribe, and cover what is left of the old church.”<sup>30</sup> Maderno’s design is a response to the pope’s determination to circumscribe the old basilica. Upon completing his addition, the Ticinese architect reprinted Alfarano’s 1590 plan, as a faithful recopying adding his new façade (fig. 4.19 and 1.4), which is the only portion of the new eastern addition falling outside the old footprint.<sup>31</sup> Analogously to Alfarano’s, his focus is on conveying the gesture of circumscribing, thus fulfilling the hallowed configuration. The old plan coming to the foreground signifies the respectful conservation of the sacred burial grounds, quite literally preserved underneath.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> “*tum etiam cum ipsum templum in quadratae crucis formam erectum oblongo crucis pede careat, ne ethnicos, et gentiles, qui quadrata et rotunda templa extruebant, aemulari videremur, non absurdum videretur si ad instar pedis crucis Basilicae antiquae prolongaretur, et pes conveniens quadratae cruci adiungeretur, eiusdem structurae et artificij conformitate et absque ulla novi aedificij deformitate ...*” Alfarano 1914: 25-26.

<sup>27</sup> Alfarano’s project is lost (Alfarano 1914: XI, 24-26).

<sup>28</sup> Christof Thoenes points out that Bonanni does not acknowledge the author of this drawing. Thoenes based his attribution on the fact that the proposed design agrees with the intentions expressed in Alfarano’s manuscript, and also on the fact that Buonanni had found this plan in the Basilica’s archives, where Alfarano’s manuscript and plan were also archived. Thoenes points out that, this drawing is attributed to Domenico Fontana by Paul Letarouilly, even though Letarouilly never explains the basis for the attribution (Thoenes 2000: 47-48).

<sup>29</sup> Thoenes 1997: 23. In support of Thoenes attribution it can be observed that the design method used is based on a literal cutting and pasting of Michelangelo’s façade, treated as a member. This design process is in tune with Alfarano’s drawing method, collecting and collaging drawing spoils. The operation of re-composing together different plan members, forming a hybrid-body, is emphasized by the wall poché in “Tav. 27”. The centralized-portion and the façade-fragment are in fact both rendered with oblique hatching, analogous to the one used in Dupérac’s 1569 print, reproducing Michelangelo’s plan. This is clearly contrasted by the rendering of the new chapels, suggesting that the author might have made use of an original print by Dupérac, *cut-out* and *glued* on a support sheet, where the newly added chapels could be drawn.

<sup>30</sup> “... *con salvare i vestigii delle Sante Reliquie, la memoria del Beato Silvestro, e la riverenza di Costantino, commando’ che con l’edificio della nuova Chiesa si circondasse, e si ricoprisse appunto il rimanente della vecchia*”. The English translation is by the author of this dissertation. The full text of the Epistola 4 (n. 647 Bibl. Pont. Vatic. Apud Grimald: 118) is included in Buonanni’s *Numismata* (1715: 84). The letter is also cited by Thoenes (1996: 24).

<sup>31</sup> Maderno does not include any of the iconographic elements, which framed Alfarano’s print.

<sup>32</sup> As argued, Maderno might have been working during the early design stages, and particularly when drafting U 101A, directly on Alfarano’s hand-drawing, to ascertain the possibility to circumscribe the old plan (Day 4: 100-103). U 100A instead, even though in the same scale as U 101A, is likely to be



The idea of circumscribing the old plan, which Filippo Buonanni detects in Maderno's letter addressed to Paul V, is reflected, and powerfully interpreted, in a plan that Buonanni included in his *Numismata*, as "Tabula 6" (fig. 6.5).<sup>33</sup> This singular plan might be inspired by a contextual reinterpretation of both Alfarano's and Maderno's prints; in fact, similarly to Alfarano, it portrays both new and old plan, with the addition of the footprint of the Circus of Nero, the place of martyrdom for numerous Christian martyrs including the Prince of the Apostles Peter (fig. 1.4 and 4.19), thus adding an additional layer emerging from the depths of a Janus-like narrative.<sup>34</sup> Like Alfarano's it includes only the western piers outside the old footprint, while adding also Maderno's façade. The new basilica's outline is provided as a schematic indication of the outer perimeter of the walls of new St. Peter's, thus clarifying and reinforcing the gesture of circumscribing the old basilica, which is fully outlined.



**fig. 6.3**  
Archaeological excavations during the 1940-49 bring back to light portions of the literal "footprint" of "Old" St. Peter's conserved within the "New".  
Photo by author of this dissertation.

conceived as an exquisite corpse addition to Dupérac's print. With U 100A the idea of circumscribing entirely is not yet fulfilled. U 101A instead, extends the eastern arm covering the entire basilica. The rendering of the walls in light azure, matching the rendering of Michelangelo's walls in Alfarano's plan emphasizes that. Doctor Giorgio Marini, Vice-Director of the GDSU at the Uffizi, affirms that the rendering of an oblique wall *pochée* is unusual for a hand-drawing, and not seen before. This led him to make the hypothesis that this drawing was conceived in preparation for a print. The same would be true for U 264A (Doctor Giorgio Marini in conversation with the author of this dissertation at the GDSU at the presence of Maderno's drawings; June 9, 2009). Giacomo Grimaldi states in 1620 that, "Our most Holy Father [wishes] to encircle the body of Heaven's gatekeeper with a crown made up of the many saints whose bodies rest in this basilica". The original Latin text recites: "... *volens idem sanctissimus dominus noster, ut aetherei ianatoris corpus plurim sanctorum, quorum corpora in hac basilica quiescent, corona circumdaret.*" (Grimaldi 1972: 70). See also Rice (1997: 36). This determines not only the wrapping with a new architectural body, but also the positioning of new funerary monuments and altars around the tomb of Peter. The practice of *burial ad sanctum* is cited in Cerrati (1914: XXVI).

<sup>33</sup> The drawing is titled "*Ichnographia Basilicae Antiquae et novae simul cum circo Neroniano*" (Buonanni 1715: 18-19). Maderno's letter is included by Buonanni within his "Numismata".

<sup>34</sup> Tacitus: Annals 44.

The New Temple frames the iconic vestiges of Old St. Peter's, revealing the presence and conservation of a relic within a reliquary.<sup>35</sup> Differing wall poché are used to highlight the presence of three temporal-layers. The Circus of Nero appears in the foreground, above both new and old St. Peter's, thus revealing the actual construction layers on the Vatican site.<sup>36</sup> Buonanni's "Tav.6" is a reminder that the Vatican palimpsest is founded onto the circus, which forms together with the foundations of Old St. Peter's a material and historical support for the new temple.<sup>37</sup> A wall section through the secondary naves of the old basilica, in the lower right side of the print, accompanies the plan, demonstrating how the columns of the main and secondary nave and the outer walls rest on the foundations of the Circus. The union of plan and section in this print creates a link between the archeological layers of the plan, made visible through poché renderings, and the vertical stratigraphy of the section.

The presence of old St. Peter's in Alfarano's print is a reminder of the real presence of these venerable vestiges contained within a new building-reliquary, providing a manifestation of the sempiternal body of the Church. The basilica's body (*Basilicae corpus*) expresses, according to Alfarano, the presence of the "Holy cross" (*sanctae Crucis*), and signifies the presence of the corporate body of the church, manifested in the sacred burials.<sup>38</sup> The restoration of the old basilica's floor, during the Holy Year in 1575, under Gregory XIII, witnesses the devotion towards these sacred grounds, and testifies the intention to conserve them intact.<sup>39</sup> As stated, the new main piers were placed outside the sacred perimeter, to preserve it, enclosing main nave and transept. The challenge for the vaulting of St. Peter's dome is determined by a will to remember the sacred crossing.<sup>40</sup>

A period representation by a Flemish artist, Johan Sadeler (1550-1600), a "Pietà with Angels Bearing Instruments of the Passion", depicts the Holy face held in monsternace by an angel in the top center (fig. 6.6). The transparency of the cloth alludes to the possibility to penetrate beyond the representation. The central frame of the engraving depicts a Pietà, likely to be inspired by Michelangelo's own innovative compositions for this subject.<sup>41</sup> Veronica and Pietà become part of

<sup>35</sup> By indicating the dotted crossed axis of the new plan, Buonanni points out that the geometric center of the new plan does not correspond to the main altar.

<sup>36</sup> A oblique-hatching poché is utilized for the Circus of Nero. The rendering of the walls of the old basilica is executed with lines parallel to the walls. The walls of the new basilica, rendered with a series of small marks, are the lightest, placing this layer in the background.

<sup>37</sup> The space in-between the level of the vestiges of Old St. Peter's and the ground level of New St. Peter's is what has become the Sacred Grotto, where several holy sepultures were translated from the Old basilica.

<sup>38</sup> Alfarano 1914: 7. The Holy cross is literally formed by burials of saints, martyrs, and popes, which took place on the Vatican site. "*Insuper et per totam Basilicam et praecipue per hanc transversam navem sunt sepulcra innumerorum sanctorum Martyrum, Pontificum, Confessorum, Virginum et magnorum virorum perfectorum; et propterea in extruptione novae Basilicae iussu Iulij secundi summi Pontificis intacta remanserunt, minimeque effossa fuerunt, ut experimento comprobavimus.*" (Alfarano 1914: 38).

<sup>39</sup> From the Latin *intactus*, from *in* (not) + *tactus*, past participle of *tangere* (touch). Rice 1997: 258. Alfarano 1914: 153-154.

<sup>40</sup> As a result, the tomb of the apostle is not placed in the geometric center of the four piers' crossing. The old side aisles, a peripheral portion of the body, make ground for the eastern piers, right under the arms's crossing, which now appear as if compassionately bearing the cross (Appendix B, Interpretive drawing 1).

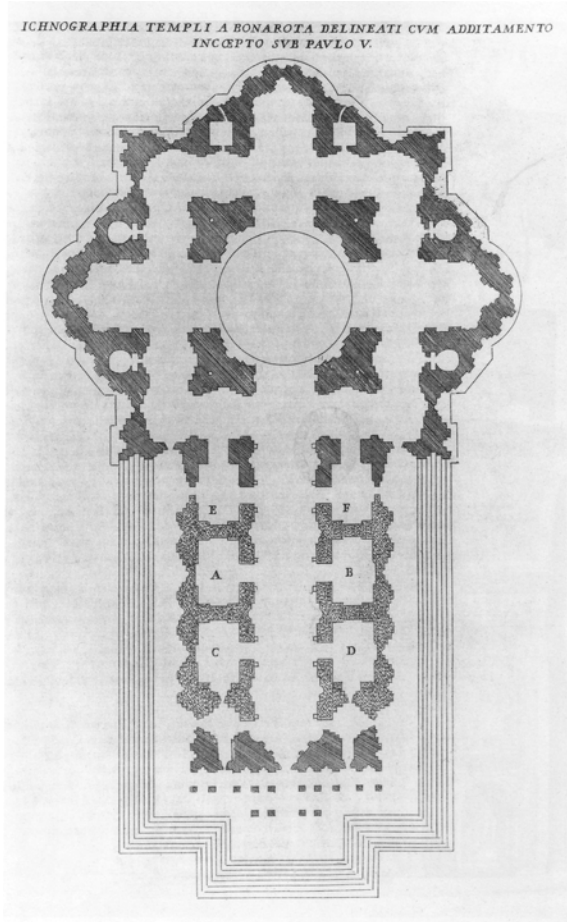
<sup>41</sup> This configuration presents telling analogies within the Christian iconography of the *imago pietatis*, signifying the birth of the Church with the sacrifice of Christ. Michelangelo's numerous devotional pieces devoted to this sacred subject are telling (Morello 1993: 159). In a Pietà, which is now in Florence's

a simultaneous narration of events, happening within a significant micro-time frame in Christian history, corresponding to the birth of the Church. In the lower register, a *sopracielo* between two columns veils an altar. According to Alfarano's account, a veil, used to divide the old basilica's transept from the main nave, hanging at their intersection, reminds one of the veil raised in Salomon's Temple over the tabernacle.<sup>42</sup>

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cathedral, Michelangelo portrayed himself as Nicodemus, the one who "supports the body of Christ under the arms" after his descent from the cross, in a gesture expressing religious piety and devotion (Kristof 1989). Ascanio Condivi (1976: 87) stated that "Michelangelo plans to donate this Pietà to some church and to have himself buried at the foot of the altar where it is placed." The renaissance master intended this to become his tomb-marker, a symbol of his life and work (Condivi 1976: 90, 92, 103). Another mid sixteenth century bas-relief *Pietà* in the Vatican library by Michelangelo for Vittoria Colonna, of which a drawing also survives, presents an unusual composition. Vittoria Colonna (1490-1547) a noble woman from a Roman family is a leading protagonist of the "Roman reformist circles" which brought new fervor to the cult of the Virgin Mary. Giovanni Morello affirms that this innovative iconography for this subject constitutes a paradigmatic model for numerous period artists, such as Giulio Bonasone, Nicolas Beatrizet, Giovanni Battista de' Cavalieri and Annibale Carracci, Marcello Venusti and it was reproduced even in devotional objects (Morello 1993: 159). A painting by Marcello Venusti reproducing this iconographic scheme titled "The deposition of Christ, with Mary and two angels" dating from 1555 is at Galleria Borghese (inv. 422). "The Virgin Mary is seated, with her arms open in the age-old gesture of prayer, while on her laps lies the inanimate body of her Son, held up by two angels; he has just been removed from the cross, which looms up behind the figures and to which the whole group seems to be firmly attached". Morello further notes that the Y shaped cross in the background is a model used in various occasions by Michelangelo (Morello 1993: 159; de Tolnay 1953: 44-62; Herrmann Fiore 1992: 406-407; Marani 1992: 410). The innovative iconographic composition might be part of an attempt to describe a mystic relationship between "bride" and "bridegroom" through visual symbolism. Mary is portrayed in the act of prayer, with her head and eyes raised towards heaven, presenting compositional analogies with traditional depictions, common from the early middle ages, of the "*Mater Ecclesiae*". A well known example is the "*Mater Ecclesiae, Exultet*" of the Vatican Library (Barb. Lat. 592, f. I); here Mary is depicted as "mother of all churches" (Bertelli 2001: 188). The duality of the word '*Mater*'; points to *motherhood* but also to *matter* (Lat. *mater* for both); a duality which is suggested by the overall composition and particularly by Mary's posture. The Virgin is represented at the center of the composition under the vault of the main nave of a church, as mother to the multitude of believers standing at her sides in the secondary aisles, personifying the Church as corporation. At the same time, her outstretched arms and hands touching the central arch at the out-spring identifies Mary as the *prime matter* of the church, in both a physical and spiritual sense. The "*Mater Ecclesia*" iconography was present in a mosaic of the counter-façade in Old St. Peter's. The fresco is due to the patronage of Pope Gregory IX (1227-1280) (Pinelli 2000: I, 36). Mary had her arms outspread towards two columns to her left and right, in a gesture that alludes to supporting the Church of God. According to Giacomo Grimaldi (1972: 106) two spiral columns of African marble visible below the mosaic, signify Peter (on the left side) and Paul (on the right side). Just like the Virgin Mary gave birth to Christ, the Church is mother in giving birth to its members. Spiritual matter transubstantiate into material matter. The church is spiritually and physically supported by its eminent members, Peter and Paul, symbolizing the Christian community, of which, the Virgin Mary, is the most excellent member. Michelangelo's bas-relief portrays Mary, assisted by two angels, supporting the reclined body of Christ; her knees are placed right under his shoulders. In the background of Michelangelo's bas-relief is a Y-shaped crucifix, a symbol alluding to the unification of opposites, also used to indicate the *androgyn*e, as the union of male and female. The lifeless body of Christ and Mary's torso align with the upright post of the cross, while Mary's arms align with the V-shaped cross arms, pointing to heaven. "The Pietà consists of a figure bearing and a figure borne, of mother and son. Mary is so to speak, the monsternace for the exhibition of the sacrificed Christ whom she displays." (Belting 1990: 84). Michelangelo's *Pietà* unites the traditional iconographic elements of the *imago pietatis* with those of the *Mater Ecclesiae*, or in other words the moment of Christ's death and the birth of Church merge in this representation. Similarly the plan of new St. Peter's is the monsternace for the cruciform plan of old St. Peter's.

<sup>42</sup> "*Hae duae praedictae Basilicae partes, transversa scilicet navis et absis locum obtinent hodie interioris Domus oraculi, sive sancti sanctorum in posteriore parte templi Salomonis sive Mosys tabernaculi*



**fig. 6.4**

Tav. 27 in Filippo Buonanni's "Numismata Summorum Pontificum", 1696

"Ichnographia Templi a Bonarota delineati cum additamento incepto sub Paulo V"

Plan demonstrating a proposed addition to Michelangelo's plan for the elongation of the "foot of the cross"

The plan is possibly based on a drawing by Tiberio Alfarano

© Il Polifilo

(Image from Thoenes 2000)

Alfarano's 1590 print (fig. 1.4) shows only a western portion of the new plan, thus allowing the metaphoric substratum of the representation, Old St. Peter's, to come to the foreground. The portrayed western fragment is analogous to what is demonstrated in Bramante's U 1A, being a representation of what is to be built first and outside the old temple. Alfarano emphasized the gesture of circumscribing the old plan, which was inherently implicit in the laying of Bramante's first transformative fragment. However, Alfarano's print also alludes to the presence of a metaphorical *sopracielo*, raised to allow the contemplation of the real tabernacle, which is the body of the Church, signified by the Latin cross, a place of burials, making visible the invisible conservation of the corporate body wrapped inside a new temple. Placing an actual mirror at this joint intersection onto the 1590 print, one can see Michelangelo's half-plan duplicated on the other side, completing the central plan, and revealing once again the inherent duality of bride and bridegroom implicit in this representation (fig. 6.7).

Resurrection can be interpreted as a "re-gathering in the womb of the church".<sup>43</sup> Reliquaries such

*existentis, ante quod oraculum velum ex quatuor columnis pendens, sanctuarium, et sanctuarii sanctuaria dividebat loco quarum quatuor columnarum et veli etiam quatuor parastatae fornices Basilicae sustentent, et transversam a corpore Basilicae dividentes successerunt"* (Alfarano 1914: 8).

<sup>43</sup> Walker Bynum 1995: 149.

as the “*Vierge ouvrante*”, depict Mary as the tabernacle of Christ’s body (fig. 6.8).<sup>44</sup> The potential significance of Michelangelo’s central plan as allegory of Mary, for which Alfarano’s azure poché is an index, might allude to her role as *mother*, bearing the body of the crucified son, while the gold paint of the original cross alludes to the *father*.<sup>45</sup> Mary triumphs as the tabernacle of the Saviour.<sup>46</sup> New and Old St. Peter’s reveal the presence of one another indexically. The conservation of the old nave, demonstrates the existence of “a figure bearing and a figure borne”.<sup>47</sup>

Analogously in Bramante’s U 20A, the relationship between old and new was one of container/contained and layered superimposition (fig. 1.2).<sup>48</sup> The conservation of the old cross intact, as a representation of Christ’s own body identified with the instrument of salvation, was required by Julius II.

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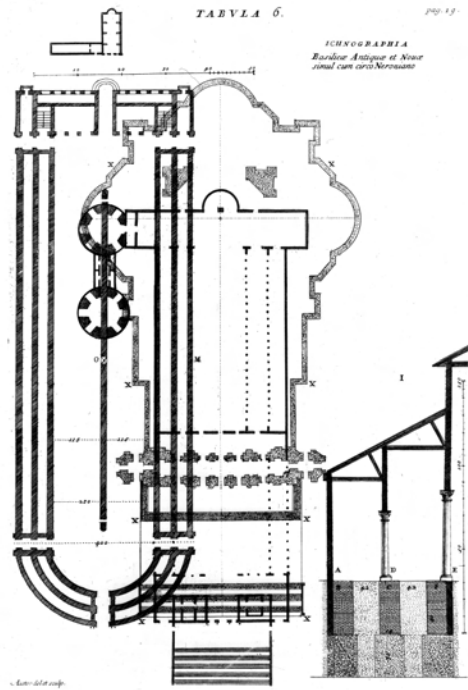
<sup>44</sup> This devotional object dates from the late thirteenth, early fourteenth century (Walker Bynum 1992: 212-215, 217). Belting 1994: 84. The outer image portrays Mary holding Christ as infant, while the inner one reveals, once the small devotional object is opened, a seated Christ holding the cross with his hands, inscribed *within* Mary’s body, acting as tabernacle. Mary is both the life-bearing womb and the beholder of Christ’s sacrificed body. Mary in her role of “*Mater Ecclesiae*” is the “temple” of Christ’s body, demonstrating the third analogy used by Saint Paul in describing the enigma of the Church as mystical body (Grabowski 1957: 33).

<sup>45</sup> One of Mary’s symbols is the tabernacle: “*Questa e’ proprio la casa di Dio*” (Gen 28, 17). “*Portando nel suo grembo il verbo incarnato, Maria e’ in mezzo agli uomini la santa dimora dell’altissimo*” (Sal 45,5); “*santuario di Dio*” (Ap 11, 19) and “*Casa d’oro*” (Lit. Lauretane) (Noè 1994: 55). The Garland apposed by Alfarano, surrounding the Holy Face presents fruits and flowers, which are usually present in the iconography of garlands associated with Mary. It is possible that the azure poché of Michelangelo’s walls be an under layer executed in preparation of silver paint. The garland circumscribing Christ’s face, might also be alluding to the new *central* plan circumscribing the old one.

<sup>46</sup> Alfarano states that the new wall “*qui per traversum intersecat hanc navem (qui paries est inter XI et XII columnarum ordinam)...*” (Alfarano 1914: 69). Paul III’s erected in 1538 the dividing wall, passing through and incorporating the 11<sup>th</sup> row of columns, thus dividing the basilica *symbolically* in “half”. The wall could have been placed closer to the new main piers, preserving a larger portion of old basilica, instead the specific position, through the 11<sup>th</sup> row of columns, marks a metaphorical middle of the basilica, possibly alluding to the creation of Eve out of Adam’s side. Vasari’s fresco in the *Sala dei Cento Giorni* provides a telling representation of Paul III as the Solomon who recognizes the otherness of the new temple. “*Et così risoluto il papa di dar’ principio alla grandissima et terribilissima fabbrica di San Pietro; ne fece rovinare la metà*” (Frommel 1996: 51). This fresco posthumous to the events occurred in 1505-1506 reflects a 1550’s perception.

<sup>47</sup> Precisely reflected by the fact that the width of old and new nave are equal. The new body wraps closely the old one.

<sup>48</sup> U 20A was executed in 1505-1507 and it represents the project pursued until 1514. Rudolph Wittkover brings three arguments in support to his interpretation of Bramante’s design as centralized plan. The first is the fact that Michelangelo affirmed in 1555 in a letter to Ammannati that, “*chiunche s’è discostato da decto ordine di Bramante, come à facto il Sangallo, s’è discostato dalla verità...*” (those who moved away from Bramante’s design moved away from the “truth”) (Buonarrotti 1965-83, IV, MLXXI: 251). Egidio da Viterbo narrates that Bramante designed a central plan. Finally the scholar’s third point is that the design of so many centralized plans would be hard to be explained without the precedent of Bramante’s design for St. Peter’s (Wittkover 1973: 25). The author of this dissertation is in agreement with Christof Thoenes who supports the theory that Bramante envisioned a composite plan. Thoenes focuses on demonstrating that Bramante designed the new piers as hinges between *central* and *longitudinal* plan (Thoenes 1996: 285-287). In our interpretation the composite Plan might be the result of a hybrid, merging central plan with longitudinal one, signifying a duality, manifesting the union of Catholicism, as the universality of the church, both Greek and Latin.



**fig. 6.5**  
 Tav. 6 in Filippo Buonanni's "Numismata Summorum Pontificum", 1696  
 "Ichnographia Basilicae Antiquae et novae simul cum circo Neroniano"  
 Plan demonstrating the layered temporal and physical superimposition of the Circus of Nero, the "Old" basilica and the "New" Temple. The plan is possibly inspired by Tiberio Alfarano's 1590 print.  
 © Courtesy of the Library of Congress

Bramante's U 1A lays down a new transformative member, placed entirely outside the old temple's footprint, possibly underlying, that the intention to circumscribe the old basilica was already present (fig. 4.1).<sup>49</sup> The framing of the old plan is not unlike the framing of cult objects, granting a way of "distinguishing the relic from the reliquary, the cult object from its support or presentation".<sup>50</sup> The old basilica in-habits the new one.<sup>51</sup> The new reliquary surpasses the previous one, in beauty and grandeur without duplicating it. The new plan is clearly distinguishable from the old one and carries an added significance, further developing and elaborating onto the existing narrative.

The tomb of Saint Peter is the reminder of the spiritual and material continuity between old and new temple. Saint Peter's body, is the first stone on which Jesus laid the foundation of his Church, in both a spiritual and material understanding.<sup>52</sup> The first act of conservation through wrapping and re-clothing, narrated in the *Liber Pontificalis*, relates of the enclosing of the body of the

<sup>49</sup> Analogous intention is demonstrated in U 20A. Thoenes reminds us that "the foundation stone was laid at the southwest pier, still outside the basilica" (Thoenes 2005: 74). Sangallo continues in line with this intention to circumscribe the old basilica entirely. Buonanni states that "*Basilicae novae parietibus circumstruendas Bramanti Architecto districte mandaverat. Id sine cunctatione illum executum fuisse experimento comperimus*". Buonanni (1971) also affirms that Bramante's intention was to circumscribe the basilica, and this granted the project's approval.

<sup>50</sup> Belting 1994: 114, 222. Speaking reliquaries reveal through the body shape adopted, the type and presence of the relic contained.

<sup>51</sup> "*dictam Basilicam semper habiti, in dies magis as magis in novo templo restituantur et augeantur...*". (Alfarano 1914: 4)

<sup>52</sup> Julius's II gives imperative directions that Saint Peter's tomb cannot be moved from its original location. The "body" of Peter was preserved in the Vatican Basilica, while his head was conserved at St. John in the Lateran.

Apostle, within a bronze case, by Emperor Constantine, sanctioning the inviolability and immovability of the tomb.<sup>53</sup>

Scholars recently formulated the hypothesis that Bramante's Tegurium was not a temporary structure, but rather a permanent element. Bramante wrapped the tomb of the apostle, within a hybrid structure, made by surviving portions of the old basilica's apse joined with new elements.<sup>54</sup> A later micro-wrapping of the Cathedra Petri, by Bernini, echoes the macro-architectural wrapping symbolized by the re-clothing of Old St. Peter's.<sup>55</sup> The outer skin of Renaissance architecture was a metaphoric representation of an imperishable body.



**fig. 6.6**  
 Johan Sadeler, engraving  
 "Pietà with Angels Bearing Instruments of the Passion"  
 © Cambridge University Press 2005  
 Image from Lavin 2005: 205

<sup>53</sup> "ipsum loculum undique ex aere cypro conclusit, quod est immobile." (*Liber Pontificalis* cited in De Blaauw 1994: 474.

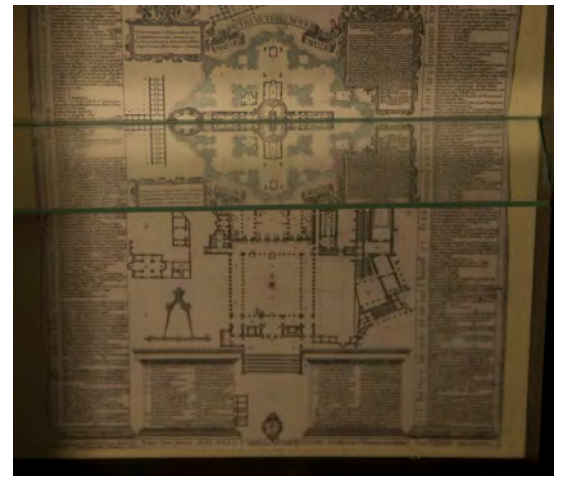
<sup>54</sup> The word *tegurium* means roof. The *Tegurium* was removed under the pontificate of Pope Clement VIII (1592-1605).

<sup>55</sup> Pietrangeli 1989: 70. In 1666 Alexander VII had the original cathedra wrapped inside a Baroque case. In 1969 the original chair was taken out of the case for 6 years to study it and document it.





**fig. 6.8**  
*Vierge ouvrante*, devotional object, Middle Rhine  
 (late thirteenth or early fourteenth century)  
 © Image from Walker Bynum 1992: 217.



**fig. 6.7**  
 The Silver Plan, 2010.  
 A mirror placed on the north south axis  
 in the middle of the central plan,  
 of Tiberio Alfarano's 1590 print  
 allows reflecting the half-plan  
 on the eastern side,  
 revealing an implicit presence  
 of bride and bridegroom.  
 © by author of dissertation

Earlier in the Tempio Malatestiano, Leon Battista Alberti projected his architectonic imagination onto an existing church facing the problem of conservation and change.<sup>56</sup> His objective was to preserve the existing church of *San Francesco*, treated as a relic, while celebrating the Malatesta family. The new Tempio wraps itself around the preexisting church both literally and metaphorically. The burial places of the Malatesta family members are located under arches around the exterior perimeter. Alberti's design entails the making of a reliquary. Triumph over death is denoted by the Roman triumphal arch motif in the façade (Wittkower, 1988).<sup>57</sup>

Bramante's marble wrapping of the House of Loreto, under Julius II, conveys the same meaning of permanence. The Holy House, preceding the Tempio Malatestiano, and Bramante's own designs for St. Peter's, might be a paradigmatic precedent for a concept of architectural-conservation through wrapping. The building that housed the mother of Jesus is treated as a relic and preserved through multiple wrappings.<sup>58</sup>

<sup>56</sup> In 1450 Leon Battista Alberti receives commission by Sigismondo Malatesta to celebrate his family, marking their presence in the Church of San Francesco. Alberti's treatise "*On the Art of Building in Ten Books*" (1988 [1450]) is fundamental in understanding anthropomorphic architectural theories of the period and their application in the phenomenology of conservation. Alberti's theory is based on suggesting metaphoric relations between the human body and a building's fabric. The building as a microcosm, relates to the world as the macrocosm, through the medium of the body. Architecture is described by Alberti as a second body that we wear as a coat in winter weather, or a linen dress during the summer, appropriate to circumstance. The commission of the Tempio Malatestiano comes at the same time when his *De re Aedificatoria* is first published, and it represents an opportunity to practice his theoretical principles.

<sup>57</sup> By 1300 burial *ad sanctum* was common practice. Nobles and clergy members alike would be buried near saintly bodies (Walker Bynum 1992). This would allow them to be together with the blessed ones on the day of resurrection. The Malatesta family wrapping of the old church reflects this desire. They propose themselves as devotees and protectors. The new wrapping incorporates the existing church like a faithful incorporates the body of Jesus celebrating the Eucharist. The bodies of Sigismondo and his wife Isotta were likely meant to be placed under the main arches in the façade.

<sup>58</sup> American Architect John Russel Pope (1874-1937) wrapped Abraham Lincoln's birth cabin in 1909-1911, enshrining it into a stone temple.



Rene Magritte's 1961 *La Folie des grandeurs* (fig. 6.10) presents the fragmentary torso of a classical statue contained within another body fragment. The fragmented body becomes part of another body, wrapped around it. Magritte makes visible an invisible process of creation as recreation, providing a visual metaphor for the imagination of a 'body contained'.

When Bulgarian-American artist Christo (b. 1935) wrapped and unwrapped one of the most symbolic 'relics' of German history, the Reichstag in Berlin (1991), he mimicked a symbolic rebirth. By wrapping the object, Christo shows the object, drawing attention to it. Wrapping marks the passing over a particular threshold in German history, revealing the relic-like nature of the building at the time when Sir Norman Foster's renovation was about to begin (fig. 6.9). The Reichstag was later reopened as the new house of Parliament. The construction, in 1999, of a new metal-glass dome structure, could be interpreted as the finding of the right dress for a particular time, becoming a metaphoric projection, symbolizing the transparency of democracy.<sup>59</sup>

Currently the practice of conservation has turned into a form of still-preservation. The belief is that a building can and should maintain its likeness in perpetuity in order to preserve its heritage. The past is frozen into still shots<sup>60</sup>. Norwegian Architect Sverre Fehn (1924-2009) poignantly observed that "The religion of the present day is the denial of death. So, objects are not allowed to die either, but are preserved."<sup>61</sup> Fehn's approach is imaginative and critical of a strict understanding of conservation as preservation *as is*.

His renovation of the Hedmark Museum in Hamar, Sweden, completed in 1973, is telling in this respect. He explored a relationship of container/contained, where the historic ruin is not treated as a precious relic, but rather left incomplete to reveal a story of change, without restoring an image of the past. The uneven edges of the aging wall were not reconstructed, but stabilized; behind it a new image arises, merging with the old walls (fig. 6.11).<sup>62</sup> A new long concrete passageway-building runs parallel and within the old one. This gesture is analogous to that expressed by one of his conceptual sketches, where a seated human figure is enclosed inside a vessel, occupying almost metonymically the space within (fig. 6.12).

"In order for an object to find its place in this new setting, the architect must dwell within the object, just as words dwell within the soul of an actor." Fehn's design approach allows him to re-inhabit the past. Past and future live close together, meeting at junctures created by openings along the ruin wall, allowing a see through, from the new into the old and *vice versa*, generating a simultaneous existence of a building within a building. Merging past and future through layering allows a permeability of time, reminiscent of Carlo Scarpa's design for the courtyard façade of Castelvecchio in Verona, where a fragmented image of the past merges with the future, born in the voids of an incomplete image.<sup>63</sup>

<sup>59</sup> Huyssen Andreas (2003) provides an interesting discussion on the "voids of Berlin", including a discussion of the multiple transformations of the Reichstag and its wrapping by Christo.

<sup>60</sup> Goffi 2007.

<sup>61</sup> Gennaro Postiglione and Christian Norberg Schulz 1997.

<sup>62</sup> A recent project by S(CH)AUSTALL FNP Architekten, adopts this approach. The old shell is left on the outside as a poetic ruin, while the new prefab one is carefully inserted within it (Slavid 2009).

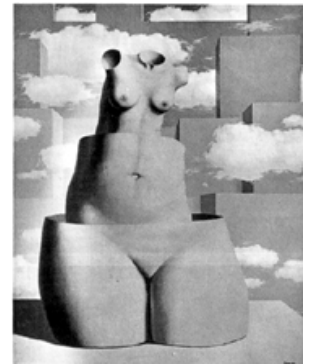
<sup>63</sup> Goffi 2006.

## Reflections on Modern and Contemporary practice

Fig.6.9 Christo, 1995. Wrapping of the Reichstag © Huyssen 2003



Fig.6.10 Rene Magritte La Folie des grandeurs, 1961.



In a Renaissance understanding, conservation does not preclude the possibility of letting a building evolve into a new form, which is in fact an integral part of the imagination of conservation. Several Renaissance examples assure conservation through re-creation. In St. Peter's in the Vatican, but also in Alberti's Tempio Malatestiano earlier and in the Rucellai Sepulchre in San Pancrazio, in Florence, conservation is resolved through wrapping.<sup>64</sup> All projects used re-clothing to achieve the conservation of a body contained. The church is a duality of body and soul forming a corporate body, dressed with immortality. Michelangelo's Renaissance incorporation of a significant fragment of Caracalla's baths into the body of St. Maria delle Grazie in Rome, allowed preexisting elements to in-form a new whole, to the point where they become integral parts of one another, generating a new story, in a complete assimilation process.

George Kubler (2008: 15) suggested that "the segmentation of history is still an arbitrary and conventional matter, governed by no verifiable conception of historical entities and their duration". The Renaissance examples are interpreted here as not unlike more recently completed works, such as Peter Zumthor's project for St. Kolumba in Koln, where the Swiss architect incorporated into a new art museum ruins of a former religious building dating from the Gothic period, erecting the new walls in contiguity with historic vestiges (fig. 6.13). Even though the new walls are built directly onto the old ones, the approach is respectful of the historic vestiges; and the weight of new walls are carried by new circular steel columns, inserted within the existing piers, reaching down to the foundation level.

Zumthor conserved the memory of the site as an open courtyard ruin, the condition in which it had come to be known since bombing in World War II, designing the new envelope as a permeable enclosure made of slightly irregular brick walls, where openings are created in the pattern by omitting bricks, allowing for natural ventilation and permeability of sound, thus weaving the fabric of the wall through the fabric of memory, transforming the wall into a cultural artifact.

Historical time is viewed here not like a series of time-slices encapsulating and categorizing history, but rather as a continuous fabric of events, where narrative threads run throughout uninterrupted and occasionally resurface, all the way up to present time.<sup>65</sup> Looking at time in a cross-sectional way, cutting through its historical depths, one comes to understand the cross-narratives woven together through a continuous dialogue amongst authors and buildings separated by chronology yet united by spatial location.

While renovating the Olivetti store in St. Mark's square in Venice, Carlo Scarpa stated: "Because I cannot touch anything, I must think of a skin, a re-clothing, but which one is more appropriate here?"<sup>66</sup> Architectural-conservation is a creative process, which allows for a building to change

<sup>64</sup> Numerous drawings of St. Peter's (Bramante, U 20 A, Tiberio Alfarano's 1590 print, etc.) show new St. Peter's wrapped around the old. New St. Peter's becomes a reliquary of the Old one. A recently completed project in Rome, the new wrapping of the Ara Pacis by Richard Meyer, substitutes an earlier 1938 wrapping by Ballio Morpurgo, of which one wall survives incorporated in the new re-clothing of the Roman altar of peace.

<sup>65</sup> Kubler 1962.

<sup>66</sup> "Adesso ho per la testa un progetto per un negozio a Venezia, per un cliente molto danaroso. Poiche' non posso toccare nulla, debbo fare una pelle, una fodera – ma quale e' la piu' idonea in quell posto?" (Dal Co 1984: 287).



Fig.6.11 & 6.12  
Sverre Fehn  
Hedmark Museum in Hamar Sweden  
(above),  
1973 freehand sketch (below)



over time, and is concerned with the problems and modes of combining the old with the new. Wrapping existing buildings with renewed skin is a form of conservation that extends a building's life imaginatively, and can be used as a model to critically reassess contemporary practices of conservation *as is*.

Several Modern and Contemporary conservation projects, carry the Renaissance stamp of sempiternity by wrapping existing structures with a second skin, extending a building's life into the future. Carlo Scarpa's new façade for the Banca Popolare of Verona 1973, Bernard Tschumi's architecture in between at Le Fresnoy, or even the most recent project for the renovation of St. Kolumba, by Peter Zumthor, do not differ in their intention from a Renaissance desire for sempiternity. Immortality is put on as a garment. The wrapping of the object conveys permanence allowing for a conservation of essence.



Fig.6.13  
Peter Zumthor  
Interior of St. Kolumba, now Museum of the Archbishopric of Koln, 2007



## DAY 7.

### FILLING THE BLIND SPOT

#### Renaissance Time Cosmology: the 'Sempiternal Nature' of Architectural-Conservation

*"Time itself is a material"*

—Sverre Fehn, 1997

*"there is always a tension. There is a drawing out [du triage], a traction: in a word, a line [un trait]. There is an invisible, untraced line that draws out and traces on both sides, that passes between the two without passing anywhere. It draws out and traces nothing, perhaps, but this impalpable line..."*

Jean-Luc Nancy 2005: 64

The God-given origin of conservation lies in the first act of rest. "And on the seventh day God rested from all the work he had accomplished" (Genesis 2). This is not to be understood as complete rest, but rather as productive contemplation: "My father is at work even now" (John 5:17). Augustine's interpretation is that, on the seventh day, God rested from creation *ex nihilo*, but was still active in maintaining what he created, never ceasing his action in conservation (Augustine, 1990: 4, ch. 12). Conservation is a natural continuation of the first act of creation. The process of making is an unending and continual re-making. Creation happens in a first instant, and refers to the making of objects *ex nihilo*, while conservation happens thereafter, and entails perdurance through transformation.<sup>1</sup> From the viewpoint of Christian cosmology, the activity of adding and subtracting from something existing, as a mode of continuous recreation, is not only a natural one, but one necessitated by the will to sustain the life of things in perpetuity.

From a phenomenological point of view, the human beginning of conservation could be identified with selecting and preserving remains of a corpse.<sup>2</sup> Within the cosmology of early Christianity the first act of conservation could be identified with the veneration of relics, which

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<sup>1</sup> The Jesuit Francisco Suarez (1548-1617) explains the relationship between conservation and creation with the analogy of drawing a line. The drawing of a line, starts at one end, and continues by extending it in both time and space (Suarez 2002). In the same way creation extends within time and space as conservation.

<sup>2</sup> Alberti's concept of elegance embodies the idea of appropriate selection of the parts. "Alberti uses "elegans and elegantia" as Cicero used them. Cicero has given elegance a full and pointed meaning. The adjective elegance is the participle of the verb *elegare*: a word disappeared from Latin before it became a written language. The root 'leg' is also encountered in *legere* with the meanings of 'pick up' and 'choose'. In *eligere*, the radical denotes specifically the concept of choice. Philologically and anthropologically speaking 'eligere' originated in the pious picking up of human bones after cremation". (Frascari 2007).

evolved into their preservation in reliquaries. Relics were believed to participate in sempiternal life.

Pope Nicholas V (1447-1455), who initiated with architect Bernardo Rossellino the renewal of the Temple in the late fifteenth century, indicated on his deathbed the wish to assure the perpetuity of the basilica. The pope intended to assure its sempiternal duration, in such a way that the fabric would appear “as if made by God”.<sup>3</sup> This intention is renewed and carried on with Julius II’s 1505 *instauration*.<sup>4</sup>

The transformation of the Vatican temple is one where relics, spoils and images were assembled together in the three-dimensionality of the building, and in the fourth-dimensionality of sempiternal time, according to the concept of renewal of the corporate body of the Church. The corporate body is not just a plurality of persons within one body, but rather a plurality of persons within the continuum of Time, encompassing all past, present and future members. Endless duration is guaranteed by renewals of individual members, entailing that a corporate body is always in-the-making.<sup>5</sup>

Sempiternal existence accepts constant change, hence a sempiternal building, even if complete in all its parts, will never be finished. Through this process a building is maintained alive in the present (Day 4).<sup>6</sup> In Carlo Maderno’s own words “the basilica is one, even though through history it appeared under diverse likenesses”.<sup>7</sup> Even if notably different, to the point of not resembling one another, new and old St. Peter’s are one and the same, they coalesce together to the point of being inseparable.<sup>8</sup>

The original floor plan reveals, predicts and generates what the future ought to be. Alfarano’s *ichnographia* unveils a hallowed configuration. This iconic representation, reaches beyond the physical to include the metaphysical, non-visible dimension of it.<sup>9</sup> Drawing is a place where the multi-temporal dimension of the design process can be experienced as memory of the past and revealer of future presence (Day 2 & 3).

Alfarano’s work reaches the anagogical level of hermeneutical interpretation. This drawing is a



Fig. 7.1 – Frontespice of the volume *Descrizione fatta della Chiesa Antica e Moderna di S. Pietro*, by Giovan Battista Falda and Carlo Padredo (Roma, 1673)

<sup>3</sup> “[...] magnis aedificiis perpetuis quodammodo monumentis, ac testimoniis paene sempiternis, quasi Deo fabricates [...]” (Miglio 1975: 98-111). See Manetti 1999 [1455]; Frommel 1997: 101.

<sup>4</sup> Giles of Viterbo witnesses the pope’s intention to create a building that will last forever. Kempers 1996: 224-225.

<sup>5</sup> A thorough discussion of the concept of sempiternity and the nature of the corporate body can be found in Kantorowicz (1957).

<sup>6</sup> Filarete bases his theory of architecture on the principle that buildings are alive just like men. He makes explicit reference to this, stating that: “*lo ti mostrerò l’edificio essere proprio uno uomo vivo, e vedrai che così bisogna a lui mangiare per vivere, come fa proprio l’uomo: e così s’amala e muore, (...)*.” (Filarete 1972: I, 29).

<sup>7</sup> “*La basilica era una sola, che nella storia era apparsa sotto strutture diverse.*” (Spagnesi 1997: 24).

<sup>8</sup> The width of the main nave of New St. Peter’s corresponds to that of the old. This was determined by the necessity to conserve the footprint of the original cross intact. This requirement was put in place by Pope Julius II (Cerrati 1914). The new foundations do not interfere with the vestiges of the old temple.

<sup>9</sup> Florensky 2000.



real invention of the Basilica's body, in that it embraces both, the retrospective dimension of the building's life through recollection, and the perspective dimension, by looking into the future and foretelling what ought to be. This process mirrors the relationship between Old and New Testament: "[...] what is that which is called the old covenant but the veiled form of a new? And what else is that which is called the new but the unveiling of the old?"<sup>10</sup>

Alfarano's ichnography unveils the presence of old St. Peter's contained within the new. Parallels of the relationship between Old and New Testament where "the promise of the former was fulfilled in the latter" inform Alfarano's drawing facture, through intertwined narratives.<sup>11</sup> The relationship between old and new elements is not arbitrary. The old plan foretells the new. Their relationship suggests a continuous renewal through progressive substitutions. Alfarano depicts the temple in a state of transmutation, metamorphing from one form into another.<sup>12</sup> He portrays the merging of multiple plans (*morphe*) brought into coincidence through a "ubiquitous gaze".<sup>13</sup>

Alfarano's ichnography is the demonstration that the retrospective and prospective character of the design process can be experienced in the present, conflating into the same spatial/temporal condition old and new, through the intermediacy of the drawing. The drawing is not just memory of the past but also pre-figuration of something that will be; it is a medium where the dialogue between past and future is actualized.

Alfarano's drawing is, using Marco Frascari's terminology, a "genetic drawing", meant to be recopied numerous times, and inspiring always-new understandings of the basilica's future.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> "Quid est enim quod dicitur testamentum vetus nisi novi occultation? Et quid est aliud quod dicitur novum nisi veteris revelatio?" Augustine, *The City of God*: XVI.xxvi. Hansen Maria Fabricius (2003: 247) states that "the reading of the Old Testament as a prophecy of the New, and, consequently, as a veiled, nebulous version of the truth."

<sup>11</sup> Wood 1992.

<sup>12</sup> Francesco di Giorgio Martini describes the process of change that buildings undergo throughout time as a process of 'transmutation' and argues that the architect should willfully create durable buildings planning for change from the moment of creation (di Giorgio Martini 1967: I, 301-302).

<sup>13</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987.

<sup>14</sup> This is a comprehensive list of the prints that have been inspired by Alfarano's 1590 print:

-Print by Martino Ferrabosco: *Dimostra la pianta della basilica vecchia edificata da costantino imperatore sufficientemente descritta in altro luogo*. In this print only the Constantinian Basilica, according to Alfarano's print, is drawn (Costaguti 1684: Tav. III);

-Frontispiece of the volume *Descrizione fatta della Chiesa Antica e Moderna di S. Pietro* by Carlo Padredio (1673);

-*Pianta della basilica Costantiniana e Situazione del Tempio con il contorno e loco dove fu il Circo di Nero*. This print makes reference to Alfarano's print and demonstrates simultaneously the following layers: circus of Nero, Old Basilica, New Basilica, other church buildings and mausoleums (Fontana 1694);

-*Ichnographia Basilicae Antiquae et novae simul cum circo Neroniano* (Buonanni 1715: tav. 6); demonstrates simultaneously the outline of the Old and New basilica in addition to the outline of the Circus of Nero;

-Giovanni Poleni includes in his '*Memorie Istoriche della Gran Cupola del Tempio Vaticano*' (1748) a plan of St. Peter's making direct reference to the plan by Alfarano and also to the above mentioned plans by Carlo Fontana (1694) and Filippo Buonanni (1715) demonstrating three different layers simultaneously: the New and Old Basilica and the circus of Nero.

Its ability to look into the future is witnessed by numerous drawings and prints executed after 1590; such drawings take Alfarano's plan as point of departure for their own commentaries and designs, referencing the multilayered plan authored by the beneficiary clerk. The drawing is essentially using the concept of an anachronistic term: a "brouillon". Frascari explains that, "borrowing a French idiom, a particular set of hybrid architectural representations can be labeled as architectural brouillons. The term brouillon, meaning a "work intended to be recopied," appeared in the French language in 1649, derived from the verb brouiller, which comes from old Provençal roots bro or brou, such as one finds it in brouet in French and brodo in Italian, which means "soup" or "broth". As Brouillons are a genetic soup, so are real architectural drawings because they mirror architecture in its most powerful condition. Architecture is constantly in itself a result of hybrid factures; the building of architecture has always resulted from amalgamating a soup of high and low technology, sophisticated and naïve structures, complicated and simple mechanical systems, and refined and elemental construction events."<sup>15</sup>

Alfarano's drawing facture is a hybrid merging of traditional architectural drawing methods with decoupage and icon painting techniques. Hybridity mirrors the making of a building, with a hybrid body by multiple authors. The peculiar facture of this representation inspires not last Maderno's understanding of architectural addition, imbued with a distinct character of the surrealist exquisite corpse. Maderno's eastern arm demonstrates a poignant otherness when juxtaposed to Michelangelo's central plan (Day 4).

According to George Kubler, the "segmentation of history" is a fictitious fragmentation generated by historical methods in an effort to classify the history of things that fails to account for the continuity of time and the intermittent reoccurrence of ideas.

"These processes of change are all mysterious uncharted regions where the traveler soon loses direction and stumbles in darkness. The cues to guide us are very few indeed: perhaps the jottings and sketches of architects and artists, put down in the heat of imagining a form, or the manuscript brouillons of poets and musicians, crisscrossed with erasures and corrections, are the hazy coast lines of this dark continent of the 'now', where the impress of the future is received by the past." (Kubler 1962: 16)

When Maderno chose to draw through juxtaposition of stratigraphic-drawings onto someone else's drawings, specifically onto Dupérac's 1569 print and Alfarano's 1571 drawing, he acted on a 'brouillon' of past events used to decipher a future design. He was likely inspired by Alfarano's hybrid drawing method, when he decided to layer one of his own drawings for the eastern addition (U 101A) onto Alfarano's, using it as physical and metaphorical support.

Alfarano in fact drew his 1571 ichnography on a decoupage of Michelangelo's plan. The 1571 drawing is a physical demonstration in the facture of a plan, of the presence of two plans, expressing a clear duality. Analogously Maderno's U 101A overlaid onto the 1571 drawing-substratum, expresses a demarcated otherness (fig. 4.18 and 4.19). "In the ground of the image there is the imagination, and in the ground of the imagination there is the other, the

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<sup>15</sup> Frascari 2009: 58.

look of the other".<sup>16</sup> Alfarano's drawing is literally the ground for Maderno's representation, activating the imagination of conservation. New St. Peter's is founded on the old, which became both literally and metaphorically an hypostatic sediment uniting new and old elements, bringing them together through a coincidence of place and time.<sup>17</sup>

Maderno's intentional misalignment of new and old elements is revealed by temporal-joints, articulating the presence of time-past and time-present, such as a series of steps marking a tensional transition from the eastern feet of the cross to the centralized portion of the temple (Day 4). Later modifications to Maderno's eastern arm made the interior of the building appear seamless, making the passage of time invisible by dissolving the tension between the parts. The original stratigraphic drawing revealed through its facture the *eidōs* of the project, veiled by subsequent physical alterations to the building. After completing the new façade, the Ticinese architect recopied Alfarano's print, demonstrating the addition of what he calls a third member; where the first was the Constantinian basilica, the second Michelangelo's central temple and the last Maderno's own elongation of the foot of the cross fashioning a hybrid (fig. 4.19).<sup>18</sup> Maderno's print clues into his process of design renewal, through addition of stratigraphic drawings onto an existing hypostatic substratum, materialized into Alfarano's 1571 iconic drawing.

Alfarano's 1590 print is *mother* also to the frontispiece of Carlo Padredio's *Descrizione fatta della Chiesa Antica e Moderna di S. Pietro* (1673), which portrays Emperor Constantine and Julius II, respectively founders of the old and new Basilica, facing each other while standing in front of St. Peter's ichnography, portraying the contextual representation of two plans. An angel, carrying a trumpet in his left hand, possibly alluding to the announcing of a revealed design, holds up the ichnography; the plan is unrolled, floating above, in between the two key figures. We are transported out of the realm of history, in a condition of *illo tempore* where the new appears as that which was always intended, like the New Testament foreshadowed in the Old. The days of the basilica's original foundation and its renewal seem to exist in a simultaneity where past and future are rejoined (fig. 7.1).<sup>19</sup> Constantine and Julius II entertain a dialogue, while contemplating the basilica's plan in its past and future dimensions.

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<sup>16</sup> Nancy 2005: 97.

<sup>17</sup> Lawrence Bond (1997: 35, 205) explains the philosophical principle of coincidence of opposites as exposed by Nicholas of Cusa, according to which opposites can be united, overcoming the "limits of discursive reasoning". According to Cusa, this principle allows to reconcile the human nature of Christ with his divine nature, in what he described as a hypostatic union of his two seemingly contradicting natures.

<sup>18</sup> Carlo Maderno's 1620 print (oversize folder titled BAV, Cartella San Pietro, Pianta n. 4 in the GDS, BAV) demonstrating the addition of the new eastern arm according to his final design is based on Alfarano's 1590 engraving. Maderno adds to it what he calls the "third" conclusive portion. This is tav. 6 of *'Architettura della Basilica di S. Pietro in Vaticano'*, by Monsignor Giovanni Battista Costaguti (1684 [1620-34]). The engravings are by Martino Ferrabosco.

<sup>19</sup> Mircea 1971.



Recopying Alfarano, Padredio recognizes the importance of the contextual presence of new and old footprint. Constantine, first founder of the temple, is portrayed on the left side, identified with the beginning of linear time, while on the right, Julius II, who initiated the Renaissance *instauratio* in 1506, demonstrates the moving forward of time and the changes that took place. Julius II is pointing to the plan, explaining the project to the Roman emperor who embraced Christianity. Past and future are rejoined. Padredio interprets the dialogue between the two plans as a dialogue between two authors. Despite the centuries that separate the events in linear history, the original foundation is brought together with the new Renaissance beginning, as if taking place in a synchronic present. This “collapse of place and time” is typical of Christian liturgy, where the reenactment of the passion of the Christ, with the gift of his body through the Eucharist in the here and now, brings to the “conflation of historical and present time”.<sup>20</sup> The position of the western piers was foretold when Bramante transposed the width of the old main nave east-west in an attempt to conserve the main nave intact while vaulting New St. Peter’s.<sup>21</sup>

Despite the centuries that separate the original foundation from the Renaissance *instauratio*, Constantine and Julius II contemplate the temple’s ichnography simultaneously, transported in the realm of sempiternal duration. Alfarano’s 1571 plan demonstrates the merging of past and present through the facture of a palimpsest, where colored renderings articulate the presence of time-past and time-future.

The idea of architectural drawing as palimpsest in-the-making is informed by the Renaissance allegory of prudence.<sup>22</sup> Time was associated with the three-headed representation of prudence. Titian’s ‘Allegory of Prudence’ (1550-1565) is an example, illustrating the threefold power of sight as memory of things-past and foresight of the future, which together allow acting prudently in the present (fig. 7.2).<sup>23</sup>



fig. 7.2  
Titian, “Allegory of Prudence”, St. Agata Church (1565-70 ca)  
Oil on canvas (76.2 x 68.6)  
© Francis Howard Collection, The National Gallery, London

<sup>20</sup> Peers 2004: 44.

<sup>21</sup> As a result, the tomb of the apostle is not placed in the geometric center of the four piers’ crossing. The semicircular wall of the southern apse of the new central cross overlaps with an older circular volume defined by the Temple of St. Petronilla (letter d in Alfarano’s print). The jointed twinned church of Santa Maria della Febbre, is conserved till 1646, attached to the south apse of the new temple. The elements indicated as “h” and “l” in Alfarano’s print, respectively the Church and Monastery of the Saints John Paul and the Church of the Saints Sergius and Baccus, seem to be foretelling the positioning of the outer north piers, defining the north apse. Alfarano states that these two churches have been demolished in order to build new elements (Alfarano 1914: 50-51, 181). Similarly, when Carlo Maderno outlines the remodeling of the *confessio* area the edge of the old apse is remembered by the design of the *grotto*. In this way, traces of the old palimpsest are never completely effaced, and reemerge through and into a collage assembly of new body members.

<sup>22</sup> Frascari 2009: 23-27. Summers 1987.

<sup>23</sup> The painting carries a motto: “EX PRAETERITO/PRAESENS PRUDENTER AGIT / NE FUTURA ACTIONE DETURPET”. Panofsky and Saxl 1926: 177-181; Panofsky 1955: 181-205. The “Allegory of Prudence” (ca. 1565-70), a late work by Titian (1485-1576), personifies prudence as a three-headed man. An aged man looks to the left, signifying the past, while simultaneously looking towards the future, portrayed as a young man looking to the right. A mid-aged man looks towards the viewer, representing the present. The moral being that, in order to act prudently in the present one has to have memory of the past and foresight into the future. For a thorough discussion of the allegoric iconography of the three-headed representation of Prudence, and particularly of Titian’s “Allegory of Prudence”, see Panofsky 1955: 146-168. Titian’s self-portrait was recognized in the older man looking towards the left,

Alfarano's account is made possible by the fact that he witnessed directly at the site, for more than half a century, the changes that took place. In addition to his direct experience, he was also able to rely on the recollections narrated by his friend and teacher Giacomo Hercolano, who was at St. Peter's at young age, from the period of Bramante's early designs (ca 1505).<sup>24</sup> Direct and mediated memories fuse together, allowing Alfarano to recollect facts going as far back as the beginning of the Renaissance *instauratio*. Alfarano's gaze is informed by a prudent understanding of narrative, where the future can be evoked, making present past memories.

The Renaissance imagery of prudence is indebted to the two-headed Roman god of gates, of beginnings and endings, Janus, who had the ability to look in two directions in both space and time.<sup>25</sup> Janus's double vision was allegorically expressed in the idea of threshold. Renaissance arched gates and portals often presented a Janus-like keystone; passing across a threshold was the metaphorical equivalent of passing from the past into the future through the present, marked by the threshold. Janus was also interpreted as a mythological pagan figure prophetically foretelling the role of Peter, Prince of the Apostles.<sup>26</sup>

Alfarano's inclusion of Veronica icon is like a 'Janus-keystone', reminding us to read the ichnography in two directions spatially and temporally. The presence of two plans, old and new, demonstrates how revelation can be achieved by looking in two directions in space and time simultaneously. This reading is inspired by a Christian concept of memory, incorporated in the imagery of Christ's Veronica. Christ's effigy, is not just a memory of Christ's appearance during his life on earth, but also a prefiguration of a future vision that will be revealed at the end-of-time.<sup>27</sup>

Veronica's veil firmly grounds the ichnography within the time-dimension of sempiternity, revealing not just likeness but presence. Veronica's icon was in fact not only the memory of Christ's likeness during his life on earth but also a promised vision to be contemplated in

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the man looking towards the viewer portrays his son Oratio, while the young man looking towards the right might be a portrait of his heir Marco Vecellio. Underneath the anthropomorphic tricephalous, a three-headed beast formed by a wolf, a lion and a dog's head is also allegorically symbolizing prudence. Within this tradition, time was understood as linear progression, moving from time-past in the direction of time-future, as well as a cyclical reoccurrence of events, or even as a simultaneity of different times.

<sup>24</sup> Hercolano arrived at St. Peter's when he was ten years old. In 1538 he became Master of Ceremonies and in 1548 was made beneficiary clerk of the basilica (Cerrati 1914: XVII).

<sup>25</sup> Janus was also represented as three-headed (Frazer 1905: 214, 285).

<sup>26</sup> Marangoni 1744.

<sup>27</sup> The garland surrounding the Veronica is possibly a reminder of eternal duration. In the Capsella of Samagher, also known as Pola casket, the altar of St. Peter's, is surmounted by the 'chi rho' symbol with the letter alpha on the left side and omega on the right. The christogram is surrounded by a garland, possibly symbolizing beginning and ending, taking place within the continuum of eternal time. In the 1590 print version Alfarano substitutes the Veronica icon with a winged cherub head, which might be interpreted as a reference to eternal life. The substitution might be caused by the prescriptions of the Counter Reformation regarding sacred images, where iconic portraiture must adhere to prototypes derived directly from rigorous tradition, and must present accurate resemblances with an original. The Veronica portrayed in the 1571 drawing did not belong to a rigorous traditional representation of the Holy face.



Fig. 7.3 – 1300 scroll letter, by the pontifical writer Silvestro. Vatican archives. From Morello Wolf 2000: 123

sempiternal time. An invisible gate marks the threshold between past and future. Looking at the past, the old plan inevitably points to the future.

The pontifical writer Silvestro makes visible in a scroll letter, conserved from 1300 in the Vatican archives, the duality of the gaze of the icon, simultaneously looking towards past and future. A Veronica icon on both ends of the scroll appears flanked left and right by Peter and Paul (fig. 7.3).<sup>28</sup> The duplication of the icon above and below, signifies beginning and ending of Time, and alludes to the scrolling of linear time in opposite directions, towards past and future, signifying a relationship between memory and foretelling, as mirror images. The writing of the text in two opposite directions converges towards the center of the scroll, where the present is generated. The text is written from right to left; in order to read the scroll one would need to place a mirror in front of it.

Old Saint Peter's is present within the new quasi-metonymically, like the positive developed from a film's negative. Through symbolic transparency, underlined by the presence of Veronica's veil, the observer's gaze is directed in two directions. Veronica, a blind woman, who by placing her face in contact with the Holy cloth, regained sight.<sup>29</sup> Contemplating Alfarano's plan *ad faciem*, like an icon, one regains sight of the invisible presence of Old St. Peter's, and understands the relationship between new and old, as an inversion of interior with exterior, above with below, and before with after; conversely Dupérac's plan provides a blind representation that does not allow one to transcend the materiality of the engraved paper.

Religious icons were to be contemplated through a gaze entering its depths that superseded seeing. The Mandylion, for example, allows one through contemplation *ad faciem* to transcend the visible image of Christ, and proceed beyond that which can be seized by the eye, moving into the other of the image (fig. 7.4).<sup>30</sup>

Contemplating the Mandylion *face to face*, Christ's features and those of an onlooker, directly counter-posed, merge. This experience is made possible because of the reflective quality of the brown oil paint used to depict Christ's eyes, beard and hair. Portions of Christ's facial features act as a mirror, reflecting corresponding portions of the viewer facing him. The semblance of Christ quite literally merges with the expectant gazer. Neither image is complete without the other, and the two coalesce. The feeling is that of being drawn-in, simultaneously converging and merging inside one another. The icon is perceived as if entering the subject facing it, while simultaneously the onlooker enters the depths of the icon. A chiasmus occurs between the two,



fig. 7.4 – Mandylion.  
Church of St. Bartholomew  
of the Armenians  
From Wolf et al. 2004: 111

<sup>28</sup> Morello Wolf 2000: 123, 159.

<sup>29</sup> Pinelli 2000: v. 2, 775.

<sup>30</sup> "The cult of the Mandylion in Genoa was a fabrication of the second half of the fifteenth century, a fabrication that was intensified in the next century, perhaps in response to the installation of the Shroud of Turin in its chapel in Chambéry in 1502. [...] In the late sixteenth century, in the era of the Counter-Reformation, icons and architectural relics were again reframed, often elaborately, and republished." (Nagel and Wood 2010: 207). De Certeau & Porter (1987: 8) explain that the point of coincidence where the contemplated and contemplating subject meet "lies in the visible figure in which the gaze grasps the invisible element active within the figure. This instrument for the passing (*transsumptio*) from one 'seeing' to the other is the mirror. Mounted inside the text, it is the equivalent of poetic quotations in the mystic treatises of the sixteenth century. For the mirror is to the visual what the illuminatory "word" is to the verbal".

resulting in a merging of two appearances through a sight that is converted into transcendent intellectual vision. The onlooker is drawn by and into the icon.<sup>31</sup> This phenomenon could be described as a mimetic process of identifying *oneself* with the *other*. The icon is a medium, which allows experiencing through gaze, the notion of becoming the other.<sup>32</sup> The concept of *imitatio Christi*, becoming Christ by emulating him, is essential in the experience of the icon.

Alfarano's 1571 plan works as a *chiasmus*, and makes visible another dimension, hidden in Dupérac's plan. In the ichnography two images merge and converge. Past and future gaze at each other dialectically, and coalesce into present time, a metaphoric middle ground, constantly being made by a ubiquitous gaze.

Flemish painter Jan Van Eyck painted a mirror within the portrait of the Arnolfini family in 1434. The mirror hung on a wall in the background of the portrait offers a counter-viewpoint, described by De Certeau as "a place located inside the painted framework and often decorated as the monstrance or reliquary that circumscribes the appearance of another world" (fig. 7.5).<sup>33</sup>

Alfarano's drawing on top of Michelangelo's plan is the equivalent of mounting a mirror within the drawing and reading the story in two directions. Alfarano is asking the onlooker to remember and reflect on the incomplete story in Dupérac's plan. Memory is made visible through the agent of the mirror, by making present the old plan contained entirely within the new. The new plan is to become monstrance or reliquary of the old.

The 1571 drawing, executed above Michelangelo's central plan, points out the necessity of reading the story in two directions, offering not just a view-point towards the future, emending Dupérac's print by writing over it and intertwining within it an original text at work within it, which offers a counter view-point towards the past.<sup>34</sup> A chiasmus occurs between past and future

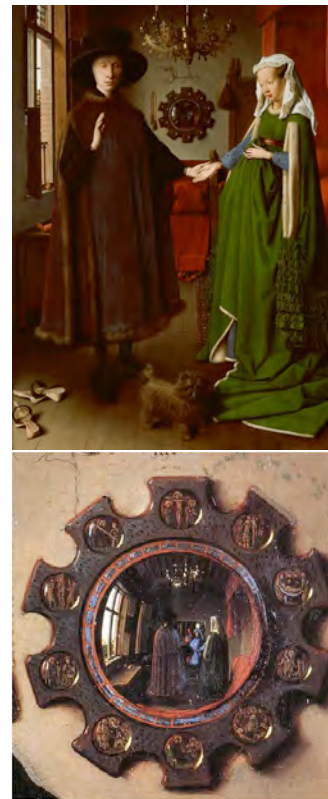


fig. 7.5  
Van Eyck 1434  
The portrait of the Arnolfini family  
© London, National Gallery

<sup>31</sup> This experience is described through direct experience of contemplation *ad faciem* by the author of dissertation, who had an opportunity to contemplate the Mandylion, while the icon was in monstrance in the Chostro di San Lorenzo in Genoa in 2004. The icon was placed outside of its precious silver and gold casing, which wraps it and protects it. The exhibit is documented in a book edited by Wolf, Dufour Bozzo and Calderoni Masetti (2004).

<sup>32</sup> The Mandylion was inserted into a new frame in 1702, with two handles, placed to the left and right at the base of a precious cornice. Raising the icon and placing it at shoulder's height, face to face with the onlooker, while feeling its weight, would help presenting the other. This might have been considered important to stimulate empathy with the icon and facilitate a contemplative gaze, through a metaphorical embrace with the icon. The eucharist is yet another primary liturgical instrument to put into practice the *imitatio Christi*. "...For the Catholic Church the concept of *imitatio* in Eucharistic devotion had a particular meaning. The Eucharist is an especially appropriate vehicle in the attempt to become Christ, because the Eucharist is Christ. The fact of transubstantiation is crucial. One becomes Christ's crucified body in eating Christ's crucified body. [...] *Imitatio* is incorporation of flesh into flesh. Both priest and recipient are pregnant with Christ." (Walker Bynum 1988: 256-57) Being created in God's image entailed a true transformation into the one, to whom it is referred to, as model for imitation.

<sup>33</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987: 8.

<sup>34</sup> Alfarano defines the process of making changes with the verb 'to emend' (Alfarano 1914: XL). Alfarano acknowledges G4 as his original manuscript from which all other copies were made. Emending is understood as a process of rewriting to make improvements, through alterations, to redact a text.



facing each other, sight is transformed into gaze, past and future coalesce.

Different color renderings make direct reference to different temporal-layers. The gold *poché* denotes the Constantinian walls, making visible the sempiternity of the old Temple and revealing the presence of the mystical body of the Church. The azure lean tempera covering the oblique hatchings of the *poché* of Michelangelo's plan, suggests the presence of a most recent time-layer, possibly alluding to the Virgin Mary's symbolic presence, as Mother of the Church. Through color renderings, indicating different time layers, the ichnography truly becomes a 'track-drawing', allowing making the passage of time visible (Day 3). The drawing, like a veil, bears the traces of the building's presence within time, revealing the meaning of drawing as iconic representation.

The significance of color media in Alfarano's drawing has not been discussed in scholarly literature, nor has the drawing been reproduced in color, but with one exception, where the meaning of color had however not been examined.<sup>35</sup> Based on theories of "functional specialization of the visual brain" by contemporary British neuroscientist Semir Zeki it is possible to infer that by blocking out the element of color, scholars have applied, whether intentionally or unintentionally, a "specialized reading", focused on one predominant element, which is the geometric form, thus eluding questions about iconographic significance.<sup>36</sup>

By so doing they have filtered out significant layers of meaning associated with media, and focused their interpretation on aspects concerned primarily with form, reading the drawing mainly as a document. Such reading reduces the drawing to what neurologically speaking would be presently indicated as a 'body schema', providing information about the location of various body parts and their reciprocal positions, witnessing the physical location of altars and precious relics, and providing information about the geometric outline and relative position of new and old plans, relatively to one another; as such the drawing significance has been under evaluated.<sup>37</sup> Only a simultaneous reading of the different layers of meaning embedded allows grasping, at a higher level, the complexity of a multi-layered making and thinking.

The ambiguous reading of two plans forming a double-image is enhanced by the use of colored renderings (Day 4). Differentiated colors allow easily switching the reading from Latin to Greek plan, and bring to the foreground that which is in the background of the representation. While looking at the drawing a chosen layer can change position, from rear to front and *vice versa*. This generates a kind of instability of the image, allowing for multiple readings. Ambiguity makes the viewer an active participant in the interpretation of the drawing, something that would have been significant to Alfarano, whose intention was to unveil the hidden presence of old St. Peter's, making it come out of the foreground, given that it had been concealed by the new temple superimposed above it. Alfarano unconsciously exploits a typical characteristic of the human brain and its workings with ambiguous images, where the onlooker takes advantage of the "knowledge seeking role" of the brain, in



**fig. 7.6**  
"Christ, one and trinity", St.  
Agata Church (1290-1314 ca)  
© Bollati Boringhieri Editore  
Image from Garroni 2005: 43

<sup>35</sup> Silvan 1992.

<sup>36</sup> Zeki 1990, Zeki 1999.

<sup>37</sup> Schaffauser and Breuer 2010. De Preester and Knockaert 2005.

“providing different interpretations and thus enhances his or her experience of the work” (Zeki 2009: 63).

Double images can be found in Christian iconography. The representation of “Christ, one and trinity” in the St. Agata’s Church, Perugia, dating from 1290-1314 is an ambiguous imagery. Christ is represented like the three headed image of prudence, looking in three directions simultaneously: left, right and forewords. The question generated by this fresco is: “Is Christ one or a trinity?” (fig. 7.6).<sup>38</sup> This iconography merges the pagan imagery of Janus, with Christ’s iconic portrait looking simultaneously in two directions in time. Garroni (2005: 43) explained that only two eyes were represented, in order not to confuse the onlooker and facilitate a double reading. Similarly in the new design of St. Peter’s significant lines/walls defining the likeness of the old basilica are shared, forming a double image. Alfarano’s ichnography allows multiple readings, detecting the literal and metaphorical presence of a building within a building. St. Peter’s is simultaneously both one and two buildings.

The merging of two images becomes evident in drawing details defining the central crossing of St. Peter’s (fig. 7.7). Here columns and walls of the main nave of the old Basilica overlap onto and above the new eastern piers, placed right under the arm’s crossing of old main nave and transept. The crossing itself is defined by a merged image of old and new elements, where stratigraphically the old is layered on top. The resulting image, formed by the gold paint used to render the old columns and the azure tempera for Michelangelo’s plan, appear to weave together the geometry of the crossing. Boundaries of old and new elements merge into each other, so that neither image is complete without the other. This is typical of unfinished works of art, where an active engagement of the imagination is required to complete the image.<sup>39</sup>

Alfarano’s drawing carries meanings and interpretations of earlier drawings, making references and graphic quotations. His ichnography provides a commentary to Dupérac’s print and is in an open dialogue with other original sources. It is likely that Alfarano might have had access to Donato Bramante’s U 20A (1505-1506), and that it might have inspired Alfarano’s understanding of the relationship between the two bodies, which became central to his representation.<sup>40</sup> The alignment of the four new main piers in relationship to the old basilica is essentially still the one portrayed in U 20A and might be a key source of information for Alfarano.<sup>41</sup>

One can ascertain from U 20A that Bramante positions the eastern piers right along the crossing of main nave and transept, on both north and south side, even though the piers have yet undefined overall dimensions, and appear significantly different on the two sides. What can

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<sup>38</sup> Garroni 2005: 41-46.

<sup>39</sup> Zeki 2009: 73-97.

<sup>40</sup> Frommel 1994: 598-600. Bramante’s U 20A offers not only a scaled survey of Old St. Peter’s but also a survey of the foundations of the choir and new transept of Nicholas V. As Henry Millon pointed out, Bramante’s U 20A indicates that the new choir was going to be built utilizing the walls initiated under Nicholas V. Millon (1994) reminds us that there is no proof of the fact that the construction of the transepts had been started at the time of Nicholas V.

<sup>41</sup> The portions of Bramante’s design started before his death in 1514 are visible in the survey drawing of the Codice Corner in John Soane’s museum (1515).

be ascertained is the will to align the piers, regardless of final dimensions and form, with the old crossing respecting directives by Julius II, to preserve the sacred precinct of the original footprint formed by main nave and transept.

In Bramante's U 20A, the walls of the old basilica are outlined with lead pencil, marking a single line profile, while new elements are drawn and redrawn, in a constant rethinking process, with series of fast sketched lines, showing the nature of design as work-in-progress. Bramante's bare outline of old Saint Peter's plan functions as metaphoric and spiritual scaffolding of the new basilica in-the-making.<sup>42</sup>

Bramante outlined the edges of the walls in U 20A with sanguine on paper. Certain construction lines are grooved in the paper, no ink added, constituting occult lines, which become visible only when one carefully orients the drawing to allow the light to reveal them through a shadow play. Such occult lines are not perceivable in most photographic reproductions. The occult lines are the rays used in constructing new ambulatories and main apse. The grooved rays seem to possibly represent the invisible presence of ropes used during construction to determine the position and curvature of the new apse.

Bramante however did not differentiate the analogical lines of one building period versus another. They appear as if part of a same spatial and temporal layer merging through a complete transparency of the drawing. Even though Bramante's simultaneous merging of multiple plan outlines might have inspired Alfarano, our author is completely independent and original in terms of his color renderings choices.

The relationship between the two plans is quasi-metonymical, and reminds one of the workings of so-called bi-stable images, where a dual representation allows ambiguous, yet precisely shifted readings. This accurately inaccurate bi-stable image, reveals the ambiguous presence of old St. Peter's within the new.

The "intercollages" of Czech master of collage Jiri Kolár (1914-2002), where two images come together to form a third thing, might be brought into the discussion, as an *a-posteriori* element, to understand the workings of Alfarano's drawing. In Kolár's collages, "the principal image of one reproduction is cut out and in its place another totally unrelated element is inserted. For example, the head in a portrait suddenly opens up into a vista of the countryside. The same visual effect can also be achieved by covering the principal image with a cut-out from another picture, whose shape repeats that of the underlying image. Thus, the effect of intercollage results from unexpected encounters of unrelated elements" (Kolár 1978: 18).

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<sup>42</sup> This new plan is formed by three architectural members coming together. The west portion of the drawing represents half of a centralized plan; the south-east and the north east portion represent two different variants for the longitudinal extension of the basilica. A thorough technical description of this drawing can be found in Kempers (1996). Kempers affirms that the drawing is based on a 5 *palmi* square grid (scale of 1:300). In addition he drew the renovation/enlargement of the choir and transept by Bernardo Rossellino (1409-1464), which was designed under pope Nicholas V including both built portions and outlined ones, and finally included his own preliminary design ideas for the new basilica, outlining the main piers and outer walls of what could be described as a composite plan.

These could belong to two different time-layers, merging into a simulated synchronicity (fig. 7.8).

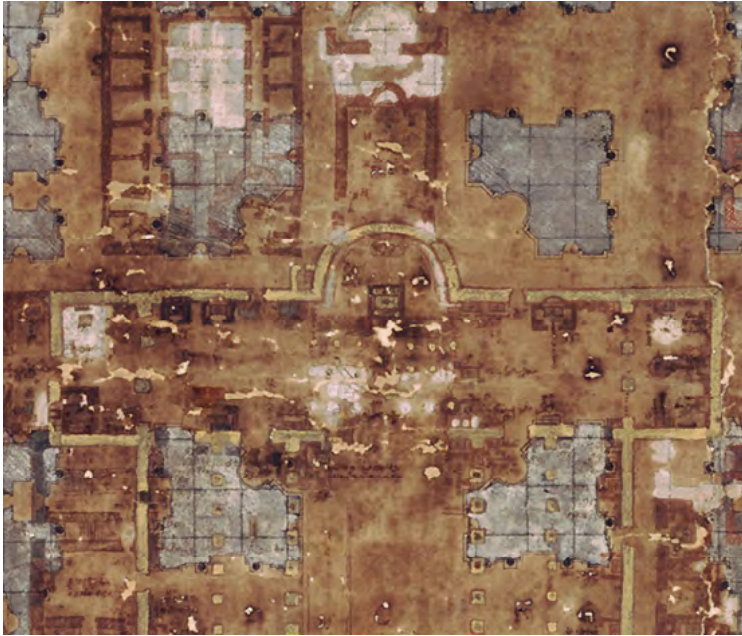


fig. 7.7  
Tiberio Alfarano 1571  
Detail of the central  
crossing of St. Peter's  
© Courtesy of the AFSP

In Kolár's own words, "while cutting out the silhouettes, it occurred to me that I could also put the cut-outs over another photograph or reproduction. [...] it recalls the world reflected in show cases, windows of trains, busses and streetcars, the world reflected on the surfaces of rivers and puddles. Everything can be incorporated into the poetry of intercollage. Finally, I was able to step out of myself; I could be everything and anything I wished for, I could do anything. I was able to walk on air, dance on the edge of a razor, penetrate the walls, be invisible [...]" (Kolár 1978: 18).

Similarly Alfarano's plan could be interpreted as a metaphoric intercollage, showcasing the presence of the old plan contained within the new, un-veiling its presence. By looking in two directions, through the medium of the drawing, one can see the reason for the approval of Bramante's project.

Cutting out from Alfarano's 1571 plan the footprint of the main nave and transept and intercollaging within it a portion of Ugo da Carpi's altarpiece for Veronica's altar, it is possible to make visible the hallowed configuration, resulting from a dialogue between two



plans; the communication between them allows defining a particular relationship, where old and new St. Peter's inhabit each other metonymically, and through a simultaneity-effect, analogous to the one exhibited by Kolár's intercollages (fig. 7.9), expresses the presence of the crucified body of Christ carefully held within the body of Mary, which becomes its most eminent monstrosity.<sup>43</sup>



fig. 7.8  
Jiri Kolár  
'Cow having eaten up  
Canaletto' 1968  
© Thames & Hudson  
(from Taylor 2004: 186)



fig. 7.9  
Federica Goffi  
'Intercollage revealing the  
presence of the old within  
the new' 2009

Intercollage penetrates beyond the world of the visible into the invisible, to find that which lies beyond. The image created is ambiguous, but not in the sense of being vague. The dual reading is quite precise, allowing switching from Greek to Latin plan; neither plan is complete without the other. Ambiguity is very important because, as Semir Zeki explains, it

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<sup>43</sup> Brandon 2004: 179-187.

solicits the involvement of multiple areas of the brain, thus initiating the process of multiple interpretations.<sup>44</sup>

Old St Peter's conforms to the Latin cross typology of martyrdom basilica.<sup>45</sup> The composite plan is created by the addition and juxtaposition of a Renaissance central body. Alfarano reveals the presence and necessity of a hybrid, through which old St. Peter's is represented within the new. The hybrid plan is revealed and actualized through sempiternal making (Day 3).

The composite plan was codified in the Renaissance architectural treatise by Francesco di Giorgio Martini in his fourth book dedicated to the study of Temples.<sup>46</sup> At the beginning of the chapter the *quattrocento* architect discusses the immortality of the soul introducing the concept of sempiternity (Lat. *Sempiternitas*). Di Giorgio traces a clear link between sempiternity, as the time-dimension of the Christian *persona*, understood as a duality of body and soul, and the life span of the building. Francesco gives precise references about his sources:

“Therefore the human intellect is to be considered incorruptible, as it is affirmed by Cicero in the Tuscolane, by Plato in several works and particularly in the *Timaeus* and by Aristotle in the third book of the *De Anima* – he [man] participates in the sempiternal life and true beatitude and furthermore he was produced just as every other thing in nature by an invariable and perfect first cause [...]”.<sup>47</sup>

According to Francesco, man's natural desire is to be conjoined with substances, which have sempiternal life. Man recognizes himself as participating in both corporeal and incorporeal nature, corruptible and incorruptible. Man is suspended in an in-between condition, represented by micro- and macro-cosmos. Men's strife for perfection is tending toward an ideal sempiternal life, justified by the desire to get closer to divine things; in this resides his search for happiness.

This desire transcribes into the wish to build sempiternal buildings. Man-made artifacts are accordingly modeled following this ideal; Francesco suggested that this is most appropriate for temples. He adopted the Christian soul time-concept of an eternity with a beginning, and applied it to the architectural body by entertaining the idea of future duration as an essential design concept.

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<sup>44</sup> Zeki 2009: 88-92.

<sup>45</sup> Sible de Blaauw (1994) points out that old St Peter's was the result of the addition of two separate members, the longitudinal nave and the transept, characterized by two different functions, respectively identifiable as cemetery and mensa/martyrdom memorial.

<sup>46</sup> Di Giorgio Martini 1967.

<sup>47</sup> This translation is by the author of this paper. “*Così adunque presupponendo l'intelletto umano essere incorruttibile, come afferma Cicerone nelle Tuscolane, Platone in più luoghi e specialmente nel suo Timeo, et Aristotile nel terzo dell'Anima, si vede esser partecipe di vita sempiternal e vera beatitudine, et oltre a questo [se'] essere stato prodotto come tutte le altre nature da una prima invariabile e perfettissima cause [...]*” (di Giorgio Martini, 1967: 370)

The new basilica lives within this time dimension, it is the result not just of additive work but of sempiternal assemblage, mirrored in the making of Alfarano's drawing through decoupage.<sup>48</sup> The wood board used to execute the decoupage becomes a permanent and essential physical substratum for the drawing. This is not unlike the wood board onto which the original Mandyllion cloth was mounted, becoming inseparable from its support. The drawing's board is the equivalent of the Vatican grounds, an original hypostatic foundation bearing the building and its multiple iterations, with all of its deep strata of time and meaning, forming a unique *locus* where time and place form an indissolubly merged presence. In a mnemonic site/building, which is not unlike the multiple strata forming an icon, all of time happens in a single individual place in spatiotemporal continuity.<sup>49</sup>

The character of each intervention in the transformation of the existing fabric underlines the assemblage nature of the architectural process as a series of additions and subtractions taking place simultaneously. The unfinished nature of additions and subtractions is witnessed by drawings and models, which represent solely the part/member of the basilica, which is going to be added (Bramante 1Ar, Maderno 101 A, Maderno 100 A, Della Porta's wood model of the dome).<sup>50</sup> The process of continual renewal through sempiternity allows heteroglossia rather than unity of style (Day 4).<sup>51</sup>

The temporal dimension of the Renaissance *instauratio*, allows 'multiple beginnings' within an uninterrupted process of making as re-making. Architectural conservation is essentially concerned with the dilemma of how to maintain a building's existence, assuring continuity of identity, while allowing changes over time. Multiple beginnings within continual renovation emphasize how each addition/subtraction is part of a quasi-eternal making. Multiple beginnings are made visible by the coinage of foundation medals commemorating each new addition.<sup>52</sup> The Jesuit Filippo Buonanni (1638-1725) retells the history of transformations of the Vatican Temple in his *Numismata Summorum Pontificum Temple Vaticani Fabricam*

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<sup>48</sup> It is also important to make a link between the concept of the Church as a corporate body, formed by a plurality of members, and the building as a corporate body. This plurality of members is a plurality in succession, which encompasses time and extends into sempiternity.

<sup>49</sup> The Mandyllion for example is constituted by several layers, such as a wood board, onto which the original cloth is mounted; several painted layers have been added over time to preserve an original image effacing, not unlike the *Sancta Sanctorum*. The Mandyllion and its layers were then framed into an elaborate gold and silver encasing. For a reading of the complex layering of strata of the Mandyllion see Wolf, Dufour Bozzo and Calderoni Masetti (2004: 102-206) and for the *Sancta Sanctorum* see Marino (2005: 31-49).

<sup>50</sup> Thoenes (1997: 23) argues that Sangallo's complete model for St. Peter's is ideal, and that he was aware that it would not be completed accordingly. The model is to be interpreted not unlike the drawings and buildings by Andrea Palladio in his *Four Books on Architecture* (1965), where an ideal body was portrayed even though the actual realization would only be a portion of the overall plan. This is the case with numerous projects included in his architectural treatise, including the Basilica in Vicenza.

<sup>51</sup> Sankovitch (2006: 192) describes the time dimension of Renaissance architecture as an "anachronic condition of multiple temporality".

<sup>52</sup> Foundation medals are a particular type of commemoration medal. Commemoration medals, from the early Renaissance onward, are cast or struck (from the beginning of the sixteenth century) to immortalize a variety of events, such as a jubilee year, a coronation, an election, and also the erection of a building (Scher 2000: 2).

(1715), stating that his intention is to develop a visual narrative through foundation medals, struck to commemorate the beginning of each individual transformation, which he argues is far more telling, than a narrative portrayed by words alone (fig. 7.10).<sup>53</sup> The numismatic visual history makes visible a chrono-historical narrative of the corporate body of the Church always in-the-making.<sup>54</sup> Medals portray on the obverse, members of the corporate body, in particular the vicars of Christ, which substituted one another; while showing on the reverse, an analogous story of substitutions and additions of physical members, to the body of the church.<sup>55</sup>

The making and distribution of medals preceded actual transformations, acting as effigies portraying a future-plan.<sup>56</sup> They are a form of “remembering the future”; an admonition, or call for action in the present, to realize a vision anticipating a future event. Mary Carruthers (1998: 67) explains how this kind of “remembering the future”, present in Augustine’s City of God, is entirely different from a contemporary understanding of memory as inventory, which she describes as a “storehouse of things”.<sup>57</sup>

In Christian history the direction of time is inverted; it is a countdown towards a final event, revealed in the iconic portrait represented on the medal. Medals have a central role in the ritual shaping of the “memory of the future”.<sup>58</sup> On the reverse they portray the future basilica

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<sup>53</sup> Buonanni entered the Jesuit order in 1654 and studied at the Collegio Romano. He is a natural philosopher and is main curator from 1698 of the Cabinet of Curiosities of the Collegio Romano, which includes Athanasius Kircher’s museum. His major work is dedicated to Athanasius Kircher and is titled: “Musaeum Kircheriarum” (1709). He is a defendant of the theory of spontaneous genetic regeneration, which he discusses in his *Observationes circa viventia qua in rebus non viventibus reperiuntur* (1691). For a concise biography of his life see Thoenes 2000: 47. Buonanni included in his publications a considerable number of drawings such as plans, elevations and sections.

Up to the mid-nineteenth century rediscovery of a large surviving body of hand drawings of the Renaissance period, his work is regarded as one of the most comprehensive narratives of the transformations undergone by St. Peter’s through recollection of drawings and textual descriptions.

<sup>54</sup> “*quibus Vaticanae Basilicae moles diversis temporibus extracta exprimebatur (sunt enim Numismata expressae historiae, longè meliores, quàm quae calamo describuntur)*” Buonanni, 1715: 5. Figure 4.8 is titled: “*Numismatic plate of the Roman Pontiffs, indicating the Chronology of the Fabric of the Vatican Temple*”, “*Pontificum Romanorum Numismata, Templi Vaticani Fabricam Chronologicam Indicantia*” (Buonanni 1715: 8). “*Chronologica narratione*”. Buonanni depicts in the plate *not* the medals *per se* but rather their casts. The cast is depicted as if opened, demonstrating the two faces, the recto and the verso, which lay unfolded on the same side.

<sup>55</sup> The portrait effigy represents only a portion of the body. The representation is a synecdoche, where the part stands for the whole. Similarly the portion, or building member, on the recto of a medal is a synecdoche, where possibly the renewal of the part stands for the renewal of the whole. Buonanni chose to represent in this plate a selection of the popes who participated in the renewal process, in the following order: Martinus V, Paul II, Julius II, Leo X, Paul III, Julius III, Gregory XIII, Sixtus V, Clement VIII, Paul V, Urban VIII, Innocent X, Alexander VII. His renovation story starts with Martin V (1417-1431), ending with the pontificate of Alexander VII (1655-1667).

<sup>56</sup> Foundation medals (1505-1626) are executed before the actual transformations take place.

<sup>57</sup> “Remember Jerusalem,” [...], is a call not to preserve but to act, in the present, for the future. The matters memory presents are used to persuade and motivate, to create emotions and stir the will.” They serve as memory-footprints securing a proper future reading of history.

<sup>58</sup> Buonanni suggested that medals allow envisioning the Basilica’s body as whole, even though the body is incomplete. The representation portrayed in the medal is that of a *complete* member, while the actual image in the eye of an onlooker at the site would have been that of an incomplete building.

as whole, even when, in a present condition, it appears incomplete. Medals are time-markers commemorating an event, taking place along the Christ-line of historical time, and serve to contemplate the future in the now, contributing to the collective memory and imagination of the mnemonic building.<sup>59</sup>



**fig. 7.10**  
Filippo Buonanni  
"Pontificum Romanorum  
Numismata, Templi Vaticani  
Fabricam Chronologicam  
Indicantia"  
Engraved by Girolamo Frezza  
© Courtesy of the Library of  
Congress Jacobs (reproduced  
from the collections 10679)

These space-time travelers shaped collective memory analogously to how an official press release on radio, press and television, might work in a contemporary world. They were highly powerful and symbolic objects acting as memory devices providing a vision of the future to be pursued; their power is exerted through monstration, touch and incorporation.<sup>60</sup>

*"Postquam Pontificiorum Numismatum accuratam indaginem, praefectim, quae a Martini V. tempore ad nostrum usque actatem .prodiere, tuo consilio, seu potius dicam jussu inceptam, ea occupatus, ejus generis multa recognovi, quibus Vaticanae basilicae moles diversis temporibus extracta exprimebatur (sunt enim Numismata expressae historiae, longe meliores, quam quae calamo describuntur). Haec dum peculiari observatione adnotarem, prout singular monebant, ut ea publici juris facerem, iisque sacrae antiquitatis studiosis pabulum non ingratum afferrem, animadverti, si ea sola, & dispersa prodiissent, futurum, ut tanquam mutila, & detruncata membra, e' solido corpore abstracta, viderentur"* (Buonanni 1715: 5).

<sup>59</sup> Cullmann 1951. According to Mary Carruthers the collective memory of the Christian faithful, which attributed preeminence to the site of martyr's tombs, contributed to the prevailing of St. Peter's over the Lateran Basilica. The last is originally conceived by Constantine as the "starting-point of a Christian route through the city". According to Carruthers Constantine failed because "he did not observe the cultural intentions that 'placed' St. Peter's in a particular 'location' within the Romans' memorial map of their city" (Carruthers 1998: 40-41, 95, 105, 289 n83). On the subject of collective memory see also Halbwachs 1992 and Connerton 1989.

<sup>60</sup> Ernst Kantorowicz describes how during the fourteenth century in France coins are believed to possess healing powers. The belief is that the "king's evil" might be cured by the touch of a gold coin that has been previously touched by the King. The healing power is given by Christ. The King is his intermediary (Kantorowicz 1957: 5). Diana Webb (1999: 124-125) states that medals are considered relics and valued by pilgrims, particularly when they have been in direct contact with a shrine. These would be considered souvenirs and "were also believed to carry with them the wonder-

Foundation rituals accompanied the addition of each new member. On April 17<sup>th</sup> 1506, Pope Julius II, after the celebration of mass at the presence of the apostolic senate, laid the first foundation stone of Bramante's new choir.<sup>61</sup> Paris de Grassis (1470-1528), master of ceremonies, carefully records this event in his Diary, stating some peculiar details.<sup>62</sup> He wrote that "12 medals", two of gold and ten of a metal similar to gold, are placed with the first stone, which is laid vertical and not horizontal, inside a terracotta bowl, in the foundation of the south-west pier.<sup>63</sup> The "12 medals" possibly signify the 12 apostles. Two

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working properties of the shrine from which they originated." Frommel (1996: 604) states that in 1505 Pope Julius II solicits donations for the construction of the new choir by Bramante sending united to a letter of pledge the foundation medal by Caradosso. The medal is an instrument used to make public the future plans. In the Roman period, and all the way up to the Renaissance, coinage served as vehicle of communication. During the Renaissance the coinage of medals becomes a typified event, always preceding an important new foundation. Roberto Weiss reminds for example that during the triumphal entrance of Pope Julius II in Bologna -on November 11<sup>th</sup> 1506- coins were thrown to the crowds (Weiss 1965: 169, 179). The scattering of coins during particular events, such as for example the coronation of a new emperor (Bertelli 2001: 97-113) might be viewed as analogous to the distribution of the Eucharistic body of Christ. Numerous coins have been found in the area of the confession of St Peter's in the Vatican (Apollonj Ghetti 1951). These coins might be tokens, left by pilgrims witnessing their presence at the place of burial of the Apostle Peter. The coin stands in as a substitute for the presence of the pilgrim, or might possibly be given in exchange, as an ex-voto, for a grace received or wished for.

<sup>61</sup> Francia 1977: 17.

<sup>62</sup> *"Sabato in Albis MDVI. Il papa ha detto di voler mettere la prima pietra, proprio oggi a una delle Quattro colonne che dovranno sostenere il coro ossia il ciborio della basilica del principe degli Apostoli. Terminata la Messa, col solito ordine, tutti andarono all'altare verso l'Egitto (espressione convenzionale che indicava la chiesa degli Abissini) attraverso la cappella di santa Petronilla ch'era dove oggi e' l'oratorio dei ss. Simone e Giuda. Era stata approntata una strada con tavole e palanche per permettere la discesa fino alla base della colonna. Ma attesa la larghezza e la profondita', molti, specialmente il papa, temevano di fare un capitombolo. Percio' il papa a quelli che stavano sull'orlo della fabbrica gridava che si togliessero di li'... Nessun cardinale scese con il papa all'infuori dei due cardinali diaconi assistenti. E con noi si calarono giu' alcuni muratori ed un orefice che recava dodici monete nuove overrosia medaglie larghe come un'ostia da messa e di spessore come la lama di un temperino comune. Da una parte della medaglia c'era l'immagine di papa Giulio con su la scritta: JULIUS LIG. PONT. MAX. ANNO SUI PONT. III. MDVI, e sull'altra c'era il disegno del tempio o edificio ch'egli voleva fabbricare con questa scritta: INSTAURATIO BAS. APOST. PETRI ET PAULI PER JULIUM II PONT. MAX. e sotto si leggeva questa parola VATICANUS. Due di queste monete erano d'oro... e le altre di similoro e si misero in una scodella di semplice terracotta. La pietra che fu posta era di marmo bianco larga due palmi comuni e lunga Quattro e spessa quasi 25 dita. Da una parte l'epigrafe: AEDM PRINCIPIS APOST. IN VATICANO VETUSTATE ET SITU SQUALENTED E FUNDAMENTIS RESTITUIT JULIUS LIG. PONT. MAX. ANNO MDVI. Dall'altra non c'era niente. E questa pietra non fu posta coricata ma dritta aderente alla parete...".* From the diary of Paris de Grassis transcribed by Ennio Francia (1977: 17). The original Latin text of the diary is reported in appendix by Frommel (*La Chiesa di San Pietro*, 1996: 55-56). Filarete gives some description of foundation rituals. *"questo vaso e' a similitudine che una citta' debba essere quasi come un corpo umano e percio' debba essere piena di quello che da' la vita a l'uomo"* (Filarete, 1972: v. 1, 104).

<sup>63</sup> *"dodici monete nuove overrosia medaglie larghe come un'ostia da messa e di spessore come la lama di un temperino comune."* From the diary of Paris de Grassis transcribed by Ennio Francia (1977: 17). The original word used by the master of ceremonies, to indicate the foundation medals is the Italian word *"moneta"* (coin). The etymology of the word comes from the Latin *"moneo"*, i.e. to remember. This is in turn derived from the name of the Greek goddess Mnemosine, a personification of memory. The events are narrated also by Frommel (1996: 23-25) whom cites the fact that the

gold coins might allude to the roman twins Peter and Paul.<sup>64</sup> Cancellieri (1788: 95) reminds us that during the foundation of the Constantinian Basilica, the emperor himself carried 12 corbels of earth in memory of the 12 apostles. The Renaissance gesture might echo this first gesture. The master of ceremony also indicates that the medals are of the size of the consecrated bread, used in the celebration of the Eucharist.<sup>65</sup>

These details cannot be casual, and might shed light on the role of medals during foundation rituals. Existing and imagined buildings are fixed in the collective memory through this sempiternal device. Their nature and meaning can be understood when compared with the nature and meaning of the Eucharistic bread. “The host receives the form of a denier because Christ, the bread of life, was betrayed at the price of few deniers, He, the true denier, that shall be given to the laborers in the vineyard. Into the bread is pressed, with characters, the image of the Lord, as in the deniers there are engraved image and name of the emperor”.<sup>66</sup> The relationship between coins and Eucharistic body of Christ is laid out in this event. One might then ask if, during the Renaissance, the distribution and function of coins was analogous on a metaphoric level to that of the Eucharistic body, what would the implications be in regard to foundation rituals?<sup>67</sup>

The Eucharist is a sacrament expressing the unity of Church members in Christ. William Crockett describes it as a symbol of transformation: “Communion in the body of Christ through the act of sharing in the one loaf implies being bound together in one body, the church”.<sup>68</sup> Through this ritual a faithful becomes part of the Church’s corporate body.<sup>69</sup>

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“first stone” and the foundation area were aspersed with Holy water, by the pope, during the ceremony. He reports in an Appendix the complete descriptions given by both master of ceremonies present at the event, Paris de Grassis and Buchardus. Buchardus is known to remove from the group, during the ceremony, one of the medals, and is criticized for that by de Grassis (Frommel 1996: 55-56). Weiss states that ten medals were made of bronze (1965: 170).

<sup>64</sup> Hansen (2003) explains the significance of the number 12. Revelation 21:12-14: with 12 gates, at which were 12 angels; and on the gates were inscribed the names of the 12 tribes of Israel. The city wall had 12 foundation stones and on them the names of the 12 apostles... For number symbolism, see also Foster Hopper 2000: 69-88; Hiscock 2007: 47, 32, 33, 36, 37, 44, 95, 114, 154-5, 247, 248, 276; Onians 1990: 74-90.

<sup>65</sup> Note that the diameter of Caradosso’s medal is 56.5 mm.

([http://britishmuseum.org/explore/online\\_tours/europe/michelangelo\\_money\\_and\\_medals/bronze\\_medal\\_of\\_julius\\_ii.aspx](http://britishmuseum.org/explore/online_tours/europe/michelangelo_money_and_medals/bronze_medal_of_julius_ii.aspx), accessed on July 8, 2008).

<sup>66</sup> Honorius Augstodunum, *Gemma animae*, I, c. 35, Migne, PL., CLXXII, col. 555. Translated in Kantorowicz 1957: 8.

<sup>67</sup> Kantorowicz (1957: 8) narrates that already during the fourth century and particularly at the time of the Emperor Constantine it is established the practice of “stamping this symbol (IC XC NIKA, Latin *Christus Vincit*) on the host [...]. Hosts and coins eventually displayed the same characters, ...”.

<sup>68</sup> Crockett 1999.

<sup>69</sup> “1 corinthians 10:16 interprets ‘communion’ or ‘participation’ [koinonia] in the blood of Christ and a ‘communion’ or ‘participation’ in the body of Christ” (Crockett 1999). “One of the Last Supper traditions connects the Eucharist with the death of Jesus by interpreting it as a “memorial” (anamnesis) of his death” (Luke 22:19 and 1 Corinthians 11:24-25). The Eucharist, as a sacrament, has a threefold signification. It is the anamnesis of the death of Christ, an offer of grace in the present, and a reminder of the future participation in the kingdom of God. In this way past, present and future are reunited (Crockett 1999).

The hypothesis is that analogously, the way a Christian is added as a new member to the corporate body of the Church, a new building-member, is added and transubstantiated into the receiving body of the building, with the ritual incorporation of the medal in the building's body, having the power to unify it, and make it one with the body of the building, assuring its sempiternity.<sup>70</sup> The host is absorbed into the supplicant's body just like the gold coin is absorbed into the building's body.

The host communicates the substance of eternal life. The materials used in the coinage of medals, silver and gold, are sempiternal in nature. Medals make visible, through their unchangeable nature, a future everlasting duration.<sup>71</sup> The ever-changing corporate body takes shape in the collective memory and is provided physical presence through a ritualistic processes of renovation, made visible through these representation props.<sup>72</sup> Medals indicate through their recto-verso, a direct link between individual and building. The 1506 foundation medal, by Cristoforo Caradosso Foppa (ca. 1452-1526), portrays on the recto the bust of Julius II (Ivlivs.Ligrv.Papa.Secvndvs.MCCCCVI) and on the verso the future building addition (Templi.Petri.Instavracio.Vaticanus.M[ons]), establishing a direct relationship between 'Church member' and 'building-member' (fig. 7.11).<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> The incorporation of 12 foundation medals, could be interpreted as a kind of transubstantiation uniting the added body member to the whole, just like the apostle are united with Christ during the Last Supper. The incorporation of the medals therefore signifies the uniting of the architectural members into one body. Every new member added to the Basilica has its own foundation ceremony. See Buonanni 1715. The relationship between medal and building elucidates also the relationship between drawing and building. Medals usually portray a "sciography", i.e. perspective view. Maderno explicitly states in a letter to Cardinal Maffeo Barberini (the future Pope Urban VIII) that the medal executed for the addition of the new façade represents a view from a specific point, i.e. a sciography. According to Maderno's own definitions a sciography is a perspective view: "*L'altra si dice Sciografia, ovvero prospettiva, che mostra per forza de onbre et resalti li rilievi esporti et le grossezze neli scurzi, si serve più dela ragione optic ache dele misure; questa appartiene più al Pitore che al Architetto*" (Hibbard 1971: 70). Frommel states that Caradosso's medal for the laying of the first stone of Bramante's choir in 1506, might be based on a perspectival sketch by Bramante himself (1994: 604). The essence of the drawing is transubstantiated in the building.

<sup>71</sup> Stephen Scher highlights how during the Renaissance medals represents a medium used to achieve immortality, combining written text and effigy of a personage, and uniting this with the narration of a significant event of his/her life. Their quasi indestructibility and wide distribution provides endurance and diffusion, which allow for lasting memory (Scher 2000: 5).

<sup>72</sup> The medal, stands for the whole, but also the building member represented carries the essence of the whole, and transubstantiates into it. The distribution of these objects is similar in nature and meaning to that of the Eucharistic body. Their power to transubstantiate matter into body is expressed through incorporation in the body of the building. This allows establishing the role of foundation medals as a "second body". Where the representation of the building on the coin acts as effigy of an absent future building. Greek mythology also narrates of the use of placing a coin in the mouth of the deceased to secure his passage to Hades. The transit across the river Styx would take place only when paying an *obolus* to Charon. The myth is narrated also by Dante in the *Inferno* (book 3, line 78) and Virgil in the *Aeneid* (book 6, line 369). Edmund Fisher (1980) also marks some interesting parallels between the ritual of the Eucharist and the placing of an *obolus* in the mouth of the dead.

<sup>73</sup> In the very first series of medals struck for this event, the pope is portrayed wearing the cope and orfrey (Frommel 1994: 603-604). Numerous scholars have contributed to the study of this medal, these include: Weiss 1965: 170; Thoenes 1996: 290; Kempers 1996: 214-218; Frommel 1994: 603-604, scheda 284.



The word *instauracio*, on the verso, suggests that Julius II's intention is to renovate the basilica by enlarging it, adding a new choir.<sup>74</sup> Paris de Grassis who participates in the foundation ritual, states that the first stone (*primarium lapidem*) is laid in support of the choir of the Basilica of the Prince of the Apostles.<sup>75</sup> This identifies a synecdoche where an individual stone, stands in to represent a larger whole, which is the choir in this case. The intention of the project is not the making of a new building, but rather the addition of a new member to an existing fabric.<sup>76</sup>

In Saint Paul's epistle to the Ephesians (1:10) *instaurare* takes on a special meaning: "In the dispensation of the fullness of times, to re-establish all things in Christ, that are in heaven and on earth, in him".<sup>77</sup> *Instauratio* is a restoration, uniting all things in God, in both heaven and earth. Alfarano's drawing provides material representation to this dictum, through the decoupage of Dupérac's print onto the old plan, being in essence a demonstration of the restoration of the basilica uniting new with old members.<sup>78</sup>

The prominent Renaissance scholar and preacher, Egidio da Viterbo, describes during his opening address to the Fifth Lateran Council in 1512 the theological meaning of restoration. "Divine things certainly do not need correction because they are not subject to motion or change. But celestial and human things, being subject to movement, long for renewal. For when the moon has come into position with the sun and when the sun descended from the summer solstice to the winter solstice to the great loss, as it were, of men, the loss is completely restored. Nature's law demands that the loss of light be made up for and that whatever was taken away on the wane be restored to men on the ascent. If the paths of the stars in the heavens, even though constant, eternal, and everlasting, nevertheless return

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<sup>74</sup> "in suis structures et edificijs reformare, augere et ampliare [...] desiderium huiusmodi adimplere volentes ad ipsum basilice restaurationem ..." Frommel, "La Chiesa di San Pietro", 1996: 58. Also cited in Frommel, "Cappella lulia", 1996: 87.

<sup>75</sup> "*chorum sive ciborium basilice principis apostolorum de urbe*" (Frommel 1996: 55). The master of Ceremonies Burchardus records in his diary that this stone is laid "for the construction of the new choir". "pro structura novi chori" (Frommel 1996: 55).

<sup>76</sup> Despite the fact that Thoenes (1996: 290) argues that Caradosso's 1506 foundation medal portrays on the verso not the front façade but rather the back facade, with the choir, the scholar affirms that the inscription on the medal "TEMPLI.PETRI.INSTAVRACIO" would suggest that Julius II intention is, from the beginning, to renovate over time the entire edifice. According to Kempers (1996: 224) the words used by Julius II stress "the liturgical nature of the project, for which a complete rebuilding was not required [...] words such as *ampliare*, *renovare*, *instaurare*, *exaltare*, *raedificare* and *reparare* in texts dating from 1505 and 1506, do not suggest an approved plan for a complete new structure".

<sup>77</sup> "in dispensationem plenitudinis temporum instaurare omnia in Christo quae in caelis et quae in terra sunt in ipso". Ephesians 1: 10-11.

<sup>78</sup> The foundation medal coined by Giulius II indicates his intervention as an act of *Instauratio*. The Latin word *Instauratio* is also used in the title of Alberti's 10<sup>th</sup> book, ("*Leonis Baptistae Alberti De Re Aedificatoria, Liber Decimus et Ultimus qui Operum Instauratio Inscibitur*", v. 2, 176), in his well known architectural treatise *De Re Aedificatoria*, (1485) which is translated in English as "Restoration" (1997:10). In this chapter he describes the necessity to maintain the health of the building. Restoration is an issue of *prolongation of life*, based on an appropriate balancing of the basic four elements: water, fire, air and earth.

and are restored, what then does this third division of things do, since they are changing, transitory and mortal? Indeed, either they inevitably perish in a quick destruction, or they are restored in a continual renewal.<sup>79</sup> For what food is for bodies that they might live and procreation for species that they may be perpetuated, correction, cultivation, instruction serve as the occasion demands for human souls.”<sup>80</sup> Giles affirms that celestial and human things necessitate to be “restored in a continual renewal” in order to be conserved within time.

Etymologically the Italian “*ristaurare*” from the Latin “*restaurare*” implies “to give beginning”. Based on theological and etymological basis, restoration is continuous renewal, through always-new beginnings in continuous life cycles.<sup>81</sup> Multiple beginnings are the generator of sempiternal making as re-making, marked by foundation ceremonies and made visible by foundation medals.



fig. 7.11

Cristoforo Caradosso Foppa (?) - “Bronze Medal of Julius II”  
The foundation medal commemorates the laying of the first stone of Bramante’s choir in 1506  
The inscription on the recto states:  
“IVLIVS.MGV.R.PAPA.SECVNDVS.MCCCCCVI”; while the inscription on the verso states: “TEMPLI.PETRI.INSTAVRACIO.VATICANVS.M[ONS]”  
© The British Museum

Giacomo Grimaldi uses the term “conserved” (*Servata*), when referring to an image of the Virgin Mary, preserved from destruction.<sup>82</sup> The Latin term *Servare* means to conserve, but also to observe and to follow (*osservare, seguire*) and finally to respect (*rispettare, non trasgredire*).<sup>83</sup> Alfarano’s plan reveals an hallowed configuration of St. Peter’s, which entailed the conservation of sacred burials; the new design respects the presence of the old plan, without transgressing its holy perimeter, treated like a sacred precinct encircled by new walls.

<sup>79</sup> Filarete argues that the edifice is alive just like a man and necessitates of continuous sustenance, being in need of constant maintenance and upkeep to continue living (Filarete 1972: I 29).

<sup>80</sup> Olin (1969: 45) provides the complete English translation of the opening address by Giles of Viterbo.

<sup>81</sup> Alfarano uses the word “*restaurare*” (to restore) and “*renovare*” (to renovate) in his text with the significance of a work that would entail adding to an existing structure (Alfarano 1914: 60, 66, 69, 89). In the introductory pages of the 1582 manuscript he introduces the Renaissance renovation as a project of ‘enlargement’ and ‘adornment’ (“*amplificasti et exornasti*”) to amplify the spirit of the basilica (Alfarano 1914: 1).

<sup>82</sup> Grimaldi. *Descrizione della Basilica Antica di S. Pietro in Vaticano* Codice Barberini Latino 2733 [1620], (f. 90 r).

<sup>83</sup> “*non servammo umana legge seguendo come bestie l'appetito*” [Dante, Purg. XXVI 83-84]. “*Metter potete ben per l'altro sale vostro naviglio servando mio solco dinanzi a l'acqua che ritorna eguale*” [Dante Par II, 13.15].

Duration was an essential design concept. Michelangelo's reduction of Sangallo's project was justified by an improved longevity of the *Fabbrica*, which he estimated to be three hundred years. It was not intended, as it is often acknowledged, solely for the need to decrease the total cost of the intervention.<sup>84</sup>

Vitruvius makes reference to sempiternity in his second chapter on materials and gives a philosophical basis for the concept of duration introduced into architectural making:<sup>85</sup> "Hence, although Democritus did not in a strict sense name them, but spoke only of indivisible bodies, yet he seems to have meant these same elements, because when taken by themselves they cannot be harmed, nor are they susceptible of dissolution, nor can they be cut up into parts, but throughout time eternal (*sempiterno aevo perpetuo*) they forever retain an infinite solidity".<sup>86</sup>

He refers to it again (II, 8, 4) to explain its technological application through the process of making: "For thus his work, being no mere heap of material but regularly laid in courses, will be strong enough to last forever without a flaw, because the beds and builds, all settling equally and bonded at the joints, will not let the work bulge out, nor allow the fall of the face walls which have been tightly fastened together".<sup>87</sup>

Sempiternity is interpreted as a duration that allows to create something that will last beyond the limits of temporal life, and it is addressed through appropriate use of materials and technology. Vitruvian *firmitas* was interpreted in the Renaissance treatise, not merely as a concern with solidity *per se*, but rather it included concepts of solidity as a means to achieve endless duration as the hereafter. Alberti made often reference to the human desire to create things, which will last into eternity, (Alberti 1988: 1.10).<sup>88</sup> The battle of materials

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<sup>84</sup> "Dicono che costo' centomila scudi, questo non e' vero, perche' con sedicimila scudi si farebbe, e rovinandolo poca cosa si perderebbe perche' le pietre fattevi e' fondamenti non potrebbero venire piu' a proposito, e migliorerebbe la Fabbrica ducento mila scudi e trecento anni" (Vasari 1878: 538). Cited in Francia, 1977: 73. Raphael proposed a method to classify buildings not according to style but rather according to the time of duration. Time is understood as an essential design element. Bruschi 1978: 473.

<sup>85</sup> In the Italian translation by Antonio Corso and Elisa Romano (Vitruvius 1997) the word sempiternity is translated as eternity (1997: 127). Vitruvius of course is not referring to the Christian concept of sempiternity. The English translation of Vitruvius by Morris Hicky Morgan, Dover Publications, 1960 also translates the word as 'time eternal' (1960: 42).

<sup>86</sup> "Democritus etsi non proprie res nominavit sed tantum individua corpora proposuit, ideo ea ipsa dixisse videtur quod ea cum sint disiuncta nec laeduntur nec interitionem recipiunt nec sectionibus dividuntur sed sempiterno aevo perpetuo infinitam retinent in se soliditatem" (Vitruvio, 1997 ch.II, 2,1: 126-127). This passage is translated in the English by Morris Hicky Morgan (Dover, 1960: 42).

<sup>87</sup> *Ita enim non acervatim sed ordine structum opus poterit esse sine vitio sempiternum, quod cubilia et coagmenta eorum inter se sedentia et iuncturis alligata non protrudent opus neque orthostatas inter sereligos labi patiuntur* Vitruvio, 1997, (pp. 140-141). This passage is translated in the English by Morris Hicky Morgan (Dover, 1960: 51-52).

<sup>88</sup> Architectural Spoils were also understood and treated as imperishable matter (Day 5). Alberti speaks about the reuse of architectural elements in his treatise (1997 [1452]). He uses the term *redivivus* to refer to an element, which is taken from one building and is incorporated into another, implying the idea of continuation of life. Alberti uses this term in his Book 3, Chapter IV. Cfr. Vitruvius, VIII, 1,3. The materiality of spoils speaks of sempiternity. In their continuous re-cycling process they pass from life to life, being re-generated with every new use.

against time, is the result of a cosmology, aiming at a building's sustenance into sempiternity.<sup>89</sup>

"In my opinion the column was originally developed to support the roof. Yet it is remarkable that mortals, once they had developed a passion for nobler things, grew concerned to construct buildings that would be permanent, and as far as possible immortal. They therefore built columns, beams, even entire floors and roofs of marble" (Alberti, 1988: 1.10.25 [15-16]).

Materials were chosen based on an assessment of their durability. Beauty contributed to permanence by inspiring admiration, and preventing destruction.<sup>90</sup> Martino Ferrabosco explained that Michelangelo opted for travertine rather than the anticipated *peperino* for the making of the Temple's outer skin, which is more durable and less susceptible to freezing and deterioration.<sup>91</sup> The stress on eternal duration, which can be found in Renaissance treatises, underlines that a building's projected life-span was modeled after sempiternity.

The church is an imperishable body that the faithful puts on and metaphorically inhabits during mortal life. The church is sempiternal because as an entity it awaits for the end of time, and it can be viewed as a revelatory body, that wrapped around our mortal body, allows experiencing sempiternity. The church is a metaphoric gate through which the heavenly city can be accessed (Day 6).<sup>92</sup>

Renaissance time-cosmology reveals the sempiternal nature of architecture as endless work in progress. Nothing can be perpetual if not by way of substitution. This is very different from a contemporary understanding of instant architecture, which entails that architecture is concerned primarily with the making of buildings *ex nihilo*.

Time-cosmologies vary with any given period and within any particular culture. These ever changing conditions and perceptions of time critically inform architectural making. This analysis of sempiternal making offers a critical re-reading of Renaissance architectural theory and practice to inform a time-based design approach in current architectural and

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<sup>89</sup> Alberti, 1997: 2.8.

<sup>90</sup> Alberti, 1997: 6.2.

<sup>91</sup> Ferrabosco 1812: IV. Fausto Rughesi describing his proposal for the eastern addition to Michelangelo's central temple, explains how Michelangelo's design addressed the question of the perpetuity of the temple. The complete text of the letter can be found in Cerrati (1914: 203).

<sup>92</sup> Miles (1994) argues that the representation of the resurrected body was a means for the faithful to project him/herself into this other dimension. The resurrected body depicted in the Last Judgment becomes the model, given that a real one is lacking, into which to project the imagination of the Christian believer. Michelangelo's 'Last Judgment' in St. Peter is a depiction of the end of time, and the beginning of sempiternity. The fresco is conceived as a gate through which a door over sempiternity opens. Hall (1976) pointed out that the events narrated in this fresco are placed outside our normal space-time frame of existence. According to De Tolnay (1943) the Last Judgement was initially meant as a 'Resurrection of the Body'. John Dillenberger affirms that "the Last Judgement is a mirroring of the beginning of the end of time, an enveloping myth about the end and new beginnings" (Dillenberger 1999).

conservation practices, intending to fill in a blind spot on the often-overlooked emphasis on renovation in Renaissance architecture.

Sempiternal time is incorporated in the making of St. Peter's, in its dual nature of drawing and building. Sempiternal duration is made visible in Alfarano's drawing by looking in two directions in time, through metaphoric transparency, translated into a drawing facture materialized through decoupage techniques and color renderings.

Time is revealed by wrinkles/scars marked on the natural body of the building, constituting personhood and memory of transformation.<sup>93</sup> The Christian model for the resurrection of the body is the resurrected body of Christ, which after being risen, still carries the scars of his martyrdom. Analogously the body of the basilica carries marks of the transformation, which involved a quasi-complete disassembly and reassembly into a renewed whole.<sup>94</sup>

Buildings live within time and within time change. The sempiternal nature of architecture reveals the necessity of constant change, underlining its unfinished nature. A sempiternal building is the result of multiple authorship, understood as a collage work, where a known beginning has many possible endings. Architecture is not eternal, and cannot be conserved *as is*, but rather it is sempiternal. The act that makes a building sempiternal requires change. Drawing, in its role of twinned body, lives within an analogous temporal dimension, constantly renewing itself, and being implicitly unfinished, allowing for the imagination to develop through it.

By means of the drawing the gaze is doubly directed. Through the condition of the present the drawing looks towards past and future, allowing memory while, at the same time, pre-figuring what will be. Drawing is performance, rather than final output. Sempiternal time is made present in track-drawings, allowing perceiving duration, by making the traces of change visible, thus constructing memory through the unfolding of time.

Additions and subtractions happen within the continuum of linear time aiming to achieve sempiternity. The unfinished building and its twinned body, the drawing, are to be interpreted as palimpsests in-the-making. Drawing as veil reveals supra-temporal presence. Tiberio Alfarano interpreted drawing as a window through time, looking in two directions, allowing insight into the multi-temporal dimension of architecture, which can be experienced as memory of the past and revealer of future presence. This informs the possibility to critically reassess architectural-conservation in present practice as a form of invention and imagination, rejoining *as-is* drawings of an existing condition, with design drawings.

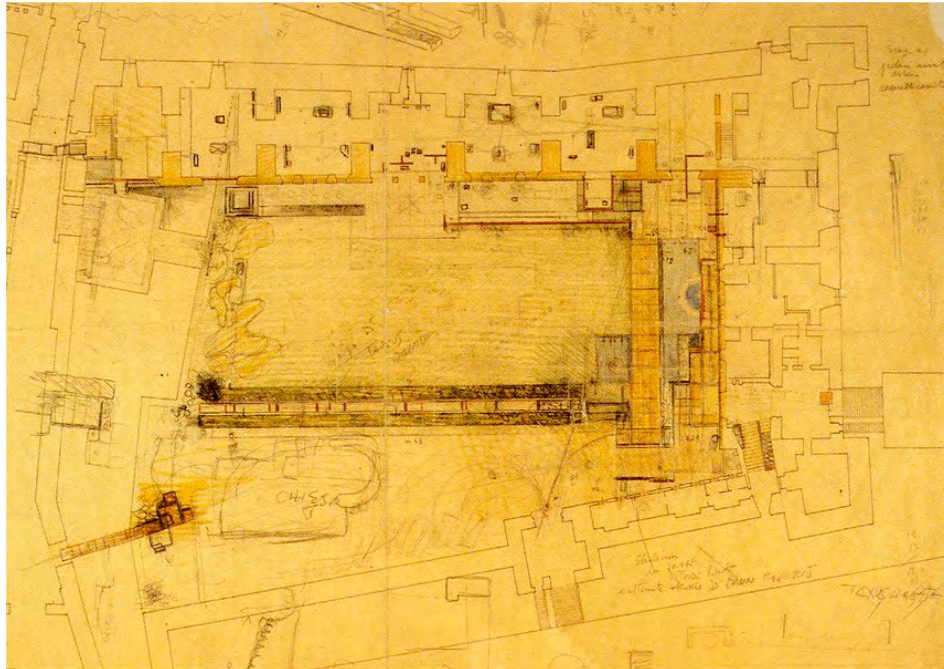
Simultaneity entails the possibility of two or more events entering a single, instantaneous perception. Henry Bergson's ideas of time as a continuous uninterrupted experience of duration permeated Carlo Scarpa's thinking through Marcel Proust's literary work, in which old recollections famously resurface when tasting a Madeleine, and other scattered

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<sup>93</sup> According to Walker Bynum (1995: 98) Augustine equated "scars with personal experience or history and thereby suggested that body is in some way a necessary conveyor of personhood or self."

<sup>94</sup> A commemorative marble carrying an inscription with the date of the removal marks the original position of the Vatican Obelisk.

fragments of the past jump back into life. In this synesthetic perception, time is associated with taste. Scarpa likewise made time visible through synesthetic drawings, associating color with time. In a Castelveccio floor plan, for example, the south wall of the Napoleonic period is yellow, while the new additions on the facade, interior and exterior screens, are red (fig. 7.12 and 1.3). Colors demarcate the presence of time through the medium of drawing.<sup>95</sup> This is not unlike Alfarano's plan where differentiated color renderings are used to indicate before and after, pointing out elements of continuity between new and old basilica, strengthening the survival of identity of St. Peter's, despite visible physical changes that took place.



**fig. 7.12**  
Carlo Scarpa  
Castelveccio, Verona  
Main level floorplan  
© Di Lieto 2006.

The terminology of hallowed configuration, which Alfarano attributed to his ichnography, is the indication of an attempt to represent an *effigy* of the basilica. Alfarano's plan is not a physical double of what is present at the site in 1571, nor a representation of what could possibly be imagined to become in a literal sense, in the time-future; it is a representation of metaphysical essence beyond a likeness of the building at any one time, giving way to a kind of *transitus* into St. Peter's, which religious icons, as instruments of the imagination, allow. The power of the image is drawn precisely from the fact that it is not a perfect duplication.<sup>96</sup> The drawing-effigy is not a physical double; it has the role of allowing access to an invisible dimension beyond the visible, driving the onlooker into a signified significance.

The possibility of displacement, penetrating the image beyond the visible, is possible only with a drawing that retains a possibility for imagination. This cannot be achieved through

<sup>95</sup> Goffi 2006.

<sup>96</sup> Ewa Kuryluk affirms that -according to Plato in the *Cratylus*- "images must remain imperfect, otherwise they become physical doubles" (Kuryluk 1991: 13).

mere visual duplication, but rather through the “path of admiratio itself, an imageless surprise, an opening to the unknown”, which is achieved through a contemplative gaze reaching beyond that which sight seizes in the realm of the visible.”<sup>97</sup> The beneficiary clerk is a messenger, someone who was able to contemplate something that none else saw. We need to regain memory of a well-known antinomy between sight and gaze, which defines “two types of space”.<sup>98</sup> Photographic reproduction allows, “seeing” a present *as-is* condition, which coincides with the visible and does not allow for a real *transumption*, which is the possibility to gaze and imagine beyond the visible. Iconic representation, not aiming at the production of a physical double, through simultaneous contemplation of past and future, allows gazing beyond, grasping a sempiternal essence. By drawing two plans, St. Peter’s is simultaneously present in two places, before and after, allowing for “a displacement that is no longer physical but intellectual”.<sup>99</sup>

Places of significance, such as, altars, holy relics and important architectural elements are marked in both drawing and print, with lettering and numbering corresponding to those in the manuscript, where they are accurately described, including details regarding the translations of sacred relics from one location to another. A series of elements, appear twice in the drawing, demonstrating their location, both before and after their translation; that is to say, indicating their presence in both old and new basilica, thus emphasizing continuity of identity within change.<sup>100</sup>

Photographic representation is unequivocal and presents the onlooker with a single meaning immortalized into instantaneous still-images. Conversely iconic portraiture is polysemic, and in so doing generates an equivocal space where multiple meanings and the proliferation of simultaneous stories is possible.

Architectural drawing is not visual duplication. Contemporary architect Peter Zumthor states that “architectural drawings try to express as accurately as possible the aura of the building in its intended place. But precisely the effort of the portrayal often serves to underline the absence of the actual object, and what then emerges is the inadequacy of any kind of portrayal (...) and a longing for its presence.” He further argues that “if the naturalism

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<sup>97</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987: 18.

<sup>98</sup> “The action of seeing is shaped differently in different epochs” (Illich 2000: 2); “the Church Fathers formulated the first icon ontology, the first great theory about the relation of of the gaze to the image which, of course, above all spoke of the gaze of the believer. [...] the icon thus leads the believer from the typos to the prototypos of the risen Christ, from the object in time to the reality in eternity [...] It is understood as a threshold between two incommensurable worlds, from the perishable and provisional to the imperishable and eternal; from the world of death into the world of life” (Illich 2000: 7)

<sup>99</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987: 18.

<sup>100</sup> The same happens in the 1590 print by Alfarano. The Holy column is located at number 25 in Old Saint Peter’s; number 88 corresponds to the location in New Saint Peter’s, after the translation. The following are the descriptions in the print: “25. *Columna sancta una ex 12 e Salomonis Templo*”; “88. *Altare S. N. nunc columns S.ta translata.*” These can be compared with the descriptions in the G9 manuscript (Arch. Cap.); “25. *Columna sancta una ex duodecim vitineis e Salomonis templo vectis, cancellis ferries circumsepta, cui D. N. Iesus Christus cum populo praedicabat inhaerere solebat, et magnam virtutem ad reprimendos spiritus immundos praestitit*” (Alfarano 1914: 185); “88. *Columna sancta ex priori loco intra hanc absidulam novae Basilicae translata*” (Alfarano 1914: 191).

and graphic virtuosity of architectural portrayals are too great, if they lack ‘open patches’ where our imagination and curiosity about the reality of the drawing can penetrate the image, the portrayal itself becomes the object of our desire, and our longing for its reality wanes because there is little or nothing in the representation that points to the intended reality beyond it. The portrayal no longer holds a promise. It refers only to itself”.<sup>101</sup> According to Zumthor drawing is not an illustration of an idea, it is the very process that draws the idea out.

It is a mistake to believe in photo renderings as the best way of accessing a building. It is possible to enter a building through ambiguous imagery and unfinished representation, experiencing a kind of real *transitus* that religious icons allow.<sup>102</sup> Tiberio Alfarano’s 1571 hybrid-drawing goes well beyond representing a one-time likeness, providing a metaphysical gate into this building. This cannot be achieved through exact visual reconstruction, but only through a combination of past and present form, expressing allegoric significance. Alfarano factured a hybrid-drawing, combining traditional architectural drawing with decoupage and representation techniques typical of icon paintings. He draws a plan as transparent veil, exploiting the ambiguity of metaphoric transparency. This is a real footprint, carrying the impression on earth of the fabric, being a representation of above and below, before and after, simultaneously.

The traction of drawing is this ability to ‘draw-out’ the imagination. The ichnography allows multiple readings, detecting literal and metaphorical presence of a building within another building. Ambiguity is at the source of the imagination of conservation, which today is interpreted instead as stillness, a conception insinuated by the belief that preserving a still image, it is possible to access the past. The word *experimento* (experiment) used by Alfarano in reference to Bramante’s project poignantly hints at the nature of a design process where a final result cannot be determined *a priori*. Alfarano’s drawing is the representation of an hallowed configuration, which is indicative of a process rather than a final result.

Ichnography is a ‘track-drawing’, providing memory traces on the ‘drawing-site’. Through unique color renderings the ichnography makes the passage of time visible, revealing different time-layers, and the meaning of drawing as unfinished palimpsest in-the-making.

Alfarano factured a bi-stable image, revealing the presence of Old St. Peter’s within the new. The ambiguous reading of two plans, Latin and Greek, forms a double-image enhanced by colors, which facilitate switching the reading, making the viewer an active participant. Boundaries of old and new elements merge; neither image is complete without the other.<sup>103</sup> Drawing as veil reveals supra-temporal presence. Alfarano interpreted drawing as a window through time, allowing insight into the multi-temporality of architecture, experienced as memory of the past and revealer of future presence (fig. 7.13). This informs the possibility

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<sup>101</sup> Zumthor 2006: 12-13.

<sup>102</sup> Florensky 2000.

<sup>103</sup> Zeki 2009: 73-97.



to critically reassess architectural-conservation in present practice as a form of invention and imagination.



**fig. 7.13**  
Interpretive drawing: Raising  
the cross  
© author of the dissertation

Kindly photographed by David  
Lepage.

## **DRAWING IMAGINATION & THE IMAGINATION OF DRAWING**

### **SOME NOTES ON THE ONTOLOGY OF MAKING: THE ROLE OF AMBIGUITY AND THE UNFINISHED IN REDEFINING ARCHITECTURAL-CONSERVATION IN THE PRESENT CONDITION**

*Hybrid architectural drawings represent the eidos and the morphe of the building unified in a pathos, and their main scope is the graphic capture of a cosmopoiesis.*

—Marco Frascari, 2009

*Nothing is hidden that will not be disclosed*

-Luke 8:17

Architecture and conservation are perceived in the contemporary Western world as disjointed, even entities. Instead they need to be merged into a hyphenated practice of 'architectural-conservation', moving beyond a mere juxtaposition of neighboring fields. A crucial element to be considered for the actualization of a hybrid merging is architecture's fourth dimension. By rediscovering the temporal dimension of making, both buildings and drawings could be newly interpreted as a slow fast-track, an unfinished work-in-progress by multiple authors, rather than as the product of a singular epoch and author.

Current theories propose a philosophical approach to conservation as a mono-directional gaze, looking towards the past. Preservation implies a slowing down of the aging effects of time focusing on conservation *as is*; while restoration attempts a reversal of time aiming to go back to a previous moment in a building's life, to recapture a past still-image as was, acknowledged as an expression of essence.

Preservation is often reduced in contemporary practice to a virtual or simulated eternity, exhibiting a 'photographic memory' of the past, rather than embodying a real sempiternity, acknowledging change as part of an ongoing making of memory, contributing to defining identity in a present condition. The practice of conservation has turned into a form of still-life. The belief is that a building can and should maintain a given likeness in perpetuity, in order to preserve a past heritage, frozen into still shots, thus denying a present generation the possibility to add memories to a living palimpsest. The counter-clockwise movement of preservation might turn out to be an unsustainable movement towards the death of the object.

Conservation, formerly a gate into the soul of a building, is presently often reduced to a form of skin-deep preservation. This is apparent in the practice of façadism, where the focus is placed on maintaining an exterior likeness, in order to preserve historic streetscapes.<sup>1</sup> Façadism makes us forget that a building is more than a likeness to be preserved, and that a façade severed from the presence of the edifice behind it, is reduced to a simulacrum, preserving a void shell, and not necessarily a soul.

On the other end, the reduction of modern and contemporary architecture to a practice of instant making, leads to buildings with short projected life spans, making architecture not apt to aging well and therefore less sustainable. Understanding the relationship between architecture and its making-in-time is essential to a real culture of sustenance. Conservation needs to recognize its counterpart in architectural imagination; analogously architecture needs to recognize its otherness in conservation, going beyond a limiting notion of architecture as instant building, to include notions of making as re-making.

Architecture is not just instant building, a slowing of time or the reversal of it. Architecture exists in time and it extends its life through a creative process that continues along within it. A hybrid architectural-conservation practice will afford a real merging, revealing through a phenomenological approach, their interdependence and reciprocity. Architectural-conservation is a holistically-aware 'exquisite corpse', a hybrid-body by multiple authors, where new and old, past and present form a continuous reality unified as an invisible canvas of time that stretches underneath them. Historic architecture is not the past, but rather a mnemonic instrument, waiting for renewed interpretations, to incorporate into the future a present understanding of past memories. Mnemonic buildings should no longer be archived as objects of time, but rather be a means of representing it.

The considerations offered here differ from present conservation philosophies and the modern theories, which fathered them.<sup>2</sup> The attempt here is to envision an alternative paradigm, nurturing a renewed understanding of a hyphenated practice of architectural-conservation as a form of invention and imagination allowing for the creation of memory through time.

Architecture is not eternal, it cannot be preserved as is, but rather it is sempiternal. Sempiternity, an eternity with a beginning, is a cosmological time-dimension which implies that identity perdures through constant change. Buildings do not become sempiternal by preservation alone, but rather through a re-generation process, which entails both preservation as well as design. The act of conservation that makes a building sempiternal requires change.

Architectural-conservation is interpreted here as a process which moves forward in time allowing for imagination and change, while assuring continuity of identity; it is concerned with the problems

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<sup>1</sup> Schoettle 1983; Richards 1994.

<sup>2</sup> It differs from both the Ruskinian concept of preservation, which tends to prevent aging rejecting change, as well as from Viollet Le Duc's idea of restoration, attempting to re-create a lapsed moment in time through inventive forms of restoration based on a concept of "unity of style".

#### Conclusions

and modes of combining the old with the new, and it is understood as a form of invention, embodying a duality of conservation and imagination.

A critical revisiting of the Renaissance concept of restoration adds to a present understanding of the notion of architectural-conservation, an alternative paradigm, to critically inform contemporary theory and practice for the renewal of mnemonic buildings.<sup>3</sup> The concept of restoration embodied in the Renaissance renovation of St. Peter's assumed an opposite significance to that attributed to it, in contemporary theory and practice.

According to contemporary restoration principles, this practice attempts a reversal of time; by unraveling history, and going back to a previous moment in a building's life, to recapture a chosen previous appearance. Conversely, in a Renaissance understanding, restoration is focused on a dialogue between past and future building, to allow for a renewal of memory, meanwhile assuring continuity of identity, embracing change rather than denying it. Restoration was continuous renewal, analogous to the process through which the Church restored itself in time. To restore meant to give beginning, continuously and through Time. It was a process of elegantly taking away, adding and altering an existing building to fabricate a real presence.<sup>4</sup>

The future of architecture largely depends on a critical rejoining with conservation. The dialogue between them can be meaningfully nurtured through appropriate drawing strategies. A critical inquiry into, and a grasping of Tiberio Alfarano's unique representation strategies provides guidance and insight about drawing techniques to be employed in the imaginative transformation of mnemonic buildings.

Acknowledging the key role of drawings in their function of twinned body of the building is essential. The phenomena of conservation and change are made visible in the materiality of architectural drawings, which become a primary medium for an investigation into the transformation processes, which relate to the life of a building. Drawing is a physical place where the conflicts of a traumatic transformation are firstly experienced, looking for resolution. It is through appropriate representation strategies that the dilemma about how to rejoin the existent with the projected can be addressed.

Architecture is a form of imagination *in absentia*. During a building's transformation, the drawing makes discernible a sempiternal essence, acting as a substitute of the building. Drawings are produced in an in-between condition, making visible a transformation and providing an effigy

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<sup>3</sup> The U.S. Department of the Interior's definitions of preservation, restoration, rehabilitation and reconstruction -currently in use by municipalities in the U.S. - propose a philosophical approach to conservation very similar to those described by Canadian Standards (Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada, Parks Canada 2003). Further insight, and alternative paradigms, might be derived exploring other, new and old cosmological systems of beliefs, in various cultures, to critically rethink conservation practice. The Ise Temple in Japan, for example, is rebuilt every twenty years and yet thought of as the same temple. This conservation practice, clearly does not focus on a meticulous material preservation *as is* of each and every part, to derive preservation of essence.

<sup>4</sup> Alberti 1997: 4. See also Frascari 24/07/2007 for a thorough discussion of the concept of elegance in Alberti's work.

where the traces of change can be deciphered.

A gazing at Tiberio Alfarano's plan combined with reading his 1582 manuscript, companion to the drawing, reveals the interdependence of words and images. Image and text form intertwined narratives, requiring one another in order to allow a conversion from seeing into gazing beyond the visible image, grasping a metaphoric significance.<sup>5</sup>

Alfarano's 1571 hybrid-drawing goes beyond representing as is conditions of a one-time likeness, providing a metaphysical gate into St. Peter's. The terminology of "hallowed configuration" (*forma sacrosanctae*), which he attributed to this ichnography, is the indication of an attempt to represent a *vera icona* of the basilica, an effigy summoning real presence. The beneficiary clerk is author of a unique ichnography, which escapes more traditional architectural representation techniques, carrying within itself a new hybrid language, merging architectural representation with the language of icons. This could only have been conceived by someone who was not only a good connoisseur of architectural representation, but also had in-depth understanding of theology and the associated visual imagery, and was thus well aware of sacred scriptures and the notion of incarnated word, which became central to the defense of the icon in face of the Protestant Reformation attacks to sacred images.<sup>6</sup>

Alfarano's work is porous to the cultural context in which it was conceived, clearly inspired by Counter Reformation feelings in defense of sacred imagery, and supportive of iconic representation, whose language he abducted into architectural representation creating a new hybrid drawing language, witnessing to the sacredness of architectural drawings, which are interpreted and legitimized as true effigies for the making and re-making of sacred architecture.

However, his view-point/counter-viewpoint narrative, embracing past and future simultaneously, was likely to be perceived as too ambiguous, and put aside in fear of potential conflicting readings, which would potentially damage the Church.

Alfarano's work goes well beyond the creation of a political manifesto for the use of the Counter Reformation agenda, and reaches to devotion. In an act of worship towards the main Temple of Christianity Alfarano fashions an icon.<sup>7</sup> The power of this image is that of allowing the onlooker to penetrate beyond the visible, and grasp through visible signs an invisible embedded significance.

His work however was not fully supported during his period. The 1582 manuscript in fact, of which he drafted several copies in his own hand, was never published. On September 13<sup>th</sup> 1589,

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<sup>5</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987.

<sup>6</sup> Hans-Georg Gadamer argues that: "the rejection of iconoclasm, a movement that had arisen in the Christian Church during the sixth and seventh centuries, was a decision of incalculable significance. For the Church then gave a new meaning to the visual language of art and later to the forms of poetry and narrative. This provided art with a new form of legitimization. The decision was justified because only the new content of the Christian message was able to legitimate once again the traditional language of art." Gadamer 1987: 3-4.

<sup>7</sup> Belting 1994.

#### Conclusions

Sixtus V (1585-1590) decrees the right of authorship to Alfarano and, simultaneously prohibited the reproduction of the plan without his approval.<sup>8</sup> The 1590 print, which was literally added to the manuscript copies of his text, was published in limited number with the Church's permission, but at the expense of Alfarano himself. There is no proof of an intention to disseminate the work on behalf of the Church. Despite numerous citations in reference to his work, his manuscript remained unpublished until the last century, when Michele Cerrati (1914) a scholar working at St. Peter's transcribed and documented Alfarano's manuscript publishing it together with a black and white copy of both hybrid drawing and print.

A fresco depicting Alfarano's ichnography in St. Peter's grotto, which was planned in the period when the Eastern arm was being completed, was ultimately not carried out (Lanzani 2003). This might be due to the ambiguity of the representation, which was an essential instrument in Alfarano's telling of the story, making the viewer an active participant. The double image might have raised concerns, perpetuating as it did, in the eyes of visitors, not only the image of the new temple, but also the sight of what might have been interpreted as being lost, becoming a memory of a destruction suffered by the basilica.

This would suggest that the ambiguity of the drawing, which is possibly one of its most interesting virtues, was interpreted very differently from the one given in this present analysis of the work, which is that renewal requires an ability to selectively remember and willfully forget. Alfarano's representation oriented the onlooker but did not forcefully "instrument" the gaze.<sup>9</sup> The ichnography can be interpreted of course as a demonstration of the survival of old elements merged with new ones. The drawing could also be interpreted as memory of what no longer stood there in plain sight. Ambiguity allows both interpretations, providing alternative readings, what strikes as essential though is the fact that these two images form a third, the merging of making and re-making as two indissoluble practices.

Regardless of being framed by the cultural and religious context, Alfarano's work demonstrates an original and independent mind. Period references to the beneficiary clerk's plan, as well as later ones, focused on its documentary value; meanings and encrypted significance were left veiled within. A form of iconoclasm was applied directly to Alfarano's work, which remained inside St. Peter's, unpromoting the proliferation of both word and image, concealed from the public's gaze.

The drawing has been overlooked by recent scholarship as well, and the studies conducted up to the present, did not allow grasping its significance. The 1590 print remains the most analyzed image, and, the few reproductions of the original hybrid-drawing, are all but for one exception, in black & white. The drawing exhibits the use of advanced representation techniques, which escape the rational, and more traditional architectural drawing strategies. Architectural and art historians alike overlooked the significance of color and hybrid representation techniques employed; merging hand-drawing with decoupage and techniques of icon painting, the drawing stands out

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<sup>8</sup> Silvan 1992.

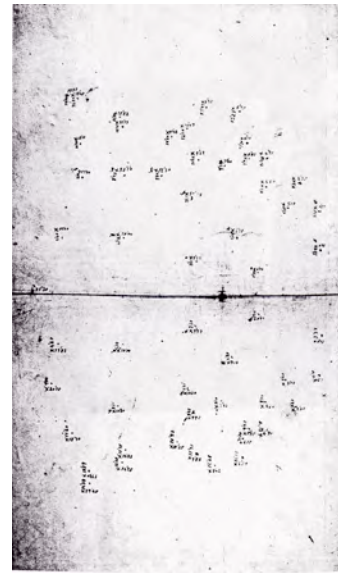
<sup>9</sup> Illich (1998: 10) explains that this is the way of working of icons.

as non-traditional from the viewpoint of architectural representation in that period.<sup>10</sup>

Scholars have applied a narrow reading, focused primarily on geometric form. Essential layers of meaning have been filtered out. The reading of the drawing as mere documentary evidence, is limited, and its wide-range significance and influence under evaluated.<sup>11</sup> Alfarano provided an interpretation of the Renaissance renovation at the highest possible level. The 1571 drawing reaches beyond a piece of artwork and an opera of graphic architecture, realizing a real effigy of the Temple. The author provides the necessary instruments to understand St. Peter's renewal through a visual experience. The decision to facture only one drawing, choosing an ichnography, is essential in delineating an hallowed configuration. Ichnography is a "track-drawing", making the passage of time visible, providing memory traces on the drawing-site, acting like a veil, bearing traces of the building's presence within time.<sup>12</sup>

This mnemonic drawing allows for remembrance making visible physical locations precisely corresponding to memory locations, which need to be honored and preserved. Their bearing and presence in the drawing/site is precise, their relationship is at the core of what defines both essence and memory in St. Peter's. The lettering and numbering of burials and altars constitute immovable elements. This might be understood through a comparative analogy with a plan drawing by Antonio Gaudí (1852-1926). The plan is derived from a suspended model for the Colònia Güell, where markings of the locations from where the model was hung, are made visible by inviolable points on paper, corresponding to future locations. Those indicate where the tilted columns of the oblique parabolic order (a mirror of the model, inverted upside down) will touch the ground, providing stability to the structural system governed by the principle of the Catenary curve, showing an inviolable configuration, which allows for a perfect balance of a complex vaulted system, mirroring the pure tension of the fishing net and fabric model, into a pure compression of the stone parabolic vaults (fig. C.1).

In contemporary understanding architectural drawing produces an image of likeness; as such representation renounces to a dialogue with the humanities and becomes a narcissus, a duplication of that which falls within sight, providing a still image of architecture, rather than a sustainable image-of-becoming. The dominance of the photorealistic image as model for memory, should be challenged by undermining the very notion that architectural representation is a portrayal of likeness, restoring its full potential to demonstrate an iconic representation of presence. Drawing as icon, is a real *eikon* (image), which does not entail merely verisimilitude



**fig. C.1**  
Antonio Gaudí  
Plan for a suspended  
model of the Colònia Güell  
indicating the points of  
suspension for the model  
© Krasny 2008: 62

<sup>10</sup> Gold cannot be found in architectural plans till much later, all the way up to the modern movement, and there is no possible relation of one to the other.

<sup>11</sup> It could further be observed that this is true for several Renaissance drawings of the period, including those by Maderno's pertaining the renewal of St. Peter's (U 100A, U 101A). An in depth study of the significance of color in Renaissance drawings is long overdue.

<sup>12</sup> Alfarano tracks the site changes in the drawing all the way back to the presence of roman mausoleums underneath the basilica. Those structures are outlined similarly to other temples and churches, with red ink. A crossed hatched *poché* completes their rendering. The mausoleum's walls are drawn last, after completing the rendering of Michelangelo's walls with white wash and azure coloration. The roman mausoleums appear to be drawn more sketchy and imprecise, compared to the outline of old St. Peter's footprint, and are the last layer drawn.

(picture), but rather through the drawing/bearing of essential traces reveals presence.<sup>13</sup>

Grasping the significance of Alfarano's drawing, one can start to comprehend that it is a mistake to believe in photo renderings as the best way of accessing a building. This cannot be achieved through exact visual reconstruction, but only through a chiasmus of past and present form, expressing allegoric significance. Alfarano factured a hybrid-drawing, exploring the ambiguity of metaphoric transparency. The plan of St. Peter's is drawn as a transparent veil, and allows seeing beyond, and bringing back to light the presence of old St. Peter's, preserved underneath. Our author interprets the notion of footprint as an impression on earth of the fabric, as a representation of above and below, empowered by a contemplation *ad faciem* of past and future.

Alfarano's plan is not a physical double. It is a representation of metaphysical essence, which goes beyond depicting a likeness of a building at any one time, allowing a kind of *transitus* into St. Peter's, typical of religious icons. By placing Christ's Holy Face at the top, the author indicates that this ichnography can be read both horizontally and vertically, as a plan (Vitruvian man) and also elevationally as a crucifixion.<sup>14</sup>

Digital and analog interpretive intercollages, inspired by the work of Czech artist Jirý Kolar are an instrument used to reveal hidden presences in Alfarano's 1571 plan of St. Peter's (fig. 7.9, fig. C.6). By cutting out from Alfarano's 1571 plan, the footprint of old main nave and transept and inserting within it a portion of Ugo da Carpi's altarpiece for Veronica's altar, an hallowed configuration, resulting from a metaphorical intercollage of two plans, is revealed. Old and new St. Peter's inhabit each other metonymically, like a building within another building through a simultaneity-effect not unlike that exhibited in Kolar's intercollages (fig. 7.8, 7.9).<sup>15</sup>

Contemplating Alfarano's plan *ad faciem* one regains sight of the invisible presence of Old St. Peter's, and understands the relationship between new and old, as an inversion of interior with exterior, like in a Rubin Vase, where two images, 'face' & 'vase' allow perceptual shifts from one representation to the other (C.6, C.7). By looking in two directions, through this drawing medium, one can grasp the reason for the approval of Donato Bramante's project. The positioning of the four piers' crossing is determined by the desire to conserve unaltered the old burials.<sup>16</sup>

The imagination of conservation is today often interpreted as the preservation of a still-shot, an

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<sup>13</sup> Illich 1998: 11.

<sup>14</sup> Note that the drawing is preserved in the AFSP hung on a wall like a painting, being mounted on a new wood support replacing the original one after the restoration, and protected by a Plexiglas, covered with a heavy black velvet fabric to protect it from light exposure.

<sup>15</sup> Brandon 2004:179-187.

<sup>16</sup> Pope Julius II expressly asked Bramante not to create new foundations in this area, which was a cemeterial ground. In order to respect the pope's wishes Bramante positioned the eastern piers right under the arms of the crossing between main nave and transept. The western piers were laid first (U 1A). It is worth notice that in U 20A, the north-east pier, which constitutes a variant, and is significantly smaller than the others, still marks with its edges the crossing of main nave & transept. As a result, of the positioning of the piers the burial of the Prince of the Apostle, is not central and it is not aligned with the axis of the dome.



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understanding informed by the belief that by displaying ‘photographic memory’ of the past, it is possible to gain access to it. Naturalistic representation is unequivocal and presents the onlooker with a single meaning immortalized by instantaneous still-images. Ambiguity and polysemy instead generate an “equivocal space” where unforeseeable inventions might occur through a process of future predictions by recollecting memories. Hallowed configuration is polysemic, and allows for the coexistence and merging of simultaneous stories. Drawing-traction is an essential ability to draw-out the imagination, allowing for multiple readings.<sup>17</sup>

Alfarano’s drawing is a mnemonic instrument, a sophisticated palimpsest, which goes well beyond an archival of past histories, being capable of generating future memories, understood as imaginative forms of contemplation. This drawing goes beyond storing an image of-the-past, being an instrument in-forming a living consciousness of the Vatican palimpsest, allowing us to grasp its significance, and thus experiencing a real *transitus*, into these sacred grounds.

Tiberio Alfarano’s 1571 iconic effigy of the Basilica rejoins past and future building members through a time-continuum. The metaphoric transparency of the drawing reveals a meaningful dialogue between constituent parts, made possible by a simultaneous representation of past and future. This track-drawing makes the passage of time visible through hybrid representation and color renderings, revealing presence and significance of multiple time-layers.

The retrospective and prospective character of the architectural-conservation process can be experienced through the intermediacy of hybrid-drawings in the present. Directing the gaze simultaneously in two directions, allows a pre-existent condition to be engaged in a dialogue with a future design; something that does not happen in today’s practice, where as-built, in the form of measured drawings of existing conditions, and design drawings are often kept separate. Architectural drawings could rejoin these two temporal conditions, through metaphoric or literal transparency, looking in two directions in-Time and allowing for a real transformation of the building, within continuity of identity.<sup>18</sup>

Memory had in Christian thought both a retrospective and prospective character, enabling a dialectic between past and future (Belting 1997). The presence of a Veronica’s icon in the top portion of the drawing is a reminder of the necessity to look in two directions, to grasp the presence of St. Peter’s before and after, in two places simultaneously. Reinterpreting the concept of memory through this notion, it is possible to rediscover that the making of memory is a creative process engaged in an active dialogue with the past, moving beyond a present interpretation of it, as a comprehensive inventory of things past.

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<sup>17</sup> “There is always a tension. There is a drawing out [*du triage*], a traction: in a word, a line [*un trait*]. There is an invisible, untraced line that draws out and traces on both sides, that passes between the two without passing anywhere. It draws out and traces nothing, perhaps, but this impalpable line.” (Nancy 2005: 64).

<sup>18</sup> Decoupage techniques similar to the ones used by Alfarano, merging hand-drawing with print, but also other hybrid representation techniques, entailing the use of both analog and digital tools, such as photography and hand-drawing for example might allow facturing a ‘multi-temporal’ medium, looking in two directions in both space and time.

Despite an incessant visual duplication of Alfarano's drawing through architectural history, expressed through numerous drawing citations and reinterpretations, his work remained an overlooked subject for critical investigation.<sup>19</sup> Because of its Janus-like ability to look in two directions in time this drawing became quite literally an under-drawing for Maderno's design, and inspired always-new understandings of the basilica's past and future.

Conserved within the basilica since the period when it was executed, it provides the basilica with a twinned body, which has entered the realm of the collective imagination of St. Peter's, as an iconic portrait depicting an hallowed configuration, to be fulfilled in sempiternal time, through a non prescriptive, but rather descriptive physical layout, displaying ontological meaning. The drawing should be interpreted as a draft portraying past and future presence of St. Peter's in the Vatican simultaneously.<sup>20</sup>

Alfarano's iconic portrait transcends time. Its final cause is to provide a representation of a hallowed configuration. This ichnography is not focused on likeness as a form of visual duplication, but rather on providing a demonstration of real presence, achieved through a hybrid representation, looking simultaneously in two directions in time.<sup>21</sup>

The haptic qualities of the original drawing demonstrate through the archeological strata of representation layers, the superimposition and merging of two buildings. Hybrid representation techniques unveil a double symbolism. St. Peter's is a hybrid, merging a longitudinal and centralized plan, demonstrating the presence of the mystical body of the Church as union of Bride and Bridegroom. The relief gold paint demonstrates the haptic presence of Constantine's walls. Gold paint is the sign of a real presence of the spirit of the Church, further alluding to a masculine element, while the turquoise lean tempera of the New walls pochée overlaid on Dupérac's 1569 print, might allude to the Virgin mother, as the feminine element.

Alfarano's ichnography provides a key to a riddle that has challenged scholars for over a century, regarding the question of Latin versus Greek cross. The ambiguity of his plan lends itself to a reading of what Ernst Gombrich described as a "double image". By combining old plan with new decoupage print, Alfarano commented on the incompleteness of Dupérac's plan, as a portrait of instant architecture, failing to portray a real presence, which can be achieved only through a double image. This ambiguous representation allows one to experience alternative readings.

Even when agreeing with Freedberg that "all images might act *pro memoria*", one should be careful not to elude the question of whether one-Time likeness is sufficient to define memory, and

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<sup>19</sup> Frascari 2009: 57-59. See also Steinberg's "Incessant Last Supper" (2001).

<sup>20</sup> *Draft* is intended here in the highest meaning of the word, as an original, which has the potential to reveal, not just likeness but presence.

<sup>21</sup> When considering the nature of this representation, we could make a distinction –based on Heidegger's terminology- between "truth as presencing" expressed by this drawing and "truth in conformity to facts", expressed by Bufalini's plan of Rome. Bufalini's drawing is more alike a literal representation of what stood on site in 155; it is a still-shot taken at one Time.

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question whether this is not reducing it to an instant story without history.<sup>22</sup> This question is relevant in regards to contemporary surveys techniques such as orthographic photography. Electronic survey tools presently provide the field of conservation with documentation methods, of unprecedented accuracy, contributing to generate the illusion that the past can be preserved, capturing an instantaneous still-shot, thus producing images without imagination, to be preserved *as is*.<sup>23</sup>

The image in the photograph becomes a mirror par excellence; portraying what is believed to be a truthful representation of the past. Photography has from its early beginning been interpreted as a tool capable of expressing absolute truth-value, and was metaphorically described as a “mirror with a memory”.<sup>24</sup> This is revealed by a case in point, an 1860’s “Traveling Mirror” where a painted tintype photo of a man with a hat is used to replace a central mirror piece (fig. A.2). Mirror and photography are presented in this piece as a tautology.<sup>25</sup> Interestingly, if the man in the photograph were to reflect himself in the mirror, he would naturally compare his own ever-changing presence with the tintype, a still-image of the past, instituting a dialogue with and a tension between two images of past and present appearance.

The practice of conservation, once a form of invention and imagination, where memory was not simply an archive for posterity, but was interpreted as being always in-the-making, has turned into a form of still-preservation. The belief is that a building can and should maintain a given likeness in perpetuity, in order to preserve a past heritage. The past is presently at risk of becoming a frozen future, sliced into still-shots, while cities turn into museums for wandering tourists.



fig. C.2

Traveling Mirror 1860's  
Glass, wood, embossed leather, Etched and painted  
tintype (of a man with a hat)  
Unknown author (American)  
28.7 x 69.0 x 1.5 cm  
© Batchen 2004: 18

Orthographic photographs are presently used as mirrors for how buildings ought to look like. Photography as Roland Barthes poignantly pointed out is a “prophecy in reverse: like Cassandra, but eyes fixed on the past”.<sup>26</sup> Barthes continues his examination stating that “photography is

<sup>22</sup> Freedberg 1996: 76.

<sup>23</sup> Orthographic photography allows the production of exact replicas. Photographically produced orthographic drawings include elevations and roof plans. The Leica Disto™ Laser Measuring provides an accuracy of 1.5 millimeters.

<sup>24</sup> Draaisma 2000: 69.

<sup>25</sup> Batchen 2004: 18.

<sup>26</sup> Barthes 1980: 87.

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violent: not because it shows violent things but because on each occasion it fills the sight by force, and because in it nothing can be refused or transformed". Unlike the mirror mounted in Alfano's drawing, which allows to look in two directions through a chiasmus of past and future, orthographic photography's mirror looks in one direction alone, that of the past, with a result that could be described with Roger Connah's words as a "lift(ing of) the building out of time, out of breath."<sup>27</sup> Connah states that "architecture looks likely to remain loyal to photography's naïve optical seduction longer than this disaffection ever imagined". This seduction, which separates the building from time, is the expression of a death by mono-directional sight.

'As-found' color orthographic photographs could instead become an imaginative substratum for future design representations. Alterations and additions might be made visible through layered representation techniques in the media of hybrid drawing-photographs, not unlike the one factored by Carlo Scarpa, for the design of a window facing the courtyard in Castelvecchio, Verona, where he achieved metaphoric transparency through a pen drawing onto a photographic medium, which translated in a physical overlay of new steel moldings and window frames onto historic wall openings, which allows reading in a present condition the presence of a building within a building (fig. 2.16).

Through metaphoric or literal transparency of a medium, combined with appropriate representation techniques, the past is not erased from memory, but rather ambiguously dwell within a possible future; in this rests the possibility for a resurfacing of memories, establishing a meaningful design dialogue and a real transubstantiation from one condition to another, favoring a conservation of essence and continuity of identity.<sup>28</sup> An architectural-conservation drawing should be interpreted as a phenomenological palimpsest, like the walls of an historical city (fig. C.3), carrying the traces of its transformations, and forming a contiguous imagery, reminding of the work of contemporary American photographer Robert Heinecken (d. 2006), and his 1989 *Recto/Verso* photograph overlays (fig. C.4).<sup>29</sup> Writer James Enyeart comments on Heinecken's *Recto/Verso* # 12. "Contiguous imagery in an artist's work is the imagination's imitation of the mind's working process. It is impossible to imagine thinking one thought at a time or completing a thought without the overlay of another. And what about sensory signals and memory? It is

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<sup>27</sup> Connah (2001: 44) critically points out that "though Barthes, Sontag, and Burgin shared with many the obvious suspicion of photography, none made the mistake of thinking they were photographically correct." (2001: 47). For further reflections on Barthes 'Camera Lucida' see also a series of collected essays edited by Geoffrey Batchen (2009).

<sup>28</sup> The transparency of certain contemporary drawing mediums, such as Mylar polyester film for example, might be suitable for establishing a visual relationship between the preexisting building (*verso*) and the future building (*recto*). A physical transparency of the medium might allow for a multi-temporal reading of the drawing, sustaining a dialogue between past and future building, which would take place in the materiality of the support, mimicking physical alterations.

<sup>29</sup> The 1989 *Recto/Verso* Cibachrome photograms (11"x14") are described by Landweber as "made without the use of camera or film. A single page from a mass-circulation magazine was placed in direct contact with color photographic paper and exposed to light. The resulting image superimposes the visual and verbal information from the front and back of the magazine page. No collage, manipulation, or other handwork was employed." [http://www.landweber.com/RectoVerso/rv\\_writers\\_3.html](http://www.landweber.com/RectoVerso/rv_writers_3.html) (accessed on February 19, 2010).

impossible to conceive of imagination without contiguous imagery.”<sup>30</sup>

Heinecken’s ‘recto/verso’ are the result of a particular phenomenon. The process through which the image is achieved has been described as exposing to light a piece of color photographic paper, which was placed in direct contact with a single page from a magazine. This allows for two images, in the recto and verso condition, to merge onto a new medium -the color photographic paper- realizing a contiguous imagery of past and future events, evoking the process through which memory traces overlay in the mind and imagination.

Alfarano’s 1571 drawing is a *contiguous imagery* where an old plan is completed by the overlay of a new one, engaging in a meaningful dialogue. The retrospective and prospective character of the architectural-conservation process can be experienced through the intermediacy of contiguous imagery, realized through hybrid representation techniques, in the present, offering not just an image of the past but also a pre-figuration of something that will be. The architectural-conservation drawing is to be interpreted as a place where the multi-temporal dimension of architecture can be experienced as memory of the past and revealer of future presence.<sup>31</sup> Change is viewed as a natural and necessary part of the life of communities and buildings. To sustain the memory of the past, one is challenged to think creatively in the present.

Hybrid drawings reveal a multiple authors’ process of additions. Maderno’s ‘stratigraphic drawings’, building onto Alfarano’s facture, demonstrate how the Ticinese architect perceived the presence of a hybrid body/drawing. Maderno intentionally placed in visibility a play of selecting and adding new members. The explorations of the joints between body parts, and the treatment of the seams of the exquisite corpse (U 264A, U 100A, U 101A), reveal a careful suturing, of past and future members (fig. 4.10, 4.16 and 4.17).

A critical revisiting of the concept of body to which the renovation of St. Peter’s is attuned adds to our understanding of making as re-making. Alfarano’s iconic drawing moves a first imaginative step towards making visible an invisible hybrid architectural body. Maderno’s intention is to reveal this process of assemblage in both drawing and building.

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<sup>30</sup> [http://www.landweber.com/RectoVerso/rv\\_writers\\_3.html](http://www.landweber.com/RectoVerso/rv_writers_3.html) (accessed on February 19, 2010).

<sup>31</sup> Recto-verso drawings offer a way of establishing a visual relationship between preexisting building (verso) and future building (recto). A drawing conserved at the Pierpont Morgan Library by Sangallo/Peruzzi (recto/verso) for St. Peter’s Basilica, is an example of this. On one side can be found a representation of a central plan design for New St. Peter’s, while on the other a longitudinal one. Vincenzo Scamozzi (1548-1616) also took advantage of the recto/verso condition of the drawing, for a design of Salzburg’s cathedral. The recto side the 1607 drawing, conserved at the CCA (DR1970:0002:001), presents a vertical section and an elevation of the cathedral, while on the verso a modified profile for the dome structure is outlined. The ink absorbed through the thickness of the paper allows the outline of the entire volume to be perceived as a ghostly presence, while focusing on verso detail for the revised design of an individual member, the dome.



**fig. C.3**  
 Piazza San Martino, Lucca Italy  
 Phenomenological palimpsest of bricks and marble in a historic façade

The anthropomorphic model after which St. Peter's re-making is modeled, is not just the human body *per se* but rather a corporate body of theological significance and Zeuxian origin. The corporate body is a plurality of persons within one body and time, surviving through continuous substitutions of individual members. Architectural renovation, hinged on this concept, is justified by the theory that nothing can be perpetual if not by way of substitutions (Kantorowicz 1957: 294-95, 308). The additive character of each intervention underlines the collage nature of the architectural process, where a multiplicity of authors is responsible for an unending assembly.

Throughout the renewal (1506-1626) concern for the identity of the Vatican Temple was a key issue. Tiberio Alfarano's 1571 drawing represents a response to this question, proposing itself as a "hallowed configuration", for the interpretation of the overall transformation. The incomplete character of each intervention reflects the renovation the Church, through additions and subtractions of members taking place through time, as revealed by Alfarano, thus providing a paradigmatic model for the sustenance of identity through transformation.<sup>32</sup>

This is not unlike the process revealed by surrealist painter René Magritte (1898-1967) in "The Eternal Evidence" (1930), based on Zeuxis's heritage, selecting and appropriating different body parts in composing a whole (fig. 4.14). The parts assembled do not perfectly fit together, revealing an inherent challenge of combining different members into a whole. Magritte makes visible an invisible process of creation in which members sequentially added generate a composite body. The void edge-joint is a threshold articulating a moment of passage between body parts, revealing a composite.

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<sup>32</sup> The architect Fausto Rughesi, active towards the end of the sixteenth century, provides a detailed analysis of his design proposal for the addition of an eastern arm to St. Peter's. He describes the structure of the temple as being made of several bodies reunited in one ("piu corpi di templi uniti insieme...") (Alfarano 1914: 203). A new programmatic necessity after the Reformation, would want that the Catholic Church symbolizes the Universal Church.



**fig. C.4**  
Robert Heineken, 1989  
Recto/Verso # 12  
11"x14" Cibachrome photograph  
© published by Victor Landweber

Tiberio Alfarano's hybrid drawing, is not unlike the 1920's-30's surrealist exquisite corpse where several authors contribute to an ongoing making. Later, when Carlo Maderno designed his own addition, he literally engaged with the exquisite corpse, to facture a third addition, continuing with a process initiated in *illo tempore*. Alfarano's drawing process by decoupage, making use of drawing's spoils, instills a new sense of consciousness of addition, which shares affinities with that of a modern exquisite corpse, revealing a sense of otherness in the latest member, acknowledging multiple authorship.

This 1571 drawing is the mother to Maderno's addition.<sup>33</sup> He was clearly receptive of Alfarano's process. The representation method chosen, powerfully influences the result. Maderno attempted with several means to maintain as clear and distinct a character for his new member, added to an existing palimpsest, demonstrating a new sensibility.<sup>34</sup> The seams were revealed rather than concealed.

The time-lapse between additions at Renaissance St. Peter's, as well as in more recent examples cited, generate a 'surreal' character of the hybrid-body. The juxtaposition between additions from various periods, determines heteroglossia rather than ideal "unity of style". Old St. Peter's is seamlessly inserted into the new, like a deep unforgettable mnemonic presence, at the level of the subconscious, being revealed like in a daydream, in Alfarano's hallowed configuration.

Restoring the corporate body in present practice as a collage by multiple authors, taking place

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<sup>33</sup> Maderno literally overlaid U 101A directly onto Alfarano's drawing.

<sup>34</sup> He designed the eastern and western side on two different levels, being separate along the joint by a series of steps. The decision to level the two sides was only taken later. Maderno intentionally misaligned the vaults as well, and was criticized for it. Finally he adopted a very different interior finish in term of the decorative apparatus, which was later changed, by redressing the entire basilica with a new marble skin, intended to unify the two sides.

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through time, would contribute to inform a critical editing of the notions of architecture and conservation in present practice narrowing the gap between them, aiming to define an alternative cosmologic paradigm for inventions in mnemic buildings, towards a rejoined theory and practice of architectural-conservation.

Renaissance St. Peter's is not the result of a destruction of substance through a change of form; it should instead be interpreted as a paradigmatic model of palimpsest renewal in spatiotemporal continuity, understood as an imaginative form of conservation. St. Peter's fabric is a corporate-body, made by a plurality of members joined across time, without interruptions of continuity, going back to and inclusive of a first and foremost important relic, the body of the Prince of the Apostles, Peter, together with other relics and spoils of the Constantinian Basilica, merging new with old members, within sempiternal time.

The fabric of St. Peter's is an unfinished palimpsest. Re-introducing the concept of hybrid representations through the lenses of the exquisite corpse as a result of co-authorship, in present practice, might provide a paradigmatic model to retune contemporary architectural sensibility when dealing with the dilemma between design and preservation in the process of transforming mnemic buildings.

Architectural drawing, in its role of twinned body, does not portray an image to be preserved as is, an archival document to be inventoried, but an image, which is pregnant with the possibility of change. In order to be made sempiternal, mnemic architecture necessitates to be interpreted as an unfinished palimpsest, in both its material constructed form and in its twinned body.

The question of how to intervene within an historic context is a cogent one. Sempiternal cities, which embody the notion of architecture as palimpsest in-the-making, might fail to properly sustain themselves, under the spell of instant architecture philosophies, which allows for designers and buildings to land on history, making a *tabula rasa* of a site's memories. Furthermore the sprawl of cities towards the outskirts contributes to aging the inner historic city, meanwhile significant resources are consumed outgrowing an historic footprint.

In order to plan for a renewal of mnemic architecture through time, and the future sustenance of new buildings as well, architects need to embrace sempiternal-time as a design element. The alteration of an existing palimpsest implies that even though original traces shall not be effaced, being allowed to ambiguously dwell within new narratives, thus admitting for a possibility of re-surfacing memories, through multiple strata, conceiving architectures beyond instant *one-line* stories.

Preservation should critically look at historic buildings not just as documents of the past, but also as living texts, to be interpreted and imaginatively conserved. Textual interpretation is a creative process, a building's life an endless work in progress.

Architectural-conservation critically engages present notions of preservation and design towards



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a possible rethinking of present boundaries and philosophies.<sup>35</sup> The architectural-conservation process at Renaissance St. Peter's corroborates the hypothesis that the Vatican temple maintained its identity despite physical changes. Change is indeed a conservation dilemma, but conservation does not after all differ from creation, when critically reinterpreting memory as a palimpsest in the making.

Alfarano's drawing bears proof of intentions, providing clues about how and why change happened, sustaining the idea that this mnemonic building has been conserved meanwhile being significantly altered. 'Hallowed configuration' in Renaissance drawing is not a mere literal figuration of likeness, it is a palimpsest allowing grasping a process of making through re-making, where sacred memory traces are selectively preserved becoming part of an inviolable configuration.

A drawing thus conceived is an epiphanic demonstration, providing a serendipitous moment of sudden revelation and insight into the essence of a building. Through sempiternal-making past and future, mediate each other dialectically, enabling movement in both temporal directions. An hallowed configuration allows establishing appropriate transformation 'rules', initiating a dialogue between conservation and imagination, defining essential traces which are necessary to sustain memory, meanwhile changes are taking place.

The role of drawings as medium for contemplation is central in the ritual shaping of the "memory of the future". A hallowed configuration is a substratum for the imagination of conservation defining a collective daydreaming strategy according to which multiple authors can imagine possible futures. When Maderno imagined his new addition in 1605, for an elongated eastern arm, he initially drew on a sheet of paper overlaid directly onto Alfarano's plan, adopting Alfarano's stratigraphic drawing strategy and daydream of a hybrid plan.

St. Peter's *Fabbrica* provides a paradigmatic model for architectural-conservation. Architecture is not eternal, it cannot be conserved *as is*, but rather sempiternal. The process through which the sempiternity of mnemonic buildings is achieved requires change. Under this premise architectural conservation, has the potential for the creation of memory through the unfolding of Time.

The perception of time and change varies according to societies, cultures and periods. The narrative of the transformations that took place on the Vatican palimpsest cannot be told through a homogeneous single history. Place is constructed over-time through the merging of multiple unfinished stories. The perception of before and after, is possible when change is visible, thus creating memory. Temporal disjunctions between an anterior and a posterior condition can be made visible through a careful articulation of joints between building members.<sup>36</sup> Time entails both

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<sup>35</sup> Journals such as *Future Anterior*, founded by Architect Jorge Otero-Pailos at Columbia University, inquire the field of preservation observing its ongoing redefinition from a critical point of view. The Department of Interior Architecture of the Rhode Island School of Design just founded in 2009 a new journal 'Interventions in Adaptive Reuse' (IntAR) to question present approaches to the conservation, renovation and transformation of historic buildings.

<sup>36</sup> Oftentimes in present practice such joints articulate changes between historic and contemporary

continuity and succession.

Acknowledging time only as 'photographic memory' of the past, would be tantamount to compressing time to a single instantaneous still-shot of history. The mirror at work in Alfarano's drawing "is the revealing agent (...) of a history that is hidden but present."<sup>37</sup> Embracing the flow of time one embraces change and the heterogeneous. Alfarano's drawing is a 'contiguous imagery', making the passage of time visible through simultaneous layering of individual events. Old and New Basilica are not two separate buildings, replacing one another, on the Vatican hill; they are an ever-changing *continuum*.

Alfarano's drawing has been described as a draft for a possible presentation drawing, but it could instead be interpreted as an original, a 'slow drawing' carrying all the marks of its transformation, just like a fabric's own body.<sup>38</sup> This drawing is a work of mysticism, placing the viewer at a threshold, which transforms seeing into gazing. Alfarano's work goes beyond modern aestheticism and reaches to devotion. A simultaneous looking at the image while reading the 1582 manuscript commentary induces the onlooker in contemplation, gazing a reality beyond the visible dimension of the image. Iconic drawing showcases a significance that can be grasped through contemplative gazing.

The 1590 print served Alfarano in diffusing the power of a sacred portrait.<sup>39</sup> This is a gate, allowing "the transformation of a 'perceptible' visual experience" into mystic vision.<sup>40</sup> Walking into the Vatican Temple, towards the altar is the equivalent of climbing the ladder to heaven; where Christ is the ladder. The ichnography is the chosen frontispiece, through which one can access the essence of the drawing-effigy.<sup>41</sup> To the slow making of the drawing corresponds a particular "hesitant gaze" required in reading and accessing a realm beyond ocular perception.<sup>42</sup> In order for the spectator to become a real 'con-templator', entering the icon/temple, one needs to dwell within the image, something that would not be possible glancing at the drawing.

This is particularly relevant in contemporary Western world, characterized by an attitude towards images, which has been described as one of consumption.<sup>43</sup> 'Icon' is "today the most overused word in English language, evoking anything from a charismatic film star or footballer to

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materials. Dilatation joints, allow for differentiated contraction of construction materials in relationship to temperature changes, thus affording a poetic possibility revealing the passage of time. One interesting example is offered by the dilatation joints in the Minneapolis Mill-City Museum designed by Meyer Schercher & Rockcastle for the 2005 Conversion of a flower mill.

<sup>37</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987.

<sup>38</sup> "*Brutta copia*" or "*copia di lavoro*". It has been also interpreted as a "timid preparation drawing" for a "future" print (Silvan 1992: 12, 21).

<sup>39</sup> As Belting points out "replicas served to repeat the idea of the imprint", which is present in contact relics, such as the Holy Cloth. "It (the Veronica) ranks as a touch relic (*brandea*), as it had been in physical contact with the Original, with Christ himself" (Belting 1994: 221).

<sup>40</sup> De Certeau & Porter 1987: 14.

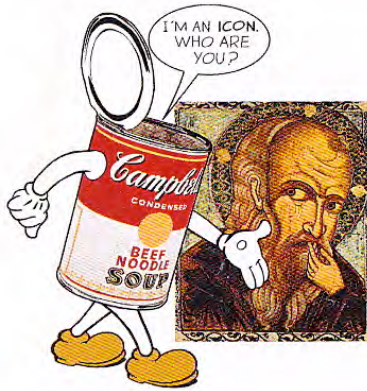
<sup>41</sup> Goffi 2007.

<sup>42</sup> Illich 1998: 3.

<sup>43</sup> Illich 1998: 3.

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Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*", having to do with the popularity and recognizability of a subject (fig. C.5).<sup>44</sup> A current Western notion of 'iconic architecture' is often used in reference to Star Architects' designs. This could be viewed as the practice of production of two-dimensional *pictures of buildings*, designed for printed tourist's guide-books, to generate what Peter Zumthor termed a "Bilbao effect", referring to the instant popularity gained by a site, when an iconic building lands, regardless of context, often offering a slightly edited version of a former embodiment of the same type, with "short term benefits" to local economy.<sup>45</sup>



**fig. C.5**  
Tom Lubbock,  
*'I'm an icon...'*  
Cartoon 1991  
24.5 x 22.5 cm  
© from Cormack 2007: 9

The nearest exit from this flattened notion of architecture as instant making, will need a true change of pace, requiring the architect to prudently *walk the site*, penetrating its deep history and engaging in a dialogue with it. Architectural-conservation needs to develop a 'hesitant gaze', dwelling in both past and future simultaneously to allow for a real grounding of architecture within the hypostatic cultural and physical substratum of a place.

A current understanding of the past as inventory is gradually turning cites into museums, congealing our imagination of conservation, and limiting our understanding of the past to a *read-only* experience, where a real interpretation is negated, by looking in one direction only, retrospectively. Current interpretations of conservation as read-only practice, exhibiting prodigious photographic memory, provide only a limited approximation of the complex secret workings of human memory and culture.

Buildings and drawings could once again be conceived as unfinished entities, avoiding the side effects of "hyperthymestic syndrome", an almost autobiographical memory that allows remembering, like a database, each and every event unselectively.<sup>46</sup> An inability to forget

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<sup>44</sup> Cormack 2007: 7.

<sup>45</sup> Zumthor makes reference to the 'Bilbao effect' and contrasts it with his own work at the Kolumba Museum, which required "patience" in the making of the 17 years realization, and was inspired by the very substance of the artwork present there, rather than the image of the building to be promoted for marketing purposes ([http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=\\_jKogKGP9N8](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_jKogKGP9N8), accessed on May 29, 2010). McClellan 2008: 53.

<sup>46</sup> Parker ES, Cahill L, McGaugh JL 2006: 35–49. Luria 1968. Sacks 1992. This theory of architectural conservation shares a memory model remarkably similar to that of human memory, from a neurological viewpoint. Hyperthymnesia in fact does not allow an individual affected by it to have the ability to retain and

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unnecessary events, or to selectively remember, would make it impossible to function in a normal way.<sup>47</sup>

Architectural-conservation allows for selective remembering and willful forgetting, entailing a continual renewal of memory. An hallowed configuration conserves essence through a mediation between remembering and forgetting. The gap between architecture and conservation might be bridged, reinstating a dialogue between them, through appropriate drawing strategies, leading to an architectural renewal, embracing a twofold look, recollecting memories of the past while simultaneously looking into the future, and allowing for meaningful change.

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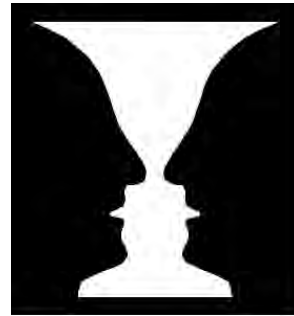
process short-term memories.

<http://www.sciencedaily.com/releases/2007/03/070329092022.htm>

<sup>47</sup> Being mindful of Kevin Lynch's admonition that "Memory cannot retain everything; if it could we would be overwhelmed with data. Memory is the result of a process of selection and of organizing what is selected so that it is within reach in expectable situations. There must also be some random accumulations to enable us to discover unexpected relationships. But serendipity is possible only when recollection is essentially a holding fast to what is meaningful and a release of what is not. To attempt to preserve all of the past would be life denying. We dispose of the physical evidence of the past for the same reason that we forget". Lynch's theoretical hypothesis (1976) are confirmed by contemporary British neurologist Oliver Sacks, whom comments on one of his patients, Franco Magnani, an artist, whom having vivid recollections of his past in the Italian city of Pontito, experiences a state of "double consciousness", a dream state which does not allow him normal functionality in everyday life (Sacks 1992).



**fig. C.6**  
Analog intercollage revealing a true effigy  
embedded in Alfarano's drawing  
© author of dissertation  
(Kindly photographed by David Lepage, July  
2010)



**fig. C.7**  
Rubin's vase

## Appendix A – A Literal Description

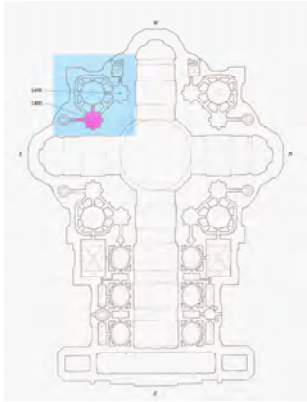


fig. A.1 This plan demonstrates the location of the Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro -where Tiberio Alfarano's 1571 hybrid drawing is currently kept, adjacent to Veronica's pier. © Antonio Pinelli 2000



fig. A.2 Study room (Ottagono dello Storpio)  
© Courtesy of the AFSP



fig. A.3 Frontespice of a publication by the AFSP showing the main entrance to the Archive itself.  
© Courtesy of the AFSP

## APPENDIX A

### A LITERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE ARCHEOLOGICAL LAYERS OF THE 1571 HYBRID DRAWING BY TIBERIO ALFARANO

Tiberio Alfarano's 1571 hybrid drawing facture combines traditional drawing methods with decoupage, and techniques of icon painting (fig. 1.3). Alfarano stated that he drafted only one drawing: "... *numeris atque alphabeticis elementis accurate proportionateque delineavi quo facillius omnia intelligi possint unoque folio perstrinxi utcommodius oculis fidelium proponerentur.*" (Alfarano 1914: 4). The chosen orthographic projection was an ichnography. The drawing includes the footprints of both old and new St. Peter's, accurately tracing the geometric outline of the two and their physical relationship. The drawing is acknowledged for providing relevant documentary information regarding the locations of precious relics, spoils and altars within St. Peter's, accurately identified through alphabetical and numerical indexes.<sup>1</sup> The burial of Saint Peter's, coinciding with the main altar, is indicated with the number one (fig. A.4).

<sup>1</sup> The alphabetical index is used to indicate different members forming the basilica's body, such as apse, transept, main nave, etc. The numerical index is used to indicate the position of altars, precious spoils and relics. Several important spoils and altars are indicated in two locations, the original one and the one where they have been translated. St. Peter's itself exists in two places simultaneously through the overlay of old plan and new plan.



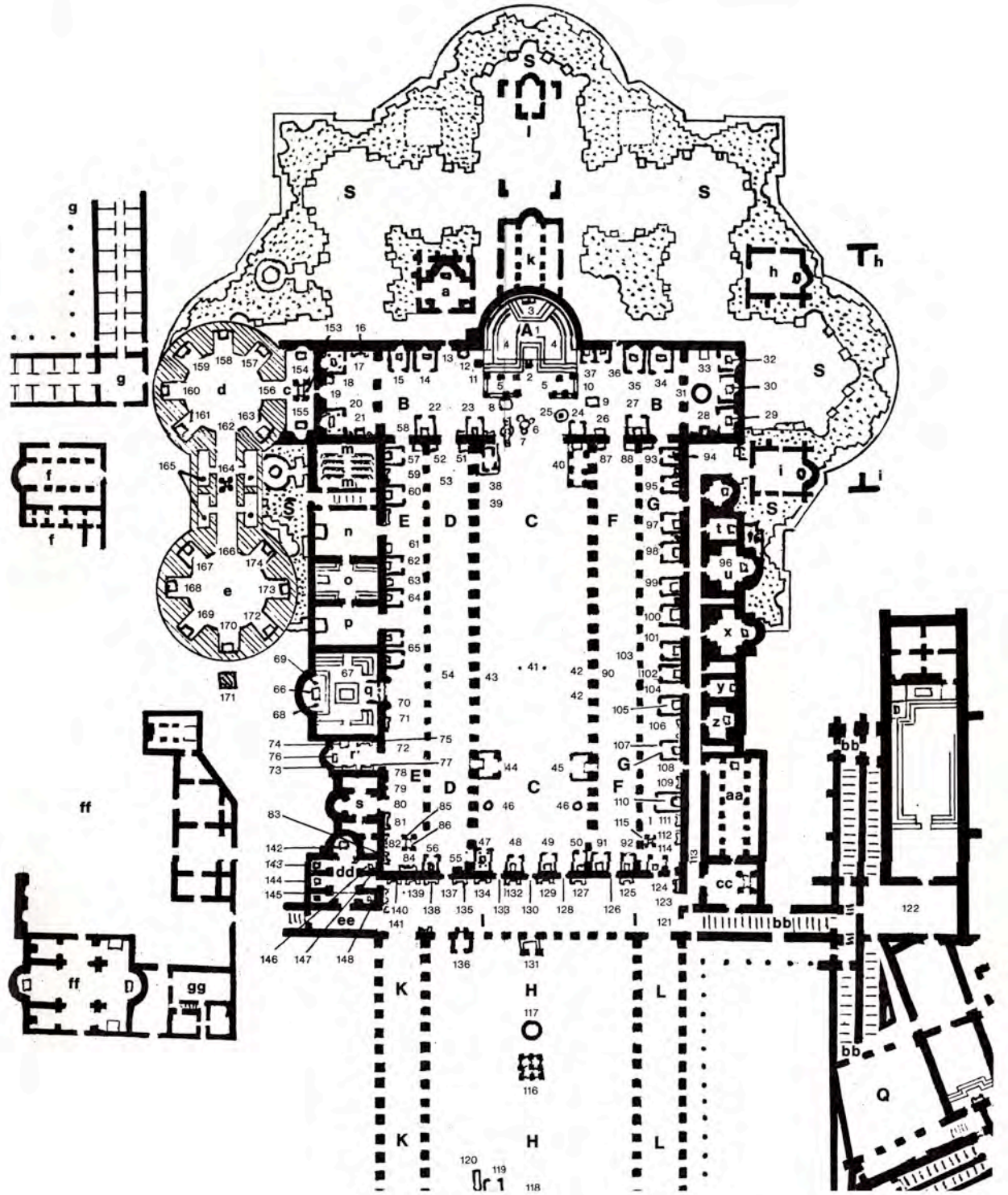


fig. A.4 Alfarano's plan redrawn with indications of numerical and alphabetical indexing  
 © Galassi Paluzzi 1975

## Appendix A – A Literal Description

The drawing is currently preserved in the *Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro* (AFSP), located within the basilica and precisely in the Octagon of Simon Magus above the adjacent spaces of the Chapel of the Madonna of the column, behind Veronica's pier (fig. A.1). When Michele Cerrati published his seminal work on Alfarano in 1914 the drawing was conserved in the *Archivio Capitolare*; but with the exception of a short period between 1925 and 1948 when the drawing was exhibited in the Museo Petriano (room N), the drawing has always been conserved in the Basilica's archives and never left St. Peter's.<sup>2</sup> The drawing was misplaced for a period, and it was again located in 1988 as reported by Zander (1988). Giovanni Pietro Chattard (1762) refers to Alfarano's drawing as a *tavola* (table), thus suggesting that the drawing was mounted on wood, and reports that it was framed with a black cornice and hung in the *Reverendo Archivio del Capitolato*.<sup>3</sup> The frame had been removed some time later. The drawing shows the marks of the framing; A 4 cm edge all around it, shows that the paper was protected from direct sunlight, and is better preserved (fig. A.5).

In order to understand the drawing in terms of the stratigraphic sequence of making, it is necessary to analyze its materiality in terms of both media and graphic techniques. The physical superimposition of new and old basilica is reflected in the process of drawing, generated by a superimposition of physical layers. Alfarano literally superimposed Etienne Dupérac's 1569 print onto a base-drawing of the old basilica, thus referencing the architectural overlay of the new basilica onto the vestiges of the old (fig. 1.7, 1.8, Appendix B: Animation 1).

Alfarano's hand drawing is a representation of process, showing a superimposition of two plans. He did not just draw the physical result of the new addition, demonstrating the actual plan above ground level in 1571, but rather he drew the whole floor plan of the old basilica and the whole floor plan of the new merged, demonstrating through the process of drawing the making of the Vatican palimpsest.

The base drawing is constituted by several sheets of paper of various dimensions, quality and consistency joined together and glued on a wood board, which became its physical support (fig.

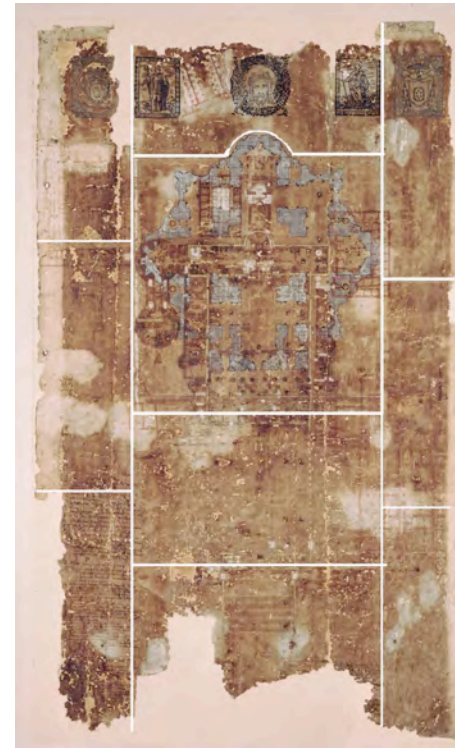


fig. A.5 Alfarano's 1571 hybrid drawing digitally altered to reveal the edges of the adjoining sheets which form the substratum of the representation.  
© Courtesy of the AFSP

<sup>2</sup> Notiziario Mensile della Basilica di San Pietro Anno VI, Gennaio 1994, 1: 2.

<sup>3</sup> Chattard explains that the copper plate from which Alfarano's 1590 engraving was made was also hung and framed with a black cornice just below the drawing. "*ove esiste la Guardaroba della Basilica. Sopra questa porta si rimira incastrata entro cornice near una Lamina di rame alta palmi tre e mezzo, e larga palmi due e mezzo, ov'e' incisa la Pianta della Basilica Vecchia avanti la sua demolizione, fatta da Tiberio Alfarano*"; "*E sopra la detta, altra Tabella con cornice near dell'altezza palmi nove, larga palmi tre e mezzo, esprimente la Gran Pianta incisa in Rame della Basilica Vecchia e Nuova, con tutte le fabbriche, che ivi esistevano*" (Chattard 1762: 257-258). The edges of the drawing confirm that the drawing had been framed for a period. The paper is in fact better preserved along the edges. Drawing and print were both published by Cerrati (1914) in black and white. Cerrati added to the original Latin text by Alfarano a detailed commentary. Pierluigi Silvan published the 1571 drawing in color for the first time in his 1992 article. However the size of the reproduction and quality makes it hard to appreciate its complex detailing and appearance.



A.5). The drawing's overall dimensions are 1172 mm x 666 mm.

Alfarano attested that for the survey of the basilica's footprint he relied on both his own on site measurements, in addition to existing drawings by other authors. He wrote that he relied primarily on three drawings and that one of them portrayed the old and new basilica's plan together.<sup>4</sup> Alfarano redraws in manuscript G5 the scale of the three drawings, providing the following descriptions:<sup>5</sup>

*'Schala d'un foglio Reale<sup>6</sup> della vecchia [chiesa] in piombo signata';*  
*'Schala d'un foglio Reale della Vecchia et nova da farsi';*  
*'Misure infrascritte delli palmi del disegno grande del quidem messer Pace<sup>7</sup>'*

Of the above-mentioned drawings, at least one portrayed both plans. This must have been essential in order to establish a correct relationship and a precise alignment between new and the old elements.

Scholars have often hypothesized that Alfarano might have been inspired to portray the two plans together by Bramante's Uff. 20 A, drawn in the fall of 1505 (fig. 1.2).<sup>8</sup> This is the only surviving drawing where new and old basilicas are drawn together, executed prior to Alfarano's 1571 plan.<sup>9</sup> However, while describing his unknown drawing source, Alfarano stated that the new plan depicted there, is one 'to be made' (*da farsi*), suggesting that this could be a drawing of a new addition not-yet-built. A comparison of the scale used in this drawing with Uff. 20A would also exclude that this be Bramante's drawing.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Enzo Bentivoglio (1997) reports that Alfarano uses at least three drawings as 'sources' for his plan.

<sup>5</sup> BAV, Archivio del Capitolo di San Pietro, G5: 298. Bentivoglio 1997

<sup>6</sup> The dimension of the sheet 'foglio reale' are 65x50 cm.

<sup>7</sup> Ennio Francia (1977: 99) mentions the name of Pace di Domenico Naldini as one of the executors of the 'imposte del tamburo'. Bills dating from 18 September 1567 carry his name as one of the persons paid in conjunction with such works.

<sup>8</sup> Paper, grid with 5 palmi squares in brown ink; left margin and top glued on during the drawing. Measures 68.4x46.9. Provenance Papers of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger (?). This description of materials and tools is provided in Millon, Henry & Vittorio Lampugnani, 1994 (p. 604). Millon, Henry & Vittorio Lampugnani 1994 (p. 604).

<sup>9</sup> Alfarano's drawing and print and Bramante's U 20A are the only known representations showing old St. Peter's before it was demolished. During the drawing's period (1569-1576), significant portions of old St. Peter's had already been demolished.

<sup>10</sup> A 'foglio Reale' measures approximately 650 x 500 mm. Bramante's U 20A measures 684 x 468 mm. Bramante's drawing is composed of 3 adjoining sheets. In terms of scale the *foglio Reale della Vecchia et nova da farsi* in Alfarano's manuscript G5 (of which a 1:1 photographic reproduction can be found in Bentivoglio 1997) presents a segment of 4 mm corresponding to 10 palmi. In Bramante's drawing U 20A the square grid is 5 x 5 *palmi* (Thones 1996) equal to 4 x 4 mm (measured by myself) which form 1 *palmi romano* (drawing scale 1:300). Therefore at a preliminary examination they do not seem to correspond. This does not exclude though that Alfarano might have seen the drawing, but only that it would not be the one indicated in the manuscript. Graphically the two drawings differ significantly.

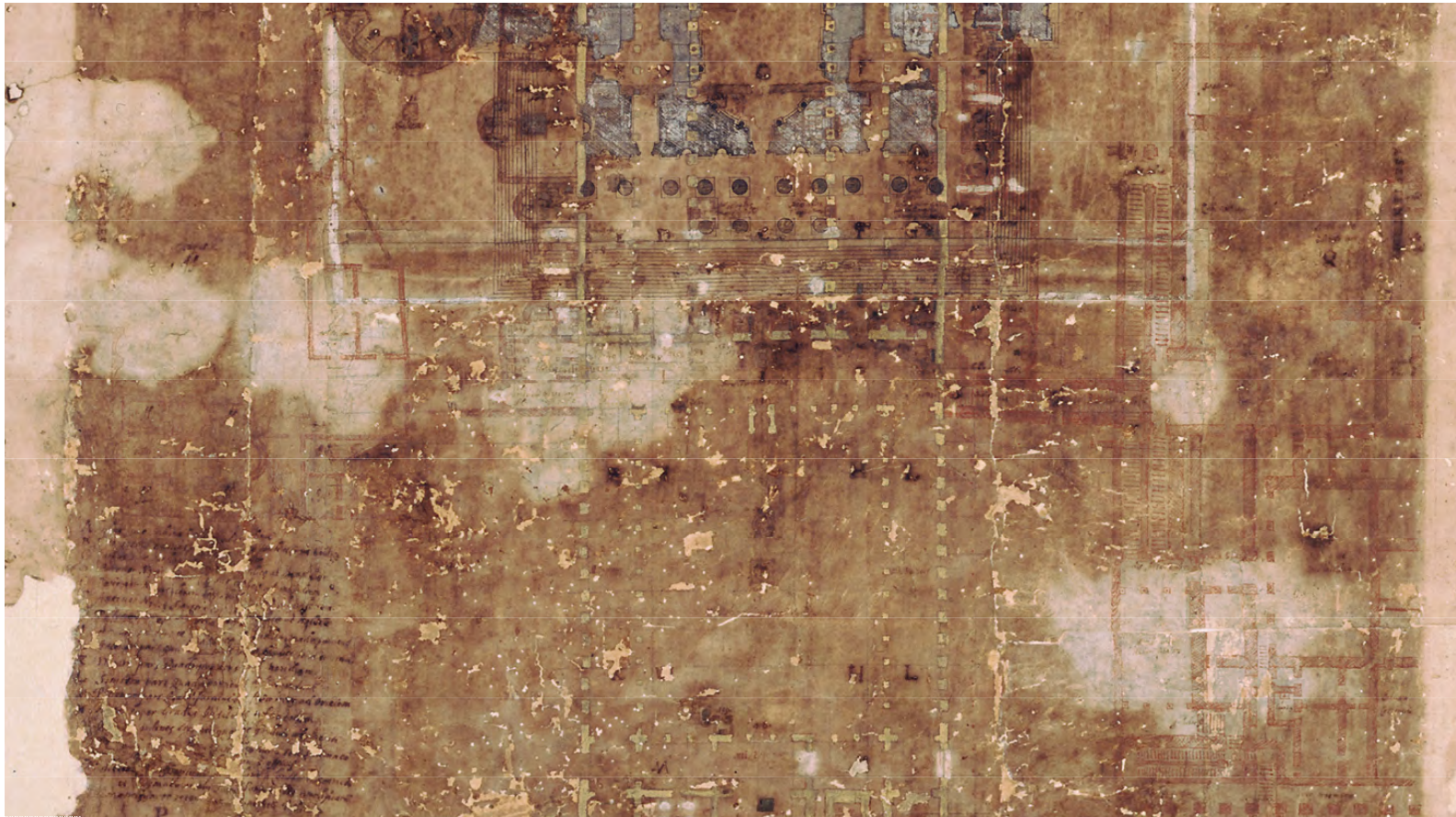


fig. A.6 Alfarano's 1571 hybrid drawing. Detail of the eastern termination and original portico of the old basilica. Note the regularity of the grid in this portion of the drawing, which terminates where Dupérac's print is overlaid. © Courtesy of the AFSP

Visual analysis of the drawing and verbal descriptions in the 1582 manuscript allow inferring that the Constantinian Basilica was drawn first as a whole in its original integrity on a base drawing in graphite.<sup>11</sup> Alfarano stated:

*"eiusdem Templi Clericus in hanc formam ut prius fuerat accurate modulateque delineavit, et desuper novi Templi Michaelis Angeli bonaroti Florentini ichnographiam adiecit..."*<sup>12</sup>

After completing the outline of the old Temple's plan the author superimposed on it a cut out of Dupérac's 1569 print, which was glued above (fig. 1.7 & 1.8).<sup>13</sup> He then redrew portions of the old basilica that were concealed by the overlay. A painter's grid was used to align the two drawings (base hand drawing and print). The grid is uniformly drawn in graphite onto the portion of the old basilica not covered by the overlaid print (this corresponds to the lower part of the drawing or east side of the temple; fig. A.6). The grid could also have been used as a scaling device, when referencing other drawings as sources for the reconstruction of the old plan, either made by the author or consulted as references.

<sup>11</sup> The restorer of the drawing Pietro Tiburzi attests to the use of graphite in the drafting of the drawing. *Notiziario Mensile della Basilica di San Pietro Anno VI, Gennaio 1994, 1: 2.*

<sup>12</sup> Alfarano 1914: XXVII-XXVIII.

<sup>13</sup> Alfarano started to work on the drawing after 1569. This is determined based on the fact that he cut out Dupérac's 1569 print and mounted it on his hand drawn old plan and continued working by drawing over it.





fig. A.7 Alfarano's 1571 hybrid drawing. Detail of the portion of the drawing where Dupérac's print is overlaid. Note the grid in this portion is present only within the outline of the piers and exterior walls. © Courtesy of the AFSP

Observing the surface of the 1569 print in the drawing, it appears that the grid is contained only within the footprint of the piers, within their outline (fig. A.7). Some grid lines markings appear also on the vertical edges of Dupérac's print (north and south), reminiscent of a stitching. Short segments mark the suturing of print and underlying plan, use to aligning the two plans (fig.

Silvan (1992) refers to it as a “strange grid” (1.7 mm x 1.7 mm) and affirmed that it is unrelated to the modular units (roman palm) used as unit measure in this drawing.<sup>15</sup> However the role of the grid is essential. The first two lines of the grid to be drawn are the main axis of the basilica, which originate in the burial of Peter.<sup>16</sup> Identifying the main axis in both drawings allowed establishing a precise alignment between the two.

Alfarano rendered the two plans with differentiated *poché*. The old plan was rendered with a thin layer of Gold paint. This technique is used exclusively for the walls of the Constantinian basilica. Pietro Tiburzi, master restorer at the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, described the technique as similar to that employed in illuminated books to create precious miniatures decorations finishing.<sup>17</sup> The gold paint would be applied on a surface prepared with a base coat of *gesso*, over which subsequently it can be applied the ‘bole’ (*‘bolo armeno’*), which was used as the base for the gold.<sup>18</sup> Subsequently the gold paint was applied with a soft brush, going over the layer of red bole, which is still visible marking the outer edges of the walls. This exemplifies a likely technical sequence for the preparation of the gold paint *poché* of the Constantinian basilica’s walls. It is likely that the red-ink outlining the edges of the walls be the remaining evidence of the application of the layer of bole.<sup>19</sup>

The *confessio* area, where the altar and the burial of Saint Peter’s is located is rendered also with gold paint, signifying the lasting presence of the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles, and marked with a red cross executed above the gold.

The Roman mausoleums are drawn last, after completing the rendering of Michelangelo’s walls. Red ink has been used to outline them. They constitute the top layer in the drawing, even though they are the lower one in terms of archeological presence in the actual Vatican grounds. The layering sequence is evident in a well-preserved right side portion of the drawing in correspondence of the north edge of the transept (fig. A.7). Other buildings drawn in the plan, such as temples and monasteries are also outlined in red ink. A crossed hatched *poché*, in red ink, completes their rendering. The roman mausoleums appear sketchy and imprecise. Alfarano does not differentiate between roman antiquities and Christian monuments in terms of their renderings.

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<sup>14</sup> This makes all the more apparent the possibility to use the grid to align the two drawings.

<sup>15</sup> My measurement of the grid corresponds to that by Enzo Bentivoglio (1997) but differs from that by Pierluigi Silvan (1992), who reports a grid of 1.6x 1.6mm.

<sup>16</sup> Silvan 1992.

<sup>17</sup> Pietro Tiburzi mentions the use of a gold leaf, while a visual examination of the drawing entrusted by His Holy Excellency Monsignor Vittorio Lanzani to Professor Nazareno Gabrielli, former Director of the Vatican Museum and conservation expert in charge of embalming the body of the popes, identified this as gold paint at the presence of the author of this dissertation (June 2009).

<sup>18</sup> The bole can be red, yellow or black.

<sup>19</sup> Mario Tiburzi, Restorer of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, kindly confirmed this hypothesis. He also suggested that leaving the edge of the ‘*bolo armeno*’ exposed, highlights the gold.



## Appendix A – A Literal Description

Michelangelo's plan poché is rendered with white wash and azure tempera (*caeruleum*). The original print (fig. 1.7) shows an oblique hatching, which has been covered with white wash, followed by a layer of azure lean *tempera*.<sup>20</sup> The graphite grid lines are layered on top of this final layer. This stratum could have been executed in preparation for silver paint, thus making the grid lines disappear underneath, if and when executed. The gold paint poché of the Constantinian Basilica is layered above Michelangelo's walls making the old basilica appear floating above Michelangelo's plan. This is coherent with the rendering in the 1590's print by Alfarano (fig. 1.4), executed by Natale Bonifacio da Sebenico, and derived from this drawing. In this print in fact the walls of the Constantinian Basilica are rendered with a dense crossed hatched poché, which stands out in relationship to the rendering of the new walls, which are outlined with a tenuous dotted poché enclosed within dashed wall edges. It is also to be noted that only the portions of Michelangelo's walls, which lie outside of the original footprint of Constantine's basilica were engraved (fig. 1.4).<sup>21</sup>

All hand written text in the drawing is executed with brown iron based ink.<sup>22</sup> Marks of erasures like the attempt to hide the edges of Dupérac's print are covered with white wash (*biacca*).<sup>23</sup>

The wood board on which the drawing is currently mounted is no longer the original one, which was removed during restoration in 1992-93.<sup>24</sup> The original one was disposed of. A new wood board was added as support for the deteriorated drawing. Pietro Tiburzi, a master restorer of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, executed the restoration. The drawing was detached from the wood with water vapors, lifting the drawing. This process caused the drawing to be dismembered and removed in fragments that were later recomposed. Due to this restoration certain drawing fragments have been lost. One of the critical elements, which have disappeared, is the compass, i.e. the scaling device, which was located in the lower left side. The compass is still visible in the 1914 black and white reproduction of the drawing that can be found in Cerrati (1914). The edges of the drawing, less deteriorated, reveal that possibly the drawing had been framed for a period. The drawing was repositioned on Japanese paper and later mounted on the new wood board.

In order to appreciate the condition of the drawing before the restoration we can rely on a photograph of the drawing published in Bentivoglio (1997) documenting the drawing (fig. A.9).<sup>25</sup>

<sup>20</sup> The following is a description of the poché of Michelangelo's walls in Pierluigi Silvan (1992): "*tempera magra color turchese chiaro dato su uno strato di biacca*". The information regarding materials used in the making of the drawing result from the investigations conducted on the drawing during restoration by Pietro Tiburzi.

<sup>21</sup> This is the west portion of the new temple and it includes the apse, Veronica's pier and Saint Helena's pier, in addition to a portion of the north transept and a portion of the south transept covered by the earlier St. Petronilla's chapel.

<sup>22</sup> Silvan 1992.

<sup>23</sup> He used '*biacca*' in order to efface certain elements. His erasures though leave traces through which change can be detected. An example is the covering of a circular *tempietto* drawn in Dupérac's print in correspondence of the burial place of Peter's, which was never realized.

<sup>24</sup> Notiziario Mensile della Basilica di San Pietro Anno VI, Gennaio 1994, N.1: 2

<sup>25</sup> Before the 1992 restoration the drawing had been photographed again to document its conditions and



fig. A.8 Macro detail of Alfarano's 1571 drawing showing the edge of the print overlaid onto the base sheet. The black line framing the print was covered with *biacca*; horizontal segments mark the alignment of the two drawings.  
© Courtesy of the AFSP

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Cerrati provides the first printed black and white reproduction of the 1571 hybrid drawing. The first and only color reproduction of the drawing up to the present inclusion of the color drawing in this dissertation, is provided by Pierluigi Silvan in his 1992 article on Alfarano's drawing.

The verso of Alfarano's drawing became visible during the restoration. It had been observed that the drawing did not present any drawing or markings on the verso. This has been explained, to the author of this dissertation, by Oscar Cocciolo, whom assisted Pietro Tiburzi during restoration in 1992-93.<sup>26</sup> Cocciolo stated that if drawn areas had been found, open 'windows' would have been left in the back of the 'Japanese paper-support' added during restoration, and the drawing would not have placed on a new wood support. The absence of drawings and markings on the back confirms that the drawing was conceived from the beginning as one face only, like an icon, and was mounted on wood as support for the portrait.

The Japanese paper confers to the drawing a continuous elastic support on which the drawing's fragments have been recomposed. The drawing was reconstructed and glued onto the Japanese paper, which in turn is not glued on the new wood board, but simply resting on it, and attached along the edges with tape. A protective Plexiglas layer –mounted at the corners of the wood support without touching the drawing- has been added to frame and protect it. The Plexiglas is distanced about 3 cm apart from the drawing. The Plexiglas is covered with a black fabric, to protect it from direct light exposure. His Excellency Monsignor Vittorio Lanzani gave dispositions that a protective temperature and moisture controlled case be built to preserve the drawing from further deteriorations (June 2009).

The 1538 *muro divisorio* is outlined and rendered with oblique hatching in brown ink. The orientation of the hatched lines is opposite to those marking Michelangelo's walls.

The iconographic elements embedded in the top margin of the drawing, such as the coat of arms of the Pope and archbishop of St. Peter's as well as the Holy Face or Veronica and the print clippings of Saint Peter and Saint Paul were added last and are spoils cut out from period prints (fig. 2.8).

The Holy face is aligned with the main vertical axis of the basilica. Its peculiar iconography, is an invention by Alfarano and results from assembling various print clippings. The Holy Face is surrounded by an evergreen garland with laurel leaves, a detail, which makes it a *unicum* within the history of representation of the Holy Face (fig. 2.1).

Saint Peter stands on the right side of the Veronica, while Saint Paul is positioned to the left (fig. 2.3). Peter and Paul are clearly identifiable by the inscriptions of their names and their typical iconographic attributes, respectively the Keys and the Sword. The series is completed by the insignia of Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) to the far left and that of the Archpriest of St. Peter's,

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preserve documentary evidence. This information has been kindly provided by Dottor Zander, Director of the Ufficio Tecnico of the Fabbrica di San Pietro. (Photo n. 7791 Archivio Fotografico della Reverenda Fabbrica di San Pietro)

<sup>26</sup> The author of this dissertation wishes to thank Mario Tiburzi, son of Pietro Tiburzi, for his precious help in contacting Oscar Cocciolo and organizing a meeting with him.

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Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, to the far right. The figures of Peter and Paul, respectively to the right and left side of Veronica's veil, are composed each of a single xylographic print clipping. It is possible to hypothesize that the two prints are derived from the same printed source since their frame and iconographic style match.

The insignia of pope Gregorius XIII and cardinal Alessandro Farnese to the far left and far right are also the result of the collage of multiple print clippings. Each is composed by two clippings. The central element portrays the coat of arms while the oval frame surrounding it is a separate piece. The two frames to the left and right are identical. They present winged angel's heads in the four corners.

Traditional period representations portray the Holy Face surrounded by the halo and/or the crown of thorns.<sup>27</sup> Barbara Jatta, Director of the Print and Drawings Cabinet at the BAV attributed (June 2009) this *bulino* print spoil to the school of Martin Schongauer (1448-1495), the most well known German printmaker before Albrecht Dürer. The garland surrounding it is a xylographic print clipping. The space between the central clipping (Holy Face) and outer one (garland) is filled with smaller print clippings representing foliage, fruits and wheat. A total of seven clippings have been added to generate this iconographic invention. In terms of stratigraphic sequence, the garland is added after having glued the central clipping of the Holy Face (fig. 2.1).

Silvan suggested that Alfarano might have inserted the coat of arms of pope Pius V in the drawing,<sup>28</sup> and that only later he substituted this insignia with that of pope Gregorius XIII elected in 1572. This hypothesis was based on the fact that the drawing was not completed until 1571. It was Pope Pius V whom on December 21, 1569 conceded primacy to the Lateran Basilica.<sup>29</sup> It is also possible though that the icons in the top portion of the drawing have been added only in 1572 when pope Gregorius XIII ascended to the papal chair. Alfarano in fact patiently drafted this drawing over a long period, and continued making changes and additions to it, marking the translations of precious relics and altars. He started drafting in 1569 (Silvan 1992). The drawing was completed in its overall layout of the two plans in 1571; editing continues until 1576 mirroring a slow transformation process.<sup>30</sup>

Silvan formulated a hypothesis that this might not be *the* 1571 drawing by Alfarano, as it was identified by Cerrati, but rather a draft executed earlier by the author in preparation for the 1571 drawing, which in his hypothesis would be lost.<sup>31</sup> According to Silvan in fact the 1571 drawing was a presentation drawing; while the drawing currently preserved at the AFSP would be only a draft. The doubt expressed by Silvan regarding the date of execution of the surviving drawing and its purpose hinges on the presence and visibility of the grid, and the fact that Alfarano kept making changes and annotations to it over a long period of time and at least until 1576.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Morello and Wolf eds. 2000; Istituto Internazionale di Ricerca sul Volto di Cristo 1999.

<sup>28</sup> Elected to the papal chair in 1566 and died on May 1<sup>st</sup> 1572

<sup>29</sup> Bull. Vat. II: 72; Martorelli, *Storia del Clero Vaticano*, Roma 1972: 252. Cerrati 1914.

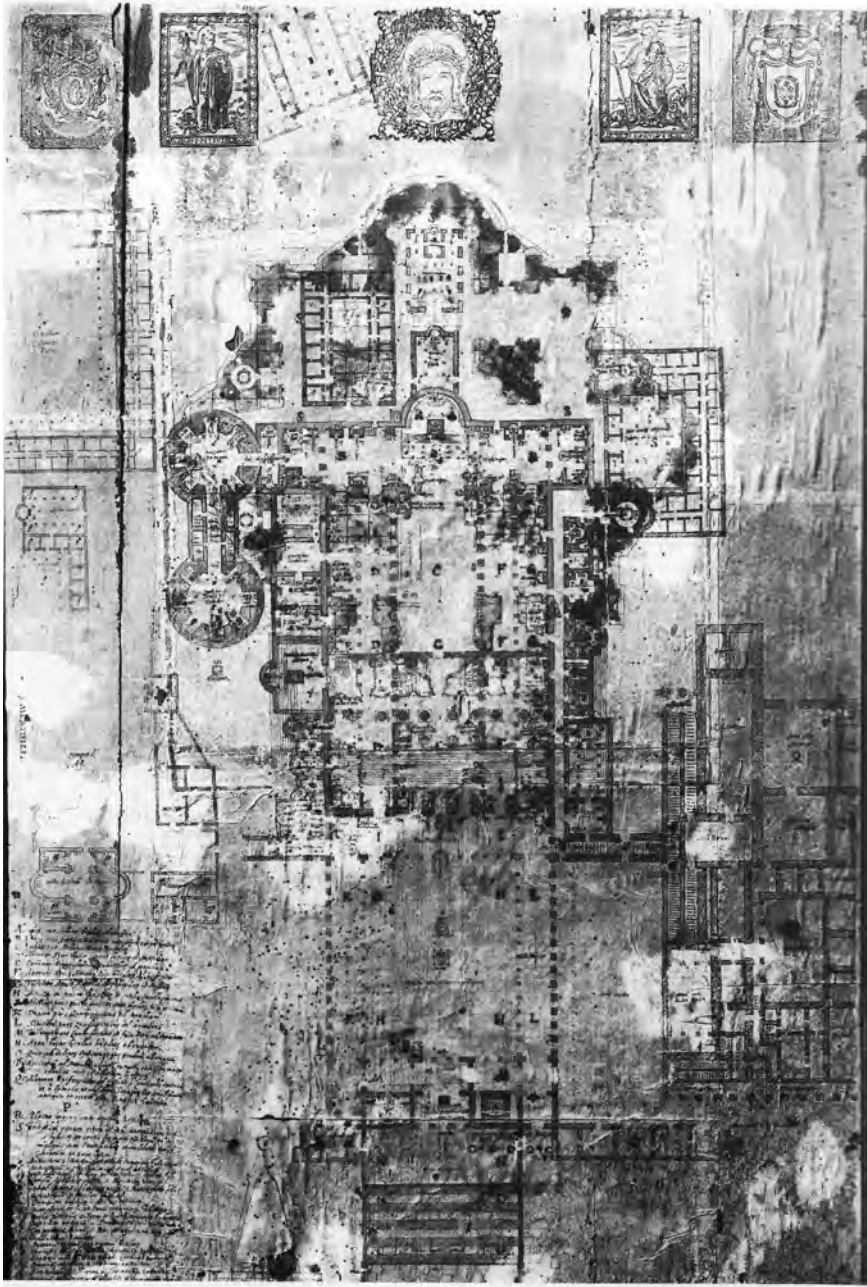
<sup>30</sup> Cerrati 1914: XXX.

<sup>31</sup> Silvan 1992.

<sup>32</sup> The same happened with his G4 manuscripts (Archivio Capitolare), to which he kept adding new elements

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However the precious gold paint rendering of the walls of the old basilica induce us to believe that this was not a draft but indeed a presentation drawing conceived as an unfinished work in progress rather than as a final drawing, marking all the changes of its making and remaking just as would an original. Furthermore the azure lean tempera could be a preparation layer for the execution of a final layer of silver paint. If this hypothesis is correct, the grid within the new walls would have been ultimately concealed.



**fig. A.9**  
Tiberio Alfarano, 1571  
Ichnographia  
Photographed before 1914  
Mix medium: hand drawing & print 1172  
1172 x 666 mm  
© AFSP, from Bentivoglio 1997

until 1586. The manuscript had been completed in 1582 (Cerrati 1914).



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