

Renaissance Visual Thinking: Architectural Representation as Medium to Contemplate ‘True Form’

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Biography

Federica Goffi is Assistant Professor at the Architecture Department of Carleton University where she teaches acoustics, advanced technologies and studio. She has been Assistant Professor at RISD, where she taught studio, architectural representation and a seminar focusing on ‘time’ as a design material. She is a PhD candidate in Architectural Representation and Education, (WAAC, Virginia Tech), where she is working under the guidance of Director Marco Frascari (Carleton University) and Professor Paul Emmons (Virginia Tech).

She holds a ‘Dottore in Architettura’, University of Genoa, Italy. She is a registered architect in her native country, Italy, where she has worked as a professional in the field of conservation. She has participated in international conferences. She published a few articles and books excerpts in the field of conservation.

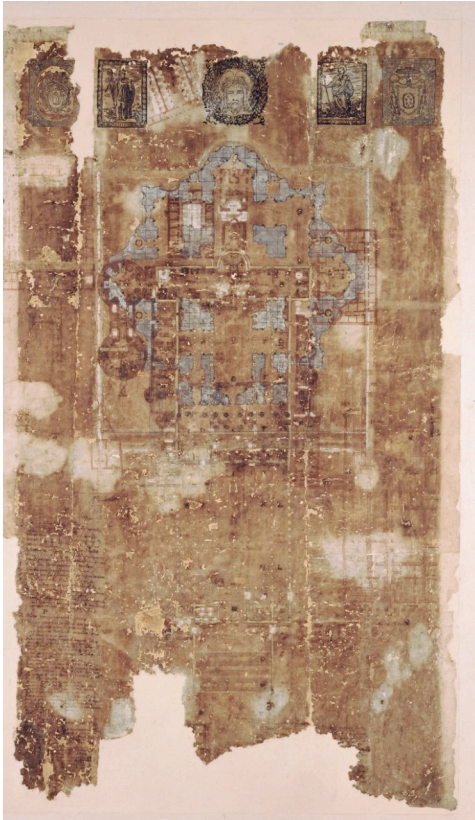


Fig. 1 Tiberio Alfarano, hand drawing, 1571 (dimensions 1172 x 666 mm). © Courtesy of the Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro

Abstract

During the renaissance architectural drawing was understood as a medium to contemplate ‘true form’. True form was not just a representation of ‘likeness’ but also an epiphany of ‘presence’. An analysis of the 1571 hand drawn ichnography of Saint Peter’s Basilica by Tiberio Alfarano, provides clues about the weaving of ‘ideas’ into drawing.

Alfarano’s work is ‘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. Alfarano’s drawing is -in Carlo Ginzburg’s terms¹- a ‘singularity’, presenting a series of anomalies when compared with the surviving body of renovation drawings (1506-1626). A key anomaly is the fact that Alfarano is not an architect and this is not a ‘design drawing’ *per se*. This perhaps explains why this drawing has been largely overlooked by recent scholarship.

Alfarano claims to represent a ‘**true form**’ (*forma sacrosanctae*), i.e. an a-temporal essence, which goes beyond a one-time likeness. While reflecting ‘counteracting’ views on the future of the basilica the drawing provides Alfarano’s influential viewpoint regarding the ongoing ‘debate’ on the cross type to be ‘represented’ by the temple’s body, i.e. the Greek and/or the Latin cross. Such well-known controversy has been amply discussed by recent scholarship². A critical analysis of the clues hidden in the drawing indicates the ‘presence’ and ‘necessity’ of a ‘hybrid’ body formed by merging two cross types.

In today’s understanding architectural drawing projects an image of ‘likeness’. As such representation renounces to the dialogue with humanities and becomes a narcissus, i.e. a self-reflection of the visual world projecting a ‘still’ 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 very notion that architectural drawing is a portrayal of likeness, restoring its full potential to represent ‘true form’, i.e. an iconic representation of presence.

Making as Re-Making: ‘disassembling’ and ‘rebirth’ of Saint Peter’s Basilica

During the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century the so-called ‘Old’ basilica incorporated a series of transformations guided by the hands of numerous architects and popes. In a period of 120 years -starting in 1506 under Julius II’s pontificate (1503-1513) and coming to ‘completion’ in 1526 under Paul V (1605-1621) - the ‘body’ of the Vatican temple was entirely renovated into the so called ‘New’ Saint Peter’s. The re-consecration of the Basilica was held on November 18th, 1626 following the completion of the main facade designed by Carlo Maderno (1556-1629). The regeneration process undergone by Old Saint Peter’s involved its gradual ‘disassembling’ and its ‘rebirth’ in New Saint Peter’s. Alfarano’s drawing (Fig. 1) executed in a sort of ‘middle point’ within the time line of historical and architectural ‘changes’ is of paramount significance in order to understand the meaning of such changes and connect the ‘before’ with the ‘after’ -and- to understand the ‘old’ and ‘new’ Basilica as a ‘continuum’ rather than as two separate buildings.

The ‘disassembly’ –i.e. undoing the building spoil by spoil, relic after relic- of Old Saint Peter’s happened ‘simultaneously’ with the new construction. The two bodies ‘new’ and ‘old’ joining, intertwining and overlapping, were never truly separated, nor could they be said to be so today.

Not even the ‘*muro divisorio*’ -built in 1538 by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, under the pontificate of Paul III (1534-1549)- erected between the new ‘construction-site’ around the *confessio* area and the eastern portion of the old basilica ‘divided’ them in a true sense³. On the western side -beyond the ‘*muro divisorio*’ - the tomb of the apostle Peter, the constantinian *pergula* and the old basilica’s apse survived ‘incorporated by’ and ‘protected within’ Bramante’s *tegurium*⁴. Portions of the transept were still standing while the original floors of the old basilica lay concealed underneath a layer of construction site materials. The ‘*muro divisorio*’ should be interpreted as a ‘shared’ wall (*Lat. Murus Communis*) joining ‘two bodies’ and suturing the remaining portion of the old basilica to provide stability to surviving walls and columns.

Alfarano refers to the ‘*muro divisorio*’ as ‘*pariete noviter*⁵’, ‘*novorum parietum*⁶’ and ‘*maximos parietes veterem et novam intersecantes...*⁷’. Rather than as an element of ‘separation’ the

‘muro divisorio’ should be interpreted as a new ‘intersecting’ element added to assure continuity/contiguity.

Maintaining the identity of the original Vatican temple was an essential problem throughout renovation. The ‘*instauratio*’⁸, i.e. the renovation was meant to be a ‘conservation’ project, i.e. the making was a re-making. The preface of Alfarano’s manuscript *De Basilicae Vaticanae antiquissima et nova structura* (1582, 1914) witnesses the importance of such a concern⁹. The manuscript’s title implies the ‘presence’ and ‘joining’ of two bodies -*antiquissima ‘et’ nova structura*-, which are demonstrated in the ‘*unoque folio perstrinxi*’, i.e. the ‘one’ and only drawing associated with the manuscript. In the drawing Alfarano illustrates the coexistence of two plans: the ‘old’ Latin cross and the ‘new’ central plan by Michelangelo, which together form a hybrid body, i.e. a composite plan.

Archeological excavations conducted during the 1940’s and 50’s¹⁰ around the ‘*confessio*’ area brought to light vestiges of Old Saint Peter’s, such as truncated columns and walls, including portions of the ‘*pariete noviter*’.

The Old Basilica did not cease to exist, but rather it was ‘*incorpora*-ted’ within the new. Alfarano makes specific reference in the preface to the fact that the ‘new’ pilasters were founded within the side aisles leaving the ‘old’ floor and vestiges – i.e. the physical footprint of the old basilica of the main nave and transept- ‘*intact*’. This was ‘*necessary*’ because of the presence of the holy sepultures underneath the basilica’s floor which form a ‘*living*’ cross demonstrating the presence of the true ‘*body*’ of the Church of Christ.

The hand drawing: demonstration –in the making-

The hand drawing by Tiberio Alfarano -currently preserved in the *Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro* [AFSP] in the Vatican¹¹- with its superimposition of ‘physical’ and ‘metaphorical’ layers is a demonstration -in the making- of the presence of two bodies sempiternally joined and coexisting together.

The conservation of the old cross was required by Julius II. Alfarano states that only under such condition Pope Julius II approved the ‘*experimento*’¹². The word ‘*experimento*’ -used by Alfarano- poignantly points out the nature of the design process as a path undertaken but of which the final result cannot be

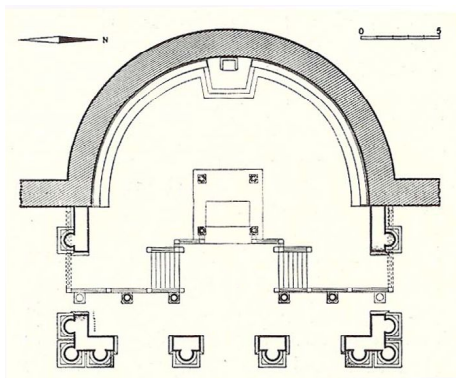


Fig. 2 Reconstruction of the plan of Bramante’s *tegurium* (©Apollonj Ghetti B. M., & al., 1951).

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 time when the *Tegurium* still existed.

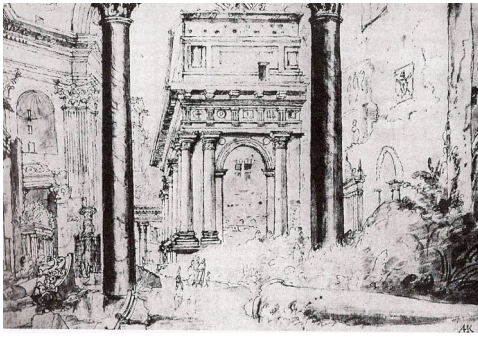


Fig. 3 1532-36 1544 View from the north of the old transept toward the altar by Martin Van Heemskerck demonstrating the survival of the screen columns and their architrave (1498-1574) (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Collection Anckarvård, n. 637).

Pen and ink with white wash on paper (©Millon & Lampugnani 1994).

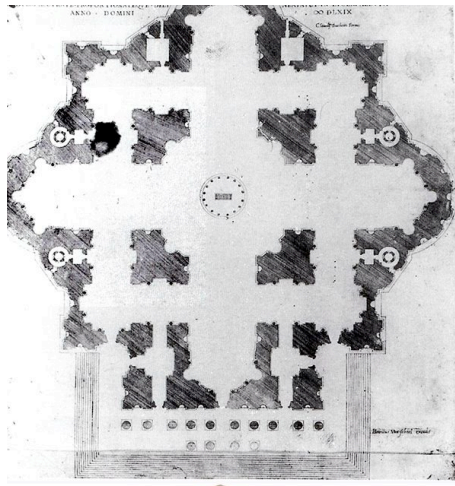
predetermined. Alfarano's drawing is the representation of an '*experimento*', i.e. a process not a final result.

Alfarano witnesses and measures 'on-site' the old Basilica; this is true at least for the eastern 'half' surviving beyond the '*pariete noviter*'. The drawing demonstrates the location of the apse of the Old Basilica, in relationship to the west wall of New Saint Peter's¹³. At that time Bramante's *Tegurium*¹⁴ and the west portion of Constantine's apse form a 'hybrid' structure protecting the main altar and portions of the constantinian *pergula* (Fig. 2). Alfarano surveys the old Constantinian's apse and positions it in relationship to the new main piers¹⁵, establishing a correct relationship between the old and new basilica¹⁶. In 1532-36 –shortly before Alfarano arrival at Saint Peter's in 1544- the old transept's screen columns and their architrave (north and south) were still standing (Fig. 3).

Alfarano's work was highly valued in his own time and subsequently. He provided - through both his drawing (1571) and his later print (1590)- a reliable graphic description of Old and New basilica. Whether Alfarano was considered an architect in his own time remains uncertain¹⁷. Regardless, he describes the Vatican basilica with precise language, leading us to believe that he had a prominent interest in architecture; furthermore his ability to layer meanings through architectural drawing witnesses his skillfulness, inventiveness and his understanding of architectural representation.

It could be argued that Alfarano's drawing was highly valued 'also' because of his ability to fuse together both the 'architectural' and the 'theological' 'intentions'. In his double role of member of the 'clergy' –and- 'architect' he held a privileged position and a rare view point. Alfarano is able to convey not just a physical survey of new and old saint Peter's but also their 'metaphorical' relationships.

While Alfarano is working at the hand-drawing (1569-1571-1576...¹⁸) Etienne Duperac (b. 1520 – 1604) works and completes a print¹⁹ demonstrating Michelangelo's plan for the centralized basilica (1569). Alfarano's drawing could be interpreted as a 'complement', i.e. a commentary to the story told by Duperac's print. The drawing's intention could be recording the essence of the 'transformation' shortly after Michelangelo's death²⁰, demonstrating not just the New 'added' member, i.e. the central plan, as it was elaborated in Duperac's print, but also its 'relationship' with the 'old' one.



Such interpretation is supported by the fact that Alfarano literally cuts out one of Duperac's prints and physically juxtaposed it and collaged it onto his hand drawn plan of the Old Basilica demonstrating the combined existence of both elements²¹. Alfarano 'adds' onto Duperac's 'fragmentary' history his own commentary.

Significance of the archeological layers of the drawing

Alfarano's drawing is executed on several sheets of paper of different dimensions, quality and consistency joined together. These sheets form a 'base-drawing' on which Alfarano initially drew in graphite the Constantinian Basilica as a whole in its original integrity.

The inscription in the lower left corner of the drawing states that Michelangelo's *ichnographiam* of the New Temple is 'added'²², above the 'complete' ichnography of the Old Temple. Alfarano glued on the 'base-drawing' a 'fragment' of the 1569 print (Fig. 4) by Duperac aligning Michelangelo's central plan to the base drawing portraying the old basilica's. Alfarano then 're-drew' on the print's 'fragment' the portions of the Constantinian Basilica now covered, highlighting the presence of the ancient walls by means of a gold leaf pochee.

The iconographic presence in the drawing of Old St. Peter's is to be understood in the conservation of *Totum pavimento*²³, which had to be preserved in the transformation. The 'whole floor' is one of the many examples of this duality of corpora and spirit, i.e. geometrical and metaphorical relationships and presence.

The Basilica was from its beginning a multi-functional space combining the functions of memorial, burial, and liturgy²⁴. The main nave had been used for centuries as a cemetery. Alfarano's representation of the floor plan of the Old Basilica within the New reveals the 'presence' of *totum pavimento*. This element together with St. Peter's burial place become key; their conservation is essential in maintaining material and spiritual continuity between old and new²⁵. New St. Peter's is spatially defined by its relationship with the Old. The location and position of the main piers is determined by the orientation of Old St. Peter's and by the fact that the foundation walls of the new basilica 'may not' intersect the main nave and transept of Old St. Peter's.

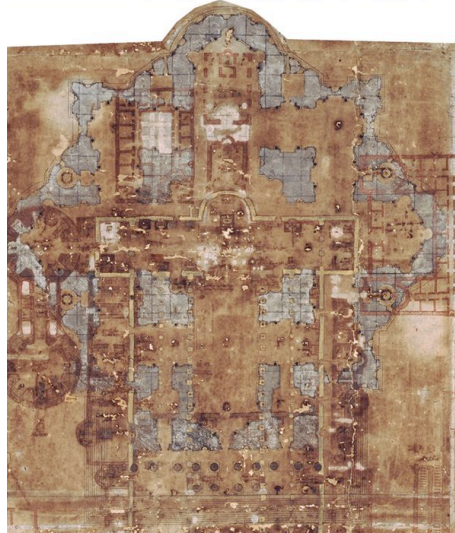


Fig. 4 Above: Etienne Duperac's print reproducing Michelangelo's central plan for Saint Peter's (1569). Below: A fragment of Tiberio Alfarano's plan (1571) corresponding to the portion of Duperac's print collaged onto the drawing (Photoshop alteration of the original by author of the paper).

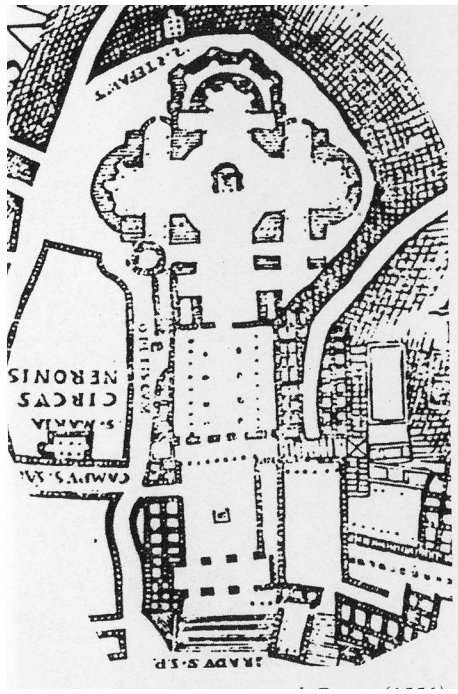


Fig. 5 Fragment of Leonardo Bufalini's map of Rome showing the plan of the Basilica of Saint Peter's in 1551 (© BAV).

In 1571 New and Old Basilica coexisted, joined by the '*pariete noviter*'. When Alfarano elaborates his plan, half of the Constantinian basilica had been already 'un-built'²⁶. Alfarano himself proposed a design for the 'addition' of an 'eastern' arm²⁷. He suggests in the manuscript the possibility to extend the 'foot' of the 'square cross':

*'tum etiam cum ipsum templum in quadratae cruces formam erectum oblongo cruces pede careat, ne ethnicos, et gentiles, qui quadrata et rotunda templa extruebant, aemulari videremur, non absurdum videretur si ad instar pedis cruces Baillicae antiquae prolongaretur, et artificij conformitate et absque ulla novi aedificij deformitate [...]*²⁸.

He favored –just like Carlo Borromeo (1538-1584) in his 1577's *Instructiones*– the preference for the Latin cross. Alfarano argued that the entire footprint of the Constantinian basilica should be contained within the new temple's plan. The 'true form' of the Vatican temple is therefore identifiable in the 'composite plan', i.e. a cruciform plan with an added 'extension' for the feet of the cross.

The terminology of 'true form' (*forma sacrosanctae*), which Alfarano attributed to his 'ichnography', is clearly significant. Alfarano's plan differed significantly from what was present on site in 1571 as well as from what 'could' be possibly imagined to become in the 'time-future'.

Form is not a mere attribute to presence. Form is the revealer of presence. Estienne Robert (1503-1559) in his *Thesavrvs lingvae Latinae* (1573) gives the Greek correspondent of the Latin Form as *eidos, idea, tuttos*. According to Plato in the *Phaedo* form (*eidos*) is the immutable genuine nature of a thing²⁹. The form of a thing is that which gives it its identity, providing continuity to the existence despite all changes that invariably happen to its 'physical' appearance'.

It is interesting to observe that Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472) in his Treatise '*De Re Aedificatoria*' (1485) makes use of the word '*forma*' in relationship to drawing (*lineamenta*):

*Atqui est quidem lineamenti munus et officium praescribere aedificiis et partibus aedificiorum aptum locum et certum numerum: dignumq modum & gratum ordiem: ut iam tota aedifici forma et figura ipsis in lineamentis conquiescat*³⁰.

Alberti states that both '**form**' and '**appearance**'³¹, of the edifice rest on the lineaments. The drawing according to Alberti does not

just convey the appearance of the building but also its form, i.e. the very 'essence' of the thing signified. The drawing has the potential to reveal not just likeness but presence, not just body but soul in terms of similitude by means of representation. Alfarano's drawing cannot just be interpreted in terms of 'appearance' i.e. likeness, but also in terms of 'form', i.e. 'essence'.

Alfarano's drawing is not a 'final' drawing nor a 'literal' one, providing -in modern terminology- a photographic likeness of the represented object, but rather a program of intentions, which is to be revealed -in time- through the process of making. The outlined drawing³² -i.e. a 'wire diagram' of the thing signified- seems to emphasize the importance given to capturing the 'form', i.e. essence of a thing rather than focusing on the instable and ever changing 'appearance' of the Basilica.

A comparison of Alfarano's drawing (1571) with Leonardo Bufalini's Plan of Rome dating from 1551 (Fig. 5) allows to further argue that Alfarano's interest lays in representing something other than a 'literal' representation of a 'moment-in-time'.

Bufalini's Plan of Rome shows a result, i.e. a 'literal' demonstration of the 'coexistence' of two 'fragments': the surviving 'eastern-arm' of the Old Basilica and the New centralized 'western-portion' just added. Bufalini's map of Rome is the result of an architectural 'survey' demonstrating the 'actual' plan of the basilica in 1551³³. What becomes visible is the 'hybrid' body formed by two different plans joined in the middle by the '*pariete noviter*'.

Alfarano's hand drawing is a representation of 'process', showing the superimposition of two plans/buildings. In fact he did not just draw the 'actual' plan above ground level in '1571', i.e. the physical 'result' of the addition of a new central plan joined with the surviving portions of the old basilica; but rather he drew the 'complete' Constantinian plan and the 'complete' 'new' plan 'juxtaposed' in 'metaphoric' transparency.

This layered 'juxtaposition' is of great significance. It appears as if the 'two' plans 'coexist' within the same 'space-time frame' due to an intended 'virtual' transparency of the drawing, which allows for different temporal layers to be simultaneously perceived. The drawing focuses on the 'before' and the 'after' rather than the 'now', it is a representation of 'becoming'.

Alfarano does not draw the ‘result’ of the architectural ‘cut’ and ‘paste’ process. He represents the essence of the ‘composite body’, i.e. the result of a transformation where two bodies - ‘central cross’ and ‘latin cross’ - coexist and intertwine, ultimately emphasizing ‘continuity within change’. Alfarano’s drawing provides a ‘reading’ of the architectural renovation as a continuum *work-in-progress*, which qualifies the building as an ‘unfinished’ opera unfolding over time, reflected in the making of the drawing which he continuously updated³⁴.

The gold leaf pochee of the Constantinian Basilica’s walls layered above Michelangelo’s azure walls pochee makes the old basilica appear superimposed above Michelangelo’s plan. The gold leaf - rendered with a procedure similar to that used for illuminated miniature books³⁵ - is the visible sign of the ‘sempiternity’ of the old Temple indicating the presence of the ‘mystical body’, i.e. the ‘spirit’ of the Church. The ‘armenian bole’ undercoating revealed on the edges of the gold leaf marking the walls outlines signifies the presence of the ‘material body’ of the church in its bloodily sacrifice.

In the 1589-90 printed version³⁶ of the hand drawing³⁷ the ‘*pariete noviter*’ disappears. The Old Basilica’s walls pocheed in black ink come to the foreground. The marking of the New Basilica only in its western portion³⁸ falling outside the old basilica’s footprint emphasizes the gesture of ‘circumscribing’ the old temple signifying the ‘conservation’ of the old and the integral continuity between them.

Theological significance embedded in the drawing

The theological meaning embedded in the overlaid central plan could be argued to be a representation of the ‘resurrection’ of the Church. Alfarano makes reference in the manuscript to the ‘*novissimi templi*’ as a ‘*secunda restauratione templi Domini*’³⁹.

The over-layering of the circular temple on top of the Latin cross can be metaphorically interpreted also through an iconographic reading of the icons placed on the top portion of the drawing.

The presence of Veronica’s veil in the drawing first and foremost reveals Alfarano’s intention to represent the ‘*vera icona*’, i.e. the truthful ‘form’ of the Temple through the ichnography. Alfarano’s drawing acquires the status of ‘iconic-representation’.

Furthermore the iconography and placement of this icon within the general composition is the hinge to our understanding of the central plan as a symbol of resurrection.

The cloth carried the 'imprint' of Christ's face, transferred onto the veil by the blood oozing from his face. Veronica, a woman moved by the sufferance of Christ, offered him the cloth while he was carrying the cross on the way to the Golgotha.

Similar to the process of construction of the plan the Holy Face is the result of the 'collage' of different print clippings. The central piece is a 'bulino' engraving representing the traditional cloth. The head of Christ crowned with thorns is surrounded by a four-lobed halo. This print fragment is surrounded by a xylographic print clipping of an even green garland⁴⁰, framing the veil.

The iconographic fragments 'selected' and 're-assembled' into a new whole, reflect the 'double' nature of Christ as both 'human' and 'divine'. The image of the savior crowned with thorns representing the suffering Christ in his human attributes can be interpreted as an allegory to the 'old' Constantinian basilica; while the 'evergreen garland' - a circular crown made by intertwined leaves and branches of oak and laurel trees⁴¹ - surrounding the Holy Cloth reminder of the victory over mortality of the resurrected Christ is to be read as an allegory of the new central plan superimposed and surrounding the old.

The iconographic elements described reveal a 'double' symbolism indicating both the human and divine nature of Christ, signified by the two plans of the basilica 'Latin cross' and 'central plan'. According to Alfarano's symbolism only the simultaneous presence of the two plans provides the '*forma sacrosanctae*' i.e. the 'true image'.

Conclusions

Alfarano's drawing escapes chrono-historical classifications, demonstrating an 'a-temporal' interpretation of substance. The adjective 'sacrosanct' used as an attribute to 'form', refers in fact not only to its being the most holy but also to its 'inviolability'. The description under the drawing reads: *Haec est integra ichnographia antiquissimi Templi Sancti Petri Apostolorum Principis Romae in Vaticano*. The Latin adjective '*integra*' which

can be translated as ‘complete’ refers to the ‘wholeness’ of the Temple implying the idea that is not lacking any part.

Old St. Peter’s is an objective and ineludible presence, witnessed in Alfarano’s drawing. The pavement of the Old Basilica used and maintained throughout the construction/demolition process was restored in 1574⁴². This had been interpreted as the intention to maintain the eastern portion of the Old Basilica⁴³. It is to be observed though that after Michelangelo’s death in 1564 Antonio Da Sangallo raised the new pavement significantly on the western side beyond the ‘*muro divisorio*’. The restoration’s intention could not have been to maintain the old basilica in its present form⁴⁴. The restoration could be interpreted as an act to maintain, even though concealed, the iconic vestiges of the Old Basilica as the ‘footprint’ revealing the presence of the living body of the ‘Church of Christ’. The pavement was treated as a relic lying beyond that, which falls within the naked eye. Alfarano’s drawing becomes the instrument, which makes visible the invisible presence of Constantine’s Basilica, conserved underneath and inside the New.

Alfarano’s decision to represent the ‘*forma sacrosanctae*’ or ‘true image’ through only ‘one’ drawing—*unoque folio perstrinxi*—i.e. the ichnography is meaningful. This kind of representation just as the etymology of the word suggests has ‘iconic’ qualities, which go beyond mere likeness. There is a relationship of similitude between the signified and the signifier⁴⁵. The way that ‘*significatur*’ and ‘*significant*’ are related is a question of representation⁴⁶.

Alfarano kept working at his drawing as a continuous -work in progress- until 1576. The plan demonstrates the location of newly ‘translated’ altars, relics and other elements of significance in both their original location and the new one ‘simultaneously’⁴⁷. The drawing exists in a ‘multi-temporal’ dimension looking in the direction of both the ‘time-past’ and ‘time-future’. Alfarano never ‘erased’ the ‘old’ location when an element had been moved, but rather kept the ‘memory’ of it. By so doing he intends to underlie the relationship between ‘old’ and ‘new’ and the continuity between them, emphasizing that the essence of the Basilica perdures.

Alfarano’s drawing has been defined as a ‘*brutta copia*’ or ‘*copia di lavoro*’⁴⁸, i.e. a draft for a possible ‘final drawing’. It has been interpreted as a ‘preparation drawing’ for a ‘future’ print⁴⁹. The drawing though should be viewed as an ‘*original*’ which carries all the marks of its transformation just like the basilica’s own body.

The complete story could only be told by looking in two directions in time, towards both the past and the future simultaneously providing a representation of process. Today's drawing should enhance our ability to read beyond that which falls within the eye to look beyond into the essence of the portrayed object.

Architectural drawing should be interpreted as a 'palimpsest', i.e. an unfinished text written over and over carrying the marks of its 'making' in continuous process layering different strata of meaning including but not limited to geometrical exactness.

Notes

1 Ginzburg, Carlo. Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It, in *Critical Inquiry*, vol. 20, No. 1 (Autumn 1993) pp. 10-35.

2 Bruschi A., Frommel C. L., Wolff Metternich F. G., Thoenes C., *San Pietro che non c'è, da Bramante a Sangallo il Giovane*, Electa, Milano 1996.

3 The 'muro divisorio' passed through and incorporated the old basilica's 11th columns row.

4 The *tegurium* was built in 1507; its demolition took place between 1592 and 1605 under the pontificate of Pope Clemente VIII (Apollonj Ghetti B. M., & al., 1951).

5 Cerrati, Michele 1914 (p. 69, p. 89).

6 Op. Cit. (p. 187)

7 Op. Cit. (p. 62).

8 Caradosso's Medal (1505) portrays on the recto Julius II, the initiator of the New Basilica (*Ivlivs.Ligvr.Papa.Secvndvs.MCCCCCVI*) and on the verso – where the final appearance of the building is depicted – it carries the inscription: '*Templi.Petri.Instavracio.Vaticanus.M[ons]*'.

9 '*... totus animus meus se convertit ad ecitandam in novo Templo reducendamque omnium fidelium devotionem, et ad evacuandam falsam illorum opinionem qui opinabantur totum pavementum 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 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 reperiuebantur, 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' (Prefatio p. 3-4).

10 (Apollonj Ghetti B. M., & al., 1951).

11 The author wishes to acknowledge and express sincere gratitude to *Sua Eccellenza Reverendissima* Monsignor Vittorio Lanciani, Delegato della Fabbrica di San Pietro whom granted her permission to view and study the 1571 hand drawing by Alfarano (February 2006).

12 Tiberio Alfarano, Prefatio, p. 4 (Cerrati, Michele, 1914).

13 Silvan, Pierluigi 1992 (p.18).

14 The *tegurium* was built in 1507; its demolition took place between 1592 and 1605 under the pontificate of Pope Clemente VIII.

15 Cerrati informs us that Alfarano provides detailed information regarding his survey method in G5 Archivio Capitolare (Cerrati, Michele, 1914 p. 288).

16 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. (Pierluigi Silvan, 1992).

17 Scholars recognized that Alfarano '*mastered the art of architectural drawing to a certain extent*' (Millon, H. & Lampugnani V. 1994, p. 598).

18 It is believed that Alfarano started working at the drawing in 1569 (Silvan Pierluigi 1992), that the drawing was completed in 1571 and that still in 1576 he was editing it (Cerrati, Michele 1914, (Introduction, p. XXX).

19 At this time Jacopo Barozzi (1507-1573) also called Vignola is *Magister Operis* (27 August 1564-1 July 1573). The print was executed by Henricus Van Schoel (d. 1624). Pierluigi Silvan (1992) believes that the drawing based on which Duperac created his plan is to be attributed to Vignola.

20 After Michelangelo's death in 1564 and until 1573 the works slow down significantly as it is indicated by expenditures for the basilica's work which decrease significantly. The work seems to start over again with increased commitment towards the end of 1575. Between 1578 and 1588 works focuses on completing the four 'corners' of Michelangelo's square plan: the Gregorian Chapel and the Chapel of San Michele and also the Clementine Chapel and the Chapel of the Column are completed (Francia, Ennio, 1977 p. 105).

21 Pierluigi Silvan is the first scholar to report that Alfarano used a portion of Duperac's print and glued it onto his drawing. Silvan, Pierluigi, 1992.

22 *The title of the drawing, which still appears partially legible in the lower left corner of the deterioration paper, states: 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 Alphanus 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. Cerrati, Michele 1981 (1914), *Introduction* p. XXVII. The word *Adiecit* comes from the lat. *Verb Adicio*, to add.

23 See the quote transcribed in note 9 from Alfarano's preface.

24 Blaauw, Sible de. *Cultus et décor*, 1994.

25 Scholars often pointed out that the key element determining the orientation of the New Basilica is the burial of Peter. It is well known the opposition of Julius II to Bramante's first project, envisioning a 90 degree rotation of the main axis and the translation of the tomb of the Prince of the Apostles. The conservation of '*totum pavementum*' was yet another 'essential' fixed element, which determined the layout of New St. Peter's and this is clearly illustrated by Alfarano's drawing.

26 Michelangelo's dome was completed in 1590 by Della Porta. In 1607 Carlo Maderno won the competition for the completion of the New Basilica. The 7th of March of 1607 demolition of the remaining parts of the Old Basilica started. New St. Peter's was consecrated in 1626.

27 Cerrati, Michele 1914.

28 Tiberio Alfarano, 1582 (Cerrati, Michele 1981 p. 25-26).

29 Plato, *Phaedo*, 1999

30 Alberti, *De Re Aedificatoria*, Florence Nicolaus Laurentii, 29 Dec 1485. Library of Congress, Incun. 1485 A58 Vollbehr Collection.

31 The Latin *forma et figura* is translated in English as 'form' and 'appearance' by Joseph Rykwer (1997).

32 By "outline" it is not suggested that the drawing provides merely an indication of the outer edge of an object, rather the proportional elements that constitute an object.

33 This drawing lacks precision though, offering only a schematic survey of the plan in 1551. For example the number of columns of the Old Basilica that are still standing is not exact. The scope of Bufalini's work was to offer a general survey of the 'entire' city of Rome.

34 Silvan, Pierluigi 1992.

35 *Notiziario Mensile della Basilica di San Pietro* Anno VI – Gennaio 1994 – N.1.

36 These '*bulino*' engravings on copper were produced in 1589-90 by Alfarano whom commissioned the work to Natale Bonifacio da Sebenico (1538-1592)¹, an engraver well known in the period of Sixtus V. Bonifacio Natale 1538-1592, *Almae urbis Divi Petri veteris novique Templi descriptio Tiberii Alpharani Hieracen. Authoris. Natalis Bonifacius Sebenicen Incidebat*, MDLXXXX, Roma, Print, bulino, 565 x 435 mm.
-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.
-In the volume BAV Chigi P VII 9 5 is contained a series of prints of Saint Peter's and at p. 38 can be found a copy of Alfarano's print.
-Other 3 copies of the print can be found in BAV and are catalogued: Stampe Vaticano S. Pietro Pianta (1-5) and are conserved in the GDS and were kindly shown to the author of this dissertation by Dottoressa Barbara Jatta head of the GDS of the BAV.

37 This print was inserted in a series of original manuscripts (1582) after 1590. GDS Stampe Arch. Cap. S. Pietro G6. The print within this manuscript has been cut on the left and right side to fit within the manuscript matching the size of the open book. Both the left and the right vertical 'columns', which in the original print contained the list of significant elements, altars and tombs, are eliminated as a result of the cutting.

38 This includes the apse, Veronica's pier and Saint Helena's pier in addition to a portion of the north transept and a lesser portion of the south transept covered by the earlier Saint Petronilla's chapel.

39 Cerrati, Michele 1914, p. 26-27.

40 Barbara Jatta, Director of the Gabinetto delle Stampe of the BAV affirms that the garland print clipping could be a traditional frame for a coat of arms or emblem.

41 The wreath is the Christian symbol of immortality. Laurel traditionally symbolizes eternity because of its evergreen foliage. Oak is not only the tree from which Christ's cross was made but it also symbolizes endurance and is used to represent the strength of faith and virtue.

42 Apollonj Ghetti B. M., Ferrua A., Josi E., Kirschbaum E. (1951) indicates that the pavement was restored in 1574 after removing all remains of construction work materials.

43 Apollonj Ghetti B. M., et al. 1951.

44 Sangallo erected a series of transversal walls, spaced every 6 meters, under the side aisles and connected through vaulted barrels erected over a filling of earth. Apollonj Ghetti B. M., et al. 1951.

45 Vitruvius tells us that in architecture there are always two elements: 'the thing signified' [*quod significatur*], and 'that which gives it its significance' [*quod significat*]" (Book I, 1, 3 Vitruvius, 1960, the Latin is from the 1997 edition of Vitruvius).

46 For a discussion of the meaning of '*significatur*' and '*significat*' within architectural theory from Vitruvius up to the present see 'Function and representation in Architecture' by Marco Frascari, 1985.

47 Cerrati, Michele 1914, (Introduction, p. XXX).

48 Silvan, Pierluigi, 1992.

49 *Quasi una timida prova per un'eventuale incisione che forse I tempi come dicemmo non favorivano ancora.* From Silvan, Pierluigi 1992.

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