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THE ARCHITECTURE OF GIORGIO VASARI'S UFFIZI, FLORENCE

DISSERTATION

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for
the Degree Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate
School of The Ohio State University

By

Donald John Fricelli, B.A., M.A.

*****

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1984

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To

Evelyn Elizabeth Curzio Fricelli

my beloved mother,

who ever encouraged, fostered and furthered my admiration for the printed page, my love of learning and my passion for the history of the noble art of architecture, this work is affectionately and gratefully dedicated.
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INTRODUCTION

In 1559, Cosimo I de' Medici, Duke of Florence and Tuscany, entrusted to Giorgio Vasari, pittore of Arezzo, the task of constructing the administrative center of the newly consolidated Tuscan state. The palaces of the new center were to house "for the greater convenience of the public" the court chambers and offices of the Thirteen Civil Magistrates within one building. The new palaces, which were to rise between the Palazzo della Signoria and the Arno, were intended to express the political and administrative unity which had been imposed by Cosimo I on the newly-created Duchy. The work of demolition on the site was begun almost at once. Earlier, in 1545, Cosimo I had ordered the partial clearance of the site to allow for the construction of a new street from the Piazza della Signoria to the Arno. This long, straight street was to become the extended spine of the ducal project of 1560.

It was felt necessary that the new administrative center be a worthy work of architecture, and that it be a significant addition to the rich urban fabric of the Tuscan capital. Vasari designed a solution that was quickly approved by the Duke. The solution consisted of
two long, nearly identical palazzi flanking either side of the new "street" and connected at the river-end by a small, transverse open loggia. The twin palaces were provided with covered loggias at the ground level and covered altane at the uppermost level. The Arno loggia joined the lower loggias, and was left open to the Arno, providing a vista through its serlian arch to the river and the hill of the Belvedere on the opposite bank. A number of older buildings were incorporated into the new palaces, including the church of S. Piero Scheraggio and the mint. Those buildings that were retained and incorporated were subject to a complete design unity on the sides facing the new "street." In preparing his plans for the palaces, Vasari experimented with new principles of town-planning, altering the former emphasis on a single structure set in spaces, to a concept of interconnected units set in a unified space, a concept which stressed the subordination of the individual elements to the total design.

In June of 1560, work began on the construction of the new palaces; by 1565 the work had proceeded sufficiently to allow the use of the partially completed palaces as the setting of a number of court festivities marking the marriage of Prince Francesco I to Archduchess Joana of
Austria. In that same year, the so-called "Vasari corridor" was constructed, connecting the Uffizi to the Palazzo Pitti on the opposite side of the river. The corridoio was carried above the Ponte Vecchio to provide a continuous interior passageway from the official residence of the Duke, the Palazzo Ducale, to the family's private palace, the Pitti. The work on the corridoio was completed, according to Vasari, in five months, rivaling his rapid completion of the frescoes in the Salla di Cento Giorni at the Cancelleria in Rome.

By 1574, the year of Cosimo I's death, the building of the Uffizi was nearly complete. Due to a change in residences by the new Grand Duke, the Palazzo Ducale again became available for some civic offices. Therefore, in 1574, Buontalenti made several changes in the Uffizi; he glazed the upper altane, provided new entrances and stairways, and constructed the Tribuna in preparation for the installation of the Medical collection in the upper Logge of the Uffizi. The buildings have remained basically unchanged, and retain most of the elements of the Vasarian design.

The Uffizi, built before the great urban enterprises of Sixtus V, and similar to the somewhat contemporary Escorial, is an early, a seminal, example of the
architecture of absolute monarchy. It is a major monument of Mannerist architecture. Yet, surprisingly, this vast architectural and urban project, perhaps the most important in Cinquecento Florence, has been widely reputed for the enormously comprehensive collection of art-works that it houses rather than as a contribution to Italian architecture. The Uffizi represents the largest and most important architectural work of Giorgio Vasari, and the single most important work of architecture built in Florence during the course of the Cinquecento. And yet the palaces and the square have not been treated as works deserving of attention and examination. Architectural historians have referred to the complex in passing, devoting at best several pages, or several paragraphs to it. Often it has been off-handedly dismissed as an inferior work of an inferior age, the product of late-Cinquecento decadence. It has been seen as "proto-Baroque," late Renaissance, and rightfully, as Mannerist. The square has been criticized as too narrow, too long, too restricted, too inadequate, too unrelieved. For far too long the palaces and their square have been judged by criteria that were evolved for, and articulated in, periods that postdate the Renaissance. With the growing concern for, and interest in, the manifestations of Mannerist art and architecture, the Uffizi
stands ready for a re-evaluation and a re-appraisal. It is hoped that it is now possible to subject the palaces and the square to the criteria of critical research and academic study, to re-assess not only its intrinsic worth, but also its very valuable contribution to Sixteenth century Italian architecture.

Therefore, I propose to examine the Palazzo and the Piazza degli Uffizi as a major work of Florentine Mannerist architecture and urbanism. As the Mannerist mind was conditioned to think in multi-leveled layers, to conceive in terms of interrelated sources, I propose to analyze the palaces and the square as the embodiment of a number of architectural and urban sources which Vasari may have drawn upon as inspiration for the design. As the palaces also represent solutions to then contemporary needs, and as they proclaimed official policy and state programmes, I propose, further, to integrate the study of the design with a study of the political and dynastic considerations which underlie the solutions arrived at by Vasari and approved by Cosimo I. It must be noted that the final design owes as much to Cosimo I as it does to Vasari. A larger and much more expensive solution was preferred by the Duke who actively supported it, despite the precarious state of his finances. To accomplish these ends it will
be necessary to treat the square and the palaces as both intergrated entities and as separate units.

I will analyze the piazza of the Uffizi as an urban forum, providing a description of the open space between the wings of the two palaces, and its relationship to the matrix in which it is set. In this description of the space, I will attempt to indicate the possible sources which may have been known to, and drawn upon, by Vasari. I will attempt to show that Vasari drew specifically upon formal open spaces, and that he eschewed irregular spaces as being unworthy of design consideration. An attempt will be made to indicate the other spaces that may have been known to Vasari, including ancient Fora, Renaissance squares, and other designed spaces. I will discuss the relationship between the Florentine forum and other major Italian civic squares, particularly the Piazza San Marco in Venice and the Capitol in Rome.

I will describe the Uffizi as an architectural and urban design, providing a description of the structures in toto as well as their component parts. In this comprehensive view I will also attempt to place the complex within its urban matrix. An attempt will be made to delineate the references made to other architectural sources which would have been known to Vasari through his travels and studies.
in Italy. Further, an attempt will be made to show the relationship between the comprehensive design of the Uffizi and designs of similar magnitude in earlier Italian architecture. In order to facilitate the analysis of the design of the Uffizi and its possible sources, I will disassemble the structures into the component parts, and then discuss those parts separately. For convenience I will divide the palaces into independent portions, which will include the loggia at the level of the piazza, or forum. Included in the discussion of the loggia will be an analysis of the barrel vault spanning the interior passageway. The discussion will examine the mezzanine as part of the loggia, and as a transition to the piano nobile. The piano nobile will be considered in detail, including such features as the aedicule windows, the pilaster-strips, and the console brackets. The upper loggia, or altana, will be treated as a variation upon the lower loggia. The river loggia joining the two wings of the palace at the Arno, will be examined for the use of the serlian arch motif, and its function as a link between the loggia to the palaces.

Therefore, I propose to examine each of these elements individually, and then to re-integrate them into a comprehensive study of the Uffizi as an example of
Mannerist architecture in Florence. The final results of the study will prove, I trust, that the Uffizi is a work of architectural value, interest and beauty. Further, it will prove, I trust, that the Uffizi is a social and historical "record" that speaks eloquently of its patron, Cosimo I, of his state, his policies and his position within the political framework of mid-Cinquecento Italy. Finally, it may help to prove that Vasari was an architect of first rank and great talent, that the Uffizi, his largest and most important architectural commission stands as a monument to his talents, in tandem with his other great work, The Lives of the Most Eminent Italian Painters, Sculptors and Architects.
"Ever since 1546 Cosimo had been thinking of bringing all the scattered judicial and administrative offices of Florence, as well as the city's major guilds, under one roof near the Palazzo Vecchio, and hence under his own closer, more personal and efficient control. He appointed Giorgio Vasari his architect, and work on the huge new building, the Uffizi, began in 1559."

Christopher Hibbert. The House of Medici.

CHAPTER ONE
The Premise of the Work

That rebirth of architecture known as the Renaissance in Italy, which began with the chaste and austere works of Ser Brunelleschi and which ended only in the last century with the soaring and complex works of Antonelli, produced a vast corpus of architectural works that were important both as representative of progressive stages of development within the confines of Italy itself, and as seminal to the full development of architecture throughout Europe. Historians of Italian Renaissance architecture have studied, examined, measured, analyzed, drawn and discussed that architecture; they have published articles, papers, monographs and books on many of the more outstanding structures. It will be of value here to comment briefly upon some of those works that have some bearing on the subject of this opus.
The inclusive term "Renaissance" can be divided and subdivided into "periods." "Italian Renaissance Architecture" can be said to begin in the 1420's with the works of Brunelleschi and his contemporaries, and to end, quite neatly, in 1600 with the emergence of the Roman Baroque school. Within this long time span it can be argued that there are distinct developments, which, in art-historical terms, are usually considered as Early Renaissance, with its center in Florence, spanning the greater part of the Quattrocento (1420-1490) and the High Renaissance, with its center in Rome, spanning the first quarter of the Cinquecento (1500-1525). At this point the periodization becomes more difficult as it now becomes necessary to refer not only to time but to place. It can be said that the High Renaissance continues almost unabated until quite late into the Cinquecento in Venice,² but in Rome and in Florence, as well as in other minor centers, the High Renaissance transmuted into that phenomenon only recently discovered, defined, analyzed and named, that is, Mannerism. For the purposes of this study, Mannerism is considered to span the last three quarters of the Cinquecento. Its development can be traced in several substages of the unfolding of the style. It is now customary to refer to the so-called First Generation of 1520 to 1550 as the innovative
phase, the Mature Generation of 1550 to 1575 as the
classizing phase, which included Vasari, and a late phase
ending only with the close of the century, and the emerge­
gence of the first flowering of the Baroque. This compart­
mentalization of the Renaissance up to 1600 must be taken
with some reservation, as limits are not fixed, nor are
the dates engraved in marble. Rather, the periods and
the subperiods overlap and intermingle; they linger longer
in one place and live but briefly in another. The example
of Venice maintaining a vigorous High Renaissance sensi­
bility while Rome and Florence experimented with the mar­
vels of the new Mannerism has already been cited.

It may also be noted that in many minor centers there
was no development at all after a certain date in time,
Urbino remained locked in the chaste and intellectual
charms of its Early Renaissance architecture, paying no
heed to subsequent developments in other parts of Italy.
Mantua remained true to its Albertian legacy, flirting but
briefly and brilliantly with the Mannerism of Giulio
Romano. Seagirth Rimini remained, in deference to
Alberti, a one-monument capital. In large measure both
Milan and Naples avoided the Early Renaissance completely;
Turin barely experienced it at all.
To return to the point at hand, many of the period's works of architecture, and many architects have been given scholarly attention. It will be of some value to review some of that literature. Pre- and proto-renaissance buildings in Florence have been discussed, some of these works having appeared in the last century. In 1885 Karl Frey published his observations on the Loggia dei Lanzi in Florence, a structure that abuts the Uffizi on the Piazza della Signoria. This work which concerned itself with an Italian "Gothic" structure of the Trecento was understandable in the light of the medieval bias of the late Romantic period, especially as felt in Germany and England. Early in this century Louis Rosenberg published an important work of investigation concerning a major palace of the proto-renaissance. His publication of the Palazzo Davanzati marked a shift of interest, in the late Nineteenth Century, from the medieval world to an interest, at the start of the new century, in the proto-renaissance. The early Twentieth Century brought as well the publication of several important stylistic and philosophical studies on Renaissance architecture by such authors as Rudolf Wittkower, Heinrich Wolfflin, and Geoffrey Scott in which the late Romantic distaste for the art and architecture of the Renaissance, as expressed by John Ruskin in
his *Stones of Venice*, was replaced by a growing appreciation for the architecture of Humanism which was seen as expressing the values of civilized men living in a society of and for men. This renewal of interest in the architecture of Humanism produced an interest not only in the styles of the period, but also in individual structures that embodied and preserved those styles.

In 1928 W.E. Greenwood published his lavishly illustrated monograph on the Villa Madama. Though the text was primarily descriptive, serving as an adjunct to the sumptuously colored plates, this is one of the earliest works to treat of a building that is now considered one of the seminal structures in the development of Mannerist architecture. In 1923 there was published in Rome a work dealing with another important early Mannerist structure, the Palace of Pius IV which was constructed during the reign of Pope Pius IV (1559-1565), and falls squarely within the second phase of Mannerism. Earlier, Walter Friedlaender published, in Leipzig, a monograph on the Vatican villa of the same Pius IV, the work of Pirro Ligorio and considered one of the most charming products of the middle years of Mannerism. This small complex of buildings in the Vatican Gardens had been discussed as early as 1837, and as late as 1977.
In 1943, John Coolidge published an article in the *Art Bulletin* on yet another Mannerist building: the Villa Giulia. It was further studied in 1956 by Paolo Lanzara, who published on the same subject, in 1969 by Francis Land Moore, a work which was preceded by yet another study published in 1964 by Craig Hugh Smith who concerned himself with only one specific part of the villa. James Ackerman's magisterial study of the *Cortile del Belvedere* of the Vatican appeared in 1954, and D.R. Coffin's important study of the Villa Madama in 1967.

Nor was Rome the only city for which the architecture of Humanism was studied and published. In 1977 an important study of the Palazzo de Te in Mantua was published in Baltimore, while at Yale Naples was the focus of another study of a rare Renaissance arch of triumph. This arch was to have some influence on Vasari when he came to design the river loggia of the Uffizi. A square, at Vigevano, which may be considered among the prototypes of the Piazza degli Uffizi was published in 1964.

What was true for Rome and for lesser centers, was also true for Florence. Florentine palaces and churches were also closely examined and published both before and after the Second World War. In 1962 Peter Wolf examined the Laurentian Library, a building of extreme importance.
Dukes. In 1964, appeared a work treating not only of a specific structure, the Palazzo Ricasoli, but of a specific artist, Giorgio Vasari. The same author, Edmund Pillsbury, in 1969 published an other work that deals with a specific portion of the Palazzo Vecchio, the cortile, and, again, the involvement in that work of Giorgio Vasari.

Yet in all this outpouring of academic works treating of important Renaissance and/or Mannerist structures, none was devoted to the architectural masterpiece of Giorgio Vasari, the Uffizi, or as it was originally known, the Palace of the Thirteen Magistrates, in Florence. This major complex of palaces and square is most often, in art- and architectural-history, relegated to a brief mention, a phrase in passing, or a short foot-note. This attitude seems unfortunate and unfounded, as the Uffizi represents the major architectural commissison awarded in Florence between the completion of the Laurentian Library to the designs of Michelangelo, and the enlargement of the Palazzo Pitti according to the designs of Ammannati. The Uffizi is also the largest architectural commission awarded in Florence during the Cinquecento. As such it is a monument of great importance for our understanding of the second
generation of Maniera architects in Florence. It is also a monument of major importance within the development of Italian Mannerist architecture. As it falls within the so-called classicizing phase of Mannerism, its acts as a continuum between the classical works of Bramante and Raphael, and the equally classical works of Palladio. The Uffizi clearly contains the confluence of both the severe classicizing elements in Tuscan architecture and the more classical elements of the second generation of Mannerist architects. Further, as a major urban composition it links the works of Alberti, Rossellino and Michelangelo to those of the full flowering of the Baroque town planning of the following century. Adolfo Venturi, in his survey of the history of Italian art and architecture, gives numerous illustrations of the Uffizi but devotes little text to the consideration of the work, describing it as heavy, frigid and derivative.

The palaces received better treatment from Arthur McComb, who wrote that:

"the elongated window enframements and supporting consoles, the repeated vertical emphasis of the columns and other members, the conscious break with classical proportions (but with the use of classical details) and the elegant, somewhat frigid effect of the whole combine to make this building a fine example of Mannerism in architecture -- an art in which this style is not always recognized -- and gives Vasari a place among the truly distinguished architects in Italy."
Arnold Hauser defined the complex as a typical product of Mannerist unrest. Speaking of the impression created by the square flanked by the two long, parallel wings of the Uffizi, he wrote that:

"The whole is a typical instance of a manneristically inhibited attempt at flight, a borderline position between two orders, two different systems, creating a feeling of unrest and uncertainty. Only the sides of the courtyard are marked clearly and unambiguously, just as one side of a Mannerist painting is often emphasized by being densely lined with figures, this indicating the orientation of the composition in depth."37

Arnold Hauser is here alluding to an impression created by the piazza and the flanking palaces that will receive fuller treatment in this study in the discussion of the urban planning aspects of the Uffizi.

Peter Murray in his survey of Italian Renaissance architecture writes that:

"The tall buildings are higher in relation to the width of the street than one would expect, so that a long tunnel-like effect is created, either from the Piazza della Signoria or from the Arno looking towards the Palazzo della Signoria and the Cathedral, which appear bathed in light at the end of the long, dark perspective. The finest point of the design is the lovely, airy loggia overlooking the Arno, with its delicate pattern of vaulting supported on heavy coupled columns, in a variation of the Palladian motif that Palladio himself might have admired. The rest of the building is little more than a repetition of motifs invented by Michelangelo for the Biblioteca Laurenziana some forty years earlier."38
As a final example of the summary treatment of the Uffizi, one may add to the above-listed quotations, a last quote from Heydenreich and Lotz. They write that:

"The Uffizi, built before the great enterprises of Sixtus V, like the roughly contemporary Escorial, is an early example of the architecture of absolute monarchy."39

Clearly, this important palace and square complex has been given short shrift by architectural historians: to redress that imbalance this study will attempt to examine the Uffizi as a major architectural monument in its Florentine and Italian context. The antecedents and the inspiration of the palaces will be traced, the course of its design will be followed as it unfolds in the mind of its creator and patron, the second Medici duke, and first Grand Duke, of Florence, Cosimo I.

A work of architecture, unlike a work of art, cannot be produced on speculation, it cannot be put up for sale, or auctioned to the highest bidder simply as an artifact. It must have a patron for its inception, an architect for its design, and a treasury to finance its construction. Laborers must be paid, materials must be purchased, transported and assembled; therefore, before any energy is exerted, before any organization can be imposed on the building site, there must be a purpose and a patron for the structure. Architecture cannot escape that all-
important and quite apparent limitation, a fact that informs all works of architecture in all periods and in all places. A work of architecture must have a preconceived function, a preordained purpose; it must rely on a patron willing to finance so costly an undertaking, a patron who will be willing to maintain that support over the length of time required to bring the work to completion. The work of architecture must conform to the limits of the technology known to, and the materials available to the society for which the work is created. For such a labor to proceed and to produce a work of architecture rather than merely a building, it must also express in its structure its purpose and its ideological programme. Those attributes are expressed through style, through the use of those "decorative" elements that not only proclaim its structure, but also its soul.

The Uffizi is a work of architecture, commissioned by Cosimo I of Giorgio Vasari to house the offices of the Thirteen Magistrates. It expresses not only its quotidian function, but also the ideological concepts underlying the state created by Cosimo I. The Uffizi is, therefore, a princely forum as well as a public place, a sacral forecourt as well as a wide piazza, a ceremonial atrium possessed of a presentation festigium, as well as a series
of utilitarian court chambers. Vasari's design is a stunning solution to the problems presented by the practical needs of his client's commission, and by his need, as a courtier, to invest that design with the freight of Cosimo I's political ambitions and social pretensions.

Indeed, the Uffizi is far more than simply an office building, it is also the first example of the architecture of absolute monarchy,⁴⁰ as detected by Heydenreich and Lotz. What Vasari wrought he wrought well, and as such the Uffizi is a true reflection of Cosimo I, his policies, his state, and his status among the princes of Italy.
CHAPTER TWO
Cosimo I de' Medici of Florence
and the Commission of the Uffizi

The Peace of Italy that Lorenzo il Magnifico had so astutely engineered, through his unprecedented diplomatic initiative towards the Sforza duke of Milan, and his equally bold and dangerous trip to the Aragonese court of his sworn and active enemy, the King of Naples, began to crumble almost immediately after his death in 1492. Due to his accomplishments, Guicciardini wrote:

Italy was preserved in this happy state, which had been attained through a variety of causes, by a number of circumstances, but among those by common consent no little credit was due to the industry and virtue of Lorenzo de' Medici, a citizen so far above the rank of private citizen in Florence that all the affairs of the Republic were decided by his advice. Florence was at that time powerful by virtue of her geographical position, the intelligence of her people and the readiness of her wealth rather than for the extent of her dominion. Lorenzo had lately allied himself through marriage to Pope Innocent III (who listened readily to his counsels); his
name was respected throughout Italy and his authority was great in all discussions on matters of common interest. Knowing that it would be very dangerous to himself and to the Florentine Republic if any of the larger states increased their power, he diligently sought to maintain the affairs of Italy in such a balance that they might not favor one side more than the other.

The year of his death was momentous in the annals of European history, for as Columbus was sighting the shores of the New World, Charles VIII of France was setting his sights on both Lombardy and Campania. Charles was anxious to invade Italy to press his hereditary claims to Naples through his Anjou ancestors, and his right to Milan through his Valois antecedents.

The Peace of Italy that had endured in uneasy balance for thirty years, the Golden Age as it was to be remembered, was shattered to be followed by thirty years of invasion and counterinvasion, by warfare between local powers, foreign states, a combination of the two. In his monumental history of Italy, Guicciadini described this sorrowful period in the history of his peninsula as the Miseria d'Italia, he wrote that:

The calamities of Italy began to the greater sorrow and terror of all men at a time when circumstances seemed universally most propitious and fortunate. It is indisputable that since the Roman Empire, weakened largely by the decay of her customs, began to decline more than a thousand years ago from that greatness to
which it had risen with marvelous virtue and good fortune, Italy had never known such prosperity or such desirable conditions as that which it enjoyed in all tranquillity in the years of Our Lord 1490 and the year immediately before and after. For, all at peace and quietness, cultivated no less in the mountains and sterile places than in the fertile regions and plains, knowing no other rule than that of its own people, Italy was not only rich in population, merchandise and wealth, but she was adorned to the highest degree by the magnificence of many princes, by the splendor of innumerable noble and beautiful cities, by the throne and majesty of religion; full of men most able in the administration of public affairs, and of noble minds learned in every branch of study and versed in every worthy art and skill. Nor did she lack military glory according to the standards of those times, and being so richly endowed, she deservedly enjoyed among all other nations a most brilliant reputation.

This happy state was rudely disturbed by the invasions of Charles VIII of France and by the counterinvasions of Charles V of Spain. When the marching and the counter-marching finally culminated in the Sack of Rome in 1527, all Catholic Europe rose up in indignation, demanding that Pope and Emperor settle their disputes, as, by this point, Charles VIII of France and the French cause had been soundly defeated by combined Italian and Imperial forces. Charles V and Clement VII (de'Medici) met at Bologna in 1531 for that well-publicized ceremonial reconciliation demanded by all of Catholic Europe. The renewal of affection between Roman Pope and Holy Roman Emperor was announced to the states of Italy and Europe through the
traditional coronation ceremony held at San Petronio in Bologna, witnessed by the assembled royalty and nobility of all Catholic Europe. This was the first and only instance in which a Holy Roman Emperor received his anointing at the hands of a reigning Pontiff outside Rome.

For Florence, the new Peace of Italy was not yet a reality as imperial troops still invested the plains around the city.

Florence was the only storm-center, and suddenly found herself isolated and besieged. The fortifications that Michelangelo had helped to prepare was not enough to save the city from falling into Imperial hands. Imperial troops stood poised to attack, invade and sack the city, as they had Rome four years earlier. Florence, true to its tradition, had remained steadfastly Guelf, even doubly Guelf, as the Pontiff was not only Bishop of Rome and nominal leader of the Guelf cause, but also a Medici prince of Florence. Florence was not only isolated from its traditional allies, all of whom had, actively or passively, joined the Imperial/Ghibelline camp, but also from the Pope, acknowledged leader of the Guelfs who was a member of a family that the Republic had banished but a few scant years ago. This Medici pope was actively conspiring with the Emperor for the return of his family
to the rule Florence, and for the establishment of a permanent, hereditary principality for them there.

As Alexander VI before him had attempted to create a state for his son Cesare Borgia at Castro, and as Paul III was later to create a state for his Farnese kin at Parma, so Clement VII wished to secure for his kin the government of Florence. By dint of astute negotiations, subtle compromises and generous gifts and grants, the siege of Florence was lifted, the new order began at once, as:

A week after the Emperor's representatives had entered the city, those citizens prepared to vote for the creation of a Balla were admitted to a Parlamento in the Piazza della Signoria. A Medici Balla was accordingly established. A faithful supporter of the Pope was appointed Gonfaloniere, and Francesco Guicciardini, who had left the city on the approach of the Imperial forces, was sent back to supervise further measures of "reform" -- and revenge.... To replace (the former rulers) in the government of the city, the Pope dispatched the dark, fuzzy-haired, now nineteen-year-old youth, Alessandro de'Medici, for whom he had brought the Dukedom of Penne from Charles V and to whom he hoped to marry the Emperor's natural daughter, Margaret.5

Alexander (Alessandro I) was granted the rank of Duke _______ the first Medici duke of Florence. He was the first ruler to hold such a title since the Duke of Athens had ruled briefly over the Florentines in 1342.6 Though the state had been secured for Alessandro by his uncle, the Pope, and conferred upon him by the vote of
the Parlamento, he was unable to secure the loyalty of his subjects and the trust of the citizens. He was a cruel, vain, despotic prince who considered his state as his personal fief, subject only to his will and his whims as:

In the sixteenth century the word "state" or Stato, was usually used in the passive sense, as something that was possessed, acquired or dominated, rather than in the modern sense of something that levies taxes, declares war, rewards and punishes.

He was indifferent to the economic distresses engendered by years of war, insensitive to the republican sentiments of the popolo minuto, and intolerant of the long established privileges of the popolo grosso. Finally, and fatally, he was incapable of sensing the growing opposition to his rule from all segments of the mercantile society, over which he now found himself, at too early an age, ruler.

His end came, fittingly, not from without, but from within, as his trusted cousin and companion Lorenzo, called Lorenzaccio, stabbed him to death during an arranged assignation with the wife of one of the duke's courtiers. His rule had lasted but a few short years. Ending in 1537, it left Florence faced once again with a cruel choice: to re-establish the Republic and bring
down the wrath of the Emperor and the Pope, with its sure promise of renewed invasion and destruction, or submit to yet another Medici, investing him with all the titles, horrors and power held by Alessandro I. The Council of State debated the prospects, and devised a solution that they hoped would please the Pope, appease the Emperor, restore some republican liberties and assure themselves a larger voice in the affairs of state by electing a little-known, and still young member of the cadet branch of the Medici. They chose to elect the son of the popular hero Giovanni de'Medici, known as "delle Bande Nere," who bore, most appropriately, the name of the founder of the family fortune, Cosimo de'Medici. He was to be known henceforth as Cosimo I, Duke not only of Florence alone, but of all Tuscany. The news of his election and elevation reached Cosimo at his modest villa at Trebbio in the Mugello, where he lived quietly with his mother Maria Salviati, herself also a Medici, the widow of Giovanni "delle Bande Nere." His mother had long intrigued to keep her son in favor at the court of Alessandro I, while providing him with an adequate education. His learning was a blend of her religious convictions, his father's military skills, and his tutor's humanistic enlightenment. At eighteen Cosimo found himself, unexpectedly, the uncontested head
of a large state whose finances were in disarray, the agriculture devastated by years of warfare, the boarders undefined by firm treaties, and the chief fortresses still in the hands of foreign garrisons.

His education had not prepared him to handle these myriad and multi-faceted difficulties; his training had prepared him rather for the quiet and undemanding life of the country squire. He liked to hunt, to visit his farms and to care for his horses. This teen-ager who was to assume the full power of the state, to the great surprise of his electors, was to overcome the limitations of his upbringing and to prove himself a firm and able ruler, even a great one. Many years later, a Venetian ambassador left a clear and convincing portrait of Cosimo I at the height of his powers in 1561 which is relevant to this study. He wrote to his superiors in Venice that:

This prince holds the skillful in all professions in great respect and takes pleasure in all branches of study, and much enjoys painting and sculpture, and continually employs excellent men in both arts to make things rare and worthy of the times...He delights in jewels, statues and ancient medals and has so many antiquities that it is a marvel. And he had the history of the times written in Latin and Tuscan and pays excellent men to write commentaries on his life in both languages. So with painting, sculpture, print and imperishable paper he will be eternal and glorious after his death as he is happy and fortunate in life. And God will continue these
qualities for him to the end, since, as it is said, this prince shares the same astrological constellation as Octavius Augustus and the Emperor Charles V.\textsuperscript{8}

Cosimo moved swiftly to consolidate power; he began almost at once to find solutions to the many problems that plagued his state. C.F. Young, in a swath of purple prose, states that:

No sooner, however, was Cosimo installed as chief of the state than he threw off the mask which he had worn. He cast all those councillors aside, assumed absolute authority, and showed himself in his true colours as an arbitrary tyrant, who intended to rule by fear. He soon became the most dreaded man in Florence.\textsuperscript{9}

We need not be concerned here with the full account of the history of the early rule of Cosimo I; a brief outline of the events of his rule prior to 1560 will serve to establish the larger conditions of which the commission of the Uffizi forms but just a part.

Immediately on taking office he was faced with the insurrection precipitated by the exiles of 1530. These fuorusciti were the exiles from Florence who plotted his overthrow. Their forces were defeated at Montemurlo near Prato in July of 1537. Cosimo returned to Florence to the joyful cries of "Palle," "Palle," a reference to the balls of the Medici coat of arms. Then despite objections from both Pope and Emperor:
Cosimo did manage to obtain for himself a politically useful bride in Eleonora, daughter of Don Pedro of Toledo, the extremely rich Spanish viceroy of Naples. And not long after his marriage to Eleonora had taken place, the Emperor, who had fallen out with the Pope, and had come to realize that the Duke of Florence was in a position to render him important services, agreed to the withdrawal of Spanish troops from Tuscany.

Free from foreign occupation, Cosimo had also by now freed himself from interference in his government by any of his ministers...10

Cosimo was now in complete control of his state, and he, as prince, had established a new government in Florence that was a skillful blend of past forms and present needs. He was able to maintain the fiction of republican institutions while adapting them to autocratic needs; indeed, the state that he founded was founded on the precepts that Machiavelli had expounded upon in his guide for rulers, The Prince, which was dedicated to Lorenzo de' Medici, il Magnifico.11

Cosimo was soon considered a new Augustus. In the Lives Vasari writes that:

Some of the glorious deeds of the magnanimous Duke, which -- if smaller things may be compared to greater -- I have considered often in my own mind to be so very similar to those of the first Octavius Augustus that it would be difficult to find any greater resemblance; for that reason that -- not to mention that both the one and the other were born under one and the same ascendant of Capricorn, and not to mention that both were raised almost unexpectedly
to the sovereignty at the same immature age, and not to speak of the most important victories gained both by the one and the other in the first days of August, and of their having similar constitutions and natures in their private and intimate lives, and of their singular affection for their wives, save that in his children, in the election to the principality, and perhaps in many other things, I believe that our fortunate Duke might be esteemed more blessed than Augustus -- is there not seen both in one and in the other a most ardent and most extraordinary desire to build and embellish and to contrive that others should build and embellish? Insomuch that, if the first said that he found Rome built of brick and left her built of solid stone, the second will be able to say not less truthfully that he received Florence already of stone, indeed ornate and beautiful, but leaves her to his successors by a gray measure more ornate and more beautiful, increased and magnified by every kind of copyennient, lovely and magnificent adornment.\textsuperscript{12}

In 1554, Cosimo began a war against Siena that was brought to a successful end in 1557, thereby increasing his state by almost a third, and his revenues by almost as much.\textsuperscript{13} The integration of the territory of Siena into a larger Tuscan state increased the revenues of the Duke, and added to his honorifics, so that he began a campaign to have bestowed upon himself the title of Grand Duke of Tuscany.\textsuperscript{14} The Duke of Tuscany not only established his state and secured and expanded his dominions, he also surrounded himself with a number of artists who were "employed to celebrate his military and civil successes with massive commemorative statues and bas-reliefs."\textsuperscript{15}
Cosimo I founded his state on specific principles, which, in turn, informed all the organs of his government both within the capital city of Florence and throughout the provinces of his state, which included the territories of the former free communes of Pisa, Pistoia, Siena, Volterra, Massa, Cortona, Grosseto, San Sepolcro, Montepulciano, Pienza, Chiusi, the new port of Livorno, and Arezzo. His expanded state, which was bordered on the south and to the west by the Papal States, on the north by Modena and Parma, and on the west by the Tyrrhenian Sea, did not include Lucca, Piombino, or the Ortebello. This pan-Tuscan state became the first modern nation-state in Europe organized for uniformity and ruled by the prince through a uniform bureaucracy.\(^6\)

As the Uffizi was not only a government office building, a central node of that bureaucratic organization, but also an embodiment of the principles on which that state was organized, those principles of state must be examined prior to the examination of the palaces themselves. The first principle of the new Tuscan state was that of efficiency. Efficiency:

meant changing the requirements for office-holding from wealth and influence to technical competence. Cosimo did not much care where his qualified assistants came from. In some cases, particularly when he needed someone absolutely
dependent upon himself, a provincial, or even a foreigner was preferable to a citizen. That, after all, he knew from the example of the Republic, which always had brought in certain judges and secretaries from the outside as a guarantee of impartiality.

Efficiency was a paramount requirement of the Ducal government quite simply because:

inefficiency, overlapping jurisdictions and lack of co-ordination had been among the noticeable defects of the Republic. And they were also among the qualities that the fastidious, orderly young prince could least abide. Efficiency for Cosimo meant first of all the absence of jurisdictional squabbles...[it] also meant keeping records in such a way that they could be easily looked up...[it meant] 'having the resources of the Empire constantly before him' like Lattini's idealized Emperor Augustus.

The first principle of Cosimo's government was efficiency; the second principle was continuity. Cosimo:

found it convenient to qualify his regime as the fulfillment rather than the negation of the Republic, and to picture himself as the heir to a family of first citizens rather than as the founder of a dynasty of monarchs.

To illustrate this concept of continuity, Vasari in his frescoes for the Palazzo Vecchio depicted the Medici patron saints of Cosmus and Damianus as Cosimo the Elder and Cosimo I the Duke.

The third principle of the new state, which was not to be seen as new, was justice. Justice required that the law be applied without exception to all. The law
"might emanate from him, or through him from a body politic. But he was as subject as any other man to the moral principles from which all law derived." Cosimo separated criminal from civil jurisdiction and courts of first instance from courts of appeal.

From the third principle of Cosimo's government, followed the fourth, equality:

If everyone was made to obey the law, then everyone was entitled to its protection... For the first time in Florentine history, a government became particularly solicitous for the lower classes of the population, whom the Republicans had always disdained, but whom Cosimo would no longer allow to be mistreated.

The principles that informed the new-old state of Cosimo I were to be reflected in the commissions bestowed upon Giorgio Vasari, among which was one for a new "office building" in the capital. The building was planned to house the offices of the Thirteen Magistrates, judicial offices which had evolved during the Republic and continued to flourish under the Principate. The commission was given to Giorgio Vasari who had a limited background in architecture, but who, despite that limitation, was to produce his architectural masterwork in the fabbrica of the Uffizi.
However the house (of the Prince) ought to have large, spacious apartments to receive those that come to attend them, and the street which leads from them to the palace where the public affairs are transacted should be of good breadth.

Alberti. De Re Aedificatoria, Book V, Ch. VI.

CHAPTER THREE
Giorgio Vasari of Arezzo, Architect of the Uffizi

Giorgio Vasari was born under the sign of Leo on the 30th of July, 1511, in a house owned by his family. His father Antonio was a potter, continuing an ancient Aretine tradition, as bucchero ware had been fashioned in Arezzo since the days of the Etruscan king, Lars Porsena. Giorgio's father produced large vases, a braccio and a half high (about three feet), which may have been used for storage purposes. The family name "Vasari" may have been a corruption of the trade name vasaio, which can be freely translated as "Vase-maker" or "potter." Vasari's father rather early detected the artistic talent in his son, and when the boy was eight or nine years old, he began to have him taught drawing. At that time Luca Signorelli, a painter then celebrated throughout Italy, came to Arezzo
to supervise the erection of an altarpiece. Being a dis­tant relative of the Vasari family, he stayed at the
Vasari home, and years later, Giorgio, in his own Vita was
to recall that he "observed the boy's liking for art. Luca
turned to my father and said "Let Giorgio at all events
learn to draw...for even though he should return to other
studies, the ability to draw would be useful and honorable
to him, as to all men of culture!" ¹ His advice to Giorgio
was "Learn diligently, little kinsman." ²

Vasari and his father both accepted the advice of
their famous relative. Vasari began at once to practice
drawing in the churches of Arezzo. By his own account the
first rudiments were taught to him "with some method by
the Frenchman Guglielmo da Marcilla." ³ Little is known
about this French artist. It is thought that he was a
Dominican monk, who, in his homeland where he was known
as Guillaume de Marcellat or Guillaume de Marseilles, was
a stain-glass maker by profession. Vasari states that "he
had been called into Italy by the Pope in order to execute
works in the Vatican." ⁴ He seems to have settled, there­fore, in Arezzo 'for the rest of his life.' There he
produced some stain-glass windows that are still extant
in the church of San Francesco and many more, together
with the extensive and interesting frescoes of the vault in
the Duomo.
While still in Arezzo Vasari was given a fully rounded humanistic education by local teachers including the poet Giovanni Pallestra of Siena. This poet was a man of great learning, but his teaching, and his poetic style, were marked by an academic dryness, a characteristic sometimes noted in the artistic works of his most famous pupil Giorgio Vasari. When Vasari was thirteen he was recommended to the Cardinal of Cortona, Silvio Passerini. This cardinal was a papal legate and a temporary regent of Florence. Giorgio's father, who was a distant relative of the cardinal, seized the opportunity during his stop-over in Arezzo to procure the desired and necessary protection for his son. The young Giorgio made a favorable impression on the prelate, and, along with the cardinal's wards of the same age, two sons of the House of Medici, he was taken to Florence. The two young Medici traveling with Passerini were Alessandro de'Medici, afterwards Duke of Florence, and Ippolito de'Medici, later a cardinal. Concerning this experience, Vasari relates that: "Then having been taken to Florence in the year 1524 by Silvio Passerini, Cardinal of Cortona, I gave some little attention to the designs of Michelangelo, Andrea del Sarto and others."
The Medici were driven out of Florence in 1527 and Vasari returned to Arezzo where he continued exercising his hand at drawing in the region round about Arezzo where he was: "Painting some things in fresco for the peasants of the countryside, although as yet I had scarcely touched colors." It is evident that Vasari was, at this stage of his artistic development, concerned solely with the pictorial arts, and that he had not as yet discovered the charms of architecture. No where in the account of his early years does he mention architecture, nor does he comment much on the buildings that were either familiar or novel to him. Arezzo, his native city, possessed a lovely church, SS. Annunziata, chiefly by Antonio da San Gallo the Elder, as well as other modern works of architecture, especially the exquisite Early Renaissance-style portico of the church of S. Maria delle Grazie, attributed to Benedetto da Maiano and built perhaps around 1485. During his first stay in Florence he would have become familiar with the many works of Brunelleschi, the few works of Alberti and the various works of the other great architects of the Quattrocento. He does not mention them in his own Life, rather, he relates that:

"not losing heart, I returned to Florence where I placed myself with a goldsmith. But not for long, because in the year 1529, the
enemy having come against Florence, I went off with the goldsmith Manno... to Pisa. Then, the war growing every day more general, I resolved to return to Arezzo; but not being able to go by direct and ordinary route, I made my way by the mountains of Modena to Bologna. There, finding that some triumphal arches were being decorated in painting for the coronation of Charles V, young as I was, I obtained some work..."

This is the first mention of anything architectural by Vasari, but it appears that his concern here is with painting, not structure, as the arches were designed by others and were not his concern. In 1528 Vasari made the acquaintance of the painter Rosso Fiorentino who encouraged him in his studies and even tried to secure some small commissions for him.

In 1530, when he was nearly twenty, Vasari traveled to Rome for the first time, invited by his new patron, Ippolito de' Medici. The city to which he was invited was just beginning to recover from the disastrous sack of 1527. It was not yet the school for contemporary art it was soon to become, but it was the school of antique art that it had long been. Vasari used the occasion of his stay in Rome to draw; so much did he draw that he later recalled "there remained nothing notable at that in Rome, or afterwards in Florence, and in other places where I dwelth that I did not draw in my youth, and not pictures
only, but also sculptures and architectural works, ancient and modern." This is his first mention of an interest in architecture, and his first mention of architectural sketches. As his early sketches have been lost to us, we can only conjecture what he might have chosen to commit to paper. Throughout the Quattrocento and the Cinquecento, Italian and non-Italian artists alike sketched, measured and drew detailed studies of the Roman remains. Even Raphael drew both the exterior and the interior of the Rotunda leaving detailed drawings of the portico and the circular cella of that temple. That Vasari would have followed suit is almost beyond doubt even though his sketches may not survive. A mass of material has since been dispersed throughout museums and private collections, but only precious few of his architectural sketches survive.

In 1531 Vasari left Rome because "What with the heat, the air, the fatigue, I felt sick in such sort that in order to be restored I was forced to have myself carried by litter to Arezzo." Leaving Arezzo, Vasari returned to Florence, a somber and serious city only recently reprieved from a possible invasion. In Florence, Vasari continued to sketch and to study despite the grave political transformations taking place around him. Vasari spent much time sketching in the New Sacristy of San Lorenzo, where he was
in intimate daily contact with the highly personal architectural idiom of Michelangelo, an architectural language that spoke of the emergence of Mannerism.

In 1534, Vasari is thought to have been at work on the Ricetto of the Laurentian Library, which was still far from finished. The original designs had been prepared by Michelangelo in 1525, but due to the unsettled state of the times, it was still quite incomplete when the Master left Florence in that same year. The work was carried on by Vasari, Tribolo and Ammannati on verbal instructions from Michelangelo. At the same time Vasari found several other non-architectural commissions; then in 1538 he returned to Rome to study sculpture and architecture. Vasari relates that, upon:

"arriving in Rome, then, in February of the year 1538, I stayed there until the end of June, giving my attention to drawing all that I had left undrawn the other time I had been in Rome, and particularly everything that was in the underground grottoes. Nor did I leave anything either in architecture or sculpture that I did not draw or measure insofar that I can say with truth that the drawings that I made in that space of time were more than three hundred; and for many years afterwards I found pleasure and advantage in examining them, refreshing the memory of the things in Rome."

Vasari then returned to Florence where he resumed his usual occupation as a painter. He was called to Bologna
in 1539 by the monks of S. Michele in Bosco where he executed "a frieze in fresco, architectural ornaments, carvings, seat backs, panels, and other ornaments over the whole work." In 1541 Vasari was in Venice for a number of months, he then returned to Arezzo where he completed some frescoes in his own house. In 1543 Vasari was once more in Rome where he was often in the company of Michelangelo. Vasari was to profit from this visit in unexpected ways; he was to remain securely within the orbit of Michelangelo's art for the remainder of his life.

Between 1545 and 1549 Vasari traveled to Rome, Naples, Rimini, Ravenna, Monte San Savino and other smaller places, gathering material for his justly famous Lives which was first published in 1550. In 1550 he returned to Rome where he worked on the tomb of Cardinal del Monte at San Pietro in Montorio, where also stood the "Tempietto" of Bramante. He is also said to have worked on his first architectural commission in Rome, the Villa Giulia. Of the "Tempietto," Vasari wrote that there was "nothing more shapely or better conceived whether in proportion, design, variety of grace [that] could be imagined. And even more beautiful it would have been, if the whole extent of the cloister, which is not finished, had been brought to the
is clear evidence that Vasari was familiar with Bramante's own sketches and drawings for the most important monument of the High Renaissance. It is possible that Vasari copied these preparatory designs as a drawing of the little temple was included in his Libro dei Disegni. Vasari also seems to have found great satisfaction in the use of the Doric Order in his own works, mentioning that Order whenever possible, as in his description of the "House of Raphael," where he states that "the columns and the bases being of the Doric Order..." Of this design by Bramante for the "House of Raphael" it has been said that "it is no exaggeration to say that for the next two centuries or more all Italian palaces can be related to it, even when they react against it."\(^{16}\)

Vasari began his own architectural career in Rome in 1550, at the Villa Giulia, and with some small works at the Villa Altoviti. In the later villa he painted a loggia that he "made with a new method of architecture, because the loggia being so large that it was not possible to turn the vaulting without danger, it had to be made with armateours of wood, matting, and canes over which was done the stucco work and fresco painting as if the vaulting were of masonry."\(^{17}\) In that same year in Florence he helped
enlarge and heighten some rooms in that part of the ducal residence facing the Piazza del Grano. This training had some value because, as Vasari charmingly puts it, "I was kept always moving, or rather occupied in making architectural designs..." In 1554, Vasari entered into the service of Duke Cosimo I, for whom he was to work, almost without respite, until his death in 1574. One of the first tasks given Vasari was the reorganization of the interior of the Palazzo Vecchio. The palace had become the official residence of the Duke of Tuscany, illustrating the concern with a sense of continuity between the old order and the new state. The remodeling included, according to Vasari, new rooms on the level of the Great Hall, salons, chambers, antechambers, a chapel, new stairways, a realigned and redesigned cortile and a series of state rooms. While at work on the interior of the Palazzo Vecchio he was commissioned to complete the stair hall or "Ricetto" of the Laurentian Library, begun, as noted, in 1525. This was to be his last major architectural commission prior to receiving the task of designing and constructing the Palazzo degli Uffizi.

Vasari accepted the commission in 1559, and while in Pisa prepared a model of the new palace. The design was structured on two, long wings enframing that street that
had been cut through the area in 1545. During the con-
struction, Vasari complained that "the loggia and the vast
fabric, facing towards the Arno River than which had never
been built anything more difficult or more dangerous from
it being founded over the river and even, one might say,
in the air."20 While engaged on the Uffizi, which was a
long labor of some dozen years, Vasari was charged by the
Duke with other architectural labors, so that at the same
time "and under my charge, likewise, have been the works
of the Palace and church of the Knights of St. Stephen at
Pisa, and the tribune, or rather, cupola of the Madonna
dell'Umilta in Pistoia."21 Not to mention the loggia that
he was also building in his own home town, on the principal
square of Arezzo. As well as a consumate artist, Vasari
had also become a major architect.
The palace of a king should stand in the heart of the city, it should be easy of access, beautifully adorned and rather delicate and polite than proud or stately.
Alberti. De Re Aedificatoria, Book V, Ch. III.

CHAPTER FOUR
History of the Project

In 1560 Duke Cosimo I granted the commission of the Uffizi to Giorgio Vasari. (Fig. 1) Upon receiving the task, and complying with a ducal request, Vasari began at once to prepare a model of the new building. The model had been requested "nell' ottobre del '60 Cosimo scrive al Vasari da Pisa di preparare un modello. Il modello è approntato in quattro mesi e sotto la direzione del Vasari stesso iniziato i lavori."¹ The task that lay before Vasari was daunting, as it was required that he construct a set of palaces, facing each other to either side of the new street opened in 1545. The area in question stretched from the Piazza della Signoria to the Arno, and included a number of private houses, one of the oldest churches in Florence, at times used for meetings of the
Signoria and the State Mint. Neither the church nor the mint could be demolished, and in his typical parsimonious manner, Cosimo I ordered that the materials removed from the demolished buildings be used again in the new structure, and that only those parts of those buildings be demolished that interfered with the new work. So, in a sense, Vasari was commissioned to attach a new set of facades, with new rooms behind, to the older structure.

As architecture is not a solitary act, the concept of the building must be communicated to the builders by the artist in some form or another. The modern practice is, of course, to use detailed blueprints, in which all the aspects of the design are measured, drawn, and presented in great detail. The Renaissance architect used a different "system;" of the difference between the modern and the Renaissance architect, Ackerman writes that

The Renaissance architect used drawings as either rapidly sketched studies of the building under construction, or as presentation drawings to be given to the patron of the project to indicate the "ideal" final form of the building. Another type of more finished drawing was used to delineate specific details of the building.\(^2\)

Drawings were not, therefore, the chief means of communication between architect and builder. The final appearance of the building was suggested to the builder by a model -- as was done by Michelangelo for the dome of St. Peter's,
which is still on view in the Vatican. These models were quite expensive, as they required time, material and labor. Therefore:

The enormous expense and effort devoted to the construction of models for the larger projects suggest that much of the designing went on in plastic form at this stage. Builders, rather than work with detailed specifications, got the gist of the design from the model, and when they encountered problems, they simply got the answer from the architect or the supervisor by word of mouth. But the importance of models should not be overestimated; like the presentations drawings they rarely represent the structure that ultimately was built, and in any case they were made only for the most grandiose structures.³

The use of models for important buildings also had other purposes as:

A model gives to a layman the clearest idea of a building in three dimensions... Michelangelo's full-size competition model of the cornice of the Farnese Palace at Rome was fixed on the building to give an idea of the ultimate effect.⁴

The task may have been daunting, but Vasari set to it with his customary zeal, his usual competence, and his boundless energy. The first task confronting Vasari on the site was its clearance. The site selected was a fairly large rectangle. To the north was the broad Piazza della Signoria, and the narrow Via della Ninna, separating the site from the Palazzo Vecchio. To the east, an irregular line formed by the Via dei Castellani, which connected the aforementioned Via della Ninna with the
Lungarno degli Archibusieri, which bounded the site on the south along the Arno River. Finally, running along the west side of the site, back to the Piazza della Signoria was the Via dei Georgofili, and its extension, the Chiasso Baroncelli. The site was dissected on its long axis by the former Via della Zecca, and transversely by the Via Lambertesca. Lapini states that the earlier site clearance began on March 11, 1545 to broaden the Via della Zecca. Two major structures flanked the opening of the old Via della Zecca, the mint to one side, and the church of San Piero Scheraggio to the other. The width of the new street, and of the piazza it was eventually to become, was determined by these two venerable medieval buildings. In a particular manner the presence of the Zecca affected the design of the Vasarian program, with the neighboring Loggia of Orcagna (Loggia dei Lanzi), whose monumental presence forced Vasari to abandon, in the final selection of the tract along the Mint the passageway (loggia) on the ground floor, which, had it been carried through along the Zecca, would have terminated under the Loggia itself, creating a most awkward juncture at the Piazza della Signoria. Therefore, the facade of San Piero Scheraggio became the point of departure for the alignment of the future facades of the Uffizi, and in the same manner, the
position of the Loggia dei Lanzi determined automatically the width of the new piazza. These two elements were not fully respected in the alignment of the two parallel facades of the Uffizi, which were aligned towards the east to line up with the facade of the Ducal Palace, the former Palazzo della Signoria. Had the facades been aligned strictly on the direction of the opening created by the older buildings, the facades of the Uffizi would have focused on, and framed a short-angle corner of the old palace. The site was being cleared on ducal orders, but: "The documents contain urgent reports on the resistance of the Guilds to the move and of the owners of the many houses, shops and workshops demolished or appropriated to make room for the new building." The new street created by the clearance campaign of 1545 measured some 140m. in length (150 yards) and 18m. in width (60 feet). This long, fairly narrow space was to be contained by the parallel facades of the new palaces as designed by Vasari.

Upon the completion of the site-clearance, a work force was assembled, consisting of twelve masons and twenty-four workmen supervised by a deputy overseer who acted in Vasari's stead. As provveditore Vasari had a salary of 150 scudi and other benefits. Both Vasari and
his work staff had to be paid, and funds had to be allocated to cover the costs of construction. The financing of the fabbrica required the imposition of new taxes. This proposal had to be debated in council. The provveditori assigned to the fabbrica, including Vasari, were instructed, and required, to meet three times weekly within the Zecca, paying themselves from the same exchequer that provided the funds for the building materials. The same administrative parsimony that refused to institute a new account for the fabbrica, that required the reuse of old materials, and that double-checked the prices of all new materials, is revealed in a marginal note in Cosimo's hand to "fix the prices of all materials for the building that otherwise would become overpriced." This action may be considered an early example of governmental price-control.

The collection of the new taxes proved difficult; the taxes placed on the gold-wire drawers, doublet-makers, stocking-makers and others in the cloth trade were considered an imposition levied on them by their overlords in the Silk-workers Guild, who in their turn, opposed the taxes in every way possible. Another group on whom a new tax had been placed, and from whom the new tax was quite difficult to collect, was the group referred to in the documents as "the harlots, who would not pay their taxes, claiming that
they were freed from taxes in the past and that they considered themselves to have the same status as women of 'good families.' The Rectors of Public Morals who were charged with the collection of this "sin-tax" disagreed with the women of easy virtue, declaring that there were two types of "harlots" and both were responsible for paying the taxes, old and new, levied against them as "tradespeople." The resulting funds from all these new and increased taxes were modest, but sufficient for the work at hand. The site was now cleared, the designs prepared, and, on the 23 March 1560, the work was officially begun. The function of the new building was announced by a medal struck for the occasion by Domenico Poggini. (Fig. 2) The medal shows the "Via dei Magistrati" from the Arno, looking towards the Palazzo Ducale. In the medal the connective loggia between the two parts of the new palace is not shown, in its place stands a classical statue of "Justice" holding her symbol, the scales of justice, in her right hand. Over the view is inscribed the motto "PUBLICAE COMMODITATI." In his Ricordanze Vasari wrote "nel detto anno si comincio la fabbrica de'Magistrati." That same year the foundations of the first part of the project were laid, next to the church of San Piero, extending the length of one full bay of the new building. In July,
Lapini wrote in his *Diario Fiorentino* "in martedi si comminciarono a gettare i fondamenti delle stanze de'Magistrati, Nuove, et a dove sono le logge innanzi a dette stanze, rempetto all Zecca."\(^{13}\)

By the 12th of September, Vasari would write to Cosimo that the foundations had been prepared for the next section of the palace, being adjacent to the section already completed (next to the church). The work was progressing smoothly in the hands of the supervisors put in charge by Vasari; these included one Giovanni di Valdemarino who had three master-masons under his immediate charge, and eight workmen, Bernardo di Monna Mattea who had the same number of men under his supervision, and one Baccio detto il Lattino who also had three master-masons, but only six workmen.\(^{14}\)

The foundations were finished by April of 1561. Vasari entered in his *Ricordanze* the following notation: "Fondamenti tutti compiuti. I lavori procedono e ci si e e organizato in modo da poter il primo giorno fatta Pasqua con i 12 muatori e con i 24 manovali cominciare a lavorare fuori terra per tutta la fabbrica."\(^{15}\) At this point the walls were ready to rise, materials had been assembled on the site, brick, metal, mortar, marble, wood, and stone for the loggia. For the stone used in construction of the
lower loggia Vasari chose a type of *pietra serena*, which is sometimes called *macigno*, and sometimes *pietra forte*, and even sometimes *pietra del fossato*.

The work of constructing the Uffizi proceeded in stages, lasting well into the latter part of the eight decade of the century, having required some twenty years and more for its completion. The work was still in progress at the time of the death of Vasari in 1574; it had been extended in 1565 by the addition of the long corridor connecting the Palazzo Ducale/della Signoria, via the Uffizi and the Ponte Vecchio, with the Palazzo Pitti on the opposite bank of the Arno.\(^1\)

It is not the intention of this study to examine in great detail the history of the construction from 1560 to 1580; it is important to trace, however briefly, the saga of that truly monumental task, one of the largest and most complex ever attempted in Florence, in order to illustrate the process used by Vasari on the building site. Vasari was not too often on the building site, as he was charged with many other ducal commands simultaneous to the great labors at the Uffizi. He was concurrently, among other tasks decorating the newly created ducal apartments at the Palazzo Vecchio.\(^1\) At the same palace he was engaged on the complete redecorating and refashioning of the Sala...
Grande, the former Grand Council Chamber, into the new Grand Ducal Throne Room. It was in this room that Leonardo had painted his experimental Battle of Anghiari, and Michelangelo planned his Battle of the Cascine. Vasari was respectful of the remains of these frescoes, placing his frescoes on walls built slightly to the front of the original walls (and only recently rediscovered). The structural alterations completed, Vasari "turned to the paintings that should decorate them. On the walls and ceiling the history of Florence, from its legendary foundations to the glories of Cosimo's reign, were to be displayed, with a strong partisan emphasis on the part played by the Medici family."

While painting frescoes in praise of the Medici at the old Palazzo della Signoria, he was designing a palace and a church at Pisa to house the headquarters of the new knightly order of San Stefano, founded by Cosimo to combat piracy and to secure his coastline. Vasari was also charged with the completion of the church of the Madonna dell'Umilta at Pistoia, covering the rotunda of the pilgrimage church with a dome similar to, and based on that of the Duomo at Florence. As a private gesture to his native town, he was engaged in the design and construction of the Loggia at the Piazza Grande in Arezzo. The Loggia combined public offices below with private residences above.
At the Uffizi the work proceeded apace, while the foundations were being laid in one section, demolition continued on other parts of the site. In April, Vasari wrote Cosimo that the tower of the Girolami, near the Arno, had been demolished.22 By the following March, a section of the Loggia consisting of the columns and the architrave, had been put in place near San Piero. In September of that year, the walls began to rise; the provveditori, who wished to have an idea of the appearance of the completed palace, had built a full-scale model in wood of the part of the facade above the cornice of the Loggia. They were satisfied with the results, stating that it corresponded perfectly to the designs of Messer Giorgio.23

At the start of the new year, the section of facade fronting the old church was begun; a passageway was constructed above the Via della Ninna, at the same time, connecting the church to the Palazzo Ducale. In January of 1563, the provveditori wrote several letters to Cosimo requesting permission to begin work on other sections of the Loggia; in February he replied to them stating that

"The information you give us in your letter of the 30th has already reached us from other sources. Therefore, as we have matters of far greater importance to occupy our attention, and in order to avoid these petty annoyances for the future, we desire touching the said work that you will send us but one letter at the time and that the said
letter be signed by Giorgio and Puccino on your behalf. We have already told both of them separately and we must now repeat the same to you, that the work must be carried up equally in every part in order to avoid the appearance of its having been built in pieces and dovetailed together. The whole building is to proceed equally. No part whatsoever is to be completed until we have seen how it looks, as we do not wish to be obliged to pull it down again, as we should have to do if it failed to give us satisfaction.24

Not only did the Duke show keen personal interest in the progress of the palace, he was, it would seem, actively and fully informed as to all matters pertaining to this huge undertaking. It is interesting to note the use of the regal plural in the text, a form borrowed from the usage of the Papal court, indicating how quickly, and how far, the Medici Duke had traveled from the pretensions of republican modesty to the open acknowledgement of his princely status.

By 1564, the Loggia on the San Piero side of the piazza was completed, the vaulting of the Loggia and the rooms behind was finished up to the first floor.25 The following year the Corridoio Vasariano was begun. Between 1565 and 1574 the greater part of the palace was completed, the walls of the piano nobile finished, the upper loggia put in place, the old facade of the Mint rebuilt to conform to the new design, and the arch over the Via Lambertesca built
to connect the Uffizi to the Zecca. The work was added to with the erection of the Scala Buontalentiana, the Porta delle Suppliche, the transformation of the uppermost floor into the present Galleria degli Uffizi, and the laying-out of a formal garden on the roof of the Loggia dei Lanzi.

In 1574 Cosimo I died and was succeeded by his son Francesco. As the Grand Ducal family was then presently residing at the Palazzo Pitti, the rooms of the now named "Palazzo Vecchio" were no longer needed for the State Residence, therefore, freeing them for use as state administrative offices. The upper floor of the Uffizi was then made available by the new Grand Duke, Francesco I, as a fitting place in which to display the vast, and growing art collection acquired over time by members of the Medici family. Thus was born the museum function of the Uffizi, which has remained, to this day, its most renowned function.

Vasari died the same year as did the Duke. Upon his passing the work was then entrusted to Alfonso Parigi and Bernardo Buontalenti. In order to adapt the east wing (San Piero wing) to its new use as a galleria, the upper loggia was glazed, altering the effect intended by Vasari for the facades. By 1580 all construction ceased on the twin palaces and their connective loggia at the river. In 1585 the statue of Cosimo I de'Medici, by Giambologna, was
installed at the head of the piazza, replicating a similar statue done by Vincenzo Danti, re-asserting the forum-like quality of the piazza. It has been noted that the project was originally called de'Magistrati, and that this particular name was used throughout the period of construction; the term "Uffizi" becoming popular parlance only much later. The full name of the palaces was Gli Uffizi de' Magistrati, an earlier generation choosing to use the last half of the name, a later one choosing to use the first half.

Since the palaces occupied both sides of the "forum," for the purposes of this text, the wings shall be designated by the name of the principal building on the site prior to the construction of the Uffizi. Thus, there will be discussed a "San Piero wing," which is the longer of the two, and a "Zecca wing," which is the shorter of the two, and the Arno Loggia, which is the connective link between the two wings. The "San Piero wing" housed the offices of the following magistrates:

Conservators of the Florentine Dominions,
The Merchants' Guild,
The Money-Changers' Guild,
The Silk-Workers' Guild,
The Spicers' and Chemists' Guild,
The Builders' Guild, and,
The Supply Office.
The "Zecca wing" housed the offices of the following magistrates:

- Commissioners of the Army,
- Conservators of the Laws,
- Officials of the State Wards,
- The Food Inspectors,
- Officials of the Tithes and Sales, and,
- Conservators of Public Morals.27

The Uffizi was, and in some senses remains, a unique creation, due to "in primo luogo la sua originalita tipologica, come prototipo di un genere..."28 It is a creation composed of many parts fitted harmoniously into a whole. The parts that comprise the whole are: the piazza itself, known also as the "forum;" the lower loggia that serves as a pedestrian passageway and which gives access to the Magistrates' courts; the piano nobile that housed the private offices of the Magistrates; the upper loggia, referred to in this work as the "Altana," which was used also as additional office space for lesser clerks; and, the connective link, known in this study as either the "Arno Loggia" or the "Serliana." Before discussing the palace, and then its individual component parts, as listed above, it is necessary that the piazza-forum be discussed, in its form, its antecedents, and in its urbanistic meaning.
When they come into a town, if the city is noble and powerful, the street should be straight and broad, which carries an air of greatness and majesty.
Alberti. *De Re Aedificatoria*, Book IV, Ch. V.

CHAPTER FIVE
The Piazza -- Forum
of the Via dei Magistrati

The piazza stretches some four-hundred and fifty feet from its opening at the Piazza della Signoria to its terminus at the river loggia. It is some sixty feet wide from loggia to loggia. Due to the extreme length of the containing walls, the piazza appears much longer, and also much narrower, than it is in fact. From the *serliana* of the river loggia, the piazza extends in a long, straight line, unbroken by any mural projections, or free-standing emplacements, to the Arango at the base of the Palazzo Vecchio in the Piazza della Signoria. The high walls of the enframing palaces produce a tunnel-like space that is focused on a series of ever-receding points in space and depth. Most immediately perceived is the corner of, and the slightly chamfered facade of, the Palazzo Vecchio with the tower thereof serving as a monumental primary
focal-point in the composition. Immediately beyond is the containing wall at the far side of the Piazza della Signoria; in the intermediate range is the series of monumental sculptural works set up on the terrace of the Palazzo Vecchio. Among others, these include the massive Neptune Fountain that marks the far corner of the Palazzo. Looming large in the distant background is the cupola of the Duomo, the red-tile mass created by Brunelleschi, proclaiming the dominion of Florence over the surrounding lands. Thus, looking through the square from the vantage point of the river loggia, the view encompasses the seats of temporal and ecclesiastical power in Florence.

The view of the piazza from the opening near the Palazzo Vecchio has a different aspect, as the tunnel-like space of the piazza now focuses on a perforated terminal feature, the connective link of the Arno loggia. Through the serliana of the loggia are glimpsed the quarters of Altr'arno, the hill of the Belvedere, with its Medicean fortresses, and the open country-side beyond. The piazza then acts as a telescope, enlarging the view towards the seats of power and narrowing the view towards the open spaces across the Arno. This rather peculiar planning device places the chief vantage point at the far end of the space, away from its principal physical entrance, so
that its full scope is revealed only when the long, narrow
tunnel-like space has been traversed. A plan of the piazza
clearly reveals its integration into the medieval fabric of the city, while also illustrating its rigid, formal
qualities, so in opposition to the medieval quarters into
which it was so ruthlessly inserted. (Fig. 3)

In the over-all medieval fabric of the city, the highly formal complex of the Uffizi introduced a well-sounded
note of order and regimentation. Fanelli observes that
"nell' attivita di Cosimo e evidente la costante asperazione
all'ordine...all'armonia...alla gloria."² A map of the city
of Florence drawn in the settecento clearly shows the
persistent medieval, irregular quality of the larger part
of the city; the map also shows the few formal spaces in-
serted into the urban fabric; and, it shows the close and
immediate proximity of the capital to its country-side,
which, at times, entered into the city itself. (Fig. 4) As
in all Italian cities, up to the present century, the
country-side was immediately visible just outside the walls.

The smallness of the city and its nearness to its rural hinterland sharpened the relief between the dense
fabric of the city and the open spaces carved out within
that fabric. The major spaces within the Medieval matrix
were in some way, physical or visual, related to each other,
so that the square of the Innocenti was physically connected to the immense space that held the Duomo. This space, in turn, flowed in two streams: one running down to the river, crossing the Arno by way of the Ponte Vecchio, running past the open space of the piazza in front of the Palazzo Pitti, and then passing down the Via Romana to pass under the city gate to the open field, "fuori le mura."
The other stream, the shorter one, traverses the principal thoroughfare of the old city, the street of the Stocking-Makers (Via dei Calzaiuoli); entering the chief square of the city, the Piazza della Signoria, at that part of the square directly opposite the immense Loggia dei Lanzi. Dissecting the space of the square, the "stream" then enters the Piazza degli Uffizi where it rushes headlong towards the river, but, finding no outlet or release, is forced back upon itself creating a continual ebb and flow of motion in an enclosed space. (Fig. 5) The Piazza degli Uffizi is clearly and distinctly set apart from the continuing flow of space that courses through the streets and squares of the medieval and Quattrocento fabric of Florence. Rather, the square, though firmly attached to that medieval fabric, is set apart as a special space, a space of distinctive character and particular quality. That this space was intended for a specific function becomes evident at once
upon comparing and contrasting it to the spaces to which it is contiguous, and to the larger matrix in which it is set. Obviously, it was consciously designed to be different from its surroundings. That difference was determined by an earlier act, that of transforming the Palazzo della Signoria into the Ducal Palace, as Fanelli notes:

"Therefore, the transfer (to the Palazzo Vecchio) was the first act in a series of changes that tended to recreate the area of the Piazza Ducale into a governmental zone."

In planning the Piazza degli Uffizi, Vasari had to bear foremost in mind the wishes of his client; his client, the Duke:

"Cosimo did everything to make his rule absolute over the city; he agitated to obtain the official title of sole ruler, and he demanded that an official form be given to every event and to each object."

Being as concerned as he was with giving a 'forma ufficiale' to every item under his command, he would have been particularly anxious to impose a 'forma ufficiale' on the largest new architectural work within the capital of his 'dominio,' the new complex of the Magistrates. Vasari, sensible and sensitive as he was to the needs of his client and Lord, would have done all in his power to give the projected space a 'forma ufficiale.' Having worked steadily for some years for the Duke, Vasari was well
aware of the use of the arts in the furtherance of the policies of the State, indeed, the arts under Cosimo became a servant to the new State, and a handmaiden to the cult of the Duke, proclaiming "his personal virtues: his piety, liberality, courage, devotion to public welfare and defence of the faith." Cosimo used the arts as propaganda, as a social welfare project, and as self-advertisement, so that "between 1555 and 1565 Cosimo commissioned huge architectural and urbanistic projects." As a court has need of a court artist to interpret the policies of the ruler in the plastic arts, Cosimo's court also had need of a court artists; the need was well filled in the fortunate appointment of Giorgio Vasari to just that exalted post. As Fanelli notes:

"It is important to note that the designing and the realization of this vast program happened after both Vasari and Ammannati took service with the Duke, which became possible only after the death of Lulius III for whom both artists had labored mightily at Rome. Vasari and Ammannati knew how to interpret and give form correctly to the architectural and urbanistic policies of Cosimo I. In Vasari Cosimo found the ideal artist, willing to accept the programmes of the Duke, and capable of enriching them with a congenital imagination."  

Most important in the political programme was the need to "interpret and give form," the princely status of the ruling head of government. Cosimo was, according to his panagyrists, to be honored as OPTIMO PRINCIPI and PATER
The use of the title Pater Patriae connected him with the first Cosimo, who was given that title by the Florentine Senate. This idea was expressed by Vasari in his tondo of Duke Cosimo with his architects, in the Palazzo Vecchio:

"which plays a doubly significant role in the decoration of the Sala di Cosimo I. In composition it binds visually the rule of Cosimo with his two illustrious ancestors and allusively the munificence and protection of the Duke with the vaunted office of the Caesars. Central to the ideology of the cycle is the image of Cosimo as undisputed ruler of Tuscany."  

Cosimo was sole ruler of Tuscany, a prince among princes in Italy, a new Caesar ruling from a city founded by the Caesars. Given Cosimo's desire to establish himself as a second Augustus, which is most evident in his adoption of the Zodiacal sign of the Capricorn, said to be the sign of the Emperor Augustus, and of Charles V. The use of the inscription in a Fresco in the Sala Grande:

"...Augustus Caesar Divum Genus Aurea Condit Saecula...was probably meant to be as much a reference to the new Duke as to the Emperor (Charles V). Should anyone have missed this hint it would have been reinforced later, by a re-representation of the 'ben fortunata Nativita dello Illustrissimo Duca Cosimo' accompanied by the obvious quotations from Virgil's Fourth Eclogue: Magnus ab Integro Saeclorum Nascitur Ordo and Iam Nova Progenies as well as Redeunt Saturnia Regna. These invocations to the return of the Golden Age are entirely eulogistic in a way in which the myth had been used for numerous
other rulers and princes throughout Europe. By referring solely to the Golden Age of Augustus, these eulogies no longer seem to carry the conviction of the more immediate, local tradition of Lorenzo's Golden Age. For the newly created Duke the Roman Emperor provided a more suitable model than his uncrowned ancestor.\textsuperscript{11}

This new Caesar needed a new forum, this new prince needed a \textit{foro principesco}. As Julius and Augustus had appended their new fora to the older political center of Republican Rome, Cosimo appended his new forum to the older political center of republican Florence, expressing both the change in, and the continuity of, the government under the Medici. That new government

"...was a government of wisdom and justice except when it was a question of reasons of state, conforming closely to the model proposed by Machiavelli, to Florence itself, in The Prince."\textsuperscript{12}

Vasari, then, was charged with planning a place that would express the pretensions of the ruler and the programme of his government. To fulfill this charge Vasari had to be mindful of those urban spaces that would be acceptable as models for the ducal forum, and those spaces that would be unacceptable as inspiration in the planning of the square. Unacceptable would be the irregular squares of the middle ages, those "Gothic" spaces so despised by the architects of the Renaissance, as they expressed the communal life of free cities; unacceptable also would be
those spaces that symbolized the popular government of the
Republics of the peninsula. Therefore, that which smacked of Gothic irregularity, or was tainted by republican sentiments need be eschewed. However, Vasari was free to draw his inspiration from the classically approved models of the ancient world, excepting those of known republican origin; the creations of the new period of enlightenment, especially those that were created for or by non-republican governments; and, those projects inaugurated by the Medici ancestors of the new Prince. Therefore, the new forum had to be so designed as to make references to the fora of Imperial origin, to modern princely piazze, and, to Medicean planning projects for Florence and the 'dominio.' What holds true for the piazza, holds true, also, for the palazzi. Let us begin our overview with the classical references, turning first to Vitruvius, who was considered the impeccable source of authority in all matters architectural and urbanistic.

Vasari no doubt had read Vitruvius many, many times, as he refers to him repeatedly in his Vite. In 1511 at Venice, Fra Giovanni Giocondo published his Latin text to Marcus Vitruvius Pollio; Cesare Cesarino published, in 1521 at Como, an Italian translation of the original Latin
text. In Rome in 1544, a Frenchman, Guillaume Philandrier, published another, supposedly corrected Latin text; in 1556 appeared the most widely known and respected corrected Italian text, that of Daniele Barbaro, published in Venice by the famed Aldine Press. Vitruvius discusses the planning of a civic forum, no doubt having in mind the need to provide information to those architects of antiquity who were engaged in the laying-out and the construction of the many *castra* and *oppida* that were founded throughout the extent of the Empire. These new foundations, many of which grew into cities, all followed a basic plan, being laid out in a grid, crossed at right angles, at the center, by the *cardo* and the *decumanus*, the crossing of which was considered the suitable site for the public forum, around which were placed important civic structures. In Etruscan lore, as passed on to Rome, this center had cosmic significance, representing, as it did, the *mundus* or center of the universe. Vitruvius most likely was aware of the religious origins of Roman planning practices, however, his advice was more practical, being meant generally for new construction, not for the renewal of older centers. The advice is general in nature, leaving actual planning details to be determined by the site, the size, and the circumstances of the city. He notes that
the Greeks laid out their **agoras** in the form of a square; the Italic practice was different, because "in the cities of Italy the same method cannot be followed, for the reason that it is a custom handed down from our ancestors that gladiatorial shows should be given in the forum." He then prescribes:

"Therefore, let the intercolumnniation round the show place be pretty wide; round about in the colonnades put the bankers' offices; and have balconies on the upper floor properly arranged so as to be convenient, and to bring in some public revenue.

The size of the forum should be proportionate to the number of inhabitants, so that it may not be too small a space to be useful, nor look like a desert waste for lack of population. To determine its breadth, divide its length into three parts and assign two of them to the breadth. Its shape will then be oblong, and its ground plan conveniently suited to the conditions of the shows." (Fig. 6)

Vasari, having read the advice of Vitruvius, adapted that advice to the project at hand. Indeed, the shape of the piazza is an oblong, some four-hundred and fifty feet long, which, if Vitruvius were to be followed would have had to be divided by three, resulting in a module of some one-hundred and fifty feet, which would then be doubled to provide a width of some three-hundred feet. The site would not allow for such largess, as Vasari was inserting this forum into a tightly knit urban matrix, not building
ex-novo on a virgin site. According to Kauffman, Vasari did prepare an original design for a piazza which would have been a totally free-standing entity set within a completely cleared area, and which would have followed much more closely the proportions recommended by Vitruvius. It would also have had a colonnade interrupted by piers on the outer face, and a continuous colonnade on the inner face, resembling somewhat a large palestra, with androni four columns deep in the center of each short end, providing access from the outer city streets. 16

The only other applicable advice found in Vitruvius is his comment on the general siting of public buildings; if the city is on the sea, ground should be chosen "close to the harbor as the place where the forum is to be built; but if inland, in the middle of town." 17 In a sense Vasari followed both pieces of advice, as the forum Medici is both on the water, and at the same time, in the 'middle of the town.' Vasari, however, was a pragmatic artist, who though aware of the value of Vitruvius' directions, would have been even more aware of the remains of classical antiquity; it would have been to these remains that he would have turned his attention, to find extant fragments of classic fora.
But which part of classical antiquity would have held his attention? Surely not the works of Greece or the Hellenistic world, which were largely still unknown; rather, Vasari:

"Like the greater part of the artists of his time, he most especially appreciated the architecture of imperial Rome, and somewhat less that of the Late Antique, with but a faint glance at that of the republican period."18

Vasari's taste and natural inclinations suited the needs of his client's political programme and public aspirations. As the republican forum in Rome was then a cow-pasture, Vasari examined rather the remains of the fora of Julius, of Trajan, of Minerva (Transitorium), and, especially, of Augustus. Lanciani, writing of the Forum Julium states that the remains of the forum were "discovered at the time of Palladio in the foundations of houses at the corner of the present streets Cremona and Marmorille. He describes the structure as built of blocks of marble 'lavorati eccellentemente.'"19 This earliest of all the imperial fora stood at right angles to the Curia Julia, which:

"was built in clear architectural harmony with the Forum Iulium, at right angles to the longitudinal axis of the latter and in a way to make its back wall flush with the southwestern taberna-wall of the Forum Iulium. As a consequence of this the old comitium, stretching from north to south, had to give way to the new axis, strengthening for all times the connection between the old forum and the new ones..."20
The forum itself was a long, narrow piazza, 160m by 75m, enclosed on three sides by a two storied colonnade. The fourth side was dominated by the impressive façade of the Temple of Venus Genetrix. This forum "marked a new departure. Here for the first time, was visible propaganda in support of the Dictator and his family." Though lying in ruins and partially built over by subsequent ages, the basic form of the forum would have been visible to Vasari. The old Curia to which the forum was attached remained intact as the church of San Adriana, consecrated as a Christian shrine by Pope Honorius I (c. 630). Vasari states in his own Life that he drew 'everything there was to draw in Rome,' as did his contemporary Pirro Ligorio in his Le Meraviglie del Mondo.22

Of the Forum of Trajan, the most grandiose of all the imperial fora, much remained. The forum, 95m long by 116m wide, was surrounded by a double colonnade on three sides, the fourth side, opposite the propylaea, being occupied by the Basilica Ulpia. The porticoes were crowded with statues of eminent men, with an account of their careers engraved on the pedestals. Enough of this forum remained intact, as there was "a careful description of it in the deed of 1263, quoted by Andinolfi in vol. II of Roma nell'eta di mezzo."23 Compared with the previous
fora, that of Trajan was spatially the most complex "But its axial layout and its rectangular relation to the other fora prove that it was meant to complete the entire complex."²⁴

At right angle to the Forum Iulium and parallel to the Forum Augusti is the small Forum Transitorium, dedicated to Minerva, goddess of Wisdom, by Domitian. It is a long narrow enclosure 117m long by 39m wide, more like a handsomely decorated street than a square. The enclosing walls, built of peperino and covered with marble, were lined with fluted columns supporting a richly carved entablature, of which one intercolumniation alone remains. Like the Forum of Trajan, this forum also had its own gallery of portrait statues, ranged around the lateral walls. The forum was dominated by the gracious Corinthian-style temple of Minerva. (Fig. 7) During the Quattrocento it was measured in its entirety by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Baldassarre and Salustio Peruzzi and others, according to Lanciani, who states that: "the ruins were so striking and picturesque that many artists have selected them as a background to their compositions."²⁵ A forum so well preserved in the Cinquecento would have attracted the attention of Vasari, who may have been among the 'other artists' who measured the remains. Though we have no
drawings of it from Vasari's hand, one would think it unlikely that this outstanding ruin would have been left unsketched by the man who was attempting to collect as many drawings as possible, both his own and others, for the long-contemplated Libro del Disegno. 26

Vasari may also have known of the 'stadium' that flanked the Domus Augustana on the Palatine which was a long, narrow space with an arcade on two levels, enclosing all four sides; one short side was curved, the opposite short side served as a propylaion. Possibly familiar to him also may have been the forecourt of the Pantheon, a long, rectangular space with a colonnade on three sides, and an entrance portico set on axis with the huge portico of the great temple.

Remembering the Duke's predilection for associating himself with Augustus, it would have been the Forum Augusti from which he would most likely have drawn his prime inspiration. The Forum Augusti rose to the north-east of the Forum Romanum, perpendicular to the Forum Iulium. Building operations began in 37 BC. The Temple of Mars the Avenger (Mars Ultor), which still dominates the open square, was approached by a flight of steps and was set in a colonnade. Suetonius' account sets the then new forum in perspective. He writes that "Augustus'
reason for constructing the Forum was the increase in population and the number of lawsuits which seemed to require a third Forum; two were no longer sufficient. The piazza was opened to the public before the Temple of Mars was finished with the proviso that public prosecutions should be staged there away from the rest and that the selection of jurors should be by lot." For Part of the forum was cleared and drained of a pond that had collected there in 1570 by order of Pius V and his commissioner of streets.

Like the Forum of Trajan, which replaced it as the national protomotheca, or portrait gallery, the Forum Augusti was ranged by monumental statues:

"The sculptures of the Augustan forum were clearly intended as propaganda...ancestors of Augustus, real and mythical, generals and eminent citizens of Rome stood in huge semicircular niches...on either side of the Temple. The Julio-Claudians, starting with Aeneas, occupied the northern niches; Republican celebrities, starting with Romulus, the southern ones. So Augustus gave visible expression to his claim to have restored the Republic, and the 108 statues looked on to the square." Vasari no doubt did not know exactly to what use the niches had been put though logic might have suggested a programme similar to the original, and also similar to one that he conceived for the Loggia of the Uffizi. The Uffizi
was conceived in part with the Forum of Augustus in mind "and the political and patriotic conceptions which it illustrated so brilliantly." Vasari wished that, when completed, the Forum Medici might strike every Florentine and/or Tuscan like "Every Roman, walking through the... fora [who] could enjoy each of them separately, could be reminded of his great past and great present in all aspects..." Of Late Antique buildings outside Italy Vasari would have known little or nothing; yet it is tempting to speculate that he may have had some knowledge of the Palace/Villa/Camp at Spalato, then a city within the Venetian Empire. As Vasari had spent some time in Venice, he may have had access to the plans of the place. (Fig. 8) The Palace/Villa/Camp prepared for the Emperor's retirement was indeed a seat of power, a forerunner of the Castilian Escorial, and may have had some influence on the design of the Uffizi. "It wore the aspect of a fortress, a permanent Roman camp, of which the palace proper was the headquarters building." What would have been the principal street of the cantonment was an axial, processional way. Its colonnades ended in taller screen arcades, which framed a shadow-barred ceremonial court before the porch of entrance to the presence or of its public apparition.
Vasari showed great interest in the remains of classical antiquity, but he was hampered by the partial and incomplete state of many of the Roman remains, which he could reconstruct only in his imagination. He was limited in his understanding of these remains by a lack of information, or worse still, by an abundance of mis-information which a century and more of humanist research was only partially capable of correcting.

Vasari was not so hampered in his appreciation of the works of the "moderns," those architects that lived in the time of the "new dispensation." These works he could examine closely in a complete or near-complete state. His travels for the research of the Vite brought him in contact with many of the urban planning achievements of the then preceding and present century. We need here to trace briefly those developments in urban planning in Italy during the years 1420 to 1560 that could have provided acceptable models for the aristocratic "forum Medici." Included in this brief survey will be an even more brief examination of the ideal city plans and the prospettive of ideal cities, as those squares depicted as part of the "ideal city" have a bearing on the plans for the Piazza degli Uffizi.
The first principle of the Renaissance city was order, with its attendant concepts of regularity, symmetry, balance; concepts that made manifest the governing hand of man in shaping an environment for man. The irregularity of the cities of the middle ages was symbolic, in the minds of the men of the Renaissance, of an absence of order, an absence of logic. Logic was the underlying principle of geometry, and geometric shapes in their orderly perfection were logical, and therefore, beautiful. If a city were to be beautiful, its must be orderly, if it were well ordered, it would be logical, if it were logical it would then also be beautiful.

"It was in this atmosphere heavily charged with geometry and theoretical exercises — sometimes not much more than an all-too sophisticated and purely intellectual playing with external forms and their various combinations — that the revolution in city planning began to take shape. It was a revolution of extraordinary complexity. Old trends which had lingered on from antiquity were revived, new trends were followed up and these conflicting tendencies were absorbed into a new consciousness of an external, objective world."34

With an interest in geometry went an interest in perspective which led, after many trials and errors, to the discovery or rediscovery of one-point perspective.35 It was more difficult to apply this new discovery immediately to urban space, as cities cannot be altered that freely
or that readily. None the less: "This discovery, which by its very nature was one of the essential media of architecture, exerted the greatest influence on city planning." The use of perspective in city planning clarified spatial relations that hold the individual elements together and relate them to the space within which the spectator himself moves, giving the space the sense of depth, width and height.

Along with the love of logic, the sense of order, the imposition of perspective, and the ordering of geometry, there was also a renewed sense of the legacy of Rome, and the symmetry, regularity and organized compositions that informed the urban architectural complexes of Ancient Rome. In Italy the architects, and even the man in the street, still experienced the ancient buildings as their buildings, the old Roman towns as their towns, the ruined monuments as their monuments. They sensed behind the ruins of the fora or the remains of a building the great achievements of their forefathers in architectural discipline and competence. Living tradition was never completely broken, however faint and casual the experience may have been. The artists of the Renaissance attempted to revive that tradition, to make it strong and vibrant again, not by a slavish imitation or external adoption of what
was handed on to them, but rather by the awareness of what their own time had in common with antiquity: the same mental attitudes that demanded order and discipline, limitations and rationality. They studied the Roman legacy, but this part of their efforts remained theoretical. They did not copy the still extant Roman town plans, city squares, or public places, but tried to understand the thought of their predecessors as the formative forces behind their practical work. Between their age and that lost age of Ancient Rome lay the middle ages, that, to them, unfortunate age had reduced the Latin Empire to a Teutonic fragment, had divided Italy into many small states, and had, it seemed, caused the ruin of Rome and her many monuments. There also stood between them and antiquity the concepts of Christianity which somehow had to be reconciled with the new rationalism. "They were sensitive rationalists who had discarded the tenets of the Age of Faith, relying, rather, on reason and logic. The illusion of religious-symbolic significance was lost. The illusion of reality -- of a world that could be understood -- was in the ascendancy, exerting its powerful influence upon man and all his works."
That influence was apparent in the theoretical works of the Quattrocento, the writings of Filarete and Alberti; in the perspective "ideal-town" drawings, and in the plans for ideal cities. That influence continued, becoming even more sophisticated, in the writings of the Cinquecento, to all of which Vasari was heir, and from which he would choose appropriate models for his urban forum.

The Quattrocento produced a number of panels representing fictive city squares. Three such panels survive, providing us with some idea of the architectural conceits, and the urban vision, of the early Quattrocento. These panels represent the "ideal" square as it would have been fashioned in reality had the architect unlimited resources and ample space at his disposal. To create these squares would have required even more than space and funds; they would have required the unlimited authority of an autocrat, capable of overriding all obstacles and objection, so as to cause such squares to be brought into being as an act of will. One such panel survives in situ in the former Ducal Palace at Urbino; it may represent not only an idealization of the Urbino of the Montefeltro, but also a desired result of ducal intervention in the rebuilding of his small but potent capital.
The panels were attributed by Baldi in 1588 to Laurana, however the exact and correct attribution remains in doubt; it has been suggested that they may have been intended as cassone panel-paintings. (Fig. 9) Two of the panels, one in the former Paazzo Ducale at Urbino, and the other in the Walters Art Gallery in Baltimore, have very much in common. The views in both are presented to the spectator from slightly above eye-level, creating the illusion of looking down over the space from a slight prominence. They both employ one-point perspective, with the vanishing point set in the center of the composition. Each composition is symmetrical, with a major building set in the center; however, the buildings to either side, though similar, are not identical. The Urbino panel has a circular "temple" at its center, with free-standing palazzi to either side, varied in design, but all having open arcades or colonnades on their ground-floor. The Baltimore panel is more fanciful, having at its center a fountain framed by four free-standing columns, behind which rises a triumphal arch. The arch is flanked on one side by a small colosseum, on the other by a marble-encrusted, almost proto-renaissance, Temple somewhat reminiscent of the Baptistry in Florence. These structures
are enframed, in turn, by two palazzi to either side of the square, only one of which has an open colonnade at its ground-floor. The palazzo is raised above the level of the square by a podium communicating with the square by means of a monumental stairway. The panel in Berlin is related to the other two in sharing with them a symmetrical, one-point perspective composition, but differs from them in that in this panel the view is through a colonnade or portico towards a ship-mooring place, possibly on a river. The colonnade is composed of free-standing fluted Tuscan columns, supporting a flat, coffered ceiling. The portico is terminated by two solid end walls, which are pierced by arched openings. The space seen through the free-standing portico is symmetrical, framed by palazzi, some of which have open arcades at ground level. These perspective panels:

"...are assumed as symbols of an architectural moment, because it seems that they bring together in a depiction so vivid as to make them almost real, the aspirations of that world fascinated by an abstract theoretical architecture, as was taking place in central Italy."  

These panels would most likely have been known to Vasari. Known also to him would have been the architectural treatises published by Italian architects as original works. He would have been familiar with Filarete's
Filarete's book is full of problems, being both related to and at the same time utterly different from both Vitruvius' and Alberti's Architectural Treatises. Despite its fantastic and grandiose projects it is considerably more 'down-to-earth.' Regardless of its humanistic gloss and superficial resemblance to its prototypes, it gives nothing more (or less) than a fairly accurate reflection of the architectural practices of Brunelleschi and other early Renaissance architects, something Filarete himself admits proudly. It is also inextricably tied to preceding Gothic theory and practice.\textsuperscript{42}

Filarete drew a plan for an ideal city, Sforzinda, dedicated to the Duke of Milan. At its center was a set of squares showing a carefully drawn distinction between the administrative area, fronting the prince's palace, and the functional ones, containing shops.\textsuperscript{43}

If Vasari found Filarete's work a 'silly thing,' he held just the opposite view of the works of Leon Battista Alberti; he saw in Alberti both a fellow artist and a fellow author. He states that "It is no marvel, then, if the famous Leon Battista is known more for his writing than for the work of his hands."\textsuperscript{44} A similar fate was also in store for Vasari himself. In 1485 Alberti had published in Florence his De Re Aedificatoria, in which
he writes of architecture and town planning. Vasari, speaking of this and his other published works, states that he "left behind him books written in such a manner, that, since not one of our modern craftsmen has been able to expound these matters in writing, although many of them in his own country have excelled him in working, it is generally believed — such is the influence of his writing over the pens and speech of the learned — that he was superior to all those who were actually superior to him in work." Could Vasari also be writing, cryptically, about himself? Alberti's concern with perspective resulted in his town planning being conceived spatially. "As for the streets of the town, not only will they be finely paved and perfectly clean, but beautifully adorned with two identical rows of arcades or houses of the same height."46

The new focal point of the urban matrix was to be the square. He wrote that "The city should have large squares."47 Alberti then goes on to describe the square in its ideal proportions. Its area should be composed of two squares, arranged in such a way "that the colonnades and other urban constructions all around it correspond to the open space in the middle according to fixed proportions,
so that it does not appear too large because of the lowness of the surrounding structures, nor too small because of their excessive height. The height to the roofs should be a third of the width of the square, or at least two-sevenths. I would also advise you to raise the colonnade above the ground level by about a fifth of their width, whereas their width should be equal to the height of the columns.\textsuperscript{48} Alberti also insists that each piazza have its precise function, "a square may be used as a market for the exchange of money, or for the sale of herbs, cattle or even wood. Each of these markets must have its own particular place and decorations, but the most important of all is where the exchange of money takes place."\textsuperscript{49}

The sense of order that permeated the Renaissance is found also in the writings of Alberti; "by its very definition this was a model of an orderly social life, a rational answer to both practical and spiritual needs, and an example to be followed in the treatment of spatial values."\textsuperscript{50} Alberti did not leave a design for an ideal city square, however, his treatise contains important contributions to the principles of city planning, which was, for him, far more than dry theory.\textsuperscript{51}
Alberti, and the other Italian theoreticians was the development of the city, in its totality, as an integral and integrated 'work of art.'

Perhaps the first fruit of this climate of order, harmony, symmetry and perspective was the piazza at Pienza, designed and built by Bernardo Rossellino between 1460 and 1462. The piazza is remarkably similar to the squares depicted in the Urbino panel. It is composed of three major elements, the Cathedral at its center, the Palazzo Piccolomini to one side and the Palazzo Vescovile to the other. The layout of the piazza attempts to produce a conscious effect of optical perspective in space; the chamfered walls of the palazzi enframing the Cathedral enhance its monumentality, which is calculated with great precision to be seen from a fixed vantage-point, and from that point the whole of the space can be viewed, not dissimilar from the square depicted on the Urbino panel. For Vasari this square, with its chamfered corners, was the first step on the long road that led, ultimately, to Rome and Michelangelo's Capitol Square. Of Rossellino Vasari wrote that "his works have been much esteemed by Michelangelo..." The design of the Capitol was of supreme importance as an influence on Vasari and his design of the Piazza degli Uffizi, as were the works of Bramante at Vigevano.
The piazza at Vigevano, formerly the Piazza Ducale, is of marked importance to this study. The square, which resembles somewhat the Piazza degli Uffizi, may be considered a late Quattrocento prototype for the Florentine forum. It is the first public square built during the Quattrocento to consciously imitate the ancient fora of the Vitruvian tradition. (Fig. 10) The authorship of the square is contested; Vasari does not mention it at all in the Lives. Tradition, however, has long held that Bramante did plan the place, and many historians see in this square a prefigurement of other of his works. Bruschi sees elements of Vigevano at Abbiategasso and at the cloister of San Ambrogio in Milan and for his major secular work in Rome, the Cortile del Belvedere. The Piazza Ducale in Vigevano was built between 1492 and 1494; the patron was Ludovico Maria Sforza, il Moro, during these years regent of the Duchy of Milan. The square at Vigevano is closely related physically to a large castle which had been used by the Visconti as an occasional residence outside Milan, which is only some 35 kilometers away. The square is 134m long and 48m wide, including the bordering arcades. The short side of the square is taken up by a later addition, the Baroque facade of the Duomo. (Fig. 11)
The piazza at Vigevano is the first Renaissance example of a square surrounded by uniform arcades and built in a single campaign. On a dedicatory inscription, the site is designated by the use of the classical term forum, and not by the late Latin-medieval term platea, (which in Italian becomes piazza). The square can be best and only understood as a re-creation of an ancient forum. The ancient type of square was known to the Renaissance, as has been stated, only through a literary source, the writings of Vitruvius. That these writings were known in Milan is beyond doubt, as the treatises had been known throughout the middle ages. That around 1500, and before, ancient architecture was regarded as exemplary needs no emphasizing. In Vigevano the source of the square was not an ancient forum -- there were, after all, no ancient fora to be seen intact -- but rather the text of Vitruvius. While the conception of the square was determined by the literary exemplars of the Vitruvian forum, the masons who carved the columns and capitals worked in the characteristic Lombard manner of the late Quattrocento. The square was originally furnished with an arcade, the arches of which rested on Ionic capitals; the arcade ran almost around three sides of the square. At the center of the short arm opposite
the present Duomo was a triumphal arch built into the wall of the arcade. One long side was interrupted by a stairway connecting the square to the Visconti castello.

"Indeed, the piazza is, as the inscription tells us, an ornament of the community; yet the height of the tower and the tenor of the inscription leaves little doubt that the square, conceived by the prince and dominated by the tower, forms an integral part of the princely residence. The freedom of the commune, proclaimed in 1447 has been replaced already in 1449 by a new civic order, which, a little more than four decades later received its exact architectural expression in the relationship of the castle to the piazza. It is not by chance that the square was named the Piazza Ducale."55

The comparisons with the Uffizi are quite obvious, the desire to create a classically sanctioned forum, as described by Vitruvius, the use of an arcade on three sides, the dominant position of the tower of the princely residence — making of the forum a piazza principesca — and the location of public offices in the square. As in Florence, the piazza at Vigevano is a work of architecture in the service of the state; however "as a work of art it has long outlived the transitory political message bound to the person of its creator."56

It is a long journey from the princely residence of Vigevano to the Papal residence of Rome. The journey takes us from the Quattrocento to the Cinquecento. Rome saw little planning during the Quattrocento, other
than the project of Nicholas V. At the juncture of the two centuries Giuliano da San Gallo prepared a scheme for the Piazza Navona, using the ancient stadium, its walls perfectly aligned and the street entrances controlled, as a long forecourt for a new Medici palace. (Fig. 12) The palace would have been built in the center of one long side, on a site that is opposite the present location of the church of Sant'Agnese in Agone. The scheme is somewhat similar to the piazza begun, but not completed, by San Gallo at Loretto, as a forecourt of the church of the Casa Santa.

The most important urban planning scheme in Rome during the early Cinquecento, and a scheme of great value to the understanding of the Uffizi, is the Campidoglio, by Michelangelo, il divino. (Fig. 13) The capital was the site, seat and symbol of Rome's civic power. From the dawn of antiquity the twin-peaked summit of the hill had been held sacred to the gods; no mortal residence was ever built on the mount. During the period of the Etruscan kings a temple to the triple divinities of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva was built in splendid Tuscan style on the mount facing towards the Forum. The Etruscan kings being mere mortals, dwelt in the Regia at the far end of the old Forum, facing the temple mount.
With the fall of the last Etruscan king, Tarquinius Superbus "perhaps almost immediately before the dedication of the glittering temple;" there began the five centuries of the Republic. The new order maintained inviolate the sacral isolation of the holy hill, adding smaller temples and fanes; rebuilding in even larger and more magnificent splendor the ancient Etruscan temple of the triple gods. On one flank of the hill the Senate had caused to be built the only non-sacral edifice within the precincts of the mount, the Record Office or Tabularium, which survives, in part, facing the Forum, providing an architectural podium for the splendid temples on the summit of the hill. The Empire, respecting this long tradition, maintained still the sacral nature of the site, adding, embellishing, and enriching this holiest of sanctuaries within the entire empire. The Caesars established their residence on a hill near to the Capitoline, the rustic Palatine. Despite their seemingly unlimited power, they also declined to install themselves on the hill reserved for the gods.

The triumph of the church meant the defeat of the old gods, whose tri-cellae temple was not suited to Christian services, and whose potent site and symbolism as the central sanctuary of the old trinity, remained, as long as
the temple stood, an affront to the new doctrine of the true Trinity. After the fall of the Western Empire in 476 AD., Romulus Augustulus being the last Emperor, when Rome was become the capital of the Church in the West, the Capitol suffered grievously at the hands of the new masters; what destruction the Church did not wreak, the seemingly endless wave of barbarian invasions effected, aided and abetted by neglect and nature... By the early middle ages the site had become but a barren, wind-swept waste, reverting almost completely to its original pre-classical condition. Though the mighty monuments were effaced, the memory remained, powerful enough to cause the construction of a most modest communal palace during the High Middle Ages above the remains of the Record Office, facing away from the old Forum towards a formless open area. This austere, awkward, and unadorned structure, grandeloquently dubbed "The Senators' Palace," was a simple brick structure with an arcade on the lower storey and a large council-hall on the upper storey, reached by a stairway set to one side of the building. Whether it was erected ex novo or rebuilt at this time is still uncertain, "for the first palace of the commune was in use as early as 1151 when the city council met in the 'new assembly hall of the
Palace of the Senate. This hall had been raised over the ruins of the Tabularium. This palagio was typical of the many medieval town, or communal, halls built throughout north and central Italy. The loggia was reserved for the meeting of the important citizens, the hall above for the meetings of the council. Despite the presence of the crenellated palatium novum the hill remained a desolate place, only occasionally festooned for an important civic ceremony. During the Trecento the palatium novum served as a backdrop for the revived ancient custom, the crowning of the laureate poet, as of Petrarch by Robert, King of Naples; or, the bestowal of citizenship which occurred under Cola di Rienzo's short and tragic revival of the Roman Republic. During the long years of the Babylonian Captivity, with the absence of the popes, the hill once again became a quarry for ancient marbles, swept by the wind and rain, sinking swiftly yet once again into ruin.

The return of the Papacy to Rome revived its fortune. The newly re-established communal council again resumed its deliberations in the now decrepit palagio. Repair and reconstruction were undertaken, and a programme of enlargement was set in motion with the aim of increasing the efficiency and dignity of the seat of communal government.
"The decision must have been dictated by the dream of
renovatio — the restoration of ancient glory — as the
hill had been the site of the Arx of the earliest settlers
and one of the major temples of Imperial Rome." The
facade was enhanced by the addition of a new ground level
portico and the construction of a second portico on the
piano nobile, and the addition of a third floor; an
approach ramp was provided for the "Senators," the roof
repaired and a tower added. All this activity took place
"Shortly before and after 1400, which turned the structure
into a four-towered fortress with all openings blocked.
The core of the tall rear tower likewise seems to date
about 1400." Despite this activity the structure still
remained an irregularly arranged and inelegantly propor­
tioned late medieval work still overlooking an unpaved and
unordered space. The hill was given renewed importance
by the first "renaissance" pope, Nicholas V, who attempted
a further renewal of the area; the Quattrocento Conserva­
tors' Palace was built to the left of the Senators' palagio,
to the right an approach was provided to the lateral
transept of the Ara Coeli on its higher summit. This surge
of renewal was eventually to culminate in the papal com­
mission awarded to Michelangelo to ennoble, enrich and
enlarge the Senators' Palace, the Conservators' Palace and
the unpaved area between them.
In 1537 the hill was enriched by the placement of the equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius (long thought to be of Constantine), against the advice of Michelangelo, in the center of the unpaved space between the palaces. "In order to place the equestrian statue properly when it arrived in 1538, an overall plan was needed since it had to be purposefully related to the existing buildings."

Michelangelo had to provide a plan for a site that was as unsightly and unpromising as it was unprepossessing. His restructuring of the sacral-civic mount took into consideration the history of the site, as well as the needs of the living society it served. The shape imposed on the area, an oval, recalled the centrality of the site to the ancient City and its Empire, so much so that it became known as the Umbellicus Mundi (Navel of the World). The plateau of the piazza was given a major axis, which reasserted the re-orientation of the site away from the Forum and towards the city and the Vatican, establishing once and for all a visual connection, and a potent symbol of interconnection, between the two seats of power in papal Rome.

Upon the completion of Michelangelo's dome over St. Peter's, the view from the Capitol piazza across the City to the vast hemisphere of St. Peter's re-enforced the conceptual, if not the physical, linking of the seats of temporal power.
The central element in the re-design of the piazza is the Senators' Palace, the seat of aristocratic might, which looks to, and is dependent on, the seat of the arch-aristocrat, the Vatican, the Sacred Palace of the 'Servant of the Servants of God.'

Michelangelo's Capitoline square has many features that are common to the other squares discussed so far: heterogeneous older buildings are integrated into a homogeneous whole; the space now reveals fully the artist's intentions, and no architectural element is left to chance. Two of the three buildings enframing the Capitoline square have logge at the ground level. Michelangelo, in his characteristic way, here repeats what had been done a generation earlier in the Piazza Santissima Annunziata. The Roman guilds:

"had their official quarters on the ground floor of the Palazzo dei Conservatori; the loggia thus had a definite function as anteroom and entrances to their offices. On the other hand the Palazzo Nuovo, built much later served no practical purpose as such. Like the Florentine loggia of 1516, its sole function was to complete the square with uniform facades on the two long sides. Michelangelo had been in Florence in 1516 and there could have been observed the erection of the copy of the famous Loggia degli Innocenti... The alignment of the Palazzo Nuovo, including the angle which it forms with the Palazzo Senatorio, corresponds exactly to its prototype across the way, as does the facade itself."
Given Vasari's close and worshipful relationship to the aged Master, it is almost beyond doubt that he knew of the plans prepared by Michelangelo for the square. The Duperac engraving was published in 1569, showing Michelangelo's intention for the new square when completed. The engraving had to be based on a drawing, or a set of drawings, by Michelangelo, done, if for no other purpose, then to guide the master-buildings.

Flanking the oval center of the piazza are two palaces of identical design, which have each an open loggia on the ground level. The logge front a series of identical chambers, the run of which is broken at the center of the facade by an androne connecting the loggia to an inner cortile. The third side of the square is closed by the new facade of the stately Senators' Palace, with its monumental double staircase serving as a base for the palace and its now centrally located tower, on axis with the approach stair-ramp, or cordonata, on the fourth and open side. "At the Capitol, it is as though one were in a room with clearly defined spatial limits; within this room the equestrian statue provides the central focal point."69 That Vasari knew, and knew well, this space is proven by the description of, and the history of the project he provides in his Vite, which indicates that he
had seen the plans, and even, perhaps, a presentation drawing done for the Pope. It is worth quoting his description at length, as it reveals his full knowledge of the project. He writes that:

"The Roman people, with the sanction of the Pope, had a desire to give some useful, commodious, and beautiful form to the Campidoglio, and to furnish it with colonnades, ascents and inclined approaches with and without steps, and also with the further adornment of the ancient statues that were already there, in order to embellish that place. For this purpose they sought the advice of Michelangelo, who made them a most beautiful and very rich design, in which, on the side where the Senatore stands, towards the east, he arranged a facade of travertine and a flight of steps that ascend for two sides to meet on a level place, from which one enters into the center of the hall of that Palace, with rich curving wings adorned with balustrades that serve as supports and parapets. And there, to enrich that part, he caused to be placed on certain bases the two ancient figures in marble of recumbent River Gods, each of nine braccia, and of rare workmanship, one of which is the Tiber, the other the Nile; and between them, in a niche, is to go a Jove. On the southern side, where there is the Palace of the Conservatori, in order that it might be made rectangular, there followed a rich and varied facade, with a loggia at the foot full of columns and niches, where many ancient statues are to go; and all around are various ornaments, doors, windows and the like, of which some are already in place. On the other side from this, towards the north, below the Ara Coeli, there is to follow another similar facade; and before it, towards the west, is to be an ascent of bastion-like steps, which will be almost level with a border and a parapet of balusters; here will be the principal entrance, with a colonnade, and a base on which will be placed all that wealth of noble statues in which the Campidoglio is now so
rich. In the middle of the piazza, on a base in
the form of an oval, is placed the famous bronze
horse on which is the statue of Marcus Aurelius,
which the same Pope had caused to be removed
from the Piazza di Laterano, where Sixtus IV had
placed it. This edifice is now being made so
beautiful, that it is worthy to be numbered among
the finest works that Michelangelo has executed..."70

Many of the elements listed in this account by Vasari
of the design of the Campidoglio would re-appear in his
own design for the Piazza degli Uffizi; the range of logge
'at the foot full of columns and niches,' the limited
access, the motif of identical, or near identical facades
focused on a tower, the separation of the space from the
spaces around it, even the River Gods and the statue of
Jove, which, at the Uffizi, are placed on the piano nobile
of the Arno pavilion. At the Uffizi the statue of Jove
is replaced by a statue of Cosimo I; the River Gods are
replaced, by allegorical figures (still recumbent) which
will be discussed later in this study. The Campidoglio
was, then "the secular counterpart of St. Peter's in the
programme of Paul III, the secular pole of the new Rome."71
As Vasari knew the plans for the Campidoglio, he also, as
surely, knew the plans for Bramante's Cortile del Belvedere,
that huge pleasure palace at the Vatican, (Fig. 14) which
shares some features in common with the Uffizi, but which
must be considered as a possible source of inspiration for
the palaces, rather than for the piazza.
Vasari had also visited many of the ducal capitals that then abounded in North Italy. Those staterelli built on the ruins of once-independent communes, all or most, owed a nominal allegiance to either Emperor or Pope. In the rebuilding of their seats of power each of these rulers attempted to impose, where possible, order over the tangle of the medieval matrix. The urge was most clearly expressed in that part of those towns closest to the ducal residence. At Urbino, the Montefeltro seat, a broad, straight, elongated piazza was laid out to one side of the ducal residence, uniting the palace and the cathedral to the principal gateway spanning the road to Rome. Urbino was a papal fief, and its dukes often held the title of Captain of the Holy Church. 72

Mantua, the seat of the Gonzaga, was never provided with a true Renaissance square, despite the presence of Alberti who built several important, and seminal quattrocento churches in the town. 73 The area fronting the ducal castello, which serves also as a forecourt for the cathedral, was provided with a loggia on the side fronting the castello. The Piazza Sordello retained its medieval appearance, but did show strong strivings towards the regularity required by the new concepts, and the new order.
The nearby seat of the Este at Ferrara, was treated to a much more ambitious scheme for the Duke Borso I by Biagio Rossetti. He cleared a long, broad space to one side of the castello running almost to the river, somewhat similar to the small Piazza of San Marco at Venice. Rossetti also prepared plans and supervised the layout of a huge new addition to this tiny capital, the centerpiece of which is a large square, longer than it is wide. This addizione erculeana doubled the size of the city. Rossetti was "putting the prince's plan into operation...the aim of which/ was to link the streets of the extension one by one to the communication channels of the medieval city, establishing a social continuity between the old and the new sectors." 74

While these works were additions to, or inserted into, a medieval fabric of an already functioning ducal seat, Antonio da San Gallo the Younger was ordered by Pope Paul III Farnese to found a new capital for the new state of his nephew, Pier Luigi, at Castro. The state was created in 1537 by ceding part of the Papal States in Lazio to the Farnese. 75 At the heart of the new capital, exhibiting all the signs of Renaissance regularity and order, was the central square containing the ducal residence, the Mint, the Town Hall and the Osteria. The Mint and the
Osteria which were at right angles to each other, both had logge on the ground level. Though not symmetrical, the space was ordered, regular, compact, and of limited entrance and exit. (Fig. 15)

On the Venetian terraferma, at Padua, was built in 1524, by Giovanni Maria Falconetto, the charming Odeon and Loggia Cornaro, part of which still stands. (Fig. 16) Built for the noble Venetian family after which the loggia is named — and which had provided Cyprus with a Queen — the plan of the square clearly reveals the symmetry that was imposed on the space despite the presence of heterogeneous buildings. The Loggia closed the square on one short side. The Odeon and its articulated extension filled one long side, reflected on the other by a simple Quattrocento palace, joined to the Loggia by an articulated wall similar to the one on the side opposite. The intervening space filling out this lateral wall was completed by a simple brick wall pierced by a single arched opening.

Vasari, who travelled extensively in the north of Italy gathering material for his Lives and drawings for his Libro, passed through all these cities. Vasari had seen the Loggia, writing that "a beginning was made with buildings from the design and model of Falconetto that
most beautiful and ornate loggia which is in the house of the Cornari, near the Santo; and the palace was to be executed next. 76

These ducal seats, anciently or recently established, were all known to Vasari, who had visited many of them in the course of his literary and artistic travels; they were of value to him as examples of princely planning, but, they, either singularly or in aggregate, seem to have been less significant influences upon the selections Vasari had to make then, that square, that fronted the Ducal Palace in Venice, the Piazzetta di San Marco. (Fig. 17) As Berti states

"It is important to note that Vasari turned quite often for inspiration to that most picture-like and harmonious city, Venice... whether for the creation of the Piazza degli Uffizi, inspired, I believe, in fact by the similar space created only shortly before in Venice with the Piazzetta di San Marco; and further, Vasari no doubt knew how to adapt, for example at the Uffizi, this inspiration to the traditional sober mode of Florence." 77

Venice was not only a national model of urban planning, it was, more importantly, a national Italian model of a stable, secure and respected government, obeyed at home, feared abroad. What Venice was under the Doges, Florence aspired to be under the Duke. For the political thinkers of the mid-Cinquecento, Venice and its state was "the supreme political construct. It was a wall against the forces of disorder, a way to honor for the nobility and
to the good life for people of respectable and hard working stamp...the Venetian state embodied the ideal mixture of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy. The three classical polities were represented by the doge, the senate and the great council."^{78} Venice, according to the thought of the times, was able to accomplish this stability, this unique historical stability, by the simple means of barring the plebeians from politics and government. Had they been given even a little authority, they "would have been able constantly to shake up the quiet of the Venetian state..."^{79}

As has been noted, Cosimo I wished to render Florence quiet, to avoid the shaking-up of the state, which had been the problem of all previous Florentine governments. Venice had provided the model Italian city-state, praised throughout Italy by political philosophers seeking calm and order in the political institutions of their ideal constructs. A unified Italy of only one State may have occurred to them, but its realization was most effectively blocked by the Emperor in Madrid and the Pope in Rome. Therefore, to them, Venice was the model state, the best that Italy could hope for, and aspire to under the circumstances that prevailed.

Vasari would have noted the physical forms taken by that model state; he would have noted the placement of
public *palazzi* that housed organs of the state and served as symbols of that State. The Venetian state functioned in and was governed from buildings that were set around two open squares set at right angles to each other. This governmental center had developed over a period of time into an organized and interrelated whole. The pivot of the two spaces is the Basilica of San Marco, the former court chapel. To its side and facing the water is the Doge's Palace which occupies one side of the Piazzetta, balanced on the opposite arm by the Library of San Marco. Fronting the Basilica is the long, closed Piazza, flanked on both sides by the offices of the Procurators, dominated by the *campanile*, and graced by the tower over the entrance to the *Merceria*. The open space which is now the Piazzetta was originally a broad corridor of space leading from the sea to the ancient forecourt of the Basilica. The space was essentially an extension of the *molo* on the Canal* Grande*, which was framed at its mouth by the two matched free-standing Byzantine columns bearing on their respective summits the effigies of Saint Theodore, the former patron, and Saint Mark, the present patron of the city. Though not precisely the same, the square of the Uffizi at Florence and the square of the Signoria are quite similar in basic
format to the squares in Venice. The Piazza degli Uffizi has the same general location and somewhat similar function as the Piazzetta. (Fig. 18) It connects the focal structure, the pivotal building of the two adjacent squares to the waterway nearby; it serves as an extension of the principal space.

The piazzetta is enframed by two parallel, arcaded, but dissimilar structures. The Gothic Doge's Palace stretches from the molo to the Basilica on one side of the space. The Palace is attached to the Basilica by the Porta della Carta which served as the state entry to the interior reaches of the palace. Opposite the Porta della Carta, and at the base of the campanile, is the Loggetta used by state officials for public ceremonies. Within the palace, on line with the Porta and the Loggetta, is the Scala dei Giganti, on the upper landing of which the Doge was invested with the cap of State. The upper platform is guarded by two colossal statues, one of Neptune, God of the Sea, and one of Mercury, God of Commerce. Together they aptly symbolize the Venetian Empire.

Opposite the pale pink pile of the Doge's Palace is the High Renaissance white stone Library of San Marco designed by the Florentine architect Jacopo Sansovino.
(begun 1536) who was also responsible for the Loggetta at the base of the Bell-Tower. The library "is a perfect expression of the grand scale civic loggia all'antica, first adumbrated in the north by Falconetto hardly more than a dozen years earlier, but which goes back at least as far as the Benediction Loggia in Rome..." The library is a two-storied structure, using the Doric Order on the lower level, and the Ionic Order above. The second floor is topped by a mezzanine, which is masked by, and made to seem a part of, the entablature. That, in turn, is crowned by an elegant balustrade supporting a rich array of statues, urns, and at the corners, obelisks. Sansovino was faced with the problem of placing this monumental, ornate building which, because of its all'antica form was far more 'correct' than the Gothic palace it paralleled which was the seat of government, in a highly visible location vis-a-vis that seat of government. For reasons of tact the Doge's Palace must not seem to be diminished. "His solution is brilliantly simple. First the site demanded a very long, but narrow building...second the Doge's Palace consists of a double arcade...Sansovino therefore decided on a double arcade, the total height of which is considerably less than that of the total height of the Palace, though somewhat greater than that of the arcades.
Sansovino then made the decision to use the forms of the ancient *porticus* or basilica; the lower range was designed as a public basilica facing a forum, the upper as a traditional *piano nobile*, a solution that Vasari arrived at, for like reasons, at the Uffizi. There the lower portico serves as a basilica facing a forum, while the middle floor is treated very much as a traditional *piano nobile*. The composition of the palatial Piazzetta, which began with the construction of the Doge's Palace, was completed by the addition of the Library. "This resulted in a forum for Sansovino's adopted city, the grandest to be built since classical times, although something similar -- but much less ambitious had been carried out for the Sforza at Vigevano by Bramante."  

The journey has come to full circle, the promise of Vigevano is fulfilled in Venice, which, in its turn, influenced the planning of the Piazza degli Uffizi in Florence. Vasari no doubt took into account all these listed examples of princely squares in other parts of Italy; with even less doubt he was aware of the squares of Florence itself and the planning projects of former Medici rulers. The squares of the north Italy represented ducal power, that of Venice, stability, those of Rome,
imperial grandeur, and those of Florence, Medicean continuity. The involvement of the Medici in Florentine civic improvement began with the commissions awarded by the founder of the family's power. Cosimo de'Medici: Pater Patriae

"Between 1436 and 1450 Cosimo de'Medici was alone in Italy in spending very large sums of money on a series of building projects. This was opposed to the most generally expressed opinion of the time that ostentation and the use of wealth to produce some personal monument should be avoided, and was also in contrast with the usual method of financing new buildings from state or guild funds. During this period, however, these attitudes began to change, and by the middle of the century the idea was current that it was natural behaviour of a nobleman to patronize architecture, and in fact a duty of his superior position. The example of Cosimo (who was not, of course, a nobleman) was instrumental in this change of fashion..."^4

Cosimo de'Medici, the patron "primus inter pares" of the great artists and architects of the Quattrocento in Florence commissioned works from Donatello, Michelozzo, and above all, from Brunelleschi. One of the earliest architectural labors of Ser Brunelleschi in which Cosimo showed interest, and for which he provided funds, was the Ospedale degli Innocenti and the square that fronted it, the Piazza SS. Annunziata. "From the outset there seems to have been a clear division of labor between Cosimo and his two sons in matters of patronage. The royal art of architecture was Cosimo's preserve..."^5
The Piazza SS. Annunziata is a rectangle measuring some 240 by 150 feet and was completed only gradually over the course of time. Its two long sides are occupied, respectively, by the Spedale (The Foundlings' Hospital), built by Filippo Brunelleschi at the expense of the Silk-Weavers Guild, and the Hall of the Confraternity of the Servi di Maria. (Fig. 14) The building of the hospital was begun in 1419 and finished in 1451. The Hall of Confraternity designed by Antonio San Gallo the Elder, was begun in 1516 and finished in 1525. The Hall repeats exactly the facade of the Hospital. Later, the portico of the church of SS. Annunziata was added by Giovanni Caccini, continuing the motif of the arcades of the Hall and Hospital. The piazza, however, has not the character of a forecourt, but rather that of an inner courtyard or cortile; it is a close composition, with an opening opposite the portico of the church, the Via dei Servi, which connects this calm space to the flank of the Duomo in its lively space.

The Piazza SS. Annunziata is a prototype of the Piazza degli Uffizi in that it established the concept of balanced and near-identical facades creating a unity of space. The logge on three sides of the square, with their simple architectural motifs of columns and arches, tie
the design together into an architectural whole; they are functional arcades providing access to the building that lie behind. The logge also provide variety in the design, as, apart from setting up a rhythm, their vaulted spaces form a spatial expansion of the square itself. The square is paved from loggia to loggia. In 1608 a statue of Fernando I de' Medici, son of Cosimo I, by Giovanni da Bologna was set up facing the Via dei Servi, with the portico of the church serving as its backdrop. The inclusion of the statue, modeled after that of Marcus Aurelius at the Capitol in Rome, would indicate that the space was perceived as a forum all'antica. The square was completed long after the death of Brunelleschi who had originally envisioned it. "His visionary concept was one of the strictest axiality and of space channeled into definite form. The cupola of the Cathedral in the distance, the equestrian statue and the central arcade of the church SS. Annunziata create an axis. The continuous surface of the paved floor of the square contributes further to the spatial unity."87 Brunelleschi had recreated, in the idiom of the Quattrocento, the imperial forum of antiquity.88

Cosimo de' Medici considered the creation of a large opening that would have unified the space between the family palace on the Via Larga (now Via Cavour) and the
family church of San Lorenzo in its small and cramped square. "Even though there may be no proof that Brunelleschi planned such a radical scheme for church, piazza and palace, there is at least circumstantial evidence in two documents of 1434...In March of that year the Signori...decreed that Piazza S. Lorenzo should be enlarged, in order to aid construction of the new church and to accord with the overall program for the beautification of Florence." If Cosimo were reluctant to engage in architectural or urbanistic venture of such magnitude that would throw doubt on his position as "primus inter pares," that reason was in part that he lacked the dictatorial powers necessary for compulsory purchase and demolition, which are the pre-requisites of most urban-planning projects. Given the family attitude towards overly grand display, it is perhaps surprising to find that a plan for a vast Medici palace was prepared for Cosimo's descendent, Lorenzo il Magnifico, by Giuliano and Antonio da San Gallo. "Occupying an area about as large as the Pitti Palace and the Boboli Gardens, and encroaching shamelessly on the city streets, it would have presented an expression of Medici domination more concrete than might have seemed politic at any time before the
The project has since come to be known as that of the Via Laura, and it will be referred to herein as such. The Via Laura is in an area of Florence adjacent to the Piazza SS. Annunziata, ending only at the Borgo Pinti. But why did Lorenzo choose this particular site for urban improvement and expansion? The Via Laura linked one church with strong Medicean links, SS. Annunziata, to another then being built, the new Cistercian convent of Cestello. The Via Laura project was a grandiose undertaking, a project of such vast scale that it could properly be seen as the creation of a royal residence, not the ex-urban villa of a private citizen. The San Gallo drawing reveals the royal dimensions of the project. The area in question was to be divided into three segments. The lower third of the project that portion near the actual Via Laura, consisted of a double row of attached houses, interrupted at mid-point by a hemicycle fronting an entrance portone. This gave access to the second third of the area, a large, formal garden all'Italiana, which fronted in turn the final segment of the design, the villa-palace. The architectural character of the villa-palace links it with the villa at Poggio a Caiano (erected 1483), and with the palace plan of 1488, for the King of
Naples. The palace was planned as a vast quadrangle with its long side on axis with the garden portone. The entrance to the palace was through a spacious entrance leading into a cortile bounded on three sides by logge. The vaulting of the logge was supported by a series of columns and piers. The center of the cortile was occupied by a range of steps, providing an amphitheater-like space. At the center of the loggia on the side opposite the entrance there was to be another cortile serving as a fore-court to a grand salone, and, still on axis, a circular chapel. The sides of the palace contained other public, and many private chambers and two giardini secreti. The entire plan had extremely classical overtones, "through the main gateway is a magnificent semi-circular colonnaded exedra...in an arrangement somewhat reminiscent of Trajan's Market. A second monumental entrance, in plan resembling an extended triumphal arch..." What is germane to this study is the fact that "the axial planning, and artfully contrived vistas also entail a hierarchical progression through the building, leading literally up to its symbolic head, the chapel." It is just this "hierarchical progression" that was to be found in the Capitol at Rome, and, in turn, at the Uffizi in its capacity as a princely
cortile,' which it discharged along with its function as an urban forum. Indeed, the Via Laura project was intended as a large forecourt to "una residenza principesca."96

Leonardo Da Vinci's Codex Atlanticus gives a faint hint of a project contemplated by the Medici prior to their brief exile during the troubled times of the 1520's.97 The sheet was reproduced by Richter and Geymüller as early as 1883; they transcribed the names of the institutions mentioned in the plan, making the identification of the area indisputable. The area in question was decidedly the same as had been considered by Brunelleschi almost a century earlier for a similar redevelopment. The new plan by Leonardo, however, doubled the area of open space intended to serve as a large 'family' piazza. The task of replanning the piazza was concurrent with that of the redesign of the facade of the 'family' church of San Lorenzo. At the same time "the Medici family must have been entertaining the idea of a greater architectural project, that is, the replanning of the Medici quarter around San Lorenzo, with a large piazza in front of the church all the way to their palace..."98 Leonardo suggested continuing the piazza yet another block so that the Medici palace would be in the center of the long side; the Via Larga was to be extended
to the Piazza del Duomo providing a central axis for the long side of the square, serving it as a cardo. The new square also included:

"the project of a new Medici palace facing the old one, on the other side of the Via Larga... Leonardo suggested opening the Piazza San Lorenzo... so that as one entered the piazza... coming from the Cathedral, the two Medici palaces would have appeared at the head of two blocks flanking the Via Larga, and the facade of San Lorenzo, on the left would have provided the proper background... the motif of the large piazza was to be repeated at the end of the two blocks, corresponding with another religious center of the Medici patronage, the convent of San Marco."99 (Fig. 20)

Vasari had, then, at his disposal a number of sources upon which to draw for his design of the square set between the twin palaces of the Uffizi. He, of necessity, had to choose from among those models that bore the mark of nobility, those fora, piazza, and cortili that bespoke princely patronage. As his client sanctioned the comparison between Augustus and himself, it was suitable for Vasari to include features of the Augustan forum in that of Cosimo I. As Cosimo was Duke, Vasari would have turned to other ducal squares as being both aristocratically suitable and politically acceptable to his patron. Vasari, then, made references in his forum to many of the noble squares that had provided for it a fitting model.100
The Royal palace, or in a free city, 
the house of the Senators or the 
Chief Magistrate ought to be the 
first in Beauty and Magnificence. 
Alberti. De Re Aedificatoria, 
Book IX, Ch. 1.

CHAPTER SIX 
The Dual Palaces of the Uffizi

It has long been held axiomatic by savants that 
Michelangelo's Laurentian Library was the sole source of 
Vasari's design for the facades of the dual palaces of the 
Uffizi. There is some truth in this observation, as there 
are some similarities between the library and the palaces. 
A closer examination, however, reveals that the differences 
are even more pronounced, due in part to the dissimilar 
siting of each structure, and due also in part to the dis­
similar functions discharged by either structure. The 
Library is a long, narrow hall set above a pre-existent 
monastic refectory. It rises above the cloister, set back 
from the surrounding arcade by the width of the cloister 
vaulting. Only one floor is visible above the arcade and 
the altana (or second level arcade) that fronts the monastic 
structures. The Library itself, therefore, acts as a third 
floor, rising above a two-storied cloister. There is, at
one end of the Library, the tower-like addition housing the Ricetto, the facade of which is divided into two stories, of which the upper rises above the roof-line of the Library proper. As it appears now the upper range is a reconstruction of the present century.\(^1\) Vasari would not have had the example of the finished complex that stands presently to the side of Brunelleschi's San Lorenzo. There is little doubt that Vasari was very knowledgable of the Library, as it was commissioned by the Medici to house their extensive collection, and had been designed, in part, by Vasari's revered mentor, Michelangelo.\(^2\) Vasari himself had worked on completing several important parts of the interior, particularly the lava-like flowing scala of the Ricetto. Concerning this work Vasari had exchanged many letters with Michelangelo; in 1555, "a new effort was made to get Michelangelo to say what his final intentions were -- and this time successfully. Duke Cosimo entrusted Vasari with the mission of persuading him to speak. And Vasari received from Michelangelo that famous letter of 28 September 1555."\(^3\) Given Vasari's great reverence for the works of Michelangelo, and given his devotion to the family of the ruling prince (for whom he labored), it is more than inevitable that so near and so prominent a work would have
figured largely in Vasari's early disegni for the palazzi. As we have none of those drawings, only the knowledge that they and a presentation model once existed, we can only assume the influence. We cannot trace the development of the project in a step by step process, as we can Michelangelo's designs for the Ricetto, for which a number of sketches exists showing the various revisions made to the articulation of the enframing walls of the entrance chamber and to the scala therein contained. For the Uffizi we have but Vasari's brief and somewhat enigmatic account of his labors as related in his own Vita, where he speaks only of the difficulty of construction, and not of the 'design-process.' Given Vasari's great emphasis on design, as witnessed by a collection of drawings for his Libri dei Disegni, his co-founding of the Accademia del Disegno, and his elevation of 'design' to the status of an art in and of itself, it is even more surprising that he has not provided a detailed account of the stages through which his most outstanding architectural work passed. Without this all-important archival material, historians have noted the obvious parallels between the Library by the master, Michelangelo, and the palaces by his pupil, Vasari.

A sustained comparison of the architectural articulation of the two buildings in question reveals not only the
substantial differences between the two, but also the considerable distance that Vasari traveled from the model of his mentor. An initial and striking difference between the two is the dissimilarity in the over-all architectural character of the two structures. The Library is asymmetrical, disunified and unadorned. (Fig. 21) The long wing of the Library is terminated by the square tower-like cube of the Ricetto which destroys the horizontality of the roof-line through its verticality. As the two components have windows on unmatched levels, the resultant impression is one of a forced joining of parts not informed by a uniform design. The only 'adornments' are the windows set in their tabernacle frames, which are set in slightly recessed panels separated by simple, unarticulated pilaster-strips. The cornice was completed only in this century so that the original appearance as known to Vasari would have been even more irregular than the structure presents at present. The arcade set below the Library carries a second-storey colonnade which is extended-out from the wall-plane of the monastic buildings over which the Library was built. The arcade/colonnade is part of an earlier monastic cloister. The arcade is carried on simple, unfluted Ionic-like columns; the arches are sprung from a point along the curvature, resulting in a squat and truncated shape. The arcade
is surmounted by a plain stucco wall, relieved only by a simple string-course. The second level colonnade has posts supporting a slanted tile-covered roof which juts, at an angle, from the Library wall. The total effect of all these component elements could not be more unlike the effect produced by the symmetrical, unified and articulated facades of the twin palaces. (Fig. 22)

Immediately apparent as a major difference between the Uffizi and the Library is the monoplanar walls of the latter. They rise sheer from a podium of steps above the piazza, broken only by the architrave of the lower loggia, the articulation of the piano nobile, and the cornice of the altana. Unlike the Library, where the arcade of the cloister is carried on simple Ionic-like columns, the ground level loggia of the Uffizi is composed of a colonnade of matched Tuscan-Doric columns set between nched piers. The piers and columns support a continuous architrave, which Vasari constructed according to himself, in a new and ingenious fashion. Unlike the Library, which has a second level colonnade, the Uffizi has a mezzanine which serves to mask the barrel vault of the loggia. The mezzanine storey is broken by rectangular openings which provide additional light to the loggia. Unlike the Library, where each
bay carries only one window the Uffizi has three windows per bay, each set in an individual tabernacle frame capped by alternating triangular and segmental pediments. Unlike the Library, where the pilaster-strips are independent of the lower floors at the Uffizi this device, sanctioned by Vitruvius, is carried up from the piers of the loggia and the consoles of the mezzanine, continuing the bay divisions expressed at the loggia level. Unlike the Library, which has no floor above the piano nobile, except at the cube of the Ricetto, at the Uffizi the upper floor repeats the theme of the loggia of the first floor, with Tuscan columns set between piers supporting a cornice. Originally this upper loggia was an open passageway, acting as a long galleria-like open-air altana.

Noting these many and major differences, it is obvious that Vasari sought inspiration for the features of the facades in buildings other than just the Library, which is not to discount the great influence of the Library, in a general way, on his thinking. In his Mannerist fashion Vasari sought to make references to other buildings that served similar functions. It was a tenet of mannerism that a work of art should allude to other works of art which had proceeded it, revealing the wide knowledge of the artist
and the elevated taste of the patron, while appealing to the erudition of the knowledgable spectator. Vasari said of his frescoes at the Cancelleria in Rome that there were layer upon layer of meaning below the surface of the painting perceived by, and revealed to the appreciative connoisseur with a broad understanding of, and a keen recognition of, the past works of art alluded to in the frescoes.

What held true for fresco painting, held true also for architectural design; therefore, the understanding of a mannerist work of architecture requires a search for the works alluded to, an intellectual hunt for those works that may have served as one or more of the many sources used in refining the original design. These sources are referred to either directly or obliquely, to be found in some element or elements in the over-all design. To better understand the Uffizi it is necessary to attempt to locate some of those possible sources, and to discern what they have contributed to the Uffizi. To uncover these sources requires a brief re-telling of the evolution of civic forms in North Italy.

With the defeat of Teutonic imperial pretensions in northern Italy at the Battle of Legnano, free comunnes re-established themselves in the former imperial fiefs.
Two centers of power evolved in these mercantile communes, represented by their respective symbolic-functional structure, the church and the townhall. The Church, the older of the two powers, quite often occupied a prominent position within the circuit of walls, often set at the very center of the comune, receiving many of the paved principal streets at its forecourt, the church square. Attendant upon the church and framing its square was the church school, the priestly residence, and perhaps a choir school. Set often in the center of the square was the free-standing Baptistry.

The town-hall dominated a square of its own, sometimes smaller than that of the church, and often in a less central position. In some north-Italian comuni, the town-hall was set in the square, with three, or even four sides exposed; in other comuni the town-hall was set flush with the line of buildings enframing the square. The town square was also the site of the Palace of the Podesta, the Capitanato, and, depending on the size and complexity of the town government, other public halls. A market sometimes shared the space with the communal buildings, but most often the market place was located nearby, if the town were large enough, so as not to interfere with the more 'formal' nature of the town square. By the beginning of the Quattrocento the comunes of
northern Italy had a clearly defined form and a clearly designated set of structures to house the ecclesiastical and communal functions — Florence was no exception with its dual nodes at the Duomo and the Palazzo della Signoria.

Through his wide travels, Vasari would have been aware of the civic centers of Tuscan towns. He had no doubt also visited the communes of Lombardy and the Veneto, marking their communal structures and remarking on the lack of "grace" in these buildings built in imitation of the style of the goths. Therefore, few if any of these edifices could have served as models for the buildings he was contemplating for the Magistrates in Florence, their Gothic style would have disqualified them, for, as Vasari wrote about that style: "Nor is it now adopted by the best architects but is avoided by them as monstrous and barbarous, and lacking everything that can be called order. Nay, it should rather be called confusion and disorder. In their buildings, which are so numerous that they sickened the world...they have more the appearance of being made of paper than of stone or marble." They were unacceptable due to their style and "so in order not to have any more them their style has been totally abandoned." They were also inadequate as models of function. In the older comunes, when additional space was required
for civic magistrates, space was rented in guild halls, or in privately owned palaces. Often, continuing an ancient practice, the chancel of the church would be pressed into service for an extraordinary court. At Florence, as has been noted, the magistrates' courts were located in any number of rented quarters throughout the city. Cosimo I found this situation intolerable as it was at variance with his expressed desire for order and efficiency in government. He required that all the Magistrates be housed in one convenient place. Vasari's task was rendered even more complex by the fact that the offices once housed in the Palazzo della Signoria were to be moved to new locations, as the Palazzo itself was being transformed by a host of workmen under Vasari's direction, into the official ducal residence. It was inevitable that some of those offices, displaced from their time-honored locations, would find a new home in the upper reaches of the new palaces nearby. Vasari was charged with providing not only a new seat for the Thirteen Magistrates, but also space for the civic functionaries removed from the Palazzo della Signoria. In a true sense the Uffizi became for a short period, prior to the move of the ducal family to the Pitti Palace, the un-official town-hall of Cosimo I's Florence.
Since the functions of the new buildings were far more complex than those housed in the traditional town-halls of free comunes and as most of those town-halls were built in a style that "sickened the world," Vasari needed to look elsewhere for his inspiration. Even had they been built to house complex functions and in an acceptable all'antica style, their association with free comunes, or former republics, would have rendered them anathema to Cosimo I, who had final power of approval over any and all designs submitted to him by his architect. Despite its vibrant and even chaotic civic life, Italy had not produced many buildings that could be used as adequate models for Vasari's needs, Venice excepted. Before the Cinquecento there had been little need for structures of such scale and magnitude. A possible exception may be found in the layout of the Ospedale di G. Spirito (1474-82) in Rome. The dominant feature of the hospital is a gallery-like hall, extending the full length of the building, which is fronted by a long loggia facing the street and serving as both an entrance to the hospital and as a long ambulatory. (Fig. 23) The hospital, according to Heydenreich and Lotz, demonstrated "The great achievement of Sixtus IV's architects in the splendid amplitude and artistic shaping of the great plan..." Since the hospital was originally a foundation
of the Kings of England, it was not tainted for Vasari by any incriminating associations with republicanism. As its function was so dissimilar from those of the Uffizi, it may have served as a model in only the most general manner.

Another hospital, of great importance in the history of architecture, the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan, designed by Filarete for the Sforza was also politically acceptable, but again only marginally useful as its functions were quite dissimilar from those of the Uffizi. (Fig. 24) Also at Milan, Filarete, who had written a trattato which Vasari found "mostly ridiculous," designed a palazzo for a branch of the Medici bank. The building is of mixed stylistic impulses, modern, i.e. renaissance, on the ground floor, with arched openings; and, gothic on the piano nobile, with ogive openings. This palazzo would have had several virtues to recommend it to Vasari; it was in a ducal city, and had been built for an ancestor of his patron. Its function and its mixed style would have disqualified it, especially in the mixings of styles which Vasari would have seen as the product of an untrained mind, unexposed to the virtues of true disegno. Filarete was, according to Vasari, "a man of little judgement for meddling with something that he did not understand."
If Milan was of but passing interest, Rome was of pressing importance. Vasari, who spent much time there sketching and studying there, could be said to have his cultural center in that city. Knowing the City well, knowing both the ancient monuments and the modern works of architecture, some of which he himself had worked on as at the Villa Giulia, (Fig. 25) Vasari was greatly influenced by Roman architecture in his choice of motifs for the design of the Uffizi. Nor would it be an overstatement to suggest that his inspiration came from such works as the Cancelleria, attributed to Alberti, and the Roman ouvre of Bramante, Peruzzi, Raphael, Ligorio, and above all Michelangelo. Vasari would have known the Palazzo Massimo, the Villa Pia, the Villa Madama, the Palazzo Branconio in the Borgo, and above all, the Capitol. Some of these buildings provided inspiration for individual features of the Uffizi, others may have served as models for the over-all design of the dual palaces.

The Belvedere may have given Vasari the idea of a structure built as two parallel wings and united by a related but distinctive connective wing at one short end. The Belvedere, indeed, above all other extant buildings known to Vasari, Venice's civic structures excepted, could
have served as the model 'par excellence' for the Uffizi, as it was not only aristocratic in origin and in function, but through Leo X had ties to the *famiglia Medici*. The present state of the Belvedere gives but a limited idea of the scope of the space as conceived by Bramante. The sweep of the vista has been truncated by the addition of latter buildings linking the parallel wings across the open space. These additions, converted the unified space into three unrelated *cortili* of varying sizes. The decision to truncate the space was unfortunate as it allowed for the removal of those features that had made the *Belvedere* a unique interlocking series of spaces, serving as a huge exurban villa *all'antica*. The vast scale and imperial vista achieved by Bramante at the *Cortile del Belvedere* were of great import in the conception of the Uffizi; the importance of the *Belvedere* to this study is less in the large open spaces between the wings, and more in the wings themselves. The space was not intended to serve as an urban forum, but rather as a stepped garden:

"which would be laid out in terraces, there was to be an open-air theater, with tiers of seats, in the Classical manner, and gardens with orange trees, pines and bay trees planted in beds, with fountains playing. Altogether, then, it was a building with many functions: for leisure relaxation and shows, for culture and rest, for the moderate physical exercise of walking in the fresh air, as the ancients had done, a place for the humanist Otium of the Pope and his court."
For Vasari, the parallel wings of the Belvedere, linked at the further end by the short wing of the hemicycle, could have served as the primary model for the Uffizi, both in the matter of scale and in specific details. There did not exist in all of Italy, save in Venice, a set of structures, either ancient or modern, that approximated the scale and the length of the Belvedere. The ancient world had possessed vast stadia and palestra which were equal in scale to the Belvedere. All those stadia, as well as the vast Circus Maximus in Rome, had long since lost their enclosing structures. These stadia were chiefly known through literary sources and from fanciful reconstructions on paper. The literary sources stressed the imaginative recreation of stadia, imperial villas and palaces.

Bramante had to take a giant leap of imagination to reconstruct the possible original appearance of these stadia and villas.

"The task facing Bramante was largely new...for Bramante the fundamental problem posed by Julius' 'triumphalistic' intentions was one of planning on a scale that had no precedents."

He was required to apply what he knew of classical architecture, which was much, to the large space and long logge of the new Belvedere. It took a febrile act of
imagination to invent anew the ancient villa. Other than his knowing and ingenious reworking of various elements of ancient architecture, Bramante had no extant models on which to base his plans. There was, of course, the ruins of Hadrian's Villa at Tivoli, which was then being slowly uncovered. The very concept of monumental scale had been all but lost during the middle ages in Italy as there was no institution, secular or religious, that could have conceived, commissioned, or constructed such works on so vast a scale. Bramante looked to the ancient world, not to the barbarous works of the 'unlettered and unlearned' past. Vasari looked to Bramante as the outstanding exemplar of an architect who had revived the "art of good building."

Bramante, according to Vasari, had made

"the path of his profession of architecture secure for all who came after him, by means of his courage, boldness, intellect, and science in that art, wherein he had the mastery not of theory only, but of supreme skill and practice."^16

Vasari does not stint in his praise of Bramante, stating that Bramante knew Roman architecture so well that he

"not only imitated what he saw, with new inventions and taught it to us but also added very great beauty and elaboration to the art, which we see embellished by him at the present day."^27
The similarities between the Belvedere and the Uffizi are striking. Each is conceived as two long palatial structures of identical, or near identical, articulation; both frame large open spaces. As at the Uffizi,

"The Belvedere differs from the average Renaissance court in being conceived along an axis rather than around a central point... That the center of interest should be a line rather than a point implies motion -- the motion of the eye -- and this is invited by all available means."28

Both buildings are three stories high (the Belvedere is three stories high at the furthest part of the Cortile); both have a loggia on the lowermost and the uppermost storey. (Fig. 26) At the Belvedere the lower loggia, unlike that at the Uffizi, is arcuated. Both the lower and the upper logge of the Belvedere and the Uffizi provide passage along the length of the building, and in both the upper loggia acts also as a link to other, and older, structures. Both the Belvedere and the Uffizi are terminated and joined by a short interconnective wing more richly articulated than the long parallel wings. (Fig. 27) Both complexes serve as an extension of, or a forecourt to, an older urban palace; both link a distant exurban villa, in Rome the Belvedere of Innocent III, from which the whole takes its name;29 in Florence the Pitti, which is connected to the Palazzo Vecchio by the Uffizi and the long
Corridoio Vasariano which passes over the Arno on the Ponte Vecchio. Both complexes are tightly organized, controlled spaces which are conceived as a unified and harmonious whole. And,

"the unity of the design is assured by the continuous interweaving of forms that subtly correspond to one another, and pursue one another along a central axis in depth." \(^30\)

Further, both the Uffizi and the Belvedere were designed by painters, and both have a painterly quality. Both are "worked out in essentially pictorial terms of color, atmosphere and light." \(^31\) Ackerman also noted this quality, remarking that

"its effect reveals a remarkable parallel to the painted perspective. The method evolved for the creation of an illusion of space on a two-dimensional surface have here been employed in three dimensions to draw the eye towards the desired goal." \(^32\)

One last likeness: both had enormous political significance, as both structures are symbols of a political order. Julius II wished to unite all of Italy under a revived Roman empire with the Urbs as its capital. Therefore,

"the appearance of Rome and of its new buildings was intended to give the impression that the age of the Roman emperors, and their majesty and power, had returned...In the new administrative and ceremonial center of the new city, the Pope and Bramante wanted to recreate a fragment of ancient Rome." \(^33\)
The differences are also striking; the lower range of the Belvedere uses an arcuated order for the lower loggia, as well as an arcuated articulation of the wall surfaces of the upper cortile. The Uffizi relies solely on a trabeated system. The wall planes of the Belvedere are fluid and plastic; the wall planes of the Uffizi, by comparison, are flat and sheer. The Belvedere grades from three to one storey as it progresses from the lowermost to the uppermost cortile or terrace; the Uffizi is uniform in height throughout. In function, the Belvedere was intended as a villa all'antica; the Uffizi as a magisterial forum all'antica. The Belvedere is set in an exurban area, distant from the then center of Rome; the Uffizi is set in the center of Florence, and is an extension of that city's principal civic square. Though the differences in form and function are striking, it is clear that Vasari knew well the plans that Bramante had drawn up for the Cortile del Belvedere, as he writes that:

"Whereupon Bramante, who had a very good judgement and an inventive genius in such matters, distributed two ranges of columns along the lowest part, first a very beautiful Doric loggia...and over this a second range of the Ionic Order, full of windows of such height as to come to the level of those of the Belvedere; intending to make, afterwards, a loggia more than four hundred paces long on the side towards Rome, and likewise another on the side towards the woods..."
Vasari was greatly influenced by the plans that Bramante had evolved for the Belvedere when he came to plan his own work which also required conception on so vast a scale.

Bramante had also planned a new Palazzo dei Tribunali (c. 1512) which was begun but never progressed beyond the foundations. It was to have stood at the center of the new Via Giulia. The program for the new palace was similar to the one for the Uffizi, as

"the reforms of jurisdiction was one of the most urgent political goals of Julius II. At the time of his ascendancy to the throne roughly six different jurisdictions were operating in Rome, partly controlled by the comune, partly by the church." 35

The judiciary administration was dispersed in several buildings of the Vatican Palace, between the atrium of old St. Peter's and the Sala Regia "and partly dispersed among the residences of the prelates in Rome." 36 Unlike the plan for the Uffizi, the Palazzo dei Tribunali was a self-contained structure ranging a series of judicial chambers around a central cortile; the plan envisioned four corner towers and a central entrance tower. The plan could not be more unlike that of the Uffizi, however, a reconstruction of a lateral facade (Fig. 28), reveals its derivation from Bramante's own High Renaissance "House of Raphael," particularly to the shop-fronted first floor. The piano nobile
is reminiscent of the facade of the republican Tabularium, as it has an arcuated loggia, the arches of which are set between half-round Doric columns. The staggered pediments recall the Arco dei Borsari in Verona. As the Tribunali was never built, it is impossible to determine what influence its design may have had on the design of the Uffizi, but it is important to note the similarity of function discharged by both buildings.

At Bologna, still in the Papal States, a domestic palace was built by the little-known architect Ranuzzi in 1549, the Palazzo Sanguinetti which is of value to this study in that it displays some of the elements that were to re-appear ten years later in Vasari's design for the Uffizi (Fig. 29); the ground floor is composed of a continuous loggia of Tuscan-Doric columns supporting an architrave. As many of Bologna's streets are lined by pedestrian arcades, this unusual feature becomes less so in its Bolognese context. The architrave is surmounted by a pseudo-mezzanine supporting evenly spaced windows on the piano nobile. The windows are placed on consoles with raised panels between their aedicular frames are terminated by alternating pediments. The third floor repeats the piano nobile with only slight differences, particularly
the absence of consoles. It is obvious that the elements chosen by Vasari were, in some measure, already in use for formal facades. The cortile of the Palazzo Strozzi in Florence shows the same arrangement. Both examples, however, lack the altana that crowns the facade of the Uffizi. The altana is found in a Quattrocento example, the cortile of the Palazzo Medici (now Medici-Riccardi) in Florence, which, despite its clear Quattrocento character, displays all the features found, albeit more developed, in the Cinquecento elegance of the Uffizi facades. Most compelling of all is the broad pseudo-cornice above the arcade, with evenly spaced Rondelles, and the altana supporting a simple cornice that is echoed in the Uffizi. (Fig. 30)

Vasari found his true inspiration in Rome, and that ancient city provided another possible major model, by another master, which bore strongly on Vasari's concept for the final forms of the facades. Vasari close personal relationship with his mentor and master (in matters of art), Michelangelo, has been well and fully documented -- particularly by Vasari himself who lost no opportunity to enhance his own reputation by trumpeting his friendship with Michelangelo. In a sense, Vasari used his long enduring connection with Michelangelo as an advertisement
for his own talents and abilities, which, in their own right, were considerable. Even without his association with Michelangelo, Vasari would have exerted considerable influence on the cultural life of his adopted city, with that association his reputation was given added lustre, an aura of grace imparted by a privileged proximity to divinity. The works of the master were ever in the mind of the student, and possibly nowhere more so than in his deliberations over the designs for the Uffizi palaces. It is indeed a major loss to scholarship that Vasari, who wrote so much, wrote so little concerning the design process he used when confronted by the huge problems, artistic and technical, inherent in the construction of the Uffizi. It is more a loss since

"regularly he submitted his plans to the 'divino vecchio' for his advice, and it is natural that in Michelangelo's Vita much space is given to his architecture." 39

The loss is even greater when one recalls that Vasari wrote seemingly endless reams of near-purple prose describing the various complex allegories and allusions, which Borghini concocted and which he and his workshop provided, for the many court festivities for which he was charged to provide temporary structures of papier-maché and paint. 40 These ephemeral columns, arches, temples and gates which
greeted a visiting pope, prince or dignitary were carefully crafted to display Vasari's art and Borghini's erudition; they were just as meticulously discussed, in detail, to underscore their service to the Medici. Of the Uffizi, nothing! It is therefore safe to suggest that though Vasari respected the works of Bramante, he revered the works of Michelangelo. This assumption can only lead to the conclusion that though the general form and gigantic scale of the Belvedere was a vital influence on the over-all concept of the Uffizi, the details and the innovative architectural elements of the Capitol were of paramount importance in the selection of elements which Vasari made for the facades of the twin palaces.

The Capitol, which has been treated elsewhere in this study, can be quickly described in all its essential details as they pertain to the Uffizi. Michelangelo's design for the facade of the Conservators' Palace and its twin, the New Palace, is the design that is of importance here. The facade of the Senators' Palace has little bearing on the Uffizi due to its block-like form and closed character. The facades of the palaces that flank the centrally placed Senators' Palace are identical. This concept of two identical facades facing each other across a square may
have originated with Bramante, who used this idea for the small piazza of the Rocca at Viterbo. The larger facades at Rome have nine bays each, and are both two stories high. (Fig. 31) The lower floor of each is occupied, in part, by a loggia running the full length of the facade; the loggia fronts a series of identically shaped and scaled chambers, an androne occupies the central bay. The piano nobile is also divided into nine bays, each bay containing a large, centrally placed window framed by a fully developed aedicula crowned with segmental pediments. These details are not overly novel or innovative, what is, is the treatment of the Orders as applied articulation to the facades. The loggia and the piano nobile are united by the use of a 'giant' order, perhaps the first such use, which ties the bays together vertically. The engaged Corinthian pilasters stand on high pedestals and carry a full entablature which is crowned by a balustrade. At the level of the loggia, the openings between the pilasters are reduced by the use of free-standing Ionic columns, set close to the pilasters; this unorthodox placement of the columns creates a perforated screen that is not equal in all its openings, but which is narrow to the sides between the columns and piers, and broad in the center. The arrangement is somewhat akin
to that of a *serliana* without a central arch. A cornice runs above the Ionic columns, but is interrupted by the Corinthian pilasters, so that the 'giant' order breaks through both floors. Portoghesi, writing of the use of this novel "Order" states that:

"The theme of the intersection of architectonic orders has precedents in Roman classical architecture and appeared in the designs for St. Peter's prepared by Bramante and Sangallo. In the Capitol Michelangelo employed it in a more radical version, to suggest the impression that the final form of the buildings was the result of a stratification of successive phases of construction, which were perfectly accorded among themselves, but clearly distinguishable in the final image... The interweaving of orders is carried out with the utmost rigour in the Palazzo dei Conservatori, where the large pilasters are flanked by columns, and the crowning entablature is echoed by the minor entablature supporting the walls which are pierced by the first floor windows. Each element is made fully autonomous and recognizable throughout its extension, as can be seen clearly in the interior of the colonnade where the smaller columns, arranged in groups of four, support a baldacchino system consisting of free-standing architraves and small pavilion vaults. That Michelangelo intended to suggest continuity of the order extending into depth also, beyond the terminal walls which were considered as temporary screens, is demonstrated by the column connection affected by a niche, or by the soffit of an architrave cut brutally to stress the antithesis between the walls and the more noble structure of the order."

The windows of the *piano nobile* are set above the wide openings of the bay below, isolating the windows in a wide space of enframing wall, which re-enforces the
load-bearing character of this "new Order." The windows
had classical precedents also.

"In the smaller windows of the Palazzo dei
Conservatori, the point of departure is the
aedicule of the Pantheon which had served as a
model for Sangallo in the Palazzo Farnese.
Michelangelo criticized the aedicule on the
grounds of its self-sufficiency and absolute-
ness and the fact that it did not form an or-
ganic entity with the wall. The connection was
obtained by dividing the entablature above the
columns and making it follow the background wall,
which the projections reduced to pure outlines;
the aedicule is thus incorporated into the wall
and becomes an organic projection from it."42

Many of the elements later to be used in the Uffizi
are found in the lower loggia of the Capitol palaces. The
Uffizi loggia is divided by piers and columns.43 The
placement of the windows in the piano nobile of the Uffizi,
over the openings below, is also similar to the placement
used at the Capitol. However, the differences need be
noted, not to refute the above observations, but to clarify
them. Most outstanding is the fact that at the Uffizi a
'giant' order is not used, rather, it is suggested by a
system of piers, consoles, and pilaster-strips, and by an
alternating system of columns, consoles and pilaster-strips,
always in ascending order. The Tuscan-Doric columns of the
lower loggia, unlike the Ionic columns of the Capitol, are
set at equal intervals, dividing the space between the
piers into three equal segments. The cornice of the Capitol is replaced at the Uffizi by an architrave which carries the mezzanine which, in turn, serves as a base for the piano nobile. The windows of the piano nobile are three per bay, not one as at the Capitol, and owe their inspiration more to the Ricetto than to the Campidoglio. Finally, Vasari was required to add the upper loggia with its shallow cornice, completely altering the scale, and proportion of the Uffizi in relation to the Capitol, so that it may be said that the Uffizi was conceived as combining elements culled from the Florentine and Roman works of Michelangelo. These elements were, indeed, the principal source of the articulation of the facades of the twin palaces.

There was available to Vasari yet another example that need be considered. The only large public place in all of Italy that was bounded by identical, or near identical buildings was, and is, to be found at the Piazza San Marco in Venice. Venice was then the most powerful state in all Italy, possessed of territories on the mainland and of an empire that stretched through Dalmatia into Greece and the Levant. Venice was feared in Italy as an expansionist state and respected abroad as a bulwark between the
Christian West and the Moslem East. The power of this potent state was vested in the Doge and in his councils. They ruled in secret and in splendour from those quasi-antique double fora, the Piazza and the Piazzetta di San Marco with their enframing noble and venerable palaces, that of the Doge with its Palatine Chapel of San Marco, and those of the procuratie, nuove and vecchie. The Procuratie Vecchie was designed by Mauro Coducci between 1500-1532. The buildings, which occupy the whole of the north side of the Piazza, were also constructed by the same Mauro as far as the first order of the loggias in 1500, the building was continued after 1512 by Bartolomeo Bon and Guglielmo dei Guigi and was completed at the far end of the piazza by Jacopo Sansovino in 1532. The succession of the fifty arches of the portico and the double arches of the two upper floors were based on the former Veneto-Byzantine building that originally occupied the site, repeating with Renaissance elegance the lightness, the rhythm and the graceful open proportions of the earlier building. Vasari would have been well acquainted with this long wing. However, the opposite side of the square, which was occupied by a range of buildings in Veneto-Byzantine style, was not to receive its final form
until the next century. The further end of the square was originally closed by Sansovino's church of S. Geminiano, which had on its right the continuation of the Procuratie Vecchie, and to its left the last five arches of the Procuratie Nuove. 45

It must be noted that Vasari would have known this square in its less complete and less "formal" state; but, to his clear vision it would have been apparent that the square had the potential of being completed as a highly articulated architectural ensemble. Here was a three storey wing facing what could be envisioned as another three storey wing, joined by a short wing with a differently articulated and more elaborate central architectural element. Unlike the Belvedere, which as a 'private' space, and the Capitol, which was a space set apart, the Piazza di San Marco with its enframing structures was a highly organized urban forum set at the very core of the city, near the Palace of the Doge. To Vasari, and to the artist of his generation, the piazza in Venice was considered quite old, but not ancient. 46 It was conceded to have been built in imitation of some long destroyed ancient model. The ancient episcopal seat at Aquileia on the mainland, from which the inhabitants had fled to the
Venetian lagoons in fear of the invading Huns, was a fully developed Roman city possessed of a fully developed forum, which may have served as the model for the civic center of the new lagoon foundation.

The buildings enframing the Piazza San Marco were designed according to earlier, and at times conflicting, concepts. The early Renaissance had not evolved a completely cogent theory of architectural harmony, nor had it formulated a definitive canon of architectural forms.

The canonical palace facade as evolved by Bramante during his Roman period required that the buildings grow lighter as it rises, and that

"articulation is varied horizontally as well as vertically. The ground floor serves as a massive basis for the two orders of rhythmically disposed pilasters. In spite of the quattrocento restraint which characterizes the facade, it seems to embody a certain organic life when compared to the more schematic and abstract compositions of the early Renaissance. In general the introduction of the anthropomorphic orders opened up a whole range of expressive possibilities which formed a point of departure for the Mannerist architecture of the following century."  

The Bramantesque canon also required that each part have a clear function and be clearly related to all other parts, yet each part be separate, independent, complete. Bramante's canon was echoed by his heir, Palladio, but altered by most of the Mannerists of the first and second generation of Mannerism.
An analysis of the facade of the Uffizi reveals that the approach taken by Raphael as in his designs for the Palazzo Branconio, which inverted, or perverted, the recently established Roman Canon was far more congenial to Vasari than was that taken by Bramante. Raphael paid little heed to the dictum that the building should appear to grow lighter as its rises upward and that the themes announced at the first level should be resolved at the last level. At the Uffizi, Vasari begins the ascent from lower to upper level with a loggia pierced by piers and Doric columns, weighty elements heightened by the open spaces between the supports (Fig. 32); the mezzanine increases the richness and weights, with its freight of consoles, framed openings, and framed panels matching the openings. The mezzanine serves, in its turn, as support for the piano nobile. That floor, with its solid walls, pilaster-strips and closely grouped windows, seems far more ponderous, at the same time, it seems far more insubstantial than the loggia. The resolution of this dilemma is not provided, as the upper floor repeats the open loggia of the lower. This fact tends to create an impression that the facade is being reflected in a looking-glass, and only half of it is being perceived as real, the
the other half being merely mirror-image reflection. The
height of the walls, the narrowness of the space of the
piazza, and the length of the twin palaces, which seem to
converge, produce an effect of a tunnel-like space, tall
and tight, bounded by rising and falling facades. Here,
the elements revealed to the spectator at eye-level are
repeated in a more attenuated mode high above eye-level,
causing a dizzying up and down movement of the eye similar
to the zig-zag movement found in the facades of Raphael's
palaces. Vasari created two cliff-like facades set above
a narrow channel, akin to a sliver of a stream flowing
through a gorge, causing a dizzying ebb and flow on the
horizontal plane that matches the zig-zag of the vertical
plane. This produces a sense of tension and disquietude
as the spectator, caught in the center of the space, grows
giddy with the movement; a movement which is eternally
unresolved, leading to paralysis and fear. As the space
is blocked at either end, there seems to be no respite from
the constant and insistant horizontal-vertical movement.
Although one of the terminal elements is arched and open,
it provides no clue as to what lies beyond, blocking move­
ment even further by inducing indecision, an indecision
that becomes chronic even as the spectator turns, seeking
escape. The other narrow end of the space is blocked even more forcefully by the impenetrable stone mass of the Palazzo Ducale, with its needle-like tower standing sentinel above the space, higher than the blue vault of the tunnel. It seems almost a god-like presence preventing motion, movement, flight, inducing, rather, abject submission through fear and indecision in the face of an overwhelming presence dominating the endless space. The spectator feels terror in the forecourt of the palace of the prince, a terror which is quickly associated with the god-like creature living within the gleaming palace-fortress seen from the seemingly ever-inverted space of the square where the ground and the sky seem to meet, but never to mingle. Writing at the end of the 14th century, Matteo Villani said that "loggie signify tyranny and not a free people."
The portico of the houses of influential citizens should preferably be trabeated, arched porticoes, on the other hand, are appropriate for the average citizen.

Alberti. *De Re Aedificatoria*, Book IX, Ch. 4.

CHAPTER SEVEN
The Lower Logge of the Uffizi

The facade of the Uffizi may be viewed in a number of ways, as the design permits of various readings. Mannerist works often lend themselves to several, even conflicting, interpretations; this is no less true of the facades of the twin palaces. It is in the nature of Mannerist ambiguity not only to permit, but to encourage multiple readings of the same object.\(^1\) Multiple perspectives create multiple images with multiple meanings. The Uffizi can be "read" both horizontally and vertically. If it is read on the horizontal, the resultant impression is one of a long, unified, continuous and repetitive pair of near-identical facades which could be prolonged indefinitely were the space and the need to permit. In this the facades follow in the Renaissance tradition of individual elements forming part of a unified whole.\(^2\) Conversely, the facade can also be read on the vertical, which allows for the viewing

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of one section of the facade at a time. Viewed on the vertical, the palatial facades seem more a series of elegant, identical town-houses or palazzetti set side by side, forming an ideal city street as proposed by Alberti, and as envisioned by Leonardo. "Alberti's concern with perspective resulted in his town design being conceived spatially; 'As for the streets of the town, not only will they be finely paved and perfectly clean, but beautifully adorned with two identical rows of arcades or houses of the same height.'"3

However, if the vertical view is the predominant one used in reading the facades of the Uffizi, the result is a series of related facades facing each other across the space of the square. The logic of this reading is challenged immediately at that level readily available to the eye -- the level of the lower loggia -- as the articulation of the loggia convincingly invalidates just such a reading. While, as the eye moves up the individual segments of the facade, the logic of such a view is partially reasserted on the piano nobile, to be confounded again in the upper loggia, or altana.

This ambiguity is achieved by quite a simple means. If, indeed, each segment is "read" as an individual, but attached facade, or a part of a row of like facades, then architectural logic would require that at the level of the
lower loggia, each section have its own self-contained members. (Fig. 33) Vasari could have achieved this by doubling the columns at the juncture of each set of facades, a solution that would be visually unsatisfactory and architecturally inelegant. This inelegance could have been avoided by using a row of columns, which would have created a nave-like treatment of the open space of the piazza somewhat akin to the interior of S. Maria Maggiore in Rome. Another possible solution, one which would maintain the integrity of each section of the facade, would be to double the columns at the juncture, placing them in alternating advancing and receding planes, as Palladio did in Vicenza at the Palazzo Chiericati. This solution would require that there be an odd number of palazzetti, so that the first and last palazzetto would have been in the same plane. It would also require that just such a system be applied to the unarticulated ground-level wall of the Zecca where it would have been not only functionless but also awkward; as it would have interfered with the side arch of the Loggia dei Lanzi, creating the impression of a low "wing" grafted to the side of that gigantic Gothic arcade. Had this solution been applied, the space of the square would have been even more constricted; the undulating motion set up
would, no doubt, have transformed the space from a majestic cortile to an agitated palestra. Such a solution would have posed near insoluble problems for both the internal vaulting of the passageways and for the joining of the loggia to the piano nobile above. The solution that Vasari chose was correct constructionally and optically, avoiding all the problems of juncture on both the horizontal and vertical planes. At the same time, the solution was also quite "incorrect" when judged by the canons of the High Renaissance, as it allowed for ambiguity of reading at ground level, an ambiguity which was further repeated in the piano nobile and the altana. By employing a system of alternating piers and columns, it allowed Vasari to place the piers at the visual juncture of adjoining bays, providing additional support where the weight of the wall would seem the greater, i.e., where the "party-wall" supports the load pressing upon it from either side. The columns were placed between the piers, where the need for support is reduced, as the load there is reduced. The ground floor of the Uffizi is built on a module, each magistrate's court is allotted somewhat the same space and similar arrangement. Bemporad states that:

"The building is composed of adjoining 'modules' or magistrates' courts, which resulted from a decree of Cosimo I dated 1560:
seven courts "in the S. Piero wing," and six "in the Zecca wing." 

Except for the remains of the church of S. Piero Scheraggio, and the grand scala in the hall alongside the church, the external articulation of the loggia reflects the internal arrangement of the judicial chambers. (Fig. 34) This being so, it is logical to read such "module" as a separate palazzetto, as the exterior arrangements reflect an interior distribution of space. This very clarity reasserts the ambiguity of the system used by Vasari in the loggia, as it then becomes a question of deciding to which palazzetto the piers belong.

Had Vasari designed the piers to be articulated by engaged pilasters at each corner, the problem would not have arisen. In fact he did just that, but then proceeded to hollow out a deep niche between the applied pilasters; thus, the pier becomes a unitary support applicable to one facade segment only. If this is to be done, it requires that the next palazzetto in the line be read as being supported on two columns only, as the piers do not "belong" to the adjoining bay. (Fig. 35) Having set up the possibility of reading the facades as a series of attached palazzetti, Vasari then proceeds to destroy that possibility by the subtle device of altering the piers from a
shared to a unitary support. What Vasari denies in the lower loggia, where it is optically required, he allows in the upper loggia where it is not. In the altana, the piers are not hollowed out in niches, where just such a device would have lightened the mass of the pier, where just such a lessening of weight would be needed. The lower loggia is structurally less appropriate than is the upper loggia where the structural supports are more than is required by prudent practice.

As in the general design of the palaces themselves, Vasari sought sources for the loggia in other works, to which reference could be made. Satkowsky states that:

"the developing institutions of the Tuscan state needed an appropriate set of forms and symbols, and Vasari found his solutions in a selective combination of elements from ancient and Cinquecento architecture. While he never claimed to have revived the forms of antiquity in his buildings Vasari was certainly conversant with Vitruvius and classical architectural grammar. He must have known that the loggia and the unified arcade were features of ancient fora as described by Vitruvius and Alberti, and he was definitely aware of examples like Vogevano and the Piazza San Marco in Venice, which are derivatives of this tradition. Vasari, however, modified these considerations to suit his own purposes with its government function and location on the principal piazza of a city, the Loggia was a Cinquecento equivalent of a Roman basilica."
There are several antique sources with which Vasari would have been familiar and which could have provided him with design concepts. The Septizodium, which stood until destroyed by Sixtus V, is recalled in a drawing by Martin van Heemskerk, made between 1532 and 1535. (Fig. 36) The Septizodium does not use columns set between piers, it does have, however, an upper and a lower loggia, separated by a "filled" or immurred middle level. Also, in Rome, the exterior portico of the Pantheon, when viewed from the inside, reveals two colossal Corinthian columns set between massive piers. The piers are not hollowed out by niches, as are the piers of the interior of the temple, which are faced with large aedicules. A drawing of the interior of the Pantheon (Codex Chigi) shows the interior articulation as it appeared before the neo-classical era "restoration" of the attic storey. (Fig. 37) This drawing shows not only the scheme of double columns set between piers, but also a series of openings in the attic storey separated by applied pilasters -- not too different from the mezzanine above the loggia at the Uffizi.

Most important is a drawing by Giuliano da San Gallo of a Roman ruin, often cited as the remains of the Basilica Aemelia. (Fig. 38) The similarity to the grammar of the
Uffizi is more than striking, though here the piers are replaced by coupled engaged columns sharing a single base. The order in the drawing is Tuscan-Doric, the facade is trebeated, and carries a heavy entablature. The association of this ruin with a Roman law-court, the Basilica Aemelia, can only lead to the strong supposition that Vasari might have selected this antique facade as a point de depart for his own design of the Uffizi loggia.

A source, closer to home, may have been found in the interior articulation of the lower level of the Baptistry of "Bel San Giovanni" in Florence, a structure which Vasari considered to be of ancient origins. The Corinthian columns of this zone are set between pilasters; however, the exterior articulation of the same zone sets the columns between black and white banded piers. However, Vasari's sources were less likely to be drawn from churches, and more likely from civic structures.

Satkowsky remarks that:

"Porticoed structures including administrative offices had been common in Italy throughout the Middle Ages, and they existed wherever a representative form of government permitted the delegation of political power. In medieval Italy, the characteristic form of expression for civic administration was the communal palace. While all palazzi communali are not alike, the Loggia/in Arezzo/ and several of its medieval predecessors share common features; they are located in the
main squares of their respective cities, and their
ground floors are given over to commercial, while
the upper floors were reserved for administrative
space and living quarters."

This medieval practice was still exemplified in nearby
Fiesole in the late **Quattrocento** (1463) **Palazzo Pretorio**.
In the **Palazzo Pretorio** of San Giovanni Valdarno (1296-1299)
which was built as part of a city planned by the Florentines
as a "**terra murata**," or a bastide on the borders of
Florentine territory, in Lucca, in the **Palazzo Pretorio**
(1492) and in the **Palazzo Communale** at Pienza (1460-1464).
(Fig. 39)

During the latter part of the **Quattrocento** Alberti de­
signed and had built one loggia in Florence, the Loggia
Rucellai, in the Via della Vigna, opposite the palace of
the same name. Vasari knew the loggia well; he devoted some
space in his life of Alberti to describing and criticizing
the work. The Loggia Rucellai is a one storey building of
three arches to the front and one to each side, attached to
a neighboring building, and facing at angle the family
palace. It has no **piano nobile** or second floor above the
arches. This loggia bears some resemblance to that of
the **Innocenti**, but,

"Alberti had thought out here, along more
strictly classical lines, the problems Brunelleschi
faced in the facade of the Foundling Hospital...it
would appear that the man who actually built the loggia kept very close to Alberti's design—perhaps because the problem was so clear and simple—so that the loggia is the most Albertian of all his Florentine works.\(^8\)

Vasari may have found fault with the loggia, believing that Alberti lacked experience in turning arches.\(^9\)

Leonardo da Vinci wrote (C.A. 76 v-b) that "il palazzo del principe d'avere davanti una piazza."\(^10\) And, in his ideal city he illustrates his concern for rational structures. A sketch from his notebook, currently in the Institute de France, Paris, shows a building that has some major likenesses to the Uffizi.\(^11\) (Fig. 40) The building flanks one side of the large open space or square. The first floor of the building is graced by a long, unbroken arcade, two floors rise above this loggia, with a small mezzanine just below the cornice. The roof above supports an altana that repeats the loggia of the first floor, but which is moved back somewhat to the rear of the roof. The scheme was part of a project for the Duke of Milan, nothing short of planning a completely new capital for the duchy, one that was to be laid out in a most practical way.\(^12\)

Despite the fact that Leonardo was a Tuscan, he seems to have had little influence on Vasari, due possibly to his long-standing rivalry with Vasari's revered friend and mentor, Michelangelo.
As has been noted, Vasari believed that the works of the Quattrocento, as stated in his quoted life of Alberti, lacked, among other qualities, "experience." He believed that the true and noble science of building had been perfected only in his own century; that he had, in some small measure, some part in establishing that good and true order. He was especially proud of his design for the loggia of the Uffizi, as it represented a return to the true principles of construction. Vasari also described in great detail the constructional devices that he "re-invented" for the architrave of the logge of the Uffizi.¹⁴ (Fig. 41) In general principle he was following the advice of Leonardo, who had written earlier that "l'architrave di piú pezzi é piú potente che qual d'un sol pezzo."¹⁵

For the columns under his "re-invented" architraves Vasari, at the insistence of Duke Cosimo I,¹⁶ chose the Doric Order because:

"The Doric Order was the most massive known to the Greeks, more robust both as to strength and mass, and much less open then their other Orders. And not only the Greeks but the Romans also dedicated this sort of building to those who were warriors, such as generals of armies, consuls, praetors -- and much more often to their gods, as Jove, Mars, Hercules and others. According to the rank and character of these the buildings were carefully distinguished -- made plain or carved, simple or rich -- so that all could recognize the grade and the position of the different dignitaries
to whom they were dedicated, or of him who ordered them to be built. Consequently one sees that the ancients applied much art in the composition of their buildings, that the profiles of the Doric moulding are very graceful and the features harmonious and of a high degree of beauty; and also that the proportions of the shafts of the columns is very well understood, as they are neither too thick nor too thin. The form of the column, as is commonly said, resembles that of Hercules; it shows a certain solidity capable of sustaining the weight of the architraves, friezes, cornices and the rest of the upper parts of the building.\footnote{17}

By Doric, Vasari was really referring to the Tuscan variant of the Doric Order. Serlio, in his \textit{Seventh Book}, illustrated the Tuscan variant of the Doric Order; it has a base, the shaft is unfluted and there is an abacus above the capital. (Fig. 42) Vasari, in one of the few sketches that illustrates his designs of the Uffizi and which has come down to us, shows his attempt at varying the placement of the abacus. The less innovative placement was the one chosen. (Fig. 43) As the Doric Order had been often used by the ancients to honor their high gods, the High Renaissance often used the order to honor the high saints. Bramante used this order in the \textit{Tempietto} dedicated to St. Peter at the church of the same saint "in Montorio." The use of the Doric Order in the loggia of the Uffizi honors the Duke and his ancestors. The capitals of Vasari's Doric Order are almost exactly alike to the Doric capitals
of Sansovino's Venetian Library of San Marco, which would indicate yet another connection with the Venetian fora and their flanking structures.

The piers that also serve as supports for the loggia are somewhat uncanonical in detail. The pilasters attached to the piers are attached to the lateral faces only, and not to the faces fronting the piazza. The piers themselves are pierced by high and shallow arched niches, set above a small inset panel. The niches are the only arched features of the loggia facade. The articulation of the entablature is carried over the face of the piers, and is enriched by additional banding which serves to continue the profile of the capitals across the piers. The germ of this idea can be found in the ultimate bays of the facade, and the lateral bay of the facade of the upper portion of one of the designs that Michelangelo prepared for the church of San Lorenzo. (Fig. 44) This double association with both Michelangelo and the Medici would have made the usage acceptable; that it was found in ancient practice, as in the Forum of Augustus, insured its place in the design vocabulary of the Uffizi. This is one of the very few instances in which Vasari uses this specific architectural feature on an exterior facade. He did not use it in the
utilitarian loggia at Arezzo, nor in the Corridor in Florence. At Pisa fictive niches appear on the facade of the *Palazzo dei Cavalieri* — also commissioned by Duke Cosimo I. For Vasari to have used them at the Uffizi, they needed to have both a practical function and a symbolic value. The inquiry is, for both, resolved by noting that the niches were intended to hold statues of deceased members of the Medici family, in direct imitation of the niches found at the Forum of Augustus. (See Chapter 5) The niches of its hemicycles were arched, while those of the portico were trabeated. Vasari used both types in architectural background in his *disegni*, as the St. Paul Preaching which reveals an arched niche set in an aedicule, (Fig. 45) and in his project for an arch at the entrance to Borgo Ognisanti (Fig. 46) where he uses a trabeated niche with a panel above. The system used at the Uffizi is one based on a selection of elements from both types of design, there Vasari repeats the niches on the interior wall of the loggia. These niches are also arched, and set in a quite complex frame. The niches are set to either side of the centrally placed door of the court-chamber. Below the niche is a large inset panel outlined by a series of mouldings, this in turn supports a shallow
lintel which acts as a base for the niche itself. The niche is set into yet another panel outlined in moulding that is then capped by its own lintel supported on consoles. The upper part of this niche and panel is repeated over the pediment of the central door. In some bays the niches are replaced with windows, with identical framing. The niches are almost exact copies of ones that Michelangelo designed for the Biblioteca Laurenziana; the windows that replace the niches in some bays are also derived from the same source. (Fig. 47) Vasari rejected only the "ears" of the panel space that spread above the consoles of the library design. Vasari prepared two designs, at least, for the doors of the loggia, one with a shelf-lintel, the other with a pediment. (Fig. 48) The one bay that has its central door capped by pediment is that which serves as entrance to the scala which leads to the piano nobile. This serves to distinguish this doorway from those of the court-chambers.\(^{18}\)

If one looks at one bay of the loggia, the rhythm set up in this head-on perspective view is again a zig-zag one. The niches of the outer piers are lower than the niches of the inner walls, while the central doors are at the height of the exterior niches. However, with the overdoor, they are the same height as the flanking niches. The
introduction of this transom re-inforces the ambiguity of the reading of the features, as those nearer at hand are smaller and those further removed are larger. This optical imbalance underscores the zig-zag motion of the applied features seen both as part of the frontal view of the portico and through the column screen of the loggia. (Fig. 49)

The loggia is vaulted, a feature it shares with public buildings in both ancient Rome and contemporary Venice. The vaulting was begun in 1562 and carried forward as each section of the loggia was put in place. The work continued until 1565 when Vasari informed the Duke that：“

"Gia tutti i pilastri della loggia sopra il fiume sono al fine et s'è ordinato allogar gli archi di pietra per finire la volta..."\(^{19}\)

The completed vaulting is that of a long, semi-circular barrel vault, with windows cut into the mezzanine to provide additional light to the interior. The vault is held in place, in part, by the weight of the structure above. (Fig. 38) The vaulting runs the full length of the S. Piero Wing, and the full length of the Zecca Wing, exclusive of the Mint itself.\(^{20}\)

The vaulting of the loggia had to be light and solid; the major preoccupation in the construction of the vault derived from its great length, which was required by the
need for an uninterrupted passage-way under cover. The length of the vault placed great stress on the walls of the interior of the loggia as well as on the supports of the exterior face of the ambulatoria. Noting this problem, Cataldi states that:

"The selection of a barrel vault, correct from a conceptual point of view, posed grave constructional problems due to the fact that the vault was rendered weak because of the discontinuous lateral supports, exactly there, on the exterior wall, where the thrust of the vault cannot be countered as on the walls of the opposite side. Vasari's solution to the problem was indeed ingenious and skillful; he in fact expanded the basic principle of the chain-tie into a true and proper trellis-work frame of metal, the pieces joined to each other and covered by the casting of the vault. Technical this, and in some ways anticipatory, so that, with good reason, this system can be considered a forerunner of the metal frame type of construction."21

Not only was the method used to vault the passageway ingenious, so was the method used to bring extra light into the interior of the portico. As the porticos open on the long narrow piazza, light does not easily shine directly into the interior of these passageways. To solve this problem, Vasari introduced openings into the vault in the form of rectangular windows cut directly into the vault; these openings appear as windows in the mezzanine level of the facade. These openings are found above the two lateral inter-columniation of each bay. The central
intercolumniation, which is the one which corresponds to the central portone of the interior bay, is fronted by a panel which acts as a blind window. These panels, open and closed, are set between consoles which continue the line of the piers and columns of the loggia. Of these Cataldi notes that

"Between the consoles have been placed those low, rectangular openings that perforate 'on the slant' on high the barrel vault of the loggia, focusing the daylight directly on the interior of the chambers/behind the loggia/ by means of the overdoor transoms."22

Vasari followed Alberti’s advice in the use of a trabeated order for the exterior of the loggia; he was also well aware that in antiquity passageways akin to those of the Uffizi had often been vaulted. In Rome the example of the Tabularium, that ancient Record Office, was available to him. The Tabularium has a stone vault set on stone piers.

"The gallery was composed of reduplicated vaulted bays, a method of composition used in many other pre-imperial vaulted buildings."23

There were few antique barrel vaults still standing, and especially rare was a vault placed above a line of columns. However, just such a vaulting could be found at Formia, near Rome, which was coffered at the sides and panelled in the center.24 That this vault was well known seems likely
as the vaulting of the androne of the Palazzo Farnese (1525) by Antonio da San Gallo the Younger exhibits a strong resemblance to the vault at Formia. Vasari was well acquainted with the new Palazzo Farnese, as he himself had prepared an entry for the now famous competition for the palace's cornice, a competition which was won by Michelangelo.

An interest in vaulting appeared early in the Quattrocento. Brunelleschi had resurrected the art of "classical" vaulting in the loggia of the Pazzi Chapel. The central bay of the loggia is crowned by a low saucer dome, the bays to either side of the dome are barrel-vaulted, the vault of which is covered with rich decorative coffers. Brunelleschi did not repeat this usage at the Loggia dei Innocenti, Giuliano da San Gallo vaulted the vestibule of the Sacresty at Santa Spirito in 1493. The vault is a fully developed barrel vault resting on a continuous architrave which is supported by free-standing Corinthian columns which stand in front of the walls. The load of the vault is borne by the shafts, not by the wall. The vault is richly coffered, with unusual circular coffers set in rectangular panels. Vasari attributes the actual work to Andrea da Monte Sansovino, and he writes that
"since the space was very small, Andrea was forced to use great ingenuity. He made, therefore, a structure of grey-stone in the Corinthian order, with twelve round columns, six on each side; and having laid architraves, frieze, and cornice over these columns, he then raised a barrel-shaped vault, all of the same stone, with a coffer-work surface full of carvings which was something novel, rich and varied, and much extolled."27

And much extolled was the vaulting of the Biblioteca di San Marco in Venice. Of this noble work by Jacopo Sansovino, Vasari wrote that

"it is held in great estimation in that city, because it is full of the richest pavements, stuccowork and stories distributed among the halls of the building..."28

Having examined the loggia in some detail, it now remains only to investigate the sources of the articulation that Vasari employed in the facade of the loggia, those piers, pilasters, and columns that march down the perspective of the piazza. The need to find these sources:

"is illuminated by Vasari's remarks on Michelangelo's architecture... No one was ever more convinced than Vasari of the necessity of knowing the rules, but what Vasari admired most was the genius that rose above them. He attributes to Michelangelo the initial demonstration of how this could be done 'working somewhat differently' from those who followed 'the common usage, or Vitruvius. This license has encouraged others to imitate him, and new fantasies have appeared, more like grotesque than regular ornament. Artists are perpetually indebted to Michelangelo who loosed the chains and restraints that inhibited those who walked along the common path.' Vasari is, in another place,
aware of the danger of this liberty, but there is
here an implied disdain for blind obedience to
the rules, only less obvious than his disdain for
the period before the rules were re-established."29

In the light of Vasari's disdain for "blind obedience,"
is is significant that the greater number of sources that
he used were works of his own century, as the products of
the Quattrocento were more of the "common usage," nor did
they display that required variety and novelty Vasari so
highly praised and prized. One relevant example of that
Quattrocento style is found in the upper floor of the
Palazzo Mancini at Cortona, attributed to Antonio San Gallo
il Vecchio. (Fig. 50) The elements of the Uffizi loggia
are here, twin Doric columns set between piers, all ele­
ments supporting an architrave. The differences are also
noteworthy as this arrangement appears on the upper floor
of the palace. This transformation of an altana into a
loggia would have appealed to Vasari's Mannerist sense of
inversion. In this example, there are no niches set into
the piers and the whole facade lacks the maniera that
Vasari so highly prized.

The Cinquecento saw the emergence of a more monumental
architecture. What Bramante had tentatively begun in Milan
during the last quarter of the preceding century, he
brought to full completion in Rome in the first quarter of
the new century. The architects of the Fifteenth century had sought, in their study of classical remains, the correct proportions of the orders, the proper method of laying up a wall, the techniques of throwing a vault, and especially, the approved method of applying the grammar of classical architecture to contemporary works. The architects of this century, beginning with Brunelleschi and including most of the Florentines following him, sought to understand the "rules" of classical architecture by understanding the details of the grammar and syntax of that architecture. To those innovators classical antiquity was synonomous with Rome, as Greek art and architecture were but little known. Of all those architects, only Alberti attempted to penetrate the spirit of that ancient society which had created and perfected that architecture. In his massive frontal and lateral facades for the Tempio Malatestiano (c. 1447) in Rimini, and the interior vaulting of San Andrea in Mantua (c. 1472). Alberti came closer than any other architect of his century to recreating not only the forms but also the spirit of Roman architecture.

"I have made myself perfect master of every contrivance or invention that had been used in those Roman remains..."\(^{31}\)

The triumphal arch of the facade, joined to the acqueduct-like arch of the lateral faces of the Rimini church are a
direct re-evocation of the palpable spirit of antiquity, solid, massive, monumental, even majestic; but still not correct. There are many solecisms caused by the attempt to adapt an ancient model to current church needs.

"Naturally the reference to ancient models, for the general composition, could not be absolutely rigorous, since pre-existing structures and modern distributive needs had to be taken into account..." Alberti came much closer to a correct usage of the forms of antiquity in his truly daring design for the aforementioned church of San Andrea in Mantua. In this, perhaps his most impressive work, Alberti created a massive barrel vault, firmly anchored to a series of perforated piers which separated smaller transverse barrel vaults abutting the vault of the nave. "Alberti was consciously modelling his interior on the great Roman baths." The design has the fullness of scale of the Basilica of Maxentius (Constantine) in Rome. The vault of the Mantuan church may be seen, may be considered as the culmination of the search of the architects of the Quattrocento for a more "Roman" architecture.

What Alberti understood only imperfectly, Bramante entered into fully. He alone re-created the forms of classical architecture, in their proper and correct guise,
but also comprehended the spirit that informed that architecture.

"We know from Vasari that he spent a great deal of time exploring the remains in Rome and in the surrounding countryside, and it is safe to say that the gauntness and sheer physical size of many of these ruins were what impressed him most."36

What Vasari termed the "common usage" was that usage which grew out of the labors of Bramante, and which became the "rules" that many of the architects of the High Renaissance faithfully followed.

"This Bramante...fits into the line of the post-Albertian research into the grading and arranging of the models that made up the heritage of architectural classicism. Bramante, however, pushed this research far beyond the point where his contemporaries had aimed to arrive, and transformed the process of questioning classicism. Thus he gave rise to a hope for a complete realization of the classical ideal, and at the same time demonstrated the contradictory character of this ideal. Hence, the extreme tension of his experiences, the goal of fifteenth century endeavour and point of departure for subsequent activity."37

The architecture that he, and they, evolved was an architecture of serene harmony, correct proportions, and monumental scale. One need but compare the cortile of the Palazzo Ducale at Urbino, or even that of the Cancelleria in Rome, (Fig. 51) with the unfinished cortile of the Palazzo Venezia (c. 1465), to understand how far the
Quattrocento had advanced in the understanding of the forms of classical architecture. If these be compared to the cloister of S. Maria della Pace in Rome (c. 1504), or Bramante's plan for St. Peter's, it becomes quite obvious that Quattrocento grace and refinement gave way to Cinquecento majesty and monumentality. It was from this tradition, short as it was, that Vasari drew his inspiration — it was this tradition that informed the works of those architects who had a profound influence on Vasari and on the design of the loggia — of them it is necessary to mention only Peruzzi, Giulio Romano and Pirro Ligorio. Their Roman works, filtered through Vasari's reverence for the works of Michelangelo, provided those sources from which the loggia ultimately derives.

In the loggia Vasari achieved a near-monumentality not found in any of his other works. The forms have a full, rounded, plastic, tactile quality that derive from Bramante, in such works as the Nymphaeum at Genazzano. (Fig. 52) In the loggia portion of the facade of the Uffizi, Vasari comes as close as his Tuscan temperament will allow to the full-bodied forms of the High Renaissance.

Yet, in another sense, it may be argued that Vasari never fully comprehended the plasticity of the Roman models,
and that, rather, he was responding less to the Roman works of Bramante and more to the Florentine works of Michelangelo; as the loggia may also be viewed as the direct and literal descendent of Michelangelo's early Florentine works, especially the interior of the Ricetto which Vasari knew well. The Doric Order of the Ricetto is repeated in the portico of the Uffizi, the attenuated form of the piers and brittle profile of the architrave derive from the works of Michelangelo at San Lorenzo. Vasari was never quite able to abandon the linearity of his Tuscan tradition, nor did he choose to disregard the bitonal coloration frequent in Tuscan architecture since such color usage had been sanctioned by Brunelleschi. His training and development was firmly rooted, in the linear approach of the Tuscan school. Yet his architecture is painterly, but in the Florentine mode. Though he extolled and admires the Roman school, he was never able to participate fully in its spirit; for him it was too powerful, too bold, too forceful, and much too monochromatic. He is to be admired for fusing such elements of his Tuscan tradition as were compatible to that which he admired and appreciated of the Roman, and that the buildings that he provided for his client the Duke were sensitive to the matrix in which they
found themselves. He is to be admired also for the sensible way in which he selected only those monumental Roman forms that were compatible with Florentine practices. But just what were some of those Roman sources that provided the forms he fused to the Florentine ones?

In the preceding chapter (Chapter 6) the link between the Uffizi and the Palazzo dei Conservatori at the Capitol in Rome was noted, indeed stressed. This Roman work most likely served as a primary model when Vasari came to plan the Uffizi. The lower level of the Palazzo dei Conservatori is in many ways the prototype of the loggia of the Uffizi. As both buildings were intended to serve public governmental functions, and as both had been commissioned by a ruling prince of the respective cities in which they are located, the dependence of the Florentine project on the Roman model need not be over-stressed. There were in Rome other works, also of princely (or papal) commission that were contemporary with the Uffizi and which may have exerted some influence on Vasari and on his design of the loggia of the Uffizi. Of those buildings that rose in Rome after the Sack, perhaps none was as individual, as the Palazzo Massimo alle Colonne. The most pronounced feature of the facade of the new palace was the portico which marked the
center of the first floor, standing before the **portone**. Above the portico, at the level of the **piano nobile**, is a range of windows with balconies below and shelf-lintles above. The two further floors are pierced by small windows set in strap-work frames. (Fig. 53)

"The elevation of the facade is surprising in its contrast between the free-standing columns of the loggia and the flat walls of the upper stories."\(^{39}\)

The portico is built on a slightly curving plane, as is the entire facade. The articulation of the ground-level storey is unusual and complex. As at Alberti's Palazzo Rucellai, the rusticated wall is relieved by engaged pilasters of the Doric Order; the pilasters are set in pairs with small windows set between the coupled pilasters in the intervening wall space. The space, however, is so constricted that the pilasters can be read, in the Mannerist manner, either as coupled with a narrow band of space between them, or as frames for the windows. The placement of the pilasters may derive from another possibly Albertian work, the Cancelleria, a few paces down the same street, where just such doubled pilasters flank the many windows. At the Palazzo Massimi, at the point where the solid lateral walls give way to the pierced screen of the loggia, the articulation becomes more complex and ambiguous.
still. The pilaster closest to the portico is coupled with the portico's first free-standing full-round Doric column. The space between the pilaster and column is equal to the space between the paired pilasters. The space, again, between this configuration and the paired full-round Doric columns of the center of the portico is the same as the space allotted to the window-bearing walls. The interior of the portico is rich and majestic; the corner pilasters frame six free-standing Doric columns, one each at the outer bays standing in conjunction with the pilaster, and two each framing the inner and central bay. The central bay, flanked by paired full-round, free-standing columns serves as the frame for the main entrance to the palazzo; the portico serves as a pronaos in antis to the inner sanctum of the residence. The effect of this portico, raised on steps above the street, with skillfully placed columns standing out against the penumbra of the recess, is as brilliant as it is unusual. Yet the heavy coupled columns perform a logical architectural function, as they clearly support the heavy mass of superimposed wall.

Vasari, in his Life of Peruzzi said that

"while living in Rome, also, he made the design for the house of the Massimi, drawn in an oval form, with a new and beautiful manner of building; and for the facade he made a vestibule of Doric columns showing great art and good
proportions, with a beautiful distribution of detail in the court and in the disposition of the stairs."42

Vitruvius, in his description of a Roman house, says,

"Nobles, however, and those in authority and honor having to render service to the citizens, require royal vestibules, lofty atria, and spacious peristyli."43

Following Vitruvius' dictates, Peruzzi re-created the portico of a noble Roman domus, the function of which bore some parallels to the function of the loggia of the Uffizi.44 Peruzzi was well aware of the writings, and of the remains of antiquity, however:

"In the palazzo the ideal of a rebirth of antiquity has been replaced by a different conception of architectural beauty. The effect of the facade does not come from its harmonious balance, but from its wealth of contrast. The architrave of the ground floor rests on columns in the middle, on pilasters on the sides; the spacious loggia is flanked by solid walls... while the restication contrasts with the lavish decoration in the interior of the loggia."45

In the interior of the palace, which Vasari refers to as a "house," is the cortile, linked to the portico by a long, decorated passageway or corridoio. The relationship between the facade and the cortile must be understood in order to fully comprehend the sweep of the total design. The entrance to the palazzo leads through a corridor which runs from the center of the portico in the facade to the side of the cortile. The facade has four, the cortile three storeys. On the facade the Doric columns appear as
coupled, in the cortile as single. In the portico the ceiling is flat, in the cortile it is barrel-vaulted. The articulation of the cortile is so similar to that of the portico of the Uffizi that it is tempting to state that this inner facade, more than any other work, served as a model, as the model, for several parts of the Uffizi. The first floor of the cortile has on one side a loggia and at the other, a matching loggia. The two porticoes are connected by solid walls to either side that repeat the articulation of the logge. (Fig. 54) The loggia closer to the entrance is of two storeys. The lower loggia is of the Doric Order; two free-standing Tuscan-Doric columns are framed by corner pilasters. The architrave is unadorned, lacking triglyphs and metopes; small guttae support the frieze. Above the architrave a band of plain wall is broked by three oblong openings, one over each bay, set above the columnar interspaces. These openings light the barrel vault of the loggia; the wall in which these openings are placed contains the abutment of the vault and acts as a base for the loggia of the second level. When seen in an elevation study, the relationship between this cortile and the Uffizi loggia is rendered even more clear. (Fig. 55) The elements that make up the loggia, the mezzanine and the piano nobile of
the Uffizi are all anticipated in the cortile of the Palazzo Massimi. Only lacking is the upper loggia -- which might have also existed had Peruzzi constructed the cortile to correspond more closely in height to the facade. The cortile corresponds, however, almost exactly to Vitruvius' "rule" that the width of the atrium should be two-thirds its length. 49

The use of the Doric Order for the ground level of a palace had been well established both in antiquity and in the Renaissance. San Gallo recorded their use in Roman basilicae, the remains of the Colosseum were clear proof of that usage in antiquity, the meaning being always the same, that of strength and durability. Giulio Romano, in the Palazzo del Te in Mantua, in his bizarre use of the Order negated that intrinsic meaning. However, he also maintained the tradition of using the Doric as a base order. 50 If the task of the mannerist architect is to balance licenzia and ragione then Pirro Ligorio erred on the side of licenzia. Ligorio began for Paul IV a small villa, the Casino Pia, in 1559 almost at exactly the same time that Vasari began to plan the Uffizi. 51

"At the center of the complex is an oval courtyard, the surrounding wall is interrupted on the narrow side by the small gatehouses through which the visitor enters the villa,
and on the long side by the architraved loggias."

What is of concern here is the articulation of the "architraved loggias." The loggia on the uphill side serves as a vestibule to the two-storey casino; (Fig. 56) the lower loggia, a one-storey hall, has a tall, pedimented attic. Both logge recall the portico of Peruzzi's Palazzo Massimi alle Colonne, however, here the columns are not paired, recalling rather the cortile of that same palace. They also prefigure the single columns of the Uffizi. The interior of the one-storey casino is vaulted, in a manner that also brings to mind the interior vaulting of the porticoes of the Uffizi.

Vasari drew upon many models, used many sources to devise his plans for the loggia; he was simply following a long-standing practice.

"This attitude towards architectural models can only be understood as the belief that the sum of many good individual features will add up to the best, to that which cannot be surpassed."

In turn the loggia that Vasari designed became a model for other architects, who transposed its exterior features to an interior position as in the Cortile degli Imperatori by Allori (c. 1575) in Florence. (Fig. 57)
"Like the Early Renaissance family loggia, the Late Renaissance 'public' loggia once again became the realm of the aristocracy and those who worked for it."
In its first aspect the facade demands beauty and grandeur, and should be divided as is the face of a man. The door must be low down, and in the middle, as in the head the mouth of a man..., the windows for the eyes, one on this side, one on that, observing always parity, that there be as much ornament, and as many arches, columns, pilasters, niches, jutting windows or any other sort of enrichment on this side as on that...


CHAPTER EIGHT
The Piano Nobile of the Uffizi

Vasari could not know those massive and impressive remains of antiquity which were not to come to light for some time yet. Nor could he know those remains that were still unexplored and still unexamined in those parts of the Roman Empire outside Italy. Vasari did travel extensively, but only within Italy. In Italy, those examples still extant of Rome's architectural greatness and genius were in large measure temples, tombs, trophies and utilitarian structures. Nothing but memories remained of patrician domus, or plebeian insulae; the Imperial palace was a ruin half hidden by a garden. Equally hidden were
whole sections of the *Urbs*, still slumbering while awaiting the archeologists' spade. Of Roman temples, few still possessed either their complete and original exterior, or their interior arrangement. Only the noble Pantheon contradicted that sad state. Other than its interior, the interiors of Roman temples could be known only, and imperfectly, through fanciful recreations, or through architects' speculations. There were few facades surviving from antiquity, and few intact interiors. The motif that Vasari used for the articulation of the *piano nobile* had been part of the grammar of antique architecture; Vasari, however, could have known the antique sources of that motif only imperfectly. Indeed, he was in large measure dependent on literary and artistic reconstructions of that motif which provided him with an inadequate idea of the scale and use of the antique exemplars.¹

At the Uffizi, the characteristic feature of the *piano nobile* is the closely spaced trio of windows set between pilaster-strips which rest on the consoles of the mezzanine. (Fig. 58) The windows have balconies below and pediments above; the pediments above the two lateral windows are triangular, that above the central window is segmental.
"In accordance with the Renaissance theory of decorum and appropriateness, the use of the classic pediment had often been the subject of discussion. Alberti in the middle of the fifteenth century associated the pediment particularly with the temple and warned that a private house should not bear a large pediment, which might rival that of a temple, but that the vestibule of the house if raised above the rest of the structure might have a small pediment (bk IX Ch IV). Vasari, likewise reports that when Baccio d'Agnolo decorated the facade of his Palazzo Bartolini in Florence with rectangular, pedimented windows and a columnar portal, the Florentines scorned the design as 'more like the facade of a church than a palace.'"2

The pedimented windows of the Uffizi could have been derived from such antique sources as the interior of Hadrian's Temple of Venus and Rome,3 the interior of the audience chamber of the Domus Augustana,3 the interior of the Temple of Diana at Nimes. All these interiors had been either lost or were little known to Vasari, only the interior of the Pantheon remained in its pristine state, providing a major example, in its curved interior, of the classic use of aediculae with alternating pediments.

The architectural traditions of antiquity survived in some small measure throughout the long twilight of the middle ages -- such renascences as the Carolingian and Ottonian revivals and the aborted rebirth of antiquity during the reign of Federick II Stupor Mundi.4 All
attempted to rekindle the forces of antiquity, but tended to appropriate only those forms that had some immediate symbolic meaning. The hybrid Castello del Monte in Apulia that Frederick II had built is a curious combination of Gothic vaults and towers to which was applied an inaccurate and ill-proportioned aedicular portone, fitted out with fluted pseudo-classical pilasters supporting a steep-angled pediment. The Florentine proto-renaissance re-established the primacy of the pedimented aedicule applied to both doors and windows; such a device was applied, with alternating pediments, to the upper storey windows of the exterior of the Baptistry, a structure which Vasari considered "antique." It was not until the emergence of the Early Renaissance in Florence that this motif assumed a symbolic importance based in large measure, on its derivation from the grammar of classic architecture.

Brunelleschi, as usual, first among the first, placed a series of small windows, capped with pediments, above the loggia of the Innocenti, which gave to the motif the imprimatur of the founder and father of Renaissance architecture. The form was used repeatedly as both an external and internal architectural element, mostly in church structures, during the cours of the Quattrocento.
Giuliano da San Gallo used the motif in his design for a facade for San Lorenzo in Florence (Fig. 59), a drawing of which was collected by Vasari for his *Libro de'Disegni, Architettura*. Its use for the greater part of a century had been as a portal or fenestral feature in sacral structures only, its similarity to the classic temple front permitting of use only in the "temples" of the new dispensation.

The use of the pediment in secular structures began early in the *Cinquecento*. Antonio da San Gallo the Younger applied alternating pediments to the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo Farnese (c. 1535), Raphael had used them even earlier in the *piano nobile* of the Palazzo Branconio, and the divine Michelangelo applied the device to the Palazzo Senatorio on the Roman Capitol. The alternating pediment was late in making its appearance in Italian Renaissance architecture; its use was due to those architects of the High Renaissance who had begun to re-interpret and re-evaluate the remains of antiquity. Those architects, San Gallo, Raphael, and especially Michelangelo gave the form an authority that permitted Vasari to employ it in the design of the facade of the *piano nobile* of the Uffizi.
The construction process of the piano nobile took more than twelve years. In August of 1572 Vasari wrote to Duke Cosimo that

"all'\'i Magistrati la facciata di testa é piú che mezza finita et tutti i Magistrati della Bande di S. Piero Scheraggio ci sono tornati; ho dato principaio alla scala che saglie alla sala nuova et quella si mattona tutta via."\(^7\)

The completed facade of the piano nobile is based, as is the portico below it, on a module which is repeated without alteration in each bay of both wings of the twin palaces. The piano nobile consists of two horizontal layers, the fictive mezzanine and the actual piano nobile, and their vertical elements, the oblong openings of the mezzanine and the window of the piano nobile.\(^8\) These elements are framed by consoles on the mezzanine, and pilaster-strips in the piano nobile. The mezzanine bays are divided into three compartments, each of which is occupied by an oblong opening, framed by a simple band moulding. The opening to either end of the bay is pierced to give light to the barrel vault of the loggia. The central opening is blind (See: Chapter Seven, The Loggia). Each bay is framed at either end by delicate consoles which are paired above the piers of the loggia; the central opening is framed by consoles, one to either
side, placed above the Doric columns of the loggia. The mezzanine is a "false front" for the barrel vault of the lower loggia and no chambers open behind this portion of the facade. (Fig. 60) Rather, the upper portion of the magistrates' courts occupy the mezzanine space up to the crown of the vault of the loggia. Because of this the mezzanine could be discussed as part of the loggia, but visually the loggia is terminated by a strongly profiled entablature that severs the lower from the upper portion of the facade, and which serves as a definite base for the mezzanine. The mezzanine is also separated from the piano nobile by a cornice, which, like the entablature below breaks out in a reseault over the piers. The division between mezzanine and piano nobile is far less pronounced than is that between the mezzanine and the loggia. Further, the mezzanine and the piano nobile share the same material and color tone.

The piano nobile, exclusive of the mezzanine, consists of two distinct series of chambers, one above the barrel vault of the loggia, the other above the curial chambers. Those chambers above the vaulting are no wider than the width of the vault, kept small and light so as not to exert any undue pressure on the vault below. These chambers are set back to back above the vault,
and can be reached only through the "officine ducali." It is this series of small chambers that backs the facade of the piano nobile; the chambers are illuminated by the triple windows of each bay. Each bay is marked

"con la meccanica alternanza della grandi finestre a timpano triangolare ed arcuato."  

These large windows are set in recessed panels, separated one from the other by pilaster-strips which are as broad as the piers, or as narrow as the columns of the loggia, more exactly, as broad or as narrow as the consoles set above the piers and columns of the loggia. Vasari followed Vitruvius in this use of pilaster-strips, as the ancient author advised that

"above the architraves and regularly dispersed on supports directly over the capitals, piers are placed three feet high and four feet broad each way, above them in placed the projecting cornice round about..."  

Clearly the consoles of the mezzanine correspond to the squat piers advocated by Vitruvius, who goes on to say that "above them are other pilasters, eighteen feet high, two feet broad and a foot thick..." These pilasters just as clearly correspond to the pilaster-strips that Vasari
used to divide bay from bay, and window from window within each bay of each palazzetto of the Uffizi. These pilaster-strips seem to support "the beam supporting the principal raftering." This "beam" corresponds to the cornice that terminates the piano nobile and serves, in turn, as a base for the altana above. The altana is also prefigured in Vitruvius in what that author calls "a second tier of columns" in his description of his own design for the basilica at Fano.

The windows are framed in simple mouldings, at their base are balconies that fill the entire space between the pilaster-strips, and which also act as a balustrade above the mezzanine. The window frame is linear and severe (Fig. 61), clearly indebted to a design by Michelangelo for a series of windows for the Library of San Lorenzo. (Fig. 62) Just as clearly, the Vasarian version is far less imaginative, far less individualistic than Michelangelo's prototype.

The ambiguity that was noted in the arrangement of elements in the portico (See: Chapter Seven, The Loggia), is re-enforced and repeated in the piano nobile. Rather than solve that ambiguity, Vasari intensifies it in a manner both more obvious, and at the same time, more
subtle. Ambiguity in architecture was, as in painting, a mark of the artist's ability to create a sense of bewilderment, in the unschooled observer, a sense of wonder among the "cognoscenti," who knew that the "rules" were being subtly altered in such a manner as to heighten wonderment.

"The final appeal to the eye is typical of Florentine Mannerist painting and of Vasari's outlook. For the group of artists which he represented, painting had ceased to be the intensely serious intellectual pursuit that it had been for the artists of the High Renaissance. It had become, rather, a game of skill, appealing to a love of ingenuity and leaving the rational faculties undisturbed."

What was true of Vasari and his circle for painting, held true also for architecture. However, it is far more difficult to appeal to a "love of ingenuity" in the observation of a work of architecture, as the art requires, by its very nature, some reassurances for the "rational faculties" of the observer. The work must conform to the basic laws of statics, and to all those other laws to which the art of architecture is subject. Despite these laws Vasari was able to introduce elements into his design for the piano nobile, that optically contravene those laws in the eye of the sophisticated viewer. To the uninitiated the structure conforms to all the required laws of physics without seeming to violate any; to the knowing
the laws are skillfully altered in a controlled display of sprezzatura. 17

"In a letter to Aretino Vasari, speaking of a painting he had executed, says 'as you well can see, I have painted a group of naked figures fighting to show my skill in the art and secondly to follow the story.' 18

This quote could just as easily be paraphrased by having Vasari state that his design for the Uffizi was based on his need to "show his skill" in the art of architecture, and then secondly to follow the practical and utilitarian need of the structure. His skill was tempered by his Florentine background. Vasari eschewed the more flamboyant approach of Giulio Romano or the scenographic one of Pirro Ligorio. Rather, the complexity of the facade is controlled, less obvious, muted, and quietly executed.

Above the heavy architrave of the loggia Vasari placed the mezzanine which is logically made to seem light so as to avoid the appearance of a great weight pressing down on the entablature; he even perforated the wall with oblong openings which are separated from each other by consoles. The consoles are made to seem to bear the weight of the piano nobile above. However, these consoles are slight and slim, fluted and hung in reverse, appearing to be attached to the facade as decorative elements, while
being placed in strategic load-bearing positions. The consoles seem to slip down the facade, the single ones abutting on the architrave, creating the impression of a weight pressing down on the entablature of the loggia. The paired consoles above the piers spring from the resseauxs of the entablature, they in turn support the elegant resseauxs of the cornice above, which serves as a support for the doubled pilaster-strips of the piano nobile. These consoles seem too frail to support the cornice as the dwelling of the consoles take place mid-way up their surface then tapering into small, flat impost-blocks above their abbreviated capitals. This projection is so slight as to seem too weak to support the weight of the cornice, from which the single consoles, in the center of the bay, seem to hang. In this zone, Vasari sets up that zig-zig motion which was encountered in the loggia and in its rear wall as seen through the tabeated screen of columns. The consoles are not sufficiently robust to support the floor above, but are sufficiently dense to seem to be pressing down on the supports below. The broad consoles are half-concealed by the resseauxs of the architrave; the narrow consoles are far more visible. Therefore, the broad consoles, placed where support is most needed, seem, despite their being coupled, incapable of performing their task. The narrow
consoles, placed where support is less needed, look over-heavy for their function and imply an increased weight on the architrave at its most vulnerable points. Vasari accomplished this feat of ambiguity without altering the design of the broad from the narrow consoles. He accomplished his ends in a painterly way, with the use of shadow and light which gives differing values to the same object.

This inversion is repeated in the piano nobile itself by the several subtle distortions that Vasari introduced in the pilaster-strips. The end pilaster-strips are doubled to correspond to the width of the piers of the loggia and the coupled consoles of the mezzanine. These pilaster-strips seem to be two independent supports rising from the cornice of the mezzanine and terminating at the cornice of the piano nobile. In fact they are unitary supports in which the upper and lower quarters are joined, creating what is, in reality, a single pilaster-strip relieved by an inset panel. The cornice of the piano nobile breaks out over these pilaster-strips and serves as "capitals" for the strips, the same device as had occurred in the mezzanine. What appears to be single pilaster-strips set over the line of free-standing columns are, on closer
inspection, seen to be the spaces between the recessed panels in which are set the windows. As the balconies of the windows conceal the lower register of these panels, the space between the panels seems to be the lower footing of the pilaster-strips. This deception is revealed only in the upper quarter of the facade of this zone, where the pilaster-strip is transformed into the outer edge of the inset panels in which the windows are placed.

The window profile is highly pronounced, as the aedicules extend away from the plane of the facade in almost full high relief, casting the inset panels even further back into the wall of the facade and obscuring even further the dichotomy of the center pilaster-strips. The profile of the windows, in conjunction with the wall behind, sets up an undulating motion that ripples vertically across the facade of the piano nobile, contrasting with the zig-zag motion of the mezzanine. This undulating motion is repeated in the resseauts of the architrave of the loggia and the cornices above, where it is contrasted to the zig-zag motion of the loggia's inner wall articulation.

Vasari then repeats the conundrum that affects the reading of the loggia. The end pilaster-strips serve the
same confounding purpose as do the piers, as they do not logically separate one full bay from another and cleanly delineate it. Rather, because of the inset panels placed within the pilaster-strips, they seem to belong entirely to one three-windowed palazzetto only, so that the adjoining three-windowed bays to either side seem bereft of support from either below or within the bay. This reading of the palazzetti is further confused by the resseauts of the architrave and cornices, which force one bay into prominence, and the adjoining bays into recession, reasserting, on a larger scale, the undulating rhythm set up within each bay itself. Despite the appearance of several types of "motion" or "rhythm" the facade manages, perversely, to remain static, almost still, as though rendering homage to the Palazzo Ducale. This architectural homage is achieved because "The art of Florence in the mid-sixteenth century is...a pure court art..."19

There is one other ambiguity that need be noted. The loggia makes reference to classic Roman architecture, to the basilicae that framed ancient fora; the mezzanine makes reference to both classic and "modern" architecture; the piano nobile makes reference largely only to "modern" architecture, and especially to the works of Michelangelo.
There is, therefore, another dichotomy set up between the classic loggia all'antica and the piano nobile in the best approved modern maniera. The conflict, or as Vasari would have stated it, the union, of the classic and the current is not resolved but rather re-enforced.

Vasari believed that it was not only possible but commendable to combine the best features of classic and contemporary architecture. Indeed, his paintings consistently include references to both ancient and modern works of art. By contemporary, or "modern," Vasari would no doubt have meant, the works of the High Renaissance and their successors as opposed to those of the earlier period. Vasari's theory of artistic "progress" was as simple as it was "natural;" he believed in the steady progress of the arts from their fortunate re-birth in Florence at the beginning of the Quattrocento. Once re-born, the arts were, in his view, systematically improved through the labors of those artists, drawn mostly from Tuscany, who guided the arts through a "childhood," an "adolescence" and a "maturity" which reached its apogee in Michelangelo. What the arts had striven for during this long development was, among other qualities, grazia.

"The critical feature in the whole of Vasari's theory is the appearance of the new quality of grace, la grazia...with Vasari it
takes on a quite new function; it is distinguished from beauty and even contrasted with it...beauty is a rational quality dependent on rules, whereas grace is an indefinable quality dependent on judgement. \(^2\)

Grace can be achieved through the judicious selection of elements from the "best" works of art, which was not, or only imperfectly done during the **Quattrocento**. Of which period Vasari states that

"In proportion there was wanting a certain correctness of judgement, by means of which their figures, without having been measured, might have, in due relation to their dimensions, a grace exceeding measurement." \(^2\)

Vasari thought of all the arts being interrelated, what applied to one applied to all, architecture being no exception. All the arts were subject to the same evolution in almost equal stages of development. It comes, then, as no surprise that when casting about for inspiration for the design of the piano nobile Vasari would have turned his attention almost exclusively to models drawn from his own century; and in large measure from the two centers that he knew best and that he considered the outstanding homes of the Muses in his century -- Florence and Rome.

For ancient sources for the mezzanine Vasari turned to Rome, to the attic storey of the Forum of Nerva (Forum
Transitorium) which, in his day, lay half-buried below ground. The upper portion of a part of the colonnade was visible; the Corinthian columns support a rich entablature with a carved frieze. The entablature breaks out over the columns in an exaggerated resséauxs. Set between the extended beams of the entablature, the attic storey is divided into three panels, the side panels are blind, the center panel carries a sculptured figure in high relief.

Of equal, if not greater, importance is the antique attic storey of the Forum of Augustus — a work of special significance to Vasari — with carried supporting a flat lintel. Between the free-standing female supports are sculptured inset panels with divinities and/or heroes set on shields.

The mezzanine also had a probable source in several modern works, all by Michelangelo. The consoles are derived, without reservation, from the Ricetto of the Laurenziana, where they are placed in the same location, and bear the same structural references to the supports above as to the consoles of the mezzanine. (Fig. 63)

At the Ricetto the consoles appear below the Doric columns; at the Uffizi Vasari inverts the relationship, placing them above the columns of the loggia. The mezzanine's oblong openings are derived in large measure from the inset panels
above the blind windows of the Ricetto, as well as from
the upper panels over the windows within the reading room
of the Laurentian library itself. (Fig. 64)

Reference has been made to Peruzzi's cortile design
for the Palazzo Massimi in Rome. 26 (See: Chapter Seven,
The Loggia) From another Roman palace was drawn a similar
motif. The third level of the cortile of the Palazzo
Farnese, that designed by Michelangelo, exhibits an oblong,
deeply indented blind window below the richly framed
fenestration of this range. (Fig. 65) The windows are
set between engaged Corinthian pilasters; the blind panels
below the windows are set between squat pilasters which
serve as a base for the pilasters above, somewhat akin to
the placement of such elements recommended by Vitruvius
and noted earlier. This placement of blind-window panel
and full window is simply an inversion of the order that
Michelangelo had developed in his earlier work at the
Laurenziana in Florence.

The piano nobile derives almost completely from
Cinquecento architecture, with some few exceptions. The
use of the double pilaster-strip had precedents in the
Lungotevere facade of Peruzzi's Farnesina (c. 1509-1511),
(Fig. 66). Indeed, several elements of the Uffizi are
prefigured in the Farnesina. The Doric Order pilasters of the lower floor are related to the Doric Order of the Loggia; the windows of the piano nobile are fronted by balconies as in the piano nobile of the Uffizi; the attic storey is divided into bays by double pilaster-strips, each bay containing an oblong opening, as the consoles separate the oblong openings of the mezzanine of the Uffizi. The attic storey may prefigure or suggest both the mezzanine and the altana of the Uffizi. This early work of Peruzzi is more in sympathy with Vasari's taste as is far more "Florentine" than are his other Roman works, it is more linear, static, compartmentalized, and repetitive than are his more "Manneristic" or "proto-Baroque" later palaces, such as the aforementioned Palazzo Massimi.

The piers of the loggia, as well as the pilaster-strips of the piano nobile bear some resemblance to a sketch of Antonio da San Gallo the younger for the church of San Biagio in Montepulciano. This sketch formed part of Vasari Libro di Disegno for works of architecture. (Fig. '67) However, due to Michelangelo's active dislike for the entire San Gallo clan, that setta sangallesca as he dubbed them, Vasari no doubt gave less attention to the mature works of that talented and industrious family than
indeed they deserved. Vasari did give great attention to the works of Michelangelo and it is to him that Vasari was most indebted for the features of the piano nobile, most especially the triple windows. Concerning the origins of the Uffizi, Murray states flatly that

"the rest of the building is little more than a repetition of motifs invented by Michelangelo for the Biblioteca Laurenziana some forty years earlier."27

Michelangelo had first used the triple windows format at the Pergamo of San Lorenzo (c. 1526-1531). The side windows bear shelf lintels, the center window a pediment, they are set side by side between two encrusted terminal pilasters. (Fig. 68) The windows of the Laurenziana are somewhat different as they are all uniformly capped with segmental pediments (Fig. 69), each set into its own recessed panel, not unlike the panels found at the Uffizi. (Fig. 70) The exterior elevation of the library shows that only on the exterior of the nearby Ricetto are the windows so grouped as to seem arranged as a group of three. (Fig. 71) This reflects the internal arrangement of the Ricetto, explaining the slight difference in the width of wall between the windows of the Ricetto and those of the Laurentian reading room proper. In view of the older walls of the substructure, Michelangelo
"had to reduce the weight of the reading room walls as much as he possibly could. By the system of the frames and layers in the articulation of the walls, the volume of the weight of the intervening bays between the pilasters was reduced to a minimum. Thus the pilasters act as the front of the pier-like sections of the wall between the windows, which actually support the ceiling and take on a genuine structural function."^28

However, it is to the interior of the Ricetto that we must turn to discover the motifs used on the exterior of the piano nobile of the Uffizi. It is a fitting Mannerist conceit to invert an interior wall treatment into an exterior wall facade. Vasari chose as his primary model the upper range of the interior of the Ricetto, with some differences. Vasari substituted pilaster-strips recommended by Vitruvius for the encased columns of the Ricetto; Vasari placed the doubled pilasters at the end of the bay, the single at the center, in direct opposition to the usage at the Ricetto. The alternating pediments of the Ricetto are reversed at the Uffizi, the segmental pediment appearing over the center window, the triangular over the side windows. At the Ricetto the triangular pediment is placed over the center aedicule. Vasari also altered the placement of the panels over the windows of the Ricetto; he placed his panels below the
windows of the *piano nobile* at the Uffizi. As with the columns, the arrangement of the consoles is altered at the Uffizi, where single consoles appear between the center openings, double to the outer edge of the side openings. At the *Ricetto* the consoles are paired under the center columns, single at the edge of the wall. It must also be noted that Vasari mounted these elements above the supports of the loggia, unlike their placement at the *Ricetto* above the plain, blank wall.²⁹

Vasari may have chosen this design by Michelangelo as the basis for his modeling of the facade because both the library and its *Ricetto* "achieve a dramatic expressiveness which is quite unclassic,"³⁰ an expressiveness which Vasari was attempting to achieve at the Uffizi.

There was also in Florence the pedimented windows at a palace Raphael is said to have designed for the Pandolfini (c. 1516). In reality it is more nearly a villa or exurban retreat than an urban palace. (Fig. 72)

"The Palazzo Pandolfini...has two storeys, like Raphael's Roman Palazzi and their windows have aedicules..."³¹

The facade by Raphael does not have intervening supports between the windows, nor does it have intervening supports between the windows, nor does it have a mezzanine; but
more important, it is of too great a breadth, which would have been impossible to duplicate in the constricted space allotted the Uffizi! Obviously derived from the Palazzo Pandolfini, the Palazzo Larderel (c. 1560) in Florence by Giovanni Antonio Dosio shows the breadth of the original, but due to its urban setting, seems closer in spirit to the facades of the individual palazzetti of the Uffizi.

Despite the presence of a major work by Raphael, Vasari turned to the works of his revered mentor Michelangelo for his architectural inspiration. Though arranged somewhat differently at the Uffizi, the motifs of the Ricetto reappear in Vasari's Uffizi facades. As Vasari expounded the ideas of Michelangelo, whose authority is stressed and quoted often in the Lives, and whose works he expounded as the foundations of every law of art, it is not surprising that Vasari quoted his master in words and in stone more often than he paraphrased any other artist.

Vasari's own design for the piano nobile of the Uffizi was to be quoted in Borgo S. Sepolcro, by an unknown architect, in the Palazzo Laudi (c. 1591-1609). The sophisticated, if derivative, forms of the urban, and urbane Florentine palace are here quoted in a provincial
accent, charming yet retardaire. (Fig. 73) Vasari, in
the facade of the piano nobile achieved a synthesis between
a "public" and a "private" palace. The use of the triple
windows as a unitary motif linked the palace to urban
palace facades in Rome and in Florence, while at the same
time it made reference to public structures in both those
cities. Analogously, the Uffizi can be read as a series
of individual palazzetti, or as one large, long unified
palazzo. The architectural elements, in typical Mannerist
manner, allow of both readings. Satkowski comments on
this accomplishment in writing that

"Vasari's most important contributions to
architecture were the ability to provide
specific solutions to the unique building
needs of the Tuscan State and the facility
to take on large scale projects which would
be responsive to their environment."
A Giant there is of such a height
that here below his eyes do see us not...
He yearns for the sun and plants his feet
on lofty towers in order heaven to attain.
Michelangelo (1534)

CHAPTER NINE
The Altanae of the Uffizi

The altana of the Uffizi is related to similar features in Florentine domestic architecture. Indeed, there are classic, medieval, and Renaissance prototypes from which Vasari could have selected, and to which he made reference in his own design. There are both "public" and "private" uses of the motif. The motif had been used in medieval communal palaces in northern Italy, however, essentially, it was a feature of urban domestic architecture, as in the garden facade of the Palazzo Piccolomini in Siena. This feature of the facade of the Uffizi presents the greatest difficulty of interpretation vis-a-vis the primary function of the twin palaces. What makes any interpretation doubly difficult is the fact that the altana, which serves as a parallel passageway to the street level loggia, originally led nowhere. When first proposed the Uffizi was conceived as a double palace, interconnected at the river and, linked to the Palazzo Ducale (Palazzo
Vecchio) by means of a ponte pensile over the Via Ninna. The corridor linking the Pitti to the Uffizi as yet had not been conceived, and would not be for some five years after a start had been made on the fabbrica of the Palaces of the Magistrates. Further, the passageway "built as it were in the air" did not link with the bridge over the Via Ninna. That link, with its own supports at the level of the piano nobile, required the navigation of an antechamber, a stair-hall and a subsidiary chamber before arriving at the bridge's anteroom. When the long corridor was constructed linking the Pitti to the Uffizi, the altana over the S. Piero wing took on the function of an indirect passageway linking the Palazzo Ducale to the new corridor. As the altana is on a level higher than that of the Corridoio Vasariano, it is necessary to descend a long stairway and to traverse a number of chambers, before arriving at the short opening tract of the corridor. (Fig. 74)

The altana of the Zecca wing has even less of a function, as it terminates at the roof of the Loggia dei Lanzi. With the completion of the garden on the roof of the Loggia dei Lanzi, the altana of the Zecca wing became a route to that hidden pent-house giardino ducale. The
**altana** is of equal length over each wing. However, the articulation of that portion of the **altana** over the arch of the Via Lambertesca is altered, due to the variation imposed on the **piano nobile** by the internal arrangement of the older Mint. The arch fills one bay, with one pedimented window above. Immediately adjoining is a bay with only one window; the basic three-window bay reappears in the next three segments of the facade fronting the Mint, terminating at the bay closest to the Loggia dei Lanzi by a two-window bay and a wall space filled with an inset panel. The **altana** reflects this arrangement; over the arch is a wide opening between two piers, joined by a narrow opening flanked also only by piers; the next three bays have piers with Doric columns between, the final bay has only one column set between piers of unequal width. (Fig. 75) Despite these differences, the facade of the Zecca wing maintains an appearance of complete symmetry with its opposite, the S. Piero wing.

As originally conceived, the **altana** was to be an open passageway, repeating where possible the articulation of the loggia. Its modelling is more restrained; its features, and the placement of those features, match those of the portico. (Fig. 76) The **altana** lies above the
small chambers fronting the piano nobile so that the width of the altana is the same as the vaulted loggia and the rooms that lie upon that vault at the level of the piano nobile. The altana is not vaulted, rather it is roofed by a series of transverse beams creating a series of flat coves that were later frescoed. The rooms lining the sides of the altana above the rooms of the piano nobile were fitted-in as space and need dictated. They do not correspond to the order of the rooms on the inner portion of the piano nobile. This tract of rooms also includes some remaining from earlier buildings on the site.

Only after the removal of the ducal residence from the Palazzo Vecchio to the Palazzo Pitti was it possible to return the civic offices that occupied this floor of the Uffizi to the Palazzo della Signoria, thus freeing these chambers for the installation of the Gallery, which has continued to occupy the space ever since. Changes of varying types have been made to these galleries, including the construction of the Tribuna; these changes need not detain us here as they do not in any way affect the basic architecture of the piazza facades. The one change that did have some effect was the glazing of the openings between the supports of the altana. This work
was carried out in 1574 under the direction of Bernardo Buontalenti along with the installation of the Porta delle Suppliche, a preparatory drawing of which door is preserved at the Uffizi. Though not a structural change, and though not altering any features of the facade, the closing, even in glass, of these openings altered the play of light and shade, that chiaroscuro, that Vasari had intended. The glazing also altered the impression of lightness that the open altane had provided. The original concept had been, no doubt, to lighten the facades of the palaces as they ascended. The open altane would have provided that necessary relief; the glazing increased the sense of massiveness of the facades and increased the tunnel-like effect of the space bounded by those facades.

Though the altane may have been intended, among other things, to lighten the facades, they did not resolve any of the contradictions or ambiguities of the lower floors. The same complexity that prevails in the portico and the piano nobile pertains also in the altane. The altana reflects the composition of the loggia, placing piers and columns in exactly the same position as in the portico below. Again, the Order is, contrary to correct usage, Doric. Classic canons would have required the composite
or Corinthian. Vasari repeated the Doric, no doubt, because the proportions of the altana would have been drastically altered were the more elegant, and taller Corinthian Order used. The Corinthian and the Composite Orders require a longer and more slender shaft than does the relatively short, stockier Doric. Had the Corinthian or Composite been used, the height of the altana would have been significantly increased to the point of being unstable structurally, creating the visual impression of a facade even higher and more attenuated than is the present one; further, the heightening of the facade would have altered the relationship of the uppermost cornice to the roofeaves to the battlements of the Palazzo Ducale (Palazzo della Signoria). The battlements then would have seemed lower, causing the Palazzo Ducale to seem smaller, the tower less lofty. (Fig. 77) Vasari felt justified, undoubtedly, in repeating the use of the Doric Order as the piano nobile had not been adorned with the requisite Ionic Order. By avoiding the use of a recognizable "order" in the piano nobile, he avoided the need to conform to the canon of vertical progression of the Orders as recommended by Alberti and all theorists after him.⁶ Therefore, the altana becomes the almost-mirror image of the portico; the
ambiguities of the portico are reflected in the altana. The only difference, and a minor one, is that the profile of the altana is less emphatic, less pronounced than that of the loggia.

In this study each floor of the facades of the Uffizi has been shown to harbor complexities and ambiguities. At this final level the contradictions are less within the altana itself, and more in its relationship to the piano nobile below. The supports of the altana are separated one from the other by a dado that serves both as a base for the supports themselves, and as a series of infill panels below the openings. These panels repeat the odd rhythm of the mezzanine; they are, however, somewhat abbreviated and unadorned when compared to those of the mezzanine. Still, they need but a balustrade to complete the likeness.

The piers of the altana are not relieved by hollowed-out niches, the face of each pier is solid, with half-round Doric pilasters attached to the lateral sides of the piers. These half-round columns complement the full-round Doric columns that stand, usually, two to a bay above the fictive pilaster-strips of the piano nobile. These columns, which stand on raised bases set into the dado, press down
on the walls of the piano nobile at just those points where the fictive pilaster-strips reveal themselves to be the outer edge of the recessed wall panels in which the aedicule windows are set (See: Chapter 8). The effect is somewhat the same as that caused by the relationship between solids and voids in the facade of Raphael's Palazzo Branconio. At the Uffizi the relationship is reversed. In the Roman palace the void is placed above the solid, a niche appearing above the Doric Order of the lower floor. In the Florentine palaces, the solid is placed above the void, the Doric Order appearing above the "hollow" of the interspaces between the wall panels of the piano nobile. The impression is one of consumate skill overcoming great difficulty, effortlessly. It is a display of sprezzatura that would have not only delighted an observer viewing the feat from the pavement of the square below, but also would have enthralled an observer fortunate enough to view this accomplishment from the closer range of the altana of the opposite wing.

While this display of "grace" would have pleased a knowing observer, one less knowing would have been alarmed at the seeming fragility of the support below the columns, which, poised above a void, seem ready to topple and crash
to the pavement below. This effect seemed a more modified and modulated version of the Sala dei Giganti that Giulio Romano frescoed at the Mantuan Palazzo del Te. The same sense of imminent destruction is felt when one views the facade of the Palazzo del Te, as triglyphs and metopes were made to seem ready to fall from the entablature. It must be remembered that Giulio Romano had achieved these terrifying results some thirty-odd years before the Uffizi was planned. What had been a frightfully innovative concept in the mid-30's of the century had become standard by the mid-60's, so that when Vasari came to plan the altana and to include this seemingly highly unstructural effect, compounded of fear and fantasy, what had been high drama for Giulio Romano and his peers had become standard theater for Vasari and his circle. Vasari was incapable of the dramatic excesses of Giulio Romano; rather Vasari, in his careful manner "Imitated and adopted only those elements that had a general validity." Vasari was not immune to the spirit that had produced those excesses. He, in his own works, displays a more moderate version of that appeal to terror which he described as "fearsome and terrible," in his description of the Te. If the Vasarian version is more tame, its location, in this instance, at
the summit of a very steep facade increases proportionately the terror induced by so subtle a method.

As the piers of the altana stand over the double pilaster-strips of the piano nobile, the latter, with their hollowed out inset panels, also seem like the single fictive pilaster-strips, incapable of supporting the more solid piers of the altane. Here the inversion is even less obvious, but none the less equally as dismaying. The piers of the altana are built of solid masses of masonry set atop a pilaster-strip that appears hollowed-out, therefore less able to support the weight of that mass. The relationship is again an inversion of the solid and void relationship encountered at Raphael's Palazzo Brancionio. This subtle inversion is heightened by being masked behind the appearance of strict cononical usage, as the supports do seem to rest one above the other in the approved manner of serene High Renaissance facades, as in the Belvedere by Bramante, where piers are placed above piers, and columns above solids. In a Mannerist manner, Vasari accepts the canonical usage, then, through a small but telling shift in design manages to produce a version of the original "source" that is both anti-classic and also somewhat vaguely "gothic"—in its attenuated and enfeebled form.
Vasari considered his work to be a continuation of the perfection attained in the High Renaissance, infused with sufficient personality to insure distinct individuality. What Vasari accomplished was less a structure infused with distinct personality than rather one that is amalgam of parts drawn from a number of sources, fused into an uneasy whole in which the parts continue to dominate, resisting fusion. This reflects the Mannerist tendency to lay up theme upon theme, part upon part, form upon form without ever achieving a synthesis, where no element dominates or controls, and where every element remains separate, competing for attention in the total composition.

The sources drawn upon for the altana were neither exclusively classic or modern. The altana was a common feature of Florentine domestic architecture, and could be found in a fully developed form in the Trecento Palazzo Davanzati. (Fig. 78) The palace was proto-Renaissance, and

"The facade, topped by a loggia that evidently replaces the original castellation, is notable for its severity, its absolute regularity, and its harmony of form."[12]

The Quattrocento provided several examples, such as the Palazzo Guadagni (Fig. 79), of which
"...in the cool refinement of the structure -- rusticated corner pilasters, roof loggia, sgraffito ornaments -- there are classicistic features which are in the style of Cronaca."\textsuperscript{13}

This palace, which "represents a new type of Florentine palazzo, which, given the conservative spirit of the city, was to remain a favorite throughout the Cinquecento,"\textsuperscript{14}

the Gothic uprights of the \textit{Trecento} palaces are replaced in the next century by slim, Doric shafts supporting a classical cornice.

Vasari, of course, could not have known that the Republican era \textit{Tabularium} may have had an upper loggia of Corinthian columns set between two terminal piers,\textsuperscript{15} as the Republican era structure was \textit{refashioned} during the Empire by the structure, the remains of which still stand overlooking the Forum Romanum. Still standing then as now and much more conspicuous even in Vasari's era, the Colosseum may be considered a possible secondary source of the \textit{Uffizi altana}. The Colosseum's encircling facade is divided into four distinct horizontal zones, three of which are arcuated; the arches, in the standard Roman practice, are set between engaged half-round columns. The Orders progress from Doric in the first, and lowest zone, through Ionic in the second, to Corinthian in the uppermost
arcuated zone. Above this range is a fourth zone, faced with engaged, Composite pilasters which support a full entablature. The pilasters stand on podia separated by a raised dado.16 As a possible model, the uppermost zone of the Colosseum had severe limitations, as the pilasters are attached directly to the wall which screened the outerside of the gallery which opened into the bowl of the structure.

The primary classic source most likely was the then still extant Septizodium, a fragment of which stood at the foot of the Palatine Hill. A sketch by Giovanni Antonio Dosio, presently in the Uffizi, was originally part of a raccolto of materials prepared for Nicolo Gaddi of Florence.17 The Septizodium has been mentioned before in this work (See: Chapter Seven). For this portion of this study only the uppermost level need be noted. The third or uppermost level, consisted of an open loggia, parallel­ing the open loggia at the ground level. The upper loggia was originally carried on freestanding columns, in the fragment remaining to the Cinquecento18 the space between the final two columns of the advanced bay had been filled in, creating a pier-like support, to which still stood attached and in which was partially imbedded one of the
free-standing columns. The remaining columns stood on podia between which was a simple dado capped by a simple moulding. The columns supported what was probably originally a full entablature, but had been reduced by time to a simple string cornice. The Order of this altana is the same one used in the lower loggia, so that Vasari may have felt justified in repeating this usage at the Uffizi. The Roman Septizodium had one other feature in common with the Uffizi's altana, as "architecturally its only function was as a screen concealing the building behind."

As at the Uffizi, this altana hid the rather irregular run of rooms behind a formal, unified screen.

It was clearly to his own century that Vasari turned for his immediate sources and references. The domestic altane of Florence may be at the base of the concept; the works of the masters of the Roman school are those upon which the form and format are modelled. The Farnesina, which was cited as a possible source of the piano nobile, is again a possible source for the altana. The facade facing the Tiber bears, above the rich cornice of the piano nobile, a three-bay altana. This is a true Roman altana, a small pavilion set upon the roof and used to catch a cooling breeze. If the function is prosaic, the
garb is wholly classic. (Fig. 80) Four Tuscan Doric columns, standing on raised podia, support a shallow cornice above which rises a hipped roof. Between the podia are open balustrades; through the columns are seen three openings giving access to the altana from the attic of the villa.

Though Peruzzi had a strong influence on the architecture of Giorgio Vasari, the works of Bramante had an even greater impact on the design of the altana. Bramante's early Roman work at the cloister of S. Maria della Pace provided a model for the alternation of piers and columns, all standing on a low dado. (Fig. 81) On the upper floor of the cloister, above each ground level pier, Bramante placed not a column, but a smaller pier. The pier:

"had to conform to the cononical proportions of an architectural order; and, so that it would seem the right proportion both in itself and in relation to the lower pier, it had to have a composite section, on side of it assuming the role of a pilaster. This pilaster, in order to match the lower order, is given a pedestal. The space between the piers, visually too wide, is divided by a column, which also serves structurally to hold up the heavy entablature."21

Vasari follower, in the main, the same basic procedure, applying this solution to the altana "and with the blessing of the ancients, of Vitruvius, and of Alberti at that."22 The solution arrived at by Bramante, which was an:
"intellectual and sophisticated treatment takes us forward to Mannerist attitudes: individual elements one by one change their function and although they keep their own features, they are used with a different meaning. That is, the forms of the classical world become ambiguous in relation to their original and natural use. Each element tends to lose its autonomy and to acquire meanings unlike those it originally had through its relation to the other elements and to the observer."

The format taken from the cloister of the church of S. Maria della Pace was applied, by Vasari, to the facade of a urban palace. Bramante once again provided the precedent in his design for the Palace of the Popes (now part of the Cortile di San Damaso) at the Vatican. (Fig. 82) This work had both architectural and symbolic significance for Vasari:

"Even a work like the west wing of the present courtyard of S. Damaso (under construction in 1508-09, and, according to Vasari, completed after 1514 by Raphael), was more an expressive urban feature than a functional building. It was to be the show facade of the imperial Papal Palace facing the Piazza S. Pietro, a character that comes out clearly in some of the early views, particularly those by Martin van Heemskerck. It was possibly the only part built by Bramante of what was, according to Vasari, a very grand scheme for restoring and improving the palaces of the Popes..."

The upper floor of this "show facade" consisted of a long loggia supported by the piano nobile. The loggia,
or altana, carried a screen of columns which upheld a cornice and above that, a pitched roof — similar to the loggia, or altana of the "show façade" of the Uffizi.

Bramante's Roman opus provided what is most likely the foremost Roman source of the Uffizi altana, the upper loggia of the Vatican Belvedere. (Fig. 83) The upper loggia is composed of piers bearing Corinthian pilasters on their outer faces, and engaged Tuscan Doric pilasters on their lateral faces. The spaces between the piers is sub-divided into three bays by two Doric columns. The Doric Order supports an infill panel, one per full bay; the Corinthian Order supports the cornice. Bramante set up here a zig-zag rhythm that is even more pronounced than that found at the Uffizi; the Corinthian pilasters stand on pedestals, the Doric columns stand on the entablature of the floor below. Conversely, the Corinthian pilasters support the uppermost cornice; the Doric columns support the lower panels. However, it is less the rhythm and more the use of piers with interspaced columns that most influenced Vasari; just as he was influenced by the use of niches set within piers found in the façade of the upper terrace of the Cortile del Belvedere. As at the Uffizi, the loggia formed, "as it were, covered streets."
In 1551, Palladio, that Classicist/Mannerist architect of enormous renown, began, in Vicenza, the Palazzo Chiericati, already referred to in this study (See: Chapter Six). The design has much in common with the Uffizi, (Fig. 84) which it predates by a mere decade. Ackerman writes that:

"The design of the Palazzo Chiericati was inspired by two traditions, that of the medieval row house with covered street arcades, which Palladio had already revived in the Casa Civena, and that of the stoa-like public building alongside a square, like the Basilica/in Vincenza/, the Library in Venice, or Michelangelo's Capitoline Hill (1538). Both caused a conflict between the external and public function, which required circulation along the front, and the internal private or official function, which required finding an entrance and going inside... The public function suggest unbroken horizontal continuity; the private, stability around a central portal, hence vertical emphasis."26

Vasari was also inspired by these same two traditions when he came to design the *altana*; the private and domestic use as found expressed in *Trecento* and *Quattrocento* Florentine palaces, and the public use of an upper loggia as part of a prominent public palace, as found in the "show facades" of many *Cinquecento* state *palazzi*. As in the *piano nobile*, the division of the *altana* into component parts of attached row-house facades, stressed the private
function of the palaces; the overall length of the altane emphasized the public function of the palaces as a seat of government. What Satkowski writes of the Corridoio Vasariano holds true for the altane; he writes that:

"Despite its Roman ancestry, the corridoio continued Florentine urban traditions. Florence was, and still is, to a large degree, a veritable matrix of overhead passageways. The clustering of buildings belonging to a single family was a characteristic feature of medieval domestic architecture in Florence, and overhead construction, either as a passageway or habitable space was their means of cohesion... With the concentration of power in individual rules, the different functions of ruling and residing were accommodated in larger residences..." 27

Surely, the Uffizi may be properly considered as a part of that "larger residence" used for both ruling and residing. The altana of the Palazzo Ducale, an open-air gallery impossible to include in the medieval fabric of the Trecento fortress/palace, was located instead in the extension added to that medieval pile, the mighty and majestic, the serene and severe, the precious and potent Uffizi degli Magistrati.
One must consider also whether the edifice has been tastefully arranged and in convenient proportion, and whether there has been furnished and distributed the proper kind and number of columns, windows, doors, and junctions of wall-faces, both within and without, in the given height and thickness of the wall; in short whether every detail is suitable in and for its own place.


CHAPTER TEN
The Serliana of the Uffizi

The *serliana* of the Uffizi is perhaps the most complex, ornate and symbolic portion of the Uffizi. (Fig. 85) It is also the most admired portion of the design; among others, Murray praises the *serliana*, stating that "The finest point of the design is the lovely, airy loggia overlooking the Arno, with its delicate pattern of vaulting supported on heavy coupled columns, in a variation of the Palladian motif that Palladio himself might have admired."2

Unlike the two long trabeated wings which it joins together, and terminates, the *serliana* is arcuated, stressing its own character, function and presence. All these aspects will be considered in this chapter of the study.
The serliana presents a number of differences from the long facades of the Uffizi, other than just the use of the serlian motif. Unlike the duplicated facade of the Uffizi, which fronts only on the piazza, the serliana has four facades, one facing the forum, one the river, (Fig. 86) and one each facing up- and down-stream on the Lungarno. Further, the forum facade is different from, and less broad than the river facade. Both long facades are distinct from the lateral faces of the rectangular structure that forms the Arno loggia. (Fig. 87) For the purposes of this study it will be necessary to consider the four facades. The lateral facades need be reviewed separately, as the up-river facade is somewhat unlike the down-river one in that the latter is connected to the Corridoio Vasariano. As is true of the long facades of the twin palaces, the two major serliana facades have sources that are classic and modern; both partake of the complexities and ambiguities that infuse the palace facades. Those characteristics are amplified, extended, heightened, and multiplied in the Arno Loggia.

The serliana terminates the space at the far end of the forum. Due to is position it enters into a reciprocal exchange with the medieval facade and the Arnalfan tower
of the Palazzo Ducale, with which it communicates down the narrow, unimpeded length of the largo. Indeed, despite the practical function that it discharges as a bridge between the two wings, its primary purpose is almost entirely symbolic. The serliana sets up a continual dialog between itself and the Palazzo Ducale — an exchange and interchange that is channeled and contained by the resonating wings of the twin palaces. It is an autocratic and aristocratic conversation, a courtly speech that takes place between the old order and the new regime, always according to the precepts of Castiglione, who wrote:

"Hence, whoever has to engage in conversation with others must let himself be guided by his own judgement and must perceive the difference between one man and another, and change his style and method from day to day, according to the nature of the person with whom he undertakes to converse." Though the conversation need not change "from day to day," the language remains courtly, as:

"The court is the only place where beautiful and proper thoughts find their linguistic counterparts, for the most beautiful linguistic form is meaningless if the thoughts expressed by the words were not ingenious, acute, elegant and grave."

It can be assumed that the visual conversation between the Uffizi and the Palazzo Vecchio was, at least, "elegant and grave" as befit the court of the Duchy of Tuscany.
The twin palaces were intended to house those courts which served the state and were, therefore, limited by their assigned functions. The serliana had no such specific function, it was not intended to house anything. It was intended as no more than a connective screen upon which was hung the concentrated symbolic and ceremonial freight of the entire composition; the symbolism inherent in the paired facades of the Uffizi is distilled in the singular and unique facade of the serliana facing the forum. The terminal loggia serves as a monumental portone, a triumphal arch, and a festigium. The serliana completes the symbolic meanings of the design, it enhances those meanings, by drawing on a number of classic and modern sources and it makes reference to structures that discharged similar symbolic tasks.

The basic concept that informs a serlian arch is a simple one. The serlian arch is formed of three basic elements, four uprights, two lintels, and one arch. The lintel, which is usually carried across the four uprights, or columns, is curved upward forming an arch over the space between the two center supports. In the vocabulary of classic architecture, the architrave of the order is arched above the center two columns with the full
articulation of the architrave carried around the half-circle of the arch. The origins of the serlian arch are most likely to be found in Late Classic architecture, however, possible antecedents of the Late Antique form are found in earlier Roman works. One such possibility of Imperial origin is the Canopus of the Villa Adriana at Tivoli, where the form is repetitive, revealing in its rich rhythms the "Baroque" tendencies of Hadrianic architecture. The Pantheon, of the same period, possesses another variant of the serlian arch; this version is formed of an arch set between two piers pierced by aedicules spanning the space of the exedra. This format and placement leads directly to the "triumphal arches" of Early Christian basilicae which separates the profane nave from the sacred chancel. The form survived; a variant of it served as the principal element in the narthex facade of the abbey church at Monte Cassino (c. 1075). In these examples the arch is not "free" but rather it is cut out of the matrix of a pediment, a gable, or a wall of which the arch then forms part. In this form it was intended, most likely, to act as a conduit for extra light into the interior of the space.
In a debased and misunderstood application, the motif was used intermittently throughout the Middle Ages in Italy, especially, and significantly, for church facades. In many medieval Italian squares, the church facade terminated the view through the square in one direction. Perhaps the most outstanding example of this sort of placement is to be found at Venice, there, the Basilica of San Marco terminates the vista down the length of its huge forecourt, the Piazza San Marco.

These examples, to which others could be added, probably derive in large measure from the memory of antiquity. In ancient fora it was often the practice to locate a state temple at the far or narrow end of the elongated space; the temple, standing on a high podium, terminated the vista at one end of the space. Though unknown to the Renaissance, the forum at Pompeii conforms to that configuration, as does the forum at Ostia, near Rome. Direction, and its attendant vista, were understood by architects to grow out of Vitruvius' rule that, concerning the forum, "Its shape will then be oblong." Alberti, in his Ten Books on Architecture, repeated this dictum of Vitruvius.
The tradition of the rectangular square remained alive in Italy throughout the long Middle Ages; during the **Quattrocento** the square once again became the subject of formal planning, as at Vigevano. However, the **Quattrocento** striving for balance and harmony did not stress a terminal feature, rather; it stressed the inter-related but independent faces of each side of the space. Even in squares with a strong, inherent sense of direction, such as the Piazza SS. Annunziata in Florence, the individual facades of the **logge** defining the space are all treated as equal and independent.

The **Cinquecento** reintroduced the concept of directional space, as observed in many antique **fora**. The re-birth was due in large measure to the activity of Bramante at the **Cortile del Belvedere**.

"The Belvedere differs from the standard Renaissance **cortile** in being conceived along an axis rather than around a central point... That the center of interest should be a line rather than a point implies motion -- the motion of the eye -- and this is invited by all available means."\(^9\)

The Belvedere was conceived as an enormous space, and

"to sow up its enormous size, one dimension, the depth, had to be emphasized more than the other. At the most distant spot, which was secluded and quiet, Bramante put the **Antiquarium** for antique statues."\(^10\)
The exedra closed the vista not only of the full length of the space of the Cortile, but also the space of the closed garden that filled the uppermost and most remote of the terraces. Bramante offered to the viewer "a spettacolo, a stage set actually built and extended into depth, an artificial constructed landscape, such as the Romans had made, a rationalization of what was there already, the natural spettacolo."11

Ackerman, in his brilliant analysis of the space, writes that

"The methods evolved for the creation of an illusion of space on a two-dimensional surface (painting) have here been employed in three dimensions to draw the eye towards the desired goal, the vanishing point of the composition in the exedra."12

These principles were applied sparingly during the first quarter of the Cinquecento, though there were projects aplenty that envisioned the use of these principles on an equally large scale, such as the piazza at Loreto. Direction and vista is implied in the full design of Raphael's Villa Madama in Rome (c. 1520). There, an enclosed entrance yard leads via a broad flight of stairs to a columned androne and thence to a circular cortile. The cortile then leads to a vast terminal loggia overlooking a garden. The major portion of that loggia still
survives within the truncated and incomplete remains of the Villa. In a reconstruction by Geymuller, an idea can be arrived at as to the intentions of Raphael. A terrace is terminated by an arched screen drawn directly from the vocabulary of ancient architecture.

It was, however, during the second quarter of the century, after the Sack of Rome, that the concept of motion towards a goal within a controlled space became even more used. The principle was superbly applied by Vignola at the famed Villa Giulia (c. 1551), a smaller version of the Belvedere. (The authorship of the Villa has been examined well and at length.) The villa has two termini; the first, at the far end of the upper cortile, bearing a strong likeness to the terminus of the Belvedere. The second, which terminates the sunken cortile, bearing a strong resemblance to the Serliana of the Uffizi. (Fig. 88) This should come as no surprise, as

"The architects whose names are most closely associated with the sunken court, or nymphaeum, of the Villa Giulia are Vasari and Ammannati." Of Vasari's role, Smyth continues, stating that:

"Vasari, however, indicated that, following the idea of Pope Julius, he himself had originally laid out the scheme of the whole villa in drawings that were then given to
Michelangelo to revise and correct. He said that he had made the original design of the fountain, which was afterwards carried out by Vignola and Ammannati, and also that 'la fontana bassa fu d'ordine mio e dell' Ammannati che poi vi restò (when Vasari left for Florence in 1553) e fece la loggia che e sopra la fontana.' 17

Vasari, working at the Villa Giulia, would have been aware of the reciprocal vistas of the villa. The hemicycle, placed at the garden front of the main building, unlike the placement of a similar feature at the far end of the Belvedere, communicates with the loggia of the nymphaeum. Vistas extend in both directions, the residence, or villa proper at one end, the acquatous loggia at the other. At the Uffizi, the view is terminated at one end by the residence of the Palazzo Ducale, and at the other by the light and airy loggia "over the water."

The loggia "over the water" had sources both classic and modern. However, before examining those sources, it is necessary to discuss and describe the four facades of the loggia itself. The principal facade is that which faces the forum and which terminates the vista at the far end of the piazza. The facade is divided into three zones; a lower loggia with a portion of mezzanine, a piano nobile, and an upper loggia or altana. The lower
loggia is composed of one large serlian arch filling (with its flanking piers) the entire space between the twin palaces. At the corners are piers of a design that corresponds to the piers of the loggia of the palaces. The piers are assisted by coupled Doric columns which support the abutment of the entablature as well as the spring of the arch. Set to either side of the arch itself -- i.e., in the mezzanine level -- are blind panels which repeat the panels of the mezzanine of the palaces. These panels are separated from the arch by coupled consoles and from the facades of the adjacent palaces by another pair of coupled consoles, repeating the rhythm of the mezzanine floor of the twin palaces. The consoles closer to the arch are set closer together, reflecting the inter-columination of the Doric columns of the loggia. The design, with some slight differences, is found in the Fourth Book of Serlio. (Fig. 89) Vasari doubled the columns at the base of the arch, and substituted the piers for the furthermost columns of the Serlian plate.

The piano nobile alters the rhythm, as a full serlian arch is placed above the arch of the serlian motif below. The serlian window of the piano nobile uses Composite columns to support the architrave and the arch, a breach
of the classic canon, as the preferred Order would have been
Ionic. The more elegant and rich Composite must have been
chosen because it combined the Ionic and the Corinthian.
Of the Corinthian Vasari wrote that the style was

"invariably a favorite among the Romans, who de­
lighted in it so greatly that they chose this
order for their most elaborate and most prized
buildings to remain as a memorial to themselves."18

He cites its use in Rome in the Pantheon, among others.

For the Uffizi, Vasari chose an order that

"Vitruvius had not made mention of...holding
those artists lawless, who taking from all
four orders constructed out of them bodies
that represented to him monsters rather than
men -- the composite order had nevertheless
been much used by the Romans, and in imitation
of them by the moderns."19

Vasari gives no example of its use "by the Romans,"
but he does provide a comprehensive list of those works "by
the moderns" in which the order is used. He states that the
moderns "formed of the order things more graceful than ever
did the ancients." He then gives examples:

"As an example of the truth of this I quote
the works of Michelangelo Buonarroti in the Sac­
risty and Library of San Lorenzo in Florence,
where the doors, niches, bases, columns, capitals,
mouldings, consoles and indeed all the details
have received from him something of the new and
of the Composite Order, and nevertheless are won­
derful, not to say beautiful. The same merit in
even greater measure is exhibited by the said
Michelangelo in the second storey of the court of
the Casa Farnese and again in the cornice which
supports on the exterior, the roof of the palace...
Therefore no one can deny that this new Composite
Order, which through Michelangelo has attained to such perfection, may be worthily compared to the others.\footnote{21}

In the fact that Michelangelo had used "this new Composite Order" Vasari found the justification for his use of that same order in the serlian window of the river loggia. To either side of this window Vasari placed arched windows that fill completely the spaces between the pair of pilaster-strips that continue the vertical line of the piers and columns of the ground level. These pilasters have open panels set into their faces; they support a cornice which continues the line of the cornice of the piano nobile. Vasari set the windows so close to the pilaster-strips that the latter seem to serve as frames for these simple arched windows. This serlian window on the second level is found in a plate in Serlio's book on architecture. (Fig. 90) Vasari omitted the roundels to either side of the arch. This feature is present in Palladio's design for the Basilica at Vicenza (c. 1546-1549), there  

"Palladio used the arch-lintel combination of the bays so effectively that it came to be called the Palladian motif, although it had been invented by Bramante and popularized by Serlio."\footnote{22}
The upper loggia continues the articulation of the altane, the side bays of this loggia are narrower than the wide central bay set over the serlian window of the piano nobile.

In essence, Vasari created in the use of the superimposed serlian motifs a pyramidal effect, the base of which is the stair podium of the lower loggia, the apex of which is the crown of the arch of the upper level serlian window. As originally conceived the wide arch side windows and the open altana would have combined to create a halo-like penumbra over and around the pyramidal structure. The grid, or lattice-like construction of the loggia into which these openings are placed causes all attention to be focused on the central feature of the center floor. And, at the center of that window is a statue of Cosimo I. (Fig. 91)

The river-front facade is also found in Serlio, but with sufficient variations as to insure that it is not simply a copy of the plate in Book Seven. (Fig. 92) In this facade Vasari repeats the serlian arch of the forum facade; tho this is appended lateral arches set on piers. These arches correspond to the vaulting of the twin logge of the twin palaces, providing extra light at the juncture of the logge and the serliana. The piano nobile
sets three arched windows, separated by pilaster-strips, above the serlian arch of the loggia; rectangular windows are set above the side arches, so that the rhythm moves inward on the level of the piano nobile, and outward at the level of the loggia. The upper loggia or altana repeats the rhythm of the lower loggia in its relation of solids to voids.²⁴

The interior of the river loggia is vaulted. Shallow coffered domes on pendentives are sprung over the center and side arches, the connective arms between the domes are barrel-vaulted, to which is applied the same strap-work coffering as used in the vaults of the parallel twin porticoes. The lateral bays of the serliana repeat the articulation of the furtherest bay of the river-facade. The piers of the facade become composite pilasters, free-standing on the outer plane, and engaged at the juncture of the wall. The articulation of the up-river facade corresponds closely to a portico design, attributed to Bramante, a sketch of which is now in the Uffizi. (Fig. 93) In the design the one-bay portico is supported on free-standing columns; the windows of the piano nobile are set in aedicules. This building is only two storeys high, however, the basic elements correspond closely to
the side facade of the river loggia at the Uffizi. The down-river face of the serliana corresponds to the upriver face; it is joined to the Corridoio Vasariano by a series of now blank, now windowed walls.

Benevolo writes that Vasari:

"came up with a masterly solution for the linking of the free ends with the bulk of the Palazzo Vecchio and the Loggia dei Lanzi, and to differentiate the deep chiaroscuro of the side porticoes from the luminosity of the end arches which reveal the width of the river panorama lying beyond the end of the building, right from the entrance into the long narrow space. At the same time, the new porticoed square acted as a perspective telescope pointing towards the Signoria and brought together, in a single scene, a fore-shortened view of the Palazzo Vecchio, with the statues by Bandinelli, Michelangelo and Donatello -- the fountain by Ammannati and the dome of the Cathedral."

Vasari made references to structures both classic and modern. The serlian arch has been attributed to Bramante; the credit could be given equally to Ser Brunelleschi, who, in his design for the Cappella Pazzi at Santa Croce devised the Quattrocento antecedent of the serlian arch. The portico of the chapel incorporates all the basic elements of a serlian arch; it contains six, not four, uprights which support a lintel which serves as the base for the springing of the arch. The central, arched bay
is wider than the side bays; the architrave is not carried over the face of the arch. It is, however, the presence of the two additional supports that renders this example a general rather than a seminal prototype. The example desired by Bramante may have been inspired, in part, by the remains of the Porta Maggiore at Rome, a work which still dominates the consular Via Casilina. The Porta Maggiore has the opposite disqualifying "defect" from the Pazzi Chapel; whereas the chapel portico has too many supports, the Porta Maggiore has one arch too many. However, the basic form of the serlian arch can be read in the fabric of the gate, which may have been one of the antique works which inspired Bramante to create a version of the serlian arch, early in his Roman career, at Genazzano, for the facade of the so-called "Nymphaeum." It was Bramante's intention:

"to create depth through perspective /as/ is shown particularly by the already Mannerist treatment of the 'Palladian window' motif. Three of these are placed between the back piers of the vaulted loggia...and they form a transparent screen between the loggia and the curve of the nymphaeum proper beyond it... Their columns support arches pierced by oculi, a characteristically Bramante motif, which he had already used in Milan and, about this same time was using in the choir of St. Peter's. They stand on a high podium, which greatly reduces their height, and although their cornice continues that of the adjacent pilasters,
their complete entablature is deeper than that of the pilaster, and extends below it."^28

The device was refined by Raphael,^29 who discarded the small oculi set around the arch, and retained only the broad central arched bay, and the two narrow side bays. The form, so chastened appeared at Sant'Eligio degli Orefici. This church is "securely attributed by an early, authoritative witness [and] can be considered the first building by Raphael that was executed, although there remains the problem of fixing the moment of its inception...there is still no reason to doubt that the corporation of gold-smiths had resolved to build it...in 1509."^30

A serlian window was used in the closing walls of arm of the Greek-cross plan on which the church was built, and "its serlian-type windows were repeated above the apse."^31

The serlian motif was applied to a ground-level opening by Giulio Romano in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua. (Fig. 94) Here, the arch is supported on coupled free-standing pilasters. The arch is contained within a raised gable; the gable is supported by paired consoles above the coupled pilasters. The entire composition, rich and almost neo-classic, was set into an otherwise un-articulated wall facing a small enclosed garden in the core of the medieval Castello. The work would have to be dated after 1527, as Giulio Romano did not arrive in Mantua until after the Sack of Rome.
Two Roman buildings had a far greater influence on Vasari. The Villa Medici (c. 1554) was designed by Annibale Lippi for Cardinal Ricci; it was later purchased by Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici. The garden facade of the Villa Medici is encrusted with antique fragments, which surround the centrally placed serlian arch of the portico (Fig 95), which is derived from the serlian arch of the second cortile of the Villa Giulia. Other than the use of the Ionic Order, the work bears a strong similarity to the serliana of the Uffizi. The other Roman work associated with the Medici, the Palazzo Firenze, was the seat of the Tuscan envoy to the Apostolic See. The palace was transformed by Ammannati (c. 1552) according to designs based, in some measure, on Vignola as well as Serlio. Both these works may have been influenced by a work attributed to Michelangelo, the cortile facade of the Palazzo dei Conservatori at the Capitol in Rome. (Fig. 96) In this work the Palladian/Serlian motif is applied in a manner that alters completely the relationship of the parts. The lateral bays are wider than the central bay. The supports of the side and center bays are not shared in common at the meeting of the two bays, rather, each bay is framed by its own individual set of supports. The space between the bays is further widened by the introduction of an
engaged pilaster set between the two supporting columns. Only Michelangelo could have conceived of so idiosyncratic an application of the motif that was then still somewhat new to the vocabulary of "modern" architecture. Finally, the cortile of a little-known Roman palace, Sansovino's Palazzetto Leroy (c. 1523) places one serlian arch above another, and above them, a terminal altana. (Fig. 97) The progression of motifs, including the altana, is repeated, almost verbatim, at the serliana of the Uffizi. (Vasari makes no mention of this work in The Lives.)

The Strada dei Magistrati shorn of the serliana would seem strangely incomplete. The facades of the twin palaces without a terminus for their converging perspective lines would seem to stretch into, if not infinity, at least into the Oltr.'arno. They would frame, were the river-end left open, a view of the Belvedere Fortress, which can be seen through the lower serlian arch. Were the "bridge" between the two palaces not present, the facades of the palaces, long as they are, would seem endless; they would also seem considerably weakened as the lines, the strongly pronounced lines, of the architraves, cornices and eaves, would appear to float above the flowing waters of the Arno. Vasari chose to terminate the vista for reasons both optical and symbolic.
In Vasari's experience planned spaces were bounded on all sides, a tradition that grew from the format of the cloister and the cortile. To leave the sweep of the Uffizi's square without a fitting finale would have been to fly in the face of that tradition. To leave the space "unfinished," unenclosed would have been, to Vasari, to leave the space fluid, which, in his opinion, would have considerably diminished the design.

Symbolically, it also would have been inappropriate, as it would have expressed, among others, that Florence was still an open, free society, capable of growth in several directions. The sad truth was the reverse. Florence, and Tuscany with her, had become a closed, autocratic society in which all aspects of communal and state life were carefully, often rigidly controlled from the ducal seat of power. Had the view been open to the forte, it would have expressed the stark reality that the power of the person who resided in the Palazzo Ducale rested almost totally on the presence of an armed force. The visual linking of these two interrelated centers would have been far too obvious, far too demeaning to the citizens of the Capital. Rather, by veiling the view, by imposing a frail barrier between the palace and the fortress
"which served also to remind the citizens of the approach of the dinner hour by a blank shot fired every day at noon."\textsuperscript{36}

Vasari was expressing, \textit{sotto voce}, a well understood but muted fact, that the Prince was dependent upon his forces, conscript or milita, to keep his subjects obedient. Those forces were used, when necessary, discreetly. In the \textit{realpolitik} of the Tuscan state, Cosimo's power rested on the fiction that he had been freely elected, not imposed by force. In reality, the power of this Prince rested in great measure, initially, on the \textit{forza armata} that he commanded.

"True, the force was drawn from the local population, following the novel concept of Machiavelli."\textsuperscript{37}

True, the militia was led by Tuscans, so that it could be considered a "national army." It was also true that the force behind the Duke's army was to be found in the intricate, but binding, relationships that tied to Duke to the Pope in Rome and the Emperor in Madrid. Tuscany remained independent because of the cunning of its Prince; its Prince remained in power at the sufferance of the Emperor who desired to keep the balance of power in Italy in his favor.\textsuperscript{38}
Had Tuscany been allowed to slip from the grasp (or grip) of his ally in Florence, the Emperor feared the worst, that Florence would revert to her traditional pro-French alliances. Though France was finished in Italy, the Battle of Pavia had settled that score, in 1525, finally and decisively, the influence of France was still strongly felt, if not loudly supported, in Florence. Were Florence and Tuscany allowed to slip from the hold of the de'Medici, then France would have a rallying point, again, in Italy. Were this to happen, then French claims would become once again a factor in Italian politics; Milan and Naples would become, once again, bones of contention, upsetting the delicate balance of the Peace of Italy which was achieved at the expense of Florence in 1531 in Bologna. Cosimo was the direct inheritor of that "peace." He ruled as the elected successor of Alessandro I who had been installed by Clement VII de'Medici with combined Imperialist and pro-Medican troops (See: Chapter Two). He remained in power because the people of Florence, and Tuscany with her, accepted the fiction of his election, and because they accepted the stark reality of the imperial power that underlay his ducal throne. By throwing a screen between the Palazzo Ducale and the Belvedere fortress, Vasari
fortuitously expressed in architecture the fiction and the fact of Tuscan politics.

Vasari, due to his sensitivity to his ruler, and his ability to express the nuances of Tuscan politics, Medicean power, and even communal government, was able to express those aspects also of Tuscan life in his design for the serliana. The serliana does this not so much by direct imitation of architectural "monuments" that symbolize those virtues assumed by the state, but by making reference to antique and modern monuments that were associated with those virtues especially when associated with those states that were imperial, papal, regal or ducal. The serliana also pointedly excludes references to states that were republican, especially and particularly the defunct but unforgotten former Florentine Republic; references to that set of political institutions, and ideals were anathema both in speech and in architecture despite the attempt to picture the new regime as the continuation of the old older.

The serliana serves as a triumphal arched entrance into the princely forum, as a portone to the cortile of the noble palace, and when seen from the Palazzo Ducale, as an iconostasis at the end of the long nave of the
princely basilica, and as a festigium of the regal ephiphany. The serliana, like the face of Janus, faces two directions; each face serves several mutually inclusive symbolic purposes.

Triumphal arches in antiquity served as free-standing monuments and as enriched city gates. The Arch of Augustus at Rimini, near to Alberti's Tempio Malatestiano, serves as an entrance to that city, as did Michelangelo's Porta Pia in Rome. The Arch of Septimus Severus in Rome is a free-standing structure, as was the tripartite Arch of Augustus in the Forum Romanum.

"In the same year in which the dedication of the Temple of Caesar and the Curia Julia took place, Augustus celebrated three triumphs for his victories in Dalmatia, in Egypt and at Actium, and the Senate offered him a triumphal arch in the Forum..." 40

As an entrance to a cortile the triumphal arch was employed during the Quattrocento at Naples. There, the marble arch of the Castel Nuovo (c. 1453-1469) serves as a magnificent entry into the royal castle. (Fig. 98)

"Unlike the arches of antiquity, it is neither free-standing nor visible and approachable from many directions. And, of course, it actually consists of two triumphal arch facades, one on top of the other, which in this setting would have looked odd, perhaps even grotesque, to a visitor from ancient Rome. But then, the Aragonese Arch, or Arch of Alfonso I as it is
often called, was built not only as a triumphal monument, but as a castle gate and a cenotaph as well. "41

The arch at royal Naples bore a political message,42 as did that in ducal Florence.

At the Uffizi there is a drawing attributed to Raphael (Fig. 99), in which a serlian arch, as part of a portico, serves as the portone of the Holy House, in which the Annunciation is taking place. In this drawing the serlian arch, fronting a deep porch, frames the sacred event transpiring with the Casa Santa — Raphael, in this drawing marries the serlian motif to a sacred event. In Spalato, which was a city then under Venetian rule and of great importance in maintaining Venice's sea lanes, a Late Classic serlian arch framed a sacred event (Fig. 100), and marked, as well, the focal point of the Palace-Villa-Fortress of Diocletian.

There

"The so-called peristyle is placed before the rotunda, and the long, barrel-vaulted hall leading to the outer ambulatory is behind it; these are the ceremonial rooms of the palace. The rotunda was probably the Throne Room or the Throne chapel of the ruler. The rectangular units which are situated axially before and behind the cupola were probably used for the ceremonial appearance of the ruler: from the peristyle he was visible in the anteroom through the middle intercolumniation of the triple arch."43
This "triple arch" closed one of the four "streets" that divided the camp-like palace into four quadrants; the serliana terminated the view at the far end of the cardo, the principal "street" connecting the residence of the palace proper and the chief gate.⁴⁴ The architectural treatment of that short spur of "street" forming the Peristyle was richer, more imposing, different from the plain colonnades of the three other "streets." This was done most likely to express and to stress its function as the forecourt of the palace; and in spite of the fact that it is unroofed -- a basilica discoperta -- it does belong, together with the domed rooms and the long barrel-vaulted hall, to the group of rooms with their many variations...⁴⁵

The peristyle and the serliana do not occupy the crossing of the cardo and the decumanus because the palace was conceived as a city, and the cross-axis, as an urban feature in antique architecture, had several symbolic meanings.

"It is therefore natural that the cosmic/ universal message of the cities gradually became associated with the Empire's idea of the State. Likewise it was natural to connect this symbolism to buildings that were used by thousands of Romans and which were monuments to the leader of the Empire. Unequivocally clear 'to all the world' the cosmic and universal sovereignty of the Empire was made Manifest."⁴⁶
The peristyle became the symbol of secular and sacred power throughout the Middle Ages in Italy. It was the inspiration for the mosaics representing the Palace of Teodorico at S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna, as well as other medieval representational works. Indeed: "It has come to be recognized that the insignia, rituals, ceremonies and palace architecture of the Roman court, which had developed over the centuries from Hellenistic and Eastern customs in order to present the Imperator as a divine Kosmokrator had a lasting influence upon the symbolic art and rituals of the Christian Church. It is not so clearly realized that Christian architecture, with its mystic intent to express the invisible by means of the visible, appropriated with Imperial Roman architecture. Because it is assumed that the Romans...were too practical a people to be influenced by architectural symbolism, it is not commonly understood how much the Christian desire to make a church an apparent 'Gate of Heaven,' an impregnable 'Stronghold,' a 'City of God,' and a replica of God's cosmic dwelling was inspired by the ideas and ceremonies which had been associated with the towered gateways, triumphal arches and sacred palaces of the Roman Emperors." Vasari appropriated that medieval, churchly tradition and applied it to the cult of the ruler, so that the Christian Church, with its long nave, became once again, at the Uffizi, the basilica discoperta of the ancients. At the far end of this basilica, as upon an iconostasis or rood screen, over the upper serliana, Vasari placed the "cult" image of the glorified ruler. Standing upon a
plinth, clad in armour and in helmet, Cosimo I, assuming a martial stance, looks down into his forum; he is flanked at one side by a reclining figure of Equitá, or Fairness, and on the other by Rigore, or Firmness. The window which frames the ruler uses, as has been noted earlier, the Roman Composite Order, the window frames the ruler in a holy halo, the reclining figures, derived from the tomb figures of the Medici Chapel, proclaim that the justice of the ruler was to be had in the curial chambers that lined his forum; the association of Cosimo I and his justice was noted by Vasari in his Life of Tribolo, in discussing the designs for the garden at Castello. Vasari writes that:

"in the part of the wall which stretches upward, were to go six figures that were to demonstrate the greatness and the goodness of the House of Medici, and to denote that all the virtues are to be found in Duke Cosimo; and these were Justice, Compassion, Valour, Nobility, Wisdom, and Liberality, which have always dwelt in the House of Medici and are all united at the present day in the most excellent Lord Duke, in that he is just, compassionate, valorous, noble, wise, and liberal... It is also proposed that in the pediments there should be placed portrait busts of the men of the House of Medici, one in each -- over Justice, for example, the portrait of His Excellency, that being his particular virtue."

Vasari had created in the serliana a structure that partook of a number of symbolic meanings, meanings rooted in antique and ecclesiastical usage -- the serliana acted
as a *Summa* of the secular state "theology" of the Medicean regime. The Uffizi was conceived as palace, a basilica, a forum, and a quasi-sacred precinct:

"which were the impressive abodes and sacred strongholds of those superior beings who controlled the life and destiny of men, were the only comprehensible realities by means of which the common man could visualize the splendors of the heavenly domain. The primitive instinct to conceive of the unknown in terms of the known, to think of the world as an ancestral shelter or cosmic house, and to formulate conceptions of heaven as a stronghold, palatium, and walled enclosure, guarded by a 'Royal Gate' had not been changed by the upper-class rationalism of classic culture. Over the centuries the forms of architecture continued to have ideational values and overtones of meaning in the minds of the credulous masses, who looked with awe and reverence upon all monumental structures." 52

Indeed, the *serliana*, with all its ideational and symbolic overtones, connoted a "Royal Gate" leading into the forecourt of the Heavenly Palace; the Triumphant Arch at the Royal entrance to the imperial inner city, the presence arch at the end of the imperial court and the quasi-sacred screen enshrining the reverend image. Through Vasari the *serliana* became an accepted symbol of governmental structures, permitting Ammannati to use it in the *cortile* facade of the Palazzo della Signoria in Lucca (c. 1576) (Fig. 101) and in the Palazzo Attiguo, where he also used forms drawn from Michelangelo as well as from Vasari. Though Ammannati
approved the use of the motif, he redesigned the **serliana** of the Uffizi to have only one serlian arch, at the ground level, rather than two. (Fig. 102) Under his sketch Ammannati wrote "mia, veddi il modello suo, schizai questa come piú ragione d'architettura, 1560."\(^5\) Despite the contemporary criticism, the **serliana** gained acceptance as the most stylish and the most symbolic segment of the design of the Uffizi. The **serliana** stands as Vasari's most successful architectural design.
Manner then attained to the greatest beauty from the practice which arose of constantly copying the most beautiful objects, and joining together the most beautiful things, hands, heads, bodies and legs, so as to make a figure of the greatest possible beauty. This practice was carried out in every work for all figures, and for that reason it is called the beautiful manner.


CHAPTER ELEVEN
Mannerism in Architecture and
The Uffizi as Mannerist Architecture

Vasari described the proper method of approaching the creation of a work of architecture. It required that the architect know, practice and apply basic and fundamental principles. The application of those principles would assure a judicious selection of proper and correct elements. The architect needed to know that

"Rule...in architecture was the process of taking measurements from antiquities and studying the ground-plans of ancient edifices for the construction of modern buildings. Order was to separate one style from another, so that each body should receive its proper members, with no more interchanging between Doric, Ionic, Corinthian, and Tuscan. Proportion was the universal law applying both to architecture and
sculpture, so that all bodies should be made correct and true, with members in proper harmony.\footnote{1}

In stating these principles, Vasari was simply following a long tradition which went back to Vitruvius. That ancient Roman had written: "Architecture depends on Order, Arrangement, Eurhythmy, Symmetry, Propriety and Economy." He then defined each of those attributes to show that they are not only essential in the design of a good, sound structure, but that each attribute is in some way related to all the others. This very interrelationship re-inforces the contribution of each to the whole.\footnote{2}

Although Alberti differed somewhat from Vitruvius, he also expounded principles that were rooted in, and based on the ancient author. However,

"in Alberti's theory of architecture, the imitation of nature takes place within three categories: the number, measure and arrangement of the parts of the building. Having bound the idea of beauty to Nature and Reason, Alberti discarded the numerous and overlapping aesthetic norms which Vitruvius had applied to architecture, preferring to order his own rules around the idealistic notions of Beauty, Nature and Reason, which he had come to accept. Vitruvius had taken his categories from ancient rhetoric...Alberti's categories flow from the idea of Beauty which he proclaimed to be the primary and absolute law of nature and of art."\footnote{3}

His definition of concinnitas corresponds to Vitruvius' concept of symmetria;
"but taking the Idea as the objective of architecture he drew from it the novel concept of numerus: (Numbers: so that nothing can be added or taken away), finitio: (Measure: so that nothing can be decreased or enlarged), and collocatio: (arrangement: so that nothing can be differently placed.)"^4

Vasari had read Alberti's De Re Aedificatoria, and would not have disagreed with it; however, Alberti, unlike Vasari

"presents in logical and chronological sequence the problems which confront the architect as he goes about the process of designing and creating a building. The emphasis is upon creation as a process and end rather than upon process as regulation or rule."^5

The theory and practice of architecture in the Quattrocento differed in degree only from that of the Cinquecento; there was no sudden and sharp cleavage between the Early and the High Renaissance -- nor was there a dramatic reaction to the architecture of the High Renaissance. As Shearman has so aptly stated, there was not

"in any sense a reaction against, or in opposition to the High Renaissance, but...a logical extension of some of the latter's own tendencies and achievements."^6

The architecture that developed out of "the tendencies and achievements" of the High Renaissance has come to be called "Mannerist." (Fig. 103)
As an architect, Vasari followed the theories of Vitruvius, Alberti and other architectural authors. He knew the *libretti* of Serlio, Vignola, and Palladio. He believed that he was part of an on-going tradition, yet his architecture is labelled "Mannerist" to distinguish it from the works of Alberti, Bramante and other architects that preceded him. Vasari acknowledged that he and his contemporaries had discovered the true manner, the proper *maniera*; he would not have vouchsafed to call his own works "Mannerist," as he would not have considered that aspect of his "style" to be any more important than any other aspect of his "style." Vasarè believed himself to be the heir of the High Renaissance, not a rebel against it; he, in his own thoughts, was the continuation, not the contradiction, of that development.

Is there, then, a "Mannerist" architecture? And if so, how can it be distinguished from the architecture which precedes it and from that architecture which is current with, but different from it in approach and intent? It is now generally accepted that Mannerism as a movement in Italian art spans a period of some eighty years. The beginning and the end are both temporally fluid. It can be stated with some assurance that the period began with
the late works of Raphael, and that the style, "the stylish style" as it may be termed, began simultaneously in Rome and in Florence. The spread of the style from Florence, and from Rome, was aided by the political events of the first third of the Cinquecento. The upheavals that affected, and afflicted the greater part of central Italy caused a wholesale movement of artists from the great urban centers. The greatest center, Rome, after the Sack saw the dispersal in large numbers of those followers of Raphael and Michelangelo, who, fearing for their lives fled to less turbulent cities in Italy. After the cessation of hostilities and the resumption of a semblance of normality, some artists returned to Rome, yet others remained in their new homes practicing the style that they had learned in Rome during the heady days of Pope Leo X. That new style spanned the greater part of the Cinquecento and included, as practitioners, many, if not most, of the outstanding artists of three generations. However:

"Expanding the concept of mannerism to include practically the whole of the sixteenth century and the subsumption under it of practically all the representative artists of the age never meets with greater resistance than in the case of Michelangelo, who seems much too powerful, unique and independent to be called a mannerist, a term
always associated with extravagance and affectation. One of the reasons why it is so hard to reach general consent on the significance and definition of the style is that such an unlucky name has become attached to it, distracting attention to characteristics which are by no means the most essential, let alone the most permanent.\(^9\)

In Italy this "stylish style" came to an end with the emergence of Caravaggio, Bernine and the Roman Baroque. Mannerism existed, therefore, as a definable artistic phenomenon between about 1515 and 1590. To the artists involved in the creation, refinement and spread of the style, the term "Mannerist" did not exist; they believed that they were forwarding or refining the advances made during the Golden Age of the High Renaissance.\(^9\)

In architecture, as in painting, the style began with Raphael and Michelangelo. It has even been suggested that the style has antecedents in the Roman opera of Bramante, as:

"The first two Roman decades of the Cinquecento hinged on the figures of Bramante and Raphael who arrived at a decisive turn and created elements also found in Mannerism. One adds to this conclusion some other facts that require probing, most significantly those deriving in the greatest and most inclusive sense from the religious, social and spiritual element."\(^10\)

The style, or maniera began as an extension of the High Renaissance, indeed, began in and with the accomplishments, that golden period.\(^11\)
"In effect the two moments in which one best senses the nature of Mannerism are the years 1520/30 in its Roman setting, and, at the other end of the century, the years 1580/1600 in the transmontaine centers, Prague, Antwerp. In these two cases the movement appears at its finest, the first phase shows the development, in the circle of Raphael, of a suave style which was elaborated upon by Correggio and Parmegginino; and, towards an opposite orientation, the 'terribilita' that was developed by Giulio Romano...; the coming together of these elements in 1524/25 in Rome seems most decisive in this regard."12

Mannerism, then

"reflects a particular historical period which, in itself, differs very markedly from the period of the High Renaissance."13

Mannerism developed out of the High Renaissance; it was responsive to the changes that had taken place in Italy between the pontificates of Leo X (Medici) and Clement VII (Medici). All the arts of the period reflect those changes which had taken place, rapidly and painfully, in Italian life. Those changes, which were all-encompassing, caused the emphasis to be then placed on some traits of the art of the High Renaissance at the expense of others. Of this fact one art-historian has written that:

"If I had to sum up the architectural values shown in this picture (Pontormo's Joseph in Egypt) I should say that they were coherence achieved through deliberate confusion, the interlocking of planes and volumes in space and the emphasis of suspension in structure. Now, these very same qualities dominate in that masterpiece of
Mannerist architecture, Michelangelo's Laurenziana. This again is too well known to need analysis. But it may come as a surprise to some to have pointed out to them identical qualities, weightlessness, deliberate confusion; interlocking of structure and enclosing planes, and so on...

Rudolf Wittkower, in his magisterial essay on Michelangelo's Biblioteca Laurenziana adumbrates the salient characteristics of Mannerist architecture. He refers to these characteristics as "the problem of Mannerism" because the characteristics enumerated are quite different from those which mark and define the architecture of the High Renaissance. In his dissertation of the architecture of Florence before and after the establishment of the Medici duchy, Wittkower isolates the following features: ambiguity, conflict, duality of function, inversion and permutation. Of the first characteristic, ambiguity, Wittkower writes that:

"Every attempt to work out the architecture according to one system immediately leads to the other. So here we have an ambivalence that is essential...tension is created, the observer is left with...doubts.

This kind of architecture gives the eye a specific stimulus to movement. The eye wanders ceaselessly here and there. To express this phenomenon is a word I have used the term ambiguous."
At the Uffizi, ambiguity of forms produces an ambiguity of impressions, causing the viewer constantly to read and re-read the architectural elements in an attempt to make sense of, and to differentiate between, the load bearing members of the facade. At the level of the lower loggia the long nave-like rows of piers and columns produce an effect akin to that of a roofed basilica, lacking only the roof. The progression of trabeated up-rights leading to the arcuated *serliana* parodies the rows of columns within a basilica leading to the triumphal arch of the chancel. Within each range of the lower loggia, the progression of piers and columns is organized into successive bays; but, as each pier is hollowed by a niche, the pier can belong to but one bay, leaving the adjoining bay bereft of its outer supports, so that only every other bay seems whole and complete, while the intermediary bays seem incomplete and unstable.

This ambiguity is eventually re-enforced at the level of the *piano nobile*, as there the pilaster-strips reveal themselves to be, in fact, inset panels containing the triple windows of each bay. Once again, the seemingly
intact individual bay is revealed to be, in fact, truncated and incomplete. The pilaster-strips do not define individual bays, but rather meld one bay into another -- a circumstance which does not allow for a simple, comprehensive reading of this level. Rather, the bays not only meld one into the other, but, simultaneously seem to repeat the ambiguity of the bay-system of the lower loggia, as the pilaster-strips can also be seen as hollowed applied piers dividing the individual bays. When viewed as unitary supports, the pilaster-strips can be applied to but one bay, therefore denuding the adjoining bay of its needed and individual supports. Visually, it is possible to alternate the rhythm of the bays from loggia to piano nobile, producing a dizzying zig-zag effect in addition to the zig-zags possible within the reading of the individual levels.

The altana repeats the ambiguity of the piano nobile using the forms of the lower loggia, so that the now unified and un-hollowed piers of the altana, rather than serving as supports for adjacent bays, support the long, light cornice of the altana, which serves also as the entablature for the full facade. The ambiguity of the piano nobile re-appears in the altana, as the supports of
the upper loggia continue the line of the supports (rather, non-supports) of the piano nobile over which they stand. Therefore, the facade can never be fully organized into any single cohesive system, as a second, and equally valid system, confounds the logic of the first.

Conflict is described as "a restless fluctuation between opposite extremes..." At the Uffizi Vasari begins the ascent from lower to upper level with a loggia pierced by both piers and Doric columns, weighty elements heightened by the open spaces between the supports; the mezzanine increases the richness and weight, with its freight of consoles and framed openings, and framed panels matching the openings. The mezzanine serves, in its turn, as support for the piano nobile. That floor, with its solid walls, pilaster-strips and closely grouped windows, seems far more ponderous; while at the same time, it seems far more insubstantial than the loggia. The resolution of this conflict is not provided, as the upper floor repeats the open loggia of the lower. This fact tends to create an impression that the facade is being reflected in a looking-glass, and, therefore, only half of it is being perceived as real, the other half being merely mirror-image reflection. The height of the walls, the narrowness of the
space of the piazza, and the length of the twin palaces, which seem to converge, produce an effect of a tunnel-like space, tall and tight, bounded by rising and falling facades. Here, the elements revealed to the spectator at the eye-level, of the lower loggia are repeated in a more attenuated mode high above eye-level, at the upper loggia causing a dizzying up and down movement of the eye similar to the zig-zag movement found in the facade of Raphael's palaces. A conflict is established at once between the lower loggia and the upper loggia; one open passageway competes with the other causing the eye to wander restlessly from bottom to top of the facade. This movement then creates the impression that the piano nobile, with its own internal conflict, is being crushed between the upper-lower logge.

Duality of function

"is one of the fundamental laws of Mannerist architecture. On it depend, for the most part, the effects achieved by Michelangelo...It can be used in connection with the orders in all kinds of complicated ways...or it can be used with other architectural members apart from the others." 18

Just as Michelangelo had used the so-called 'giant order' at the Capitol, which creates a visual confusion as to the precise delineation of each floor of the palace, so Vasari used complex combination of piers, pilaster-strips and consoles, as well as columns, pilaster-strips and
consoles at the Uffizi to achieve an effect quite similar to that of the 'giant order' of the Capitol. Vasari increased the confusion by dividing into the semi-independent elements the vertical articulation of the facade, which then may be viewed as either a unified, full 'giant order' or as a series of separate elements of varying character placed in an intermediate manner, one above the other. In "reading" the facade, these vertical supports seem to discharge several functions, one at variance with the other, at the same time as the individual supports seem to bear the burden of the separate levels of the facade, while as unified supports they seem to bear the burden of the uppermost cornice alone. One is forced to re-evaluate constantly the "proper" limits of the individual uprights and the broad extent of the superimposed vertical members of the facade.

Further, the variance between the open logge and the closed piano nobile bespeaks another duality, as the lower loggia would have been interpreted as "public" in character by a contemporary of Vasari, while the piano nobile would have been thought of as "private." To this duality of public and private forms was added the upper loggia, or altana, which, appearing above the 'private'
piano nobile, would have been accounted as a continuation of the private portion of the facade, serving the function of the altana of domestic palaces, while, to add to the duality once again, assuming the form of the lower, or public loggia. To the knowing observer -- which may have included all those urban dwellers who by sheer daily experience would have been able to make such fine architectural distinctions -- the interplay of public and private forms would have been a source of confusion, as the facades of the twin palaces clearly included forms that were usually considered mutually exclusive. The somber seriousness of the lower loggia, obviously intended as a public place in both form and function, contrasted sharply with the relatively light and elegant palatial treatment of the piano nobile, which was just as obviously intended as a private place despite the fact that the functions performed behind the facade were semi-public, adding yet another complexity to the interpretation. Finally, the upper, private loggia, mirroring the form of the lower, public loggia, discharged a function, before being glazed, which was interpreted as akin to that of the domestic terrace of an urban, family palace. Vasari skillfully combined a duality of support function with a duality of
occupational function, so that each level of the facade, read either vertically or horizontally, contains what may be described as multiple dualities.

The principle of inversion

"forbids an unequivocal vertical reading of the facade: the eye is led to wander from side to side, up and down, and the movement thus provoked can again be called ambiguous. Duality of function produces ambiguous movement in a single-storey building, and inversion in buildings of several storeys. Often both principles appear in the same building."19

If by inversion is meant the reversal of the normal order, than this attribute is not too easily perceived in the Uffizi; its inclusion in the fabric of the twin palaces is far more subtle than is that of the other attributes mentioned so far. The complexity, ambiguity and duality of function expressed in the facades of the twin palaces can be readily noted and analyzed through a knowledge of the appropriate rules and canons which Vasari knowingly altered. An inversion of the normal order seems far less obvious as its application depends less on the infraction of architectural rules, and more on the clever transformation of accepted architectural norms into architectural curiosities. Thus, the very presence of two nearly identical logge -- one at the lowermost level
and one at the uppermost, serving diverse functions while assuming similar forms — would seem an inversion of the normal ordering of a facade. In public structures, the loggia usually had its place at the lowermost level where it served as a public gathering place for citizens. In domestic palaces, the loggia usually had its place at the uppermost level, where it served as the private gathering place for family members. The ground-level family loggia was usually found near the family palace, not incorporated into its fabric, as was the case of the Loggia Rucellai, designed by Alberti, which stands opposite the family palace of the same name and by the same architect.

Therefore, by introducing both an upper and a lower loggia, Vasari confounded the usual practices and normal expectations, thereby creating that which was outside the normal order of Italian Cinquecento architectural usage. The Belvedere of Bramante at the Vatican was the exception, having a loggia on both the lower and uppermost level. This complex was designed as an exurban villa on several terraced levels, and fell outside the standard practices of urban architecture. At the Uffizi, an urban palace, that sense of inversion is further emphasized by the use of near-identical forms for both the upper and the lower logge. By
disallowing a clear distinction to be made between the one and the other, the two become as one and the same to the viewer. Therefore, one or the other appears to be misplaced. If the facade is read as that of a public structure, the lower loggia alone need by included, if read as that of a private palace, than the upper loggia alone need be included.

However, the facade can also be viewed as having characteristics of both public and private structures, allowing for the inclusion of both logge. As this ambiguity is never resolved but rather stressed and repeated in any number of ways across the facades, the logic of the usual expectation is inverted, allowing the acceptance of the seemingly illogical inclusion of an upper and lower loggia separated by a mezzanine and piano nobile that can be viewed as the cap of one loggia or the base of the other.

Finally, he writes that "the duality of function peculiar to the wall may be called permutation," which he describes as follows:

"One can thus say that the wall itself evokes the impression of ambiguous movement; what appears to be wall has the effect of a recessed plans, what appears to be a pilaster strip has the effect of a wall. Just as duality of function and inversion made a clear
conception of bays, whether horizontally or vertically, impossible, so now one remains uncertain as to the real nature of the outside wall. 21

Permutation may also be termed transformation, as one thing seems to become another while being held to view. In Mannerist art and architecture elements that appear to be of one form discharging one function change, on closer inspection, to appear to be another form discharging another function, or no function at all. The forms seem to change from one to the other without respite or reason, imparting a nervous fluidity to the work, as in the facade of the Uffizi, which takes on a sense of restless motion extending horizontally and vertically across the full extent of the facade.

At the Uffizi this device appears in several guises, or disguises, most especially at the level of the piano nobile. Wittkower speaks of walls which appear to be recessed panels and of pilasters which appear to be walls; these observations hold true for the piano nobile of the Uffizi. At that level, the pilaster-strips appear as firm supports protruding from the wall, continuing the upward thrust and line of the piers and columns of the lower loggia. Yet, upon closer inspection, the pilaster-strips are revealed to be the outer edge of a wall panel which
contains the triple windows of each bay. Each pilaster-
strip is hollowed out, and seems to stand on the lower
cornice upon a common footing; that which appears to be
a unitary support is, in fact, the meeting of two wall
panels joined at the top of the wall and scored down the
center. The pilaster-strips separate sides are joined
just below the upper cornice by a string course which
seems, from below, to serve as an abbreviated capital for
the upright. The seemingly firm pilaster-strip has per­
muted into wall panels, and then almost at once, back again
into the originally preceived form.

This permutation of forms is visible in the walls with­
in the lower loggia where the windows of the chambers stand
on raised wall panels which also serve as a sotto-finestra
or underwindow, repeating the pattern of the sopraporta, or
overdoor, of each chamber. The panels shift from one
function to the other without resolution or respite.
Throughout the facades of the twin palaces architectural
elements endlessly alter themselves into other architectural
forms so that Vasari's facades seem ever in unrequited
motion.
Wittkower then sums up all these characteristics, he states that:

"When orders or walls contain such conflict within themselves the impression is one of ambiguous movement. Duality of function, inversion and permutation lead the eye restlessly to and fro. The state of tension inherent in such architecture is irreducible: there is no possibility of an ultimate balance and repose. Italian architects of the 16th century found innumerable ways of elaborating, varying and combining these principles." 22

This is not, by far, a set of characteristics that could be applied to the architecture of the Early or High Renaissance. However, as Terzaghi states, paraphrasing Wittkower, "l'idea dell'architettura bella esce da un gioco parietale..." 23 (Fig. 104)

Historians have suggested that the so-called "stylish style," the architecture of Mannerism, began with the early masters of the High Renaissance, and that the style spans the last three quarters of the century. If this be true, Mannerism as a movement could be said to have spanned almost the full length of the Cinquecento, born under Bramante, raised by Raphael, matured thorough Michelangelo, and reaching its full development in the works of their followers, among which may be included Giorgio Vasari, Ammannati, and Buontalenti. (Fig. 105)
Bramante, who almost alone created the idiom of the High Renaissance in Roman architecture, created its canonical palace facade: the so-called House of Raphael (c. 1510) in the Borgo (Fig. 106), the facade of which became the standard of Roman palazzi. The facade is divided into two clearly defined zones, the lower is rusticated and volumetric; the upper is ashlar and planar. The lower portion of the facade is divided into five bays, each of which is arched, the arches formed of large stone voussoirs. The central archway provides access to the interior; the other four provide access to street-level shops. In re-introducing shops on the ground floor of patrician homes Bramante was re-insisting a practice honored in antiquity. Bramante may have been influenced more by the remains of plebian Roman insulae, then by the patrician domus, as shops were less often found, but not overly rarely so, in the urban domus. The upper floor announces its aristocratic pretensions through the display of windows set in tabernacle frames and fronted by individual balconies. The bays are defined by paired engaged Doric half-round columns which support a correct Doric entablature complete with triglyphs and metopes in the frieze. The logic of the design is immediately apparent in the use of
the paired half-round columns so that each bay is defined by its own set of supports; the supports are doubled at the corners also, where logic would have demanded but one column, by the need to re-inforce the corners, and which also prevents the visual weakening of the design at that point. This facade is a concise statement of the aims of the Roman High Renaissance, which strove for, among other attributes, sobriety, clarity, magnificence, harmony, balance, repose, correct use of the Orders, and aristocratic ease — a counterpart in stone to the attributes of the ideal courtier as delineated by Castiglione in his seminal work on the proper deportment of a gentleman.

In his design for the Palazzo Vidoni-Caffarelli (c. 1515-1520) in Rome (Fig. 107), Raphael, aware of Bramante's exemplar, created a facade that owes its chief inspiration thereto. However, Raphael introduced certain differences and departures from the model. The rustication he employed in the lower zone is a series of continuous horizontal bands, bending at the arches of the doors to form voussoirs. The rhythm of this zone is far more complex than that of the Bramante palace, as pedimented windows alternate with round-headed arched openings. The windows are set above ground level on consoles, the arched
doors reach all the way to the pavement. Conversely, the peaks of the pediments are as high as the highest voussoir over the arches, which are sprung at a point below that of the lintel of the windows so that the crown of the arch is somewhat lower than the lintel of the windows. A peculiar zig-zag motion is set up, which is not resolved in the piano nobile. Raphael used the paired half-columns of Bramante’s design, but unlike Bramante who logically placed each column on its own base, Raphael placed both columns of the pair on a single base which serves, in turn, to form a continuous band with the balconies set at the base of each window. The windows are set much closer to the columns, unlike the fenestration of Bramante’s facade which had ample wall-space all around. The Vidoni facade, therefore, seems more crammed, the elements more tightly packed together. The windows are capped by lintels without pediments. The lintels are extended upward by small panel-like openings that are as wide on their outer edge as the windows below are on their inner edge. The cornice is heavier and projects further over the facade, seeming to weigh down on the supports as a pressing burden.

Raphael’s proto-mannerism is even more developed in the facade of the now-destroyed Palazzo Branconio d’Aquila
in the Borgo. (Fig. 108) Here, Raphael produced an amalgam of both Bramante's and his own palace types, inverting the forms and the functions so that the facade becomes almost a parody of the conical type. The zones are reversed, and a third storey is added. The columns of the classic piano nobile, now set individually and singly in the wall, appear on the lower zone, with arches set between them in a mode based on the combined arcuated and trabeated system of the Colleseum. This zone bears shops with small windows set in the arches above the shop openings. The center bay opens directly into the interior of the palace. The piano nobile destroys the logic of the lower zone. Rather than five bays corresponding to the five bays of the first floor, it has eleven openings -- five windows and six niches -- set in one large 'bay.' The low niches are arched, the windows, which are as high as the crown of those arches, are set in fully developed aedicule frames with Doric columns on pedestals supporting alternating triangular and segmental pediments. A balcony below the window is not in evidence, but is replaced by a podium on which the window sits, so that the socles of the columns are joined to the podia of the windows. Individual pedestals appear beneath each niche. These elements thus
create a wide cornice that serves as both an entablature for the Doric order of the lower floor and a podium for the articulation of the piano nobile. The zig-zag pattern evidenced in the lower zone of the Palazzo Vidoni is enhanced at the Palazzo Branconio on the piano nobile by the introduction of panels above the pediments and swags set between them with medallions all'antica set in the loops of the swags.

The third floor bears windows capped by simple lintels, separated by broad panels, which are larger than windows, except at the corners where the panels are far smaller making the corners seem weak. Weak corners also appear on the piano nobile where niches are used as the terminus of the wall. The niches are placed along the entire length of the facade above the columns so that the positive load-bearing function of the supports is disallowed by the negative hollow of the niches. With the creation of this facade Raphael had moved from the High Renaissance, even from proto-mannerism, into the full-blown maniera of the first generation of Mannerists. This change took place over the span of some very few years; the creations of each stage of this rapid development were available to the critical and discerning eye of Vasari.
The canonical palace facade as evolved by Bramante required that the building grow lighter as it rises, following the precedent of Alberti, who imposed a somber sameness on each storey, but lightened the stonework from lower to upper floors. The Bramantesque canon also required that each part have a clear function and be clearly related to all other parts, yet each part be separate, independent, complete. Bramante's canon was echoed by Palladio, but altered -- to say the least -- by most of the Mannerists of the first and second generation of Mannerism.

The architecture of the High Renaissance had been developed out of an understanding of the "rules" of antiquity, an ability to apply those "rules" correctly, and desire to rival, nay surpass the architecture of the ancients.\textsuperscript{24} The architecture of antiquity became the guiding principle, the exemplar of excellence; "si poteva credere che le architetture antiche risponderessero a leggi fisse."\textsuperscript{25} Once the "rules" of the orders had been learned, understood, and codified, to continue to apply them, even correctly, would have produced an architecture of monotony,\textsuperscript{26} an architecture informed only by the correct application of the same rules to the same problems,
consequently producing a sameness of results. Italian architects of the sixteenth century were far too imaginative, too creative to stop in their development even if the perfection of the Golden Mean had been achieved during the reign of Pope Leo X. Instead, they felt it necessary to demonstrate that artistic ingenuity could be enhanced by applying and bending the "rules" at one and the same time.\(^{27}\) The Roman works of Bramante inaugurated this "gioco parietale," especially in the remarkable manner in which he had made subtle "adjustments" in the use, and in the proportions of the Orders. The Belvedere abounds in these suave contradictions, most of which are visible only to the most observant.\(^{28}\) Changes in the progression of the Orders are made in such a manner as to disarm and amuse the knowing observer. For example, the one storey upper terrace of the Belvedere is articulated not by the "required" Doric, but rather by the totally "incorrect" Corinthian. This Bramante does because the Order is richer, and, therefore, more appropriate to the private Papal terrace of the complex. Though the line of sight is interrupted by the intervening towers flanking the grand stairway, the Order continues that of the upper level of the lower public court of the Belvedere. Bramante enriches
the Order of the upper terrace by using the so-called Colosseum motif; whereas, at the lower court the Order is used in its classic trabeated form. Bramante here is "playing with" the application of the Orders, he is using them symbolically and metaphysically.

"At the lower court the 'Grecian' Corinthian looms high overhead, a location of supreme honor; at the upper court the 'Roman' Corinthian enfolds the private enclosure of the Supreme Roman Pontiff. Everyone who looked out the Pope's window in the Vatican Palace must realize that Julius was the most powerful of all Roman emperors; he could sponsor the creation of works on a scale that had no precedent,..."29

Bramante expressed through architecture the Pope's status, ambitions, and position "high over head" all his subjects, temporal and eternal, secular and religious. Once Architecture began to speak in a complex symbolic language, once the grammar and syntax of antiquity was capable of transformation through poetic license into a rich and courtly tongue, once Architecture could be used to sing the praises of the patron through the manipulation of forms and format, then Mannerism in architecture began to be heard -- its first notes announced by Bramante who "competing with the ancients, surpassed them while using their own architectural language of grandeur."30 Mannerist architecture is a courtly art, an art developed for, and
devoted to the needs of the ruling classes. It is lavish and austere, rich and somber, restrained and haughty, dominant and recessive, public and private, in sum, all the contradictions of what has been called, in truth, "hispanized" Italy. It is an art that is rarefied, intellectual, sophisticated; it is jocose; it is controlled, decorous, demure; it is arrogant, overweening, untrammeled; it is fine, rare, precious, jewel-like; it is unnatural, artificial; it is \textit{ars gratia artis} removed to a further plane. Mannerism is an enigma and a puzzlement; it may appeal to the eye, but pleases through the intellect. It repels while it attracts; it attracts only to repel. It is an art of contradictions that was born in the bright light of the Golden Age, matured in the murky light of the pre- and post-invasion turmoil, grew to fullness in the crepuscular light of the Counter-Reformation, and succumbed, at long last, to the lively, intense light of the Baroque. It was born in Rome, traveled extensively, settled nowhere, and died, exhausted, in Rome.\footnote{32}

Throughout the long period of its ascendancy, Mannerism was a nervous art, and an unnerving art demonstrating:

"an unavoidable state of mind, and not a mere desire to break rules, Sixteenth century Mannerism appears to consist in the deliberate inversion of
the Classical High Renaissance norms..., to in-
clude the very human desire to impair perfection
when once it had been achieved, and to represent
too a collapse of confidence in the theoretical
programs of the earlier Renaissance. As a state
of inhibition, it is essentially dependent on
the awareness of a pre-existing order; as an
attitude of dissent, it demands an orthodoxy
within which framework it might be heretical."

Therefore, it may be assumed that the dark side of Manneri-
ism was a cause of its anti-classical stance. Concerning
this possibility Arnold Hauser writes:

"Before taking note of the 'anticlassic'
character of Mannerism, it is almost impossible
to separate that from its fundamental character-
istics. The definition of Mannerism simply as
'anticlassicism' is therefore, above all, inade-
quate as is the rest of its unilateral interpre-
tation. In fact, if one determines that Mannerism
is anticlastic without stating that it is also
classic, not only does one limit the truth, but
in large measure, one destroys it. In a similar
manner, the theory that it is formalistic, not
naturalistic, or irrational and eccentric repre-
sents only a half-truth because in reality,
Mannerism reveals alternating characteristics,
naturalism as well as non-naturalism, and
rationalism can, in some cases, prevail over
irrationalism. Only a correct interpretation
and assertion of the dialectic contrasts and
the reconciliation of the two stylistic prin-
ciples will furnish an acceptable theory of
Mannerism."

Mannerism in architecture, then, can be said to be
characterized by the sharp contrast between two stylistic
principles, the classic and the anti-classic. A
structure, for example, like the interior of a Byzantine
church, is dissolved.
"In more general terms, the Mannerist architect works towards the crushing emphasis or the visual elimination of mass, towards the exploitation or the denial of ideas of load or of apparent stability. He exploits contradictory elements in a facade, employs harshly rectilinear forms, and emphasizes a type of arrested movement."36

This denial of stability extends to a denial of the wall itself, as,

"The surface of the Mannerist wall is either primitive or over-refined, and a brutally direct rustication occurs in combination with an excess of attenuated delicacy."37

All of these characteristics represent, and present the anti-classic face of Mannerist architecture, by contrast

"One of the fundamental principles of Renaissance composition was the uniformity of the scene rendered, its local coherence, in short, logical, spatial relations. The whole system of perspective proportions and tectonics was only the means of creating the effect of space. Mannerism led to a breaking up of this structure..."38

The classic face of Mannerism can be said to be revealed in its dependence on the classic works created by the artists and architects of the High Renaissance.

"In this respect the interpretation of Mannerism as an 'anti-classical' style has tended sometimes to obscure the continuity of artistic standards which alone account for Vasari's profound understanding of the Renaissance."39

The classic and the anti-classic co-existed in Mannerist architecture in a profound, unbalanced equilibrium, indeed,
Mannerism was an attempt to sever art from the surface realities of life and to pursue it, not to a logical, but rather to an intuitive conclusion. Mannerism began, according to some, in Tuscany. The Mannerism practices in Florence during the reign of Cosimo I produced an architecture that was dependent as much on Roman models as it was on local ones. Because the regime was essentially quite conservative, Florentine Mannerism is both progressive, and at times, conservative:

"thus artistic production in the Grand-duchy, considered as a whole, did not have its own system of internal rules and their place was necessarily taken by external ones; by the precepts of academic culture -- already evident in the paintings of Vasari, by religious moralism...and lastly by fiorentinismo, i.e., the codifying into convention of the city's artistic heritage... When these external rules became preponderant, the architect's margin of freedom was reduced to a laboured variation of details..."

Florentine Mannerism, as a "provincial" courtly art was used for purely local ends; the whole generation of artists

"that ran from Vasari to Buontalenti built up the myth of sacred Florentine history in the shadow of grand ucal power, and did away with the conflict of the past in order to accredit the thesis of a continuity of convention... it did in effect dispose of the impressive legacy accumulated during the previous centuries within a few decades."
The "conflict" that was done away with in myth survived in the very architecture that celebrated that myth,

"standing in front of the colonnade of the Uffizi...instead of a sense of elevation to a higher, more even, more peaceful level of existence, one feels bewildered, uprooted, insecure, removed to an artificial spatial structure that seems abstract in relation to ordinary experience. The building is neither a part or a continuation of empirical reality, nor is it an artifact felt to be a sublimation or summary or quintessence of that reality; the impression it creates is that the order of things that applies elsewhere has been displaced by another, fictitious order."  

In Florence that "fictitious order" began with Michelangelo at the Laurenziana, and continued unabated, as the hallmark of Florentine Mannerism, in the works of, among others, Giorgio Vasari especially expressed in his design of the Uffizi in which experimental Roman Mannerism is wedded to a more conservative, classicizing Florentine Mannerism producing a stooled serious and nervous structure.

Vasari was subject to the influences and tendencies of contemporary art movements. That movement which for him was contemporary happened to be what is now known as Mannerism. Vasari responded to the artistic currents of his time, both an innovator and follower, attributes characteristic of most Mannerist artists. He did not knowingly set out to design in a "Mannerist" style, but
rather he attempted to practice the proper maniera that would assure that his creations display grace, charm, wit, novelty while referring, as was the considered practice, to the outstanding artistic examples of the distant and recent past.

The Uffizi is Mannerist not because it is now so labelled, not because Vasari consciously designed it as such and not because it fits chronologically into the correct time span. But rather because Vasari was consciously applying specific principles in the process of design, principles which are now defined as specific to Mannerism, and because he was sub-consciously responding to a combination of artistic impulses and impetuses that permeated and defined his time and place.

"Mannerism was an essentially Italian style." Vasari was the quintessential Italian Mannerist court artists, his Uffizi the exemplar of courtly Italian Mannerist architecture.
Not little, also, has been the time that I have spent in those same days in push­ing forward the construction, from the time when I first began it, of the log­gia and the vast fabric of the Magis­trates, facing towards the River Arno, then which I had never built anything more difficult or more dangerous, from it being founded over the river, and even, one might say, in the air.

Giorgio Vasari, Le Vite, Book III.

CHAPTER TWELVE
Conclusions:
The Architecture of the Uffizi, and
The Uffizi as Architecture

In a few spare sentences Vasari summed up in his own words, his major architectural achievement. In those sparse phrases Vasari chronicled a massive architectural program that, from its inception to its conclusion, spanned more than a quarter-century. In those taut lines Vasari de­scribed the most important architectural commission under­taken in Florence during the whole of the Cinquecento. In those few descriptions that serve as a coda to his brief review of the work, Vasari informed posterity of his part in the creation of the most important building built by command of Duke Cosimo I de'Medici.
"The developing institutions of the Tuscan state needed an appropriate set of forms and symbols, and Vasari found his solution in a selective combination of elements from ancient and Cinquecento architecture."^1 As has been noted throughout this work, Vasari chose not just any element from the architecture of the ancients and the moderns. The forms he selected were chosen for their symbolic meaning. In designing the Uffizi, Vasari was called upon to give physical expression through architectural form, to the political and social aims of the Medicean regime. Indeed

"The history of the loggia's aim site indicates that political aspirations and public architecture were inseparable in Medicean Tuscany."^2

The Uffizi was intended, however, as far more than merely a grandiose symbol of a new state founded on the old.

"Efficiency of administration was one of the characteristic features of the Tuscan state under Cosimo I."^3 and to Cosimo

"it was simpler to collect all of the public offices into a single location. This was the motivation of Cosimo I for the construction of the Uffizi."^4

The Uffizi was as much an architectural symbol as it was a functional office and court building; as,
"to administer his domain, Cosimo replaced self-government with a class of bureaucratic functionaries who ruled his name."⁵

Though Cosimo awarded the commission for the Palazzi dei Magistrati to Vasari in 1560,

"this scheme was on foot as early as 1545 as Lupini notes in his Diario that 'on March 11 they began to pull down the houses and the shops opposite the Zecca of Florence so as to prepare for the new street and habitations of the Magistrati.'"⁶

Vasari accepted the commission, and with his usual zeal set immediately to work, so that

"although the foundations of this work were not begun until July, Vasari was already preparing his scheme in March, when he addressed a report to his patron as to the value and extent of the buildings which will have to be demolished to make room for the new work."⁷

By the very next year the work was proceeding smoothly while, at the very same time, Vasari was still engaged on the redecoration of the Palazzo della Signoria;

"On February 16, 1561, Vasari writes imploring the Duke to inaugurate the new year (which, according to the Florentine computation, began on March 25th) by allowing him to set to work on the Sala (Grande of the Palazzo Vecchio). Cosimo, however, refused to give the requisite orders, probably because he knew that Giorgio would have quite enough to do in supervising the enlargement of the Magistrati..."⁸

Vasari had a limited site in which to locate the new palaces as
"Even in cities like Florence or Venice, the shortage of space and the cost of land meant that such buildings...could only rise vertically once the horizontal dimensions had been set. The result was the creation of slab-like commercial structures, structures whose upper floors could be used for numerous functions...housing, administration, storage, etc..."  

The work proceeded apace despite adverse conditions. Vasari was determined to move the construction along as required by his patron. The Duke paid no heed to any reverses, man-made, natural or otherwise.  

"In spite of the famine produced by the almost incessant bad weather of the past few years, Cosimo continued to plan new projects, so that in the beginning of the year (1563) it was not surprising to know that there was a general shortage of money both for the Palazzo Pitti and the Uffizi in Florence and for the Palazzo dei Cavalieri at Pisa."  

Carden continues, explaining that  

"as a result of these difficulties the ducal architects, Provveditori and builders showed the utmost anxiety to impress their patron with the amount of work they were doing, and by harassing him with unnecessary letters and details moved him to wrath. On January 30, the Provveditori for the Uffizi wrote to complain that, owing to the bad times prevailing and the amount of money that was being spent on the Cavalieri at Pisa, they could get nothing for the prosecution of their own work, although they required only the mere trifle of 150 scudi per week."  

Despite the bad times, the bad weather, and, at times, the lack of funds, the work was finished according to Vasari's design in 1580, some eight years after his death.
The design can be considered as a compendium of three distinct elements, the piazza-forum, the twin palaces, and the connecting river-loggia. The scheme was, for Florence, grand; but, it had its roots in the public architecture of other Italian capitals, such as the Palazzo dei Conservatori on the Campidoglio in Rome. The foremost example of large scale public palaces lining a formal space was the Piazza di San Marco in Venice. Vasari knew Venice and its principal public forum well, which leads to the conclusion that

"The Uffizi, like the public buildings on the Piazza San Marco, was obviously meant to be a conscious display of the power of the state." To house the offices of the Medicean state and, at the same time, to display the power of that state, Vasari chose from sources both modern and ancient.

Of ancient sources, Vasari was most responsive to those that were considered products of the Imperial period. Vasari examined the extant Roman monuments, he studied the remains of le rovine romane with great care, sketching and measuring most especially those remains that he considered to be of the Imperial era. Of modern sources Vasari was most responsive to those that were products of papal, regal, ducal or princely courts. Vasari examined those
courtly monuments; he studied the works of modern masters with great attention, sketching, and collecting sketches and drawings — most especially of those monuments that he considered to be princely. Of the modern masters, Vasari was most responsive to the works of Bramante, Peruzzi, and above all Michelangelo. It was to Michelangelo that Vasari was most deeply indebted for his inspiration for the design of the Uffizi, and it was especially to the buildings created by Michelangelo for the Pope and the Medici to which Vasari turned for his primary inspiration.

For the piazza, Vasari's theoretical program derived in large part from the fora of ancient Rome. He used the principles established for the rebuilding of the Forum Romanum, when that place was subjected to the concepts of formal urbanism. The ancient market-place was provided with similar loggi'ed basilicae flanking either side of the long, open space. These serial structures framed the Tabularium at one end, the Regia and the Temple of Julius at the other. The principles used in the replanning of the most ancient of Rome's open spaces, were applied with formal exactness in the planning of the Imperial fora, particularly those of Julius and Augustus. These principles were applied ex novo to the Italic shape of the new
fora, producing an open, peristyle-like space, bounded on at least two sides by colonnades, on the entrance side by a formal propylaeum and focusing on the temple facade that occupied the fourth, and other short side.

Vasari was most motivated by the Forum of Augustus, as his master was identified with Augustus. Cosimo I was considered as a Tuscan Augustus. Vasari incorporated the salient features of the Forum of Augustus in his design for the Uffizi. These same features had been recommended by Vitruvius, who had written his treatise during the reign of Augustus. These two facts, the construction of the forum and the composition of the book under Augustus, were sufficient impetus for Vasari to emulate the principles embedded in both works for his own august master. Ancient architecture was used as a mine for both the theoretical program and the architectural details of the composition. Vasari was less capable than were artists of later generations of making clear differentiations between the Republican-era and Imperial-era remains; but, he suspected or believed on the available sources that certain structures were indeed imperial. These became his sources premieres for the all'antica elements of the Uffizi. Antique sources also prevailed, among others,
in the design of the serliana, which was based, in some measure, on the remains of Roman triumphal arches, and, most especially, on the tripartite Arch of Augustus, portions of which was excavated in Vasari's time at the entrance to the Forum Romanum. Of Late Antique forms Vasari chose the festigium of the palace at Spalato, a presence arch, which, at the Uffizi is fused with the triumphal arch motif. The fusion of the two expressed the several symbolic functions of the serliana as both a triumphal entry to the Florentine forum and a formal frame for the effigy of the Florentine prince.

Vasari pointedly refused to incorporate the Forums of Roman Republican-era into his design when he suspected the provenence of those forms. For Vasari, imperial Rome and "le antichita romane offrivano una ricca fonte d' ispirazione..."

Vasari was especially reluctant to include in his design the republican forms of the Quattrocento, of which he was far more knowledgeable than he was of the forms of ancient Rome. Whenever possible he chose instead to re-interpret the works created for the princely courts of the Quattrocento, and more especially, of the Cinquecento. From these works he chose the basic form, the longitudinal
Italic shape of the piazza at Vigevano. This forum had been laid out for the Duke of Milan from designs provided by Bramante. Vasari also turned his attention to the ducal fora of the Doges, the Piazza and Piazzetta di San Marco at Venice which not only stimulated his artistic imagination, but which fully expressed the political statement that Vasari was striving to express in the design of the Uffizi.

"The Uffizi, like the public buildings on the Piazza San Marco, was obviously meant to be a conscious display of the power of the state."  

Venice provided a prototype of the space Vasari wished to create in Florence. Venice was the exemplar that combined forms that could be viewed as all'antica with a function that was somewhat parallel to that of the Uffizi.

Venice was the great model; Rome, Cinquecento Rome, the mental stimulus. Rome provided the fertile mind of Vasari with the examples that Michelangelo had created for the popes. The Capitol may have been lightly based on Pienza, for Vasari it was a totally fresh and grand creation, the apogee of civic architecture. Much that was included in the plan for the Uffizi can be traced back to Michelangelo's Roman opus for the popes. For of all the sources drawn upon by Vasari, none was more identified
with the Medici than the works created by Michelangelo at San Lorenzo. These works, these early Cinquecento manifestations of nascent Florentine Mannerism, are the works on which Vasari most heavily depended, and the works on which Vasari hung all his other architectural references. The Laurentian Library is the underlying and most obvious source of the form of the Uffizi; but, it is not simply copied, rather

"Vasari became self-critical and counter-weighed every possibility. In each and every detail he expresses a new scruple that pushes him more towards rigidity than to emphatic statement. And, it is this erudite attention to the constructive rules of the ancients..."25

Vasari took forms that Michelangelo had used for the interior of the Library and the Ricetto and applied them to the exterior of the Uffizi. At the same time, some exterior forms used by Michelangelo at the Library, appear on the interior of the loggia.26 The "inversion" is typical of both Vasari and Mannerism. Vasari reinforced the inversion by contrasting it with references drawn especially from Peruzzi. The cortile features of the Palazzo Massimo appear in the facade of the loggia, as well as do facade elements from the same palace. Vasari also makes reference to some forms of facades found in earlier Peruzzian works in Rome, notably the Farnesina.
Though Vasari was most obviously dependent on Michelangelo, he was a universal enough artist to make references to the works of other artists; these references always are filtered through is Michelangelesque lenses. Through this amalgam of references, attached to a basic Michelangelesque framework, Vasari created a series of symbolic references to works created for princes both ancient and modern. What resulted was

"una compiaciuta versione calessicista, conscia di modelli romani ma dignosamente corrente alla tradizione rinascimentale fiorentina." 

Though Vasari was keenly aware of the Florentine Renaissance tradition, his architecture goes beyond the limited scope of that tradition. His architecture is not static as is Quattrocento architecture, nor is it the self-engrossed perfection of the High Renaissance. It is an architecture of movement, not the movement of the Baroque which leads to a climax, but, rather a thwarted, unfulfilled movement:

"but because it unfolds serially it encompasses time as well as space. Vasari seems very much interested in effects of movement in his architecture. He had designed the Uffizi, for example, to be seen end-on, so that he concerned himself with the profile of the elements more than with their appearances, if one were able to stand back and observe the facade as an entity in the traditional manner. The parts -- columns, windows, aediculae, cornice -- are designed to be seen in terms of the perspective vista which
the vantage-point at the entrance to the Palazzo Vecchio offers. To make an elevation or to show a part of the Uffizi facade and to point out the monotonous repetition of the unvaried elements is to do violence to Vasari's architectural intent."28

Vasari chose individual elements from a variety of sources, but, "the autonomy of the individual unit has been diminished for the sake of the total plan."29 Vasari was confronted with the task of creating new forms to house new institutions, but which would seem to be old forms applied to renewed ancient institutions. To do this successfully Vasari had to fuse what was already known and accepted architecturally to a building program, the scope of which was absolutely unprecedented in the annals of Florentine or Tuscan civic architecture. Therefore,

"Vasari's design does not focus on the single monument, but aims, rather, at transforming the whole environment."30

As the scale of the project was unprecedented, Vasari used a "modular" design, which he varied according to the demands of the individual parts of the structure.31 Even in his so-called "modular" adjustments, Vasari:

"had less regard in his architecture for the individual elements than his predecessors, just as he had less regard for the significance of an individual painting, or an individual painter, or an individual patron. He thought in terms of the whole, all too often without paying sufficient attention to the quality of the parts."
The art factory which he managed was based upon the provocative principle that the work of art must not be a static entity, put before the spectator's eye for his mind's contemplation, but an experience through which the spectator moves under the artist's direction. This principle went beyond Renaissance thinking and prepared the way for the exuberant all-encompassing monumentality of the Baroque.\textsuperscript{32}

Vasari had gone far beyond the static repose of the Renaissance arts,\textsuperscript{33} and far beyond the simple domestic associations of Renaissance architecture. Through him the palace is charged with expressing not only the status of a specific family, but also and more significantly, the policies of a prince and his state.

"L'architettura, nella ferma opinione del Vasari, è l'uno dei principali strumenti della politica culturale ed artistica in mano ai Signori."\textsuperscript{34}

For Vasari, architecture had become not merely an art, but an instrument of politics, a method of expressing in the most concrete terms possible the aims of the Tuscan national state, which would indicate that Vasari had moved far beyond, and ahead of his Cinquecento fellow-artists, what we can observe developing in Vasari's and related projects that had significance for the future is the consolidation of power. In terms of social history the two decades of collaboration between Vasari and Cosimo are an important episode in the transfer of patronage from private to institutional or official sources.
"In this project the initiative of the patronage comes from the government in the person of Duke Cosimo, and not primarily from the private citizen. Despite Vasari's efforts to make us believe that this had been true a century earlier when Lorenzo the Magnificent had held office, we now recognize that this had not been so and that Duke Cosimo was really the first Medici to undertake such large-scale patronage of the arts."35

The architecture that Giorgio Vasari developed for the service of his prince, the architecture of the Uffizi, was an architecture derived from various sources,36 but most especially from Michelangelo who "had already surpassed antiquity."37 Though the forms of the Uffizi are derivative, the Uffizi is unique in its own right.38 The Uffizi, finally, is more than a work of architecture in the service of politics and policies; it is a work that praises the prince who commissioned and paid for it. The Logge, the piano nobile, the altana, and the serliana form the perfect cortile, which serves as the forecourt to, and the peristyle of the heavenly palace.39 In this forecourt "we perceive the orders as an angelic choir, a concert of beings sounding together."40

The Uffizi is far more than a practical, prosaic office building, though it functioned well as just that. The Uffizi dei Magistrati is a foro principesco; the Uffizi is a regia cortile; the Uffizi is a basilica curiale; the
Uffizi is the forecourt of the abode of His Highness, the Prince, Vasari, at the Uffizi, created the prototype of urban architecture of reflecting institutions of power, the model of an architecture charged with expressing the pomp, power, prestige, and presence of the prince and his all-encompassing state. In the architecture of the Uffizi Vasari celebrated not only Duke Cosimo I de'Medici, but also his state, the new nation state of Tuscany. As Cosimo married the old to the new to create his state, so Vasari fused the antique with the modern architecture to create his monumental masterpiece, his greatest work of architecture, the Uffizi. Einar Rud believes that Vasari was an excellent architect and that his reputation in that field has never been properly evaluated. He writes that "although he regarded himself as a painter, Vasari was to achieve his greatest works as an architect. He created significant works in this art."41

It is hoped that this study will have contributed to the re-evaluation of Vasari as an architect, and the re-evaluation of Giorgio Vasari's Uffizi.

(Finitus est opus in Domino, Ides Aprilis, Anno Domini 1983.)
NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1 Alessandro Antonelli (1798-1888), architect of the Mole Antonelliana (1863-1888), Turin.


5 Karl Frey, Die Loggia dei Lanzi zu Florenz, Berlin, 1885.


12 Note: The complex question of the very existence of a so-called Mannerist architecture will be pursued at some length in this study.


14 Walter Friedlaender, Das Kasino Pius des Verten, Leipzig, 1912.
Note: Additional information concerning this Casino and its architect will be forthcoming at a later point in this study.


33. "Thus we find, both in Northern Italy and in Rome during the 1550's and the 1650's, a striving for composure, for regularity, for an orthodox use of the ancient orders." Wolfgang Lotz, "Italian Architecture in the Late Sixteenth Century." in: *Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture*, Cambridge, Mass., 1977, 154.


NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO


3 "In 1529 peace was concluded anew between the King of France and the Emperor, who hurried to Italy to impose his rule personally. At a solemn congress held at Bologna, to which all the Italian states save Florence sent representatives, Italy's new pattern was laid down: Milan was assigned to Francesco III Sforza, on condition that when he died the duchy should come under Imperial sovereignty once more...and the other Italian states were drawn within the orbit of Spain. The Bologna congress was sealed by Charles V's receiving the Imperial crown from the hands of Clement VII after he for his part had promised to restore Florence to the Medici." Giuliano Procacci, *History of the Italian People*, New York, 1968, 106.

4 Procacci, 1968, 106.


6 "The people of Florence attributed this train of disasters to the incapacity of their magistrates...in order to punish and humiliate those who appeared to be too great to be reached by the laws of a republic, they asked to submit to the authority of a single person. At that period, Gualtiero de Brienne, duke of Athens, a French noble, but born in Greece, passed though Florence on his way from Naples to France...On the 1st of August, 1342, they obliged the Signoria to confer on him the title of Captain of Justice, and gave him the command of their militia." J. Sismondi, *A History of the Italian Republics*, New York, 1966, 144. Note: His rule lasted but ten scant months. (Author).

"Certainly Cosimo himself was far from satisfied with his new acquisition. He wanted much more than Siena. He wanted to be recognized as Grand Duke, a title for the assumption of which papal authority was required. So determined, indeed, was he to gratify this ambition that to achieve it he sought the necessary authority with a relentless persistence which on occasion seemed to assume the compulsion of a mania. And at last he had his way, Pope Pius V bestowed the title of Grand Duke upon him in 1569."


"...the experienced state official Gianfranco Lattini, ended up with what amounted to the first step towards a theory of an administrative, or bureaucratic, state."

Cochrane, 1973, 58.
NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

2 Vasari, 1979, 768
3 Vasari, 1979, 2221.
4 Vasari, 1979, 917.
5 Vasari, 1979, 2223.
6 Vasari, 1979, 2222.
7 Vasari, 1979, 2223.
8 Vasari, 1979, 2224.
9 Vasari, 1979, 2225.
10 Vasari, 1979, 2230.
11 Vasari, 1979, 2232.


13 Corrado Ricci writes that: "Among the most faithful followers of Michelangelo were Giorgio Vasari and Bartolomeo Ammannati. It is remarkable that critics always speak of Vasari as a writer when they wish to praise him, and as a painter when they intend to blame him, while it would be possible to say much good of him also as an architect. His inclination for this branch of art was indeed discovered by Michelangelo himself. 'As I took his opinion in all my concerns' says Vasari, 'his advice was the motive for me to set again, and with better zeal, to the study of architectural matters, which, otherwise, perhaps I should not have done.' Thus, as an architect Vasari is a pupil of Buonarroti, but what in Buonarroti is boldness becomes gracefulness in Vasari who seemed to understand and to follow rather the Florentine Michelangelo of the Sacrestia.
and the Library of San Lorenzo than the Roman Michelangelo of the Capitol and St. Peters."
Crorado Ricci, High and Late Renaissance in Italy, New York, (no date), 12-13.

14 For a full examination of the controversy surrounding Vasari's part in the project, see:
For a detailed study of Vasari's part in the work, see:

15 Vasari, 1979, 826.


17 Vasari, 1979, 2253.

18 Vasari, 1979, 2255.


20 Vasari, 1979, 2258.

21 Vasari, 1979, 2258.
NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1"In October of '60 Cosimo wrote to Vasari from Pisa to prepare a model. The model was finished in four months and under the direction of Vasari himself the work was begun." Giovanni Fanelli, Firenze Architettura e Città, Florence, 1975, 280.

2"It is in the process of design that his methods are most at variance with those of later periods, a fact that is amply documented by the many surviving early sixteenth-century drawings. In examining a collection of these drawings one's first impression is that very few of them were intended to be used in constructing a building or to be seen by anyone other than the architect. They are all nearly rapidly sketched studies of tentative ideas, sometimes for specific buildings, and sometimes for ideal structures. The few that are finished may be classed into two categories: first, the large, carefully drawn, and attractively rendered projects that were made for the client. These are called presentation drawings, they are rare and cannot have been much used for the construction because they almost never include measurements or a scale. Moreover they typically show the building that was to have been built rather than the one that was built...The second type of finished drawing was intended for use in construction, but it is limited to details -- a window, an entablature -- and was intended only to guide masons and carvers...All other drawings fall into the category of preliminary sketches."

3Ackerman, 1979, 162.


Heydenreich and Lotz, 1974, 321-322.
7. "The documents are most exhaustive concerning the debate on taxes; they present a picture of the corporate economic life of the city during the reign of Cosimo I. According to the proposal made by Vinta in August of 1560, one month before the laying of the first stone, the fiscal receipts could possibly come from a tax on auctions, a sales tax, from contributions levied on the Builders' Guild and the Chemists' Guild, from the banks, and from the sale of pardons for the fuorusciti, ending their exile by commuting their sentence, but imposing on them a monetary burden. To these sums were added the periodic contributions, payable in installments by the twenty banks used by the notaries of the Supply Office. The rectors of the Criminale were empowered to act as the tax-gathers. The marginal notes in the tax documents, in Cosimo's hand rendered his general approval, noting 'do this accordingly,' 'it is permitted to do this,' 'this goes well because it can be done,' entries which appear at the end of various paragraphs."

The Italian text reads as follows: I documenti assai esaurienti sull'argomento consentono di fare un quadro della vita corporativa della città ai tempi di Cosimo. Secondo le proposte del Vinta dell'agosto del '60, un mese prima della posa della prima pietra, i redditi fiscali potrebbero venire da una tassa sulle aste e sulla compravendita, sul contributo delle Arti dei Fabricanti e degli Speziali, dalle banche e anche dal riscatto del confino per i fuorusciti, con la commutazione cioè della pena dell'esilio in una pena pecuniaria. a questi cespiti si aggiungano le contribuzioni periodiche, rateizzate cioè, dalle venti banche dei notai della Mercanzia. Come esattori vengono proposti i rettori del Criminale. Le postille autografe di Cosimo approvano sinteticamente 'così si facci' 'sta bene ed eseguiscasi' 'sta bene purché si eseguisca' chiusando puntualmente i vari paragrafi." Franco Borsi, Firenze del Cincuecento, Rome, 1974, 44-45.

8. The Italian text reads as follows: "fermare i prezzi delle cose per la fabbrica che intendo diventano ingordi." Borsi, 1974, 44.

9. The Italian text reads as follows: "le meretrici non vorrebbero pagar le tasse, la tassa dei tempi passati le dicono essere state liberate e ne allegano il partito come donne dabbene di buona famiglia." Borsi, 1974, 45.
"There are two types of harlots, one of which wears the symbol of her trade, does not wear fine clothes and is found in the streets reserved for their trade. The others live at home and do not frequent the public streets. The Rectors were concerned, and rightly feared that in return for paying an increased tax, the harlots 'without fine clothes' would feel entitled to go about the city as they pleased, and as did their colleagues of higher class... who were required to appear before the Rector of Public Morals every four months to pay their taxes, which were figured as a percentage of the amount levied on the public brothels in the market-place. These charges were levied on bullettini which were issued to the common harlots for the night... the provveditori proposed to 'double the taxes of whatever type' on the harlots, to increase the cost of the bullettini and to impose a pardon fine for each bullettino. They also made a tentative proposal that the rich 'women of the night,' both middle- and upper-class pay a scudo a head, an amount that seemed reasonable to the Rectors."

The Italian text reads as follows: "due sorte di meretrici, una delle quali porta il segno, non porta drappo e sta nelle strade deputate per quelle, l'altra specie sono quelle che non portono segno, portano drappo e stan dove par loro. Il cancelliere é preoccupato perché teme che le meretrici 'senza drappo,' nel caso che paghino più tasse, si ritengano autorizzate ad andare in giro a loro piacimento come le loro collegh di categoria superiore... Si apprende anche come va avanti l'Ufficio dell'Honestá che ha al suo attivo le tasse che le meretrici pagano ogni quattro mesi, una percentuale sugli incassi sul postribolo del mercato, i 'bullettini' che si concedono alle meretrici per la notte, le "Condannazioni" cioè le multe. Per poter dare il contributo necessario alla fabbrica, il provveditore propone di 'duplicare le tasse di qualsivoglia sorte alle meretrici,' di accrescere l'importo delle 'condannazioni' e di aumentare il prezzo dei 'bullettini,' inoltre propone di fare uno scandaglio delle meretrici ricche, 'mediocri ed altre' imponendo loro di pagare uno scudo a testa, cifra che gli sembra ragionevole."

Borsi, 1974, 45.

11Florence, Museo Nazionale, Medaglie Mediceo, nn447.

12Giorgio Vasari, Ricordanze di Giorgio Vasari, Arezzo, 1927.
13. The translation reads as follows: "On Wednesday they began to lay the foundations of the new halls of the magistrates, where will rise the loggia of said halls, opposite the mint."


15. The translation reads as follows: "The foundations are completely finished and it is now organized there in such a manner to be able to begin the work above ground the day after Easter with the twelve masons and the twenty-four laborers."

16. This work was assembled from material that was first published in the *Lives* as introduction to several sections. The introduction "On Architecture," as well as those on painting and sculpture were extracted and published by Louisa Maclehose and C. Baldwin Brown as *Vasari on Technique*, New York, 1907, 58-59.

17. In his introduction to Architecture in the *Lives*, Vasari states that: "The stone that they call *pietra serena* draws towards blue or rather towards a greyish tint. There are quarries of it in many places near Arezzo, at Cortona, at Volterra, and throughout the Apennines. The finest is in the hills of Fiesole and is attained there in blocks of very great size...It is very beautiful stone to look at, but it washes away and exfoliates where it is subjected to damp, rain or frost. Under cover, however, it will last forever. Much more durable than this and of finer color is a sort of bluish stone in our day called 'pietra delfosato.' When quarried, the first layer is gravelly and coarse, the second is never free from knots and fissures, the third is admirable being much finer in grain. Michelangelo used this, because of its yielding grain, in building the Library and Sacristry of San Lorenzo for Pope Clement...the stone takes on a very fine polish so much so that nothing better in this kind of material could be wished for. On this account it was forbidden by law that the stone be used in Florence for other than public buildings unless permission had been
obtained from the governing authorities. The Duke Cosimo has had a great quantity of this stone put into use, as for example, in the columns and ornaments of the loggia of the Mercato Nuovo,...but the greatest amount, more than ever used elsewhere, has been taken by his Excellency for the Strada de'Magistrati...this stone demands as much time for working it as marble. It is so hard that water does not affect it and it withstands all other attacks of time."


22 Karl Frey, *Der Literarische Nachlass*, Munich, 1923. Letter from Vasari to Cosimo, dated 18 April; (Frey CCCXLI).

23 Atti Ducali, 3710 c. 25, Memoriale del Duca dell'il Settembre 1562 e c'26 Memoriale del 2 Novembre successivo.


25 The Italian text reads as follows: "gia tutti i pilastri della loggia sopra il fiume sono al fine."

Forti, 1971, 8.


The translation reads as follows: "in the first place its typological originality as a prototype of a genre."
NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

1 "The superb engraving by Giuseppe Zecchi...presents the Uffizi in its full dramatic aspect, in terms of both its own design and of its relationship with the whole of Florence." Edmund N. Bacon, Design of Cities, New York, 1967, 98.

2 The translation reads as follows: "In the programs of Duke Cosimo I there is evidence of the consistent striving towards order, harmony, glory." Fanelli, 1973, 26.

3 The Italian text reads as follows: "in oltre, il trasferimento (al Palazzo Vecchio) é il primo atto...delle serie di interventi che tendono a configurare la zona della Piazza Ducale (Piazza della Signoria) come area governativa." Fanelli, 1973, 26.

4 The Italian text reads as follows: "Cosimo I fa di tutto per rendere ufficiale il suo domino assoluto sulla città: si adopra per ottenere il titolo ufficiale di Regnante (1570), da una forma ufficiale ad ogni evento e ad ogni oggetto." Fanelli, 1973, 26.


6 The Italian text reads as follows: "fra il 1555 e il '65 Cosimo Annia grandiosi incremente a livello architettonico e urbianistico." Fanelli, 1973, 26.

7 The Italian text reads as follows: "É importante notare che l'avvio e la realizzazione di questo vasto programma avviene in co-incidenza con la chiamata, al servizio del Duca, del Vasari e dell'Ammannati facilitata dalla morte di Giulio III, per il quale ambedue quegli artisti avevano lavorato intensamente a Roma. Vasari e Ammannati sanno interpretare e realizzare coerentemente la politica architettonica e urbana di Cosimo. Nel Vasari Cosimo trova l'artista ideale disposto ad accettare le sue volontà e capace di arricchirle con una forma di fantasia congruente." Fanelli, 1973, 26.
Borsook, 1965, 44.


Che si suppone fondato fra il III e il II secolo A.C. e avremmo presso direttamente le mosse della deduzione della colonia cesariana. "La Città Romana," in: Dalla Città Romana al Cinquecento, 6, (no date).


Vitruvius was a Roman architect and engineer of the 1st Century B.C. known mainly as the author of De Architectura, a theoretical treatise in ten books. It is generally accepted that his surname was Pollio. All that is known of his origins and life have been gleaned from the scant biographical information contained in the preface to his ten books. Even the date of the work has been disputed, but publications must no doubt be placed between 27 and 23 when, according to his own testimony he was an old man. In his dedication of the work to Augustus Vitruvius points out that he was a friend of Caesar, who died in 43. He was, therefore, a contemporary of Varro and Cicero. It was by sheer good luck that the work survived and was known and respected during the middle ages, becoming almost Gospel to the architects of the Renaissance.

This was an Etruscan burial custom introduced into Rome by the Etruscan kings, these gladiatorial shows were long held in the market place (Forum Romanum) until late into the Republic.


23. Lanciani, 1897, 313.


25. Lanciani, 1897, 308.


28. Lanciani, 1897, 307. See also: Giuseppe Sepe, *Rilievi e Studi dei Monumenti Antichi nel Rinascimento*: "Tra le innumerevoli basi di colonne che il Sangallo rilevò"
e disegno espressa soddisfazione sentita nei ricordi misurati del Foro di Augusto per una semicolonna 'base bella.'" The translation reads as follows: "Among the innumerable column bases that Sangallo drew and measured, he expressed his satisfaction, written on his measured drawings of the Forum of Augustus, for a half-column, 'beautiful base.'"

29 McKay, 1978, 32.


35 "His (Brunelleschi's) mirror experiment was a feat, not just of aesthetic markmanship, but of perceptual upheaval and theological reinforcement. Directly or indirectly, it had implications which extended irreversibly to the entire future of western art and to science and technology." Samuel Y. Edgerton, Jr., The Renaissance Rediscovery of Linear Perspective, New York, 1975, 137.


38 Gutkind, 1967, 110.


40 ...and the earlier cassone paintings by Luciano da Laurana, ca. 1475. Paul Zucker, Town and Square, Cambridge, Mass., 1595, 102.
The Italian text reads as follows: "sono assurite a simbolo di un momento architettonico perché sembra che racolgano in una figurazione già prossima a farsi realtà, le asperazioni di quel mondo affascinante dell'architettura astratta eozizzante, dell'Italia centrale..." Sanpaolesi, 1949, 324.


Vasari, Lives, 1979, 492.

Vasari, 1979, 492.

Alberti, De Re Aedificatoria, VIII, 6.

Alberti, VIII, 8.

Alberti, VIII, 6.

Alberti, VIII, 6.


It has been suggested that Alberti was responsible for the rebuilding of the Borgo in Rome under Nicholas V. See: Torgel Mugnuson, "The Project of Nicholas V," The Art Bulletin, XXXVI, 1954.


"Bramante's presence at Vigevano is documented in 1492 and in 1494-96, but it is impossible now to determine the extent of his contribution. Canonica of S. Ambrogio, Milan, extensively documented...but the work was left unfinished." Arnaldo Bruschi, Bramante, New York, 1977.

56 Lotz, 1977, 133.

57 "Dionysius describes how 'many altars of the gods and lesser divinities [had] to be moved to some other place' when the summit of the Capitoline Hill in Rome was cleared for the great three-cella temple of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva in 509 B.C." Axel Boethius and J.B. Ward-Perkins, Etruscan and Roman Architecture, Baltimore, 1971, 71.


59 "When the Capitoline Temple was reconstructed after the fire of 83, its builder, Q. Catulus wished to heighten the old archaic podium to make it match the scale of his pediment." Boethius and Ward-Perkins, 1971, 132.

60 "In 78, the irregular group of structures of the sloping west short side of the Forum Romanum was given a monumental background in the shape of the Tabularium, a repository for the state archives built on the south-east slope of the Capitoline Hill." Boethius and Ward-Perkins, 1971, 126.

61 "An immediate and urgent necessity was the rebuilding of the official state sanctuary, the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitol, which had been burnt to the ground during the last stages of the Civil War. Rededicated in AD 75, it was again totally destroyed by fire five years later. The temple of Jupiter was once again restored on traditional lines, with a wealth of fittings such as gilded bronze tiles and doors plaited with gold...This time it stood undamaged until late antiquity..." Boethius and Ward-Perkins, 1971, 217.

...giving him the ambition by becoming ruler of the city. He did so in May 1347 when, after a great tumult he himself had organized and instigated, the title of Tribune of the Roman Republic was conferred on him."


Krautheimer, 1980, 206.

"The design harks back to town halls commonly built by the North Italian communes a century and more before."
Krautheimer, 1980, 207.

Ackerman, 1971, 153.


Lotz, 1977, 86.


The churches that Alberti designed for the town of Mantua are: S. Sebastiano, c. 1460 and S. Andrea, c. 1470.


Enrico Sisi, "Castro città scomparsa," *Urbanistica*, LXXVII, 1958, 67-75


The Italian text reads as follows: "da notare che Vasari ricorre per questo proprio a ispirazione della città
più armonizzante, cioè Venezia...sia nella creazione del Piazzale degli Uffizi ispirato, credo, proprio dello spazio consimile creato poco prima a Venezia con la piazzetta di San Marco; eppure poi, Vasari si'debba relegare, ad esempio, proprio negli Uffizi ai più sobri modi tradizionali fiorentini." Luciano Berti, L'Architettura Manieristica a Firenze, 1967, 214.

78 Martines, 1979, 312-313.
79 Martines, 1979, 314.

80 The loggia at the base of the campanile has long been referred to in most documents simply as the Loggetta, due, no doubt, to its small size. It is not a true loggia as it is not composed of an open portico attached to a building, but rather it is a small structure, the facade of which is articulated by three attached arches.

81 Murray, 1971, 262.
82 Murray, 1971, 269.
83 Murray, 1971, 262.


87 Zucker, 1959, 112.

88 "It is interesting, then, to wonder whether for Piazza SS. Annunziata he (Brunelleschi) might have had in mind the only urban piazza in Italy that was shaped and defined, more or less rectangular in outline, with a narthex before the church at the short end of the rectangle, and that was surrounded by, to borrow Ruskin's phrase 'troops of ordered arches' -- Piazza San Marco in Venice...
In Piazza San Marco, then, the arcaded loggie defining one or more of its sides existed from the beginning of the twelfth century; one of those arcades was the facade of a hospital, the other the narthex of a church. Although created in the Middle Ages, Piazza San Marco was most distinctly different from the standard piazza — irregular and without loggie — of the medieval Italian city...In the case of this piazza it was the survival of the ancient oriental marketplace, the Greek agora. There was no Roman forum preserved to this extent in the middle ages. No formal prototype existed from the classical west for Brunelleschi to adopt...If Brunelleschi did have a plan to construct a unified city square at SS. Annunziata...it was a plan that owed it origins more than anything else to the...model preserved in Venice." Isabelle Hyman, "The Venice Connection, Questions About Brunelleschi and the East," in: Florence and Venice, Comparison and Relations, Florence, Villa I Tatti, (no date).


91 Cabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, Gli Uffizi, nr 282A.

92 Philip Foster, A Study of Lorenzo de'Medici's Villa at Poggio a Caiano, Doctoral Dissertation, Yale University, 1980.

93 Codice barberino latino f. 39v, Rome, Biblioteca Vaticana, (no date).


95 Elam, 1978, 55.

model near at hand: "The piazza between the Duomo and the
Baptistry and especially the steps around the former seem
also to have been a favorite meeting place and a forum for
discussions for the citizens." Martin Wackernagel, The
World of the Florentine Renaissance Artist, Princeton,

97 Codex Atlanticus 315 r-b ca. 1515.
98 Carlo Pedretti, Leonardo da Vinci, The Royal Palace
at Ramorantin, Ch. VIII, "The New Medici Palace," Cambridge,
Mass., 1972, 60.
99 Pedretti, 1972, 60.
100 Vasari may also have been influenced by an immediate
NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX


2. The extensive Medici collection of books and Mss, begun by Cosimo il Vecchio, was eventually inherited by Clement VII (the illegitimate son of the murdered Giuliano de' Medici). In 1532, the books were returned to Florence by Papal Bull.


4. "The Biblioteca Laurenziana must surely be the most important and influential Italian secular building of the whole 16th Century...," Wittkower, 1978, 11.

5. The drawings referred to are:
Florence: Casa Buonarroti 48, 3, 42, 89, 92;
Haarlem: Teyler Museum (no number);
London: British Museum 1895-9-15-598;

6. Two blocks of such different heights could never have been made to look like a single block, and if Michelangelo had intended the difference from the beginning he would doubtless have expressed it somehow on the facade. Wittkower, 1978, 12.

7. Michelangelo completed only the windows and pilaster-strips of the lower floor [of the Ricetto] leaving the whole upper floor in the rough. A modern completion...was carried out around the turn of the century and finished in 1904. Wittkower, 1978, 11.

8. The condition possibly known to Vasari may have been similar to a description published by Geymuller in 1904; and as recorded in two old photographs by Brogi.

"In 1158, Barbarossa returned to Italy, marching over the Brenner with a hundred thousand men, to assert his authority..." and "The war flared up a year later in 1176 and the rival armies met for a decisive battle at Legnano, fifteen miles from Milan. Barbarossa attacked with his German knights...the knights were forced to a standstill...the whole Italian army began to push them back...The Italian horseman counterattacked, the Germans wavered and broke...victory seemed complete." Geoffrey Trease, *The Italian Story*, New York, 1964, 130, and 132.

For example, Raphael and Castiglione wrote a most significant letter in 1519 to Pope Leo X on the architecture of Rome in which they said that the buildings of the Goths were 'privi di ogni gratia, senza maniera alcuna.' (devoid of all grace and entirely without style), Shearman, 1967, 17.


Vasari, 1960, 84.

Heydenreich and Lotz, 1974, 62.

The foundation of the saxon borgo in which the hospital is located, is usually attributed to King Ine of Wessex who abdicated in order to take up residence in Rome in 726; King Burgraed of Mercia was buried in the church in 874.

It is rare for functional buildings to be designed with so strong a feeling for beauty..., Heydenreich and Lotz, 1974, 62.


Salone Sistino. The Braccio Nuovo was built between 1817 and 1822 for Pius VII by Raphael Stern. It is presently a sculpture gallery.

"The extraordinary impression that the Cortile del Belvedere made on the architects of the sixteen century is attested by its preservation in more than 70 contemporary drawings and paintings. It was not merely accepted as a major creation of an outstanding architect, but employed as a vital source of inspiration long after the particular vocabulary of the early sixteenth century had become obsolete." James S. Ackerman, The Cortile del Belvedere, Rome, 1954, 121.


Filarete, drawing of Circus of Caracalla or Maxentius, Rome. (Florence: Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Codex Magliabichianus II.I.140.

Tacitus and Suetonius on the Domus Aurea of Nero; Pliny the Younger on his two villas 'in Tuscis,' and at Laurentium, et al.


Vasari, Lives, 1979, 820.

Vasari, Lives, 1979, 820.

Ackerman, Cortile, 1954, 122.

"It is evident that Bramante thought of the Cortile not merely as an addition to the palace, but also as an outward projection of it;..." Ackerman, Cortile, 1954, 125.


Bruschi, 1973, 103.

Ackerman, Cortile, 1954, 123.


"The Life of Michelangelo is the climax to which the whole book [Le Vite] leads: 'He who among dead and living carries the palm, and transcends and outpasses all, is the divine Michelangelo Buonarroti, who not only holds the first place in one of the arts, but in all three together.' So Vasari wrote in the preface to his third part..." Boase, *Giorgio Vasari*, 1979, 248.

"...with Michelangelo architecture naturally takes a large place. It was through him that Giorgio, when he was about forty, had begun to study it. In his closely packed career his mastery of architecture, in which he had no previous training, is one of the most extraordinary facts. Vasari had of course thought and learned much about architectural practice in the writing of the Lives, but without Michelangelo's constant instruction and support the builder of the Uffizi and the Palazzo dei Cavalieri could never have had that technical mastery that he undoubtedly achieved." Boase, 1979, 252.

Boase, 1979, 252.

The *Descrizione dell'apparato* for the marriage of Francesco to Joanna of Austria, written for Vasari by Domenico Millina and Giovanni Battista Cini and printed in 1556, was included by Vasari in the second edition of the *Vite*, as was also his own *Ragionamenti* for the Palazzo Vecchio and for the cupola of the Duomo. All are included by Millanesi and Pecchias in their editions of the *Vite*.


Alberti stated that an arcade or colonnade is a wall "discontinuous in places."
These buildings were demolished in 1807 by order of Napoleon I, in order to build a ballroom for the royal palace which was fitted into the Procuratie Nuove.

"But in order that it may be more clearly understood what I call 'old' and 'ancient,' the 'ancient,' were the works made before Constantine in Corinth, in Athens, in Rome and other very famous cities, until the time of Nero, the Vespasians, Trajan, Hadrian and Antoninus, whereas those others are called 'old' that were executed from St. Silvester's day up to that time by a certain remnant of Greeks, who knew rather how to dye than how to paint."


It must be remembered that as originally planned the upper loggia would have been open, not glazed as at present, giving more the appearance of an open, lengthy, gallery-like altana.

Satkowski, 1979, 135.
NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1 Speaking of the bronzes, Giovanni da Bologna, Shearman states that "They [the bronzes] are meant to be turned around in the hand...the difference [of views] between them, in fact resolved by an entirely mellifluous transition, excites the intended astonishment that one figure can be so composed as to encompass this wide variety." Shearman, Mannerism, 1967, 89.

2 "To every member therefore ought to be allotted its fit place and proper situation, not less than dignity requires, nor greater than convenience demands, not in an impertinent or indecent place, but in a situation so proper to itself that it could be set no where else more fittly...and these ought to agree one member with another to perfect and compare the main design and Beauty of the whole; that we may not lay out our whole study in adorning one part, as to leave the rest neglected and homely in comparison to it, but let them bear that proportion among themselves that they may appear to be an entire and perfect body." Alberti, De Re Aedificatoria

3 Borsi, Alberti, 1977, 326.

4 The Italian text reads as follows: "Il fabbricato è composto dai seguent 'moduli' o magistrature, come risulta dal decreto di Cosimo del 1650: sette 'dalla banda di S. Pier Scheraggio' sei 'dalla banda della Zecca.'" Bemporad, Il Complesso degli Uffizi, 1976, 103.

5 Satkowski, 1979, 103-104.


7 Vasari wrote that: "having turned his arches over columns close together, both in the front and at the ends, since he wished to adhere to this plan, and not to make one single arch, he had a certain space left over on each side; wherefore he was forced to make certain projections at the inner corners. And then, when he wished to turn the arch
of the inner vaulting, having seen that he could not give it the shape of a half-circle, which would have been flat and awkward, he resolved to turn certain small arches at the corners from one projection to another; and this lack of judgement in design gives us to know clearly that practice is necessary as well as science, for the judgement can never become perfect unless science attains to experience by actual work." Vasari, Lives, 1979, 494-495.

8 Borsi, Alberti, 1977, 75.

9 On the other hand, Krautheimer sees rather a complex relationship between Alberti and his works and the writings of Vitruvius, he writes that: "The Roman author, like the buildings of antiquity, was to Alberti, only a starting point. Whether monuments or writings, the works of the ancients had after all come down in fragments, battered and ravaged by time. Hence they had to be reconstructed, interpreted, and improved, along the lines which to Alberti represented the true meaning of antiquity, the true meaning deduced from the totality of antiquity as he saw it, a consistent system of thought and life in which every thing and every action fell into place. On this basis Alberti established his program, his visionary yet precise interpretation of the role of architecture. Beauty, material, workmanship, and function coincide towards the one end, to create dignified surroundings for the dignified actions of dignified people." Richard Krautheimer, "Alberti and Vitruvius," in: Renaissance and Mannerism, Studies in Western Art, Vol. 2, Princeton, New Jersey, (no date), 52.

10 The translation reads as follows: "The palace of a prince should have before it an open square." A. Bruschi, Scritti Rinascimentali di Architettura, Milan, 1978, 302.


12 The French text reads as follows: "Pour faciliter le trafic les rues seraient à deux étages; l'étage inférieur serait réservé aux bêtes de somme et aux voitures, 'a l'usage et commodité du peuple,' l'étage supérieur serait celui où les gens de condition pourraient se promener, regarder les boutiques ouvertes à leur niveau sans être bousculés par les charrois."
The translation reads as follows: "To facilitate the flow of traffic, the streets [of the town] would be on two levels, the lower level would be reserved for carts and beasts of burden, 'for the use and convenience of the people;' the upper level would be that of the better classes, where they could promenade, looking into the open shops on that level without being bothered by the wagons." Jeanne Hugueney, Leonardo da Vinci, Urbainste, La Vie Urbaine, LCVI, 1952, 242.

Vasari explained the new method, stating that: "Therefore, in order to bring back into use the true mode of construction, which requires the architraves to be level over the columns and avoid the falsity of turning the arches of the arcade above the capital, I have followed on the principal facade /of the Uffizi/ the actual method of the ancients, as can be seen in the edifice. This fashion of building has been avoided by architects of the recent past, because stone architraves of every sort both ancient and modern are all, or the greater part of them, seen to be broken in the middle, notwithstanding that above the solid of the columns and of the architraves, frieze and cornice, there are flat arches of brick that are not in contact with and do not load the work below. Now after much consideration of the whole question, I have finally found an excellent way of putting into use the true mode of proceeding so as to give security to the said architrave by which they are prevented from suffering in any part and everything remains as sound and as safe as can be desired, as the results have proved." Vasari, On Technique, 1960, 70.

Vasari continues: "Having set up the columns, and above the capitals the architraves, which are brought into contact the one with the other above the middle axis of the column, the builder proceeds to make a square block or die. For example if the column be a braccio thick and the architraves the same in width and height, let the die in the frieze be made equal to them; but in front let there remain an eight in the face for the vertical joint, and let another eight or more have a sinking into the die on each side, bevelled to an angle of 45°. Then, since the frieze in each intercolumniation is in three pieces, let the two at the sides have bevelled projections in the opposite sense to the sinking, increasing from within outwards, so that each may be mortised in the die and be keyed after the manner of an arch, and in the front the
amount of the eight must bond vertically; while the part on the other side must do the same to the other die. And so above the column one must arrange that the pieces in the middle of the said frieze close within and is recessed in quarter-round form up to the middle, while the other half must be squared and straight and set with an empty space below, in order that it may hold as does an arch, the wall on the external face appearing worked with vertical joints. Do not let the stones of the said frieze rest on the architrave, but let a finger's breadth be between them; in this way, making an arch, the frieze comes to support itself and does not burden the architrave. Afterwards, make on the inside, for filling up the said frieze, a flat arch of bricks as high as the frieze, that stretches from die to die above the columns. Then make a piece of cornice as wide as the die above the columns, which has the joints in front like those of the frieze, and within let the said cornice be keyed like the blocks of the frieze, care being taken to make the cornice, as the frieze, in three parts, of which the two at the sides hold from within the middle piece of the cornice above the die of the frieze, and mind that the middle piece of the cornice slips down into the sinkings so as to span the void, and unites the two pieces at the sides so as to lock them in the form of an arch. In this fashion everyone can see that the frieze sustains itself, as does the cornice, which rests almost entirely on the arches of bricks. Thus one thing helping another, it comes about the architrave does not sustain any but its own weight, nor is there any danger of its ever being broken by too heavy a load. Because experience shows this method to be the most sure, I have wished to make particular mention of it, for the convenience and benefit of all; especially as I know that when the frieze and the cornice were put above the architrave as was the practice of the ancients, the latter broke in course of time, possibly on account of an earthquake or other accident, the arch of discharge which was introduced above the cornice not being sufficient to preserve it. But throwing the arch above the cornices made in this form, and linking them together with iron, as usual, secures the whole from every danger and makes the building endure eternally." Vasari, *On Technique*, 1960, 72-74.

15 The translation reads as follows: "An architrave of many pieces is stronger than one built of only one piece..." Bruschi, 1973, 294.
The drawings of the two types of doors are extracted from: Variorum Architectorum Delinationes Portarum et Fenestrarum quae in Urbe Florentiae Reperuintur.

The translation reads as follows: "Already all the supports of the loggia above the river are in place and the order has been given to throw the arches of stone to complete the vaulting." Forli, L'Opera di Giorgio Vasari, 1971, 8.

Vasari described in detail the method he used to construct the light but solid vault. He wrote that: "When walls have reached the point where the arches of brick or light stone or tufa have to spring, it is necessary to turn a centering with planks in a close circle, over the framework of struts or boarding. The planks are fitted together according to the form of the vault, or in the shape of a boat, as this centering for the vaults must be fixed with strong props in whatever mode you wish so that the material above does not strain it by its weight; and afterwards every crevice, in the middle, in the corners, and everywhere, must be firmly stopped up with clay so that when the concrete is spread the mixture shall not filter through. This finished, above that surface of the boards they make caissons of wood, which are to be worked contrariwise, with projections where a hollow is wanted; in the same way let the mouldings and details that we wish to make be worked by opposites, so that when the material is cast, it may come where (the mould is) hollow, in relief; where in relief, hollow, and thus similarly must all the members of the moulding be arranged. Whether the vault is to be smooth or enriched, it is equally necessary to have shapes of wood, which mould the desired form in clay; with this clay also are made the square panels for such decoration, and these are joined the one to the other on the flat or by mouldings or enriched bands, which can be made to follow the line of the centering. Having finished covering it all with enrichments of clay, formed in intaglio and fitted together, as was said above, one must then take lime, with pozzolana earth or sand riddled finely, mixing liquid and mostly lime, and of that lay evenly a coating over all, till every mould is full. Afterwards, above this coating make the vault with bricks, raising or lowering them according as the vault turns, and continually adding..."
till the arch be closed. This done, it must all be left
to set and get firm, till the work be dry and solid. Then
when the props are removed and the vault is left free, the
clay is easily taken away and all the work remains modelled
and worked as is done in stucco, and those parts that have
not came out well are gone over with stucco until they are
complete. In this manner have been executed all the works
in the ancient edifices, which had afterwards stucco enrich­
ment upon them. This the moderns have done to-day in the
vault of St. Peter's, and many other masters throughout
Italy have done the same." Vasari, On Technique, 1960,
85-86.

21 The Italian text reads as follows: "L'adozione
della volta a botte, legittima dal punto di vista con­
cettuale, pone grossi interrogativi strutturale per il
fatto di essere indebolita lateralmente dagli appoggi dis­
continui, proprio là sulla parete esterna dove la spinta
non può essere contrastata da quella degli ambienti vicini.
La risoluzione Vasariana a questo specifico problema
è senza dubbio molto abile e ingegnosa: egli infatti
estende il principio elementare della catena ad una vera
e propria armatura di tralicci trasversali di barre
metalliche solidali tra loro, annegati nel getto della
volta. Tecnica questa, per certi versi anticipatrice,
che con buone ragioni può essere definita della 'muratura
armata.'" Giancarlo Cataldi, "La Fabbrica degli Uffizi
Ed Il Corridoio Vasariano," in: Studi e Documenti di
Architettura, VI, December 1976, 124.

22 The Italian text reads as follows: "entro tale
fascia vengono disposte quelle basse aperture rettangolari
che bucando 'a sghembo' dall’alto la volta del loggiato,
consentono l’illuminazione diretta del vano dell’udienza
mediante sopraluci." Cataldi, 1976, 118.

23 William MacDonald, The Architecture of the Roman
Empire, New Haven, Conn., 1965, 9.

24 The Italian text reads as follows: "La grand villa
detta 'di Cicerone' a Formia... ha sulla terazza a mare
due ninfei che, nonostante resti di decorazione più tarde,
per l'opera quasi-reticolata si possono far risalire alla
prima metà del secolo 1 A.C.,... La copertura è costituita
da una triplice volta a botte..." Crema, 1959, 124.
...Alessandro, who was first Cardinal Farnese, and afterwards Pope Paul III, conceived the idea of commissioning him [Antonio da San Gallo] to restore the old palace in the Campo dei Fiore in which he lived with his family... and, a beginning having been made with the work, a certain portion was completed regularly every year." Vasari, Lives, 1979, 1269.


Shearman, Mannerism, 1967, 71.

"by 'architecture of the Renaissance' we mean the cycle of experiments which ran from the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries, and which made use of the stock of standard forms drawn from classical antiquity." Benevolo, 1978, 1.


"The organism conceived by Alberti is a synthesis of numerous ancient models,... in fact he tended to reproduce the features of the overall composition exactly, but allowed himself to manipulate the details freely..." Benevolo, 1978, 106.


"The immense weight of the stone vault must necessarily be carried on very large supports... Alberti therefore used the prototype provided by such Roman buildings as the Baths of Diocletian or the Basilica of Constantine, in which enormous abutments carried the weight of the vaulting, but at the same time could be hollowed out to form openings at right angles to the main axis." Murray, 1963, 54.


38 "Peruzzi was entrusted with the rebuilding of the palace, seldom had an architect more difficulties to contend with, and seldom were difficulties more triumphally overcome. Three proud brothers of an impoverished family required abodes that should with the utmost economy embody their aristocratic lineage, for were they not descendants of that Fabius Maximus who had led the armies of Rome against Hannibal? The house of a Roman patrician was to be re-created, and the name of the family, 'alle Colonne' was to be embodied in the facade." J. Hubert Worthington, "Baldassare Peruzzi of Siena." Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects, 20, 1912-1913, 729.

39 Heydenreich and Lotz, 1974, 193.

40 The rhythms may be diagrammed as follows:
   a = pilaster,
   b = wall,
   c = window wall,
   d = column,
   e = open space.
   a-b-a-c-a-b-a-c-a-d-e-d-e-d/then reversed.

41 Worthington, 1912-1913, 730-731.

42 Vasari, Lives, 1979, 1002.

43 Vitruvius, 1914, 31.

44 "But to return to the portico, it forms one of the most beautiful and carefully structured works of the whole Renaissance." Worthington, 1912-1913, 732.

45 Heydenreich and Lotz, 1979, 193.

46 Heydenreich and Lotz, 1979, 193-194.

47 "Baldassare Peruzzi was one of Vasari's most constant sources of inspiration, and he had already adopted elements from the Palazzo Massimo for the facade of the Uffizi." Satkowski, 1979, 126.
"It has been suggested that the oblong openings above the entablature of the lower order which lights the vaulting may be later insertions, but Peruzzi's careful drawings in the Uffizi prove that he was responsible for the chief architectural defect of the cortile." Worthington, 1912-1913, 732.

Vitruvius, De Re Aedificatoria, Book VI

"The exterior of the palace is dominated by the Doric architectural order in connection with rustic ornaments around portals and doors. At no time are these two elements in conflict; each has its place and its function and thus maintains the decoro required of a public building. According to Serlio the use of the Doric order in connection with the rustic did not represent a break with tradition — even the ancients had employed such a mixture. The task of the architect was to find the balance between licenzia and ragione." Egon Verheyen, The Palazzo del Te in Mantua, Baltimore, Md., 1977, 45.

Walter Friedlaender published the account book entries, including the following: "1560.6.Juli/cf Libro Mastro f 17/ A Mro Girolamo Scarpellino + cinquanta gli Congo il frumento a buon conto per comprar treuerlini per far la scala dell'edifizio nel boscchetto e per lavorare un arme die nostro signore che ha ad andare in pronte della loggia." Walter Friedlaender, Das Kasino Pius des Verten, Leipzig, 1912, 123.

Heydenreich and Lotz, 1979, 264.

"Although Ligorio was copying from Peruzzi, he made certain interpolations on the basis of his own knowledge of the building, his direct or indirect knowledge of the sources relating to it." Howard Burns, "A Peruzzi Drawing in Ferrara," in: Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, vol. 3-4, December, 1966, 265.

Verheyen, 1977, 46.

Satkowski, 1979, 135.
NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1"But none of these representatives of interiors gives the viewer a clue as to the true scale of the architecture represented. It is not by chance that they are devoid of people..." Wolfgang Lotz, "The Rendering of the Interior in Architectural Drawings of the Renaissance," in: Studies in Italian Renaissance Architecture, 1977, 13.


3"To the effects of the apse and vault Rabirius added those of the richly articulated walls with which he wrapped the great space below the vault... Aediculae or temple-front forms stood in recesses that alternated with low spur walls carrying columns... In plan the wall recesses were alternately curved and rectangular..." William Mac Donald, Architecture of the Roman Empire, 1982, 53.

4Erwin Panofsky, Renaissance and Renascences in Western Art, New York, 1960.

5"The first of these rapprochments...is known as the Carolingian revival, or the use of the designation employed in Charlemagne's own circle, the Carolingian renovatio. During and after the disruption of the Western Roman Empire the inter-related and overlapping process of barbarization, Orientalization and Chirstianization had led to an almost total eclipse of classical culture in general and classical art in particular. Oasis had been left in regions such as Italy, North Africa, Spain, and South Gaul where we can observe the survival of what was nicely been termed a 'sub-antique' style; and in at least two centuries we find even what amounts to revivals as opposed to survivals." Panofsky, 1960, 43.

The translation reads as follows: "At the Magistrates' the facade is more than half-finished to the cornice, and all the courts of the San Piero wing are finished; I have given my attention to the stairway that leads to the new salon (the future Medici Theater), which is being quickly bricked in." Frey, CMX.

La tripartizione dell'unità modulare della facciata oltre che a definire sempre meglio l'immagine spaziale dell'intero edificio, si rivela importantissima ai fini della risoluzione 'a monte' del grosso problema distributivo relativo alla sistemazione delle sette magistrature della banda 'lunga' di S. Piero Scheraggio." Cataldi, La Fabbrica degli Uffizi, 1976, 119.

The translation reads as follows: "the seriality of the row of rooms and ducal offices corresponds on the facade to the less pronounced horizontal cornice above the so-called 'tympani.'" Cataldi, 1976, 119.

The translation reads as follows: "with the mechanical alternation of large windows with triangular and segmental pediments." Cataldi, 1976, 119.

Vitruvius, Book V, Ch. 1.

Vitruvius, Book V, Ch. 1, 136.

Vitruvius, Book V, Ch. 1.

Vitruvius, Book V, Ch. 1.

The illustration is taken from: Finestra di Giorgio Vasari per la fabbrica degli Uffizi, in: Variorum ARchitectorum Delineationes Portarum et Fenestrarum quae in Urbe Florentiae Repreuintur.


"It was, according to Raphael and Castiglione, to be found in antique architecture. Vasari praised Bramante for increasing it, together with beauty, to the general advantage of the modern style of architecture. This idea was important because it led to the appreciation...of facility as a very positive virtue; and it led also to those kinds
of complexity and invention that are the result of deliberately raising more difficulties, so that dexterity may be displayed in overcoming them...Castiglione, in the Cortegiano invented a word for the courtly grace revealed in the effortless resolution of all difficulties -- sprezzatura...which is that kind of well-bred negligence born of complete self-possession...this term was used with enthusiasm by Dolce for works of art. As with "facility," the opposite vice is visible application of too much effort or any sense of strain in the performance." Shearman, Mannerism, 1967, 21.

18 Blunt, 1968, 92.

The artist can avoid errors and produce beautiful works by carefully studying antique works of art and a few sixteenth century artists. Ligorio writes that: "We should look at the good, at those things most excellent in manners and in works, in architecture ancient things and the precepts of Vitruvius. In painting the pleasing Raphael of Urbino, the drawings and sculpture of Michelangelo always holding the ancients before our eyes and in our memory as works most worthy and most like the beauty and quality of generative nature." Quoted in: Coffin, Ligorio, 1967, 205.

20 "He who has not drawn much nor studied the choicest ancient and modern works cannot...improve the things that he copies from life, giving them the grace and perfection in which art goes beyond the scope of nature." Vasari, Lives, 1979, 71.

21 [Vasari] "realizes that an artist must be judged in connection with his historical setting, and that it is foolish to condemn a painter of the Trecento for not being as realistic as one of the Cinquecento. 'My intention has always been to praise not absolutely, but, as the saying is, relatively, having regard to place, time and other similar circumstances.' Therefore artists of the earlier period can receive due praise for their contribution towards the general movement of painting from the barbarism of the Middle Ages to the cultural naturalism of the Renaissance." Blunt, 1968, 99.
"The first [edition of the Lives] is constructed solely to praise Florentine artists, with the life of Michelangelo at the climax. In the later edition non-Florentine artists are allowed more generous treatment, and though Michelangelo is still quite clearly the author's favourite, others are allowed to have approached, or even equalled him in certain respects." Blunt, 1968, 99.

Blunt, 1968, 93.

Vasari, quoted from Blunt, 1968, 94.

"The vaulting of the ground-floor loggia is lighted by openings in the mezzanine over the Doric order. Similar windows are to be seen in the coffered tunnel-vault of Bramant's choir in S. Maria del Popolo and in the cortile loggia of Peruzzi's Palazzo Massimo. At this point Vasari could quote 'classical' models." Heydenreich and Lotz, 1974, 323.


Heydenreich and Lotz, 1974, 246.

"The richly modelled main storey [of the Ricetto] stands on the much plainer walls of the lowest, which contains a staircase and an entrance door." Heydenreich and Lotz, 1974, 247.

Heydenreich and Lotz, 1967, 249.

Heydenreich and Lotz, 1967, 786.

Satkowski, 1979, 162.
NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

1 The corridor was begun in 1565; the work on the Uffizi had proceeded rapidly and was at a satisfactory stage when, on the occasion of the marriage between Prince Francesco and the Archduchess Joanna of Austria, the Corridoio Vasariano was constructed. It runs from the Pitti Palace, over the Ponte Vecchio to the Uffizi, from there to the Palazzo Vecchio. The work was completed, according to Vasari's statement, in five months.

2 Cosimo I died in 1574 and was succeeded by Francesco I. Since the Duchess Eleanora di Toledo, wife of Cosimo I, had acquired the Pitti Palace in 1550, the Grand Duke's family had lived there. In 1574 it became the official state residence, leaving the Palazzo Vecchio available to the state administrative offices originally destined for the Uffizi. The latter could then be used by the Grand Duke for the art collection of the Medici, thus in 1574 the Gallery came into existence.

3 Vasari died in 1574 and the work of the Uffizi was entrusted to Alfonso Parigi and Bernardo Buontalenti. The latter, in order to adapt the east wing for the gallery, enclosed the altana with large windows and erected, in the side opposite the piazza, a series of rooms. Among those was the Tribuna, whose construction was protracted for several years, being completed in 1585. In the small room which precedes the Tribuna itself, Francesco I, who was keenly interested in alchemy, had a laboratory installed where he prepared medicines and carried on excellent research projects. See also: Il Principe dello Studiolo by Luciano Berti, Florence, 1967.


5 Except, as noted, in that portion of the altana above the medieval Zecca.
The publications in which the orders were codified were as follows:
Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), *Tutti le Opere d'Architettura*, Venice, 1584;
Claudio Tolomei (1481-1556), *De le Lettere, Libro Sette*, Venice, 1547;
Giovanni Antonio Rusconi (1520-1586), *Dell'Architettura*, Venice, 1590;
Pietro Cataneo (1510-1569), *L'Architettura*, Venice, 1567;
Vincenzo Scamozzi (1552-1616), *Dell'Idea dell'Architettura Universale*, Venice, 1615;
Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell'Architettura*, Venice, 1570;
Giacomo Barozzo da Vignola (1507-1573), *Regole del Cinque Ordini d'Architettura*, Rome, 1562;
Sebastiano Serlio (1475-1554), *Regole Generale di Architettura sopra le cinque maniers di gli edifici*, Venice, 1537;
and Jan Vredeman de Vries (1526-1606), *Das Erst Buch, gemacht auff die zwey colomen Doria und Ionica*, Antwerp, 1565.

Egon Werneyen interprets these features somewhat differently, as he writes that: "Giulio's design of windows and falling triglyphs was indeed the right joke at the right time and in the right place. It possesses a uniqueness and could not be repeated." The author basis his view on a passage in Castiglione, which he quotes: "Now the place and as it were the source of laughter consists in a certain deformity, for we laugh at only those things that have incongruity in them and that seem to be amiss and yet are not. Most other authors believe that the device was intended to produce terror, not humor." Verheygen, *Giulio Romano*, 1977, 48.


"In this pure subjectivism, the mannerist anti-classical current is similar to the attitude of the late Gothic; the verticalism, the long proportions, are common to both tendencies, in contrast to the standardized balance of forms in the Renaissance." Walter Friedlaender, *Mannerism and Anti-Mannerism in Italian Painting*, New York, 1957, 10.
11. "...Mannerism did not grow up (as is often claimed) in any sense as a reaction against, or in opposition to, the High Renaissance, but as a logical extension of some of the latter's own tendencies and achievements." Shearman, Mannerism, 1967, 49.


16. The fourth storey was set with Corinthian pilasters, and a range of narrow quadrangular windows (which lighted the passage behind the gallery) pierced the wall between every other pier. Here again the material employed was travertine, and because the masons did not use mortar, they inserted iron clamps to hold the blocks in place. Peter Quennel, The Colosseum, Milan, 1971, 39.

17. Battari Ticozzo, III, 301. "Sette fogli di architettura quattro con tutta la Ritonda, tre di vari frammenti di basi e cornicioni."

18. "The most singular of the several buildings on the Palatine was the Septizodium, a lofty decorative facade dedicated by Septimus Severus in 203, of which the plan is known to us from the marble map and of which the eastern corner was still standing to its full height until demolished for this materials in 1588." Boethius and Ward-Perkins, 1970, 273.


20. "...at first glance it might be taken for a 15th rather than a 16th-century building. The patron was the Sienese banker Agostino Chigi, for whom Raphael was later to decorate the Chigi chapel, and the purpose of the building seems to have been that of a villa suburbana; that is, a pleasure place, just outside the city in which to spend a hot day." Murray, The Architecture of the Italian Renaissance, 1963, 152.
21 Bruschi, 1977, 81.
22 Bruschi, 1977, 80.
23 Bruschi, 1977, 80.
26 James Ackerman, Palladio, Baltimore, 1967, 164.
27 Satkowski, 1979, 97.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TEN

For the purposes of this study, and of this chapter, that portion of the Uffizi that joins the two palaces at the river-end of the piazza, when appropriate will be referred to as the serliana. This designation is chosen for the full structure due to the repeated use of that motif on both the piazza and the river-front facades. The Italian term "serliana" is rendered most often in English as a "Palladian arch" or Venetian window. The motif at the Uffizi appears in both facades in both forms.


The serliana motif, or serliana is defined as follows: "An archway or window with three openings, the central one arched and wider than the others; so called because it was first illustrated in Serlio's Architettura (1537), though it probably derived from Bramante. It was much used by Palladio, and became one of the hallmarks of Palladianism. It is more commonly known as a Palladian or Venetian window." John Fleming, Hugh Honour and Nikolaus Pevsner, Dictionary of Architecture, Baltimore, 1966, p. 262. It is the opinion of this author that the motif has classic sources, from which both Alberti and Bramante drew. In Italy the form became most associated with Serlio: "Nel suo trattato dell'architettura, Sebastiano Serlio così descrive l'apertura che da lui presse nome: ...'questa loggia o portico, che vogliamo dirlo, vuole essere voltato a botte, ma dove saranno gli archi sarà bisogno che si facciano le crociere, si come appare nella pianta qui disotto: e perché le colonne non potrebbono sostenere i fianchi e delle botte e delle crociere le quale sempre springono in fuori, sara necessario sopra ogni colonna nei fianchi della botte meterci la chiave di ferro... Ma la proporzione di questa faccia così sarà di fare, che lo intercolumnio maggiore sia per quattro grossezze di colonna, e il minore di due, l'altezza delle colonne con le basi e i capitelli saranno di sette parte, l'architrave sia tre quarti della grossessa di una colonna sopra il quale sara mentato un mezzo circolo, la fronte del quale sia per mezza colonna nella parte superiore."
Sopra gli archi sia posta la cornice di tanta altezza quanto l'architrave...' Dunque, il campo in cui è iscritta la serliana all'incirca quadrato è diviso in senso orizzontale, in dieci parti, assumendo come unità di misura il diametro della colonna, la quale occupa la terza e la ottava posizione." Domenico Taddei, "Gli Antecedenti Stilistici della Badia delle SS. Flora e Lucilla" in: *Studi e Documenti di Architettura*, 1976, 43.

4 Concerning the interchange between the old and the new order Castiglione writes the following: "For it any man of good judgement had to deliver an oration on weighty matters before the very Senate of Florence, which is the capital of Tuscany, or had to speak privately about important business with some person of rank in that city...I am sure that he would take care to avoid using those antique Tuscan words, and if he used them, not only would he bring ridicule upon himself, but he would give no little annoyance to anyone hearing him." Castiglione, 1959, 47.

5 Castiglione, 1959, 169.


7 Vitruvius, Book V, Ch. 1, 4.

8 "The year 1485 marked the appearance of the first printed edition of Alberti's Ten Books on Architecture, in which the designing of a square and its arcades is discussed at length. Alberti borrowing almost word for word from Vitruvius..." Lotz, *Italian Squares*, 1977, 79.


10 Bruschi, 1977, 98.

11 Bruschi, 1977, 100.

12 Ackerman, *Cortile del Belvedere*, 1954, 123.


16 Smyth, 1964, 309.

17 The translation reads as follows: "The lower fountain was made after my design and that of Ammannati, who stayed there, and completed the loggia that is above the fountain." Hugh-Smith, 1964, 310.

18 Vasari, On Architecture, Ch. 3, 1979, 79.

19 Vasari, On Architecture, Ch. 3, 1979, 80.

20 Vasari, On Architecture, Ch. 3, 1979, 80.

21 Vasari, On Architecture, Ch. 3, 1979, 80-81.

22 Ackerman, Palladio, 1966, 91.


24 The rhythm of the loggia may be expressed as follows: a,B, a,d,c,d,e,d,B,d,e,d,c,d,a,B,a; That of the piano nobile as follows: a,b,c,b,a,d,E,d,b,E,b,d,d,E,d,a,B,c, b,a; and that of the altana: as follows: a,B,a,c,d,c,c,E, c,c,d,c,a,B,a.

25 The plate of the design extracted from: G.K. Lukomaski, I Maestri della Architettura Classica, Milan, 1933.

26 Benevolo, 1978, 495.

27 "The Porta Praenestina (Maggiore) a magnificent work of Claudius in the so-called rustic style, served originally for the transit of the Claudia and Anio Novus (acqueducts) over the road leading to Praeneste and Labicum. Honorius
walled up one of the archways, and fortified the other with towers resting on tombs. The towers and the gate were destroyed in 1838..." Lanciani, 1897, 75.

28Bruschi, 1977, 112.

29There is mention made of this in Vasari who states that Bramante "taught Raphael of Urbino many things about architecture and he ordered the structure which he then drew in perspective in the fresco of the School of Athens, where Raphael portrayed Bramante measuring." Giuseppe Marchini, "The Architect" in: Raphael, New York, 1969, 439.

30Marchini, 1969, 448.

31Marchini, 1969, 440.

32The palace is presently the seat of the international Societá Dante, a private institution dedicated to the spread of Italian culture and language in countries throughout the world.

33"The garden front of the present Palazzo di Firenze in Rome, which Ammannati renovated and enlarged for Julius III's brother...the shallow relief of the courtyard front shows his preoccupation with Vignola's style." Heydenreich and Lotz, 1974, 320.

34Venturi, in his Architettura del Cinquecento, attributes the design of the cortile facade to Michelangelo.

35"A recurring theme of this symposium has been the remarkable variety of ways in which the function and the meaning of the cloisterlike forms could be adapted and interpreted throughout their long history. Indeed, by the late Quattrocento, as Wolfgang Lotz has pointed out, there was evidence that the term "cloister" could be applied to any quadrangular, architectural space surrounded by arcades, regardless of whether its function was sacred or secular or both." Posner, Cloister, Court and City Square, 1973, 123.

"But the militia was dependent upon Cosimo alone. And after ten years of prefecting the project he had inherited from Machiavelli and Alessandro, he ended up with an efficient and effective corps of volunteers. The captains were drawn from the ranks. The soldiers had a stake in preserving the regime." Cochrane, 1970, 59.

"...it raised [Cosimo] from the position of a temporary protégé to that of a permanent member in what amounted to an Imperial federation...and the position was finally solemnized in Charles instructions to his son Philip on January 18, 1548 'The Duke of Florence,' the emperor wrote 'has always shown himself most devoted to me...given his relationship with the House of Toledo...and the situation of his said state...you would do well to keep him in his sentiments of good will and to favor him in all his doings.'" Cochrane, 1970, 89.


'The arch had three openings like the one of Severus." Lanciani, 1897, 269.

George L. Hersey, The Aragonese Arch at Naples, New Haven, Conn., 1973

"The structure of politics and patronage during the early years of Alfonso's rule was consciously eclectic. There was the tribal capital with its polyglot empire, the wide-ranging taste of the king in objects, language, bureaucrats and intellectuals, the triumph with its varied contingents, and the Castel Nuovo itself, which summarized its functions in expressively differentiated architectural languages." Hersey, Aragonese Architecture, 1973, 20.


"The walls were guarded by projecting square and octagonal towers; from the gate in the middle of the two long sides and of the landward (northern) short side two axial colonnaded streets converged upon the geometrical center of the city. A shorter length of street, the so-called 'Peristyle,' flanked by open colonnades, continued
the line of the north-south street across the intersection and lead up to the residence proper..." Boethius and Ward-Perkins, 1970, 524-525.

45 Swoboda, 1961, 85.


48 "Er conto sostiene il Dyggye che non si tratta nel mosaico ravennate, della facciata di un palazzo, bensi della riproduzione di un ambiente chiuso a forma di basilica scoperta simile al cosiddetto 'peristilio' del Palazzo di Diocleziano a Spalato." De Francovich, 1972, 5.


50 "At this same time Vasari was removing the medieval 'ponte' (rood-screens) from S. Maria Novella and S. Croce. Marcia Hall writes that: 'Directed by Duke Cosimo himself, Vasari tells us, he first removed the medieval rood screens, the walls enclosing the friars' choir and the stalls and demolished the existing private chapels in the aisles.'" Marcia Hall, "The Operation of Vasari's Workshop and the Design for S. Maria Novella and S. Croce," The Burlington Magazine, CXV, 1975, 204.

51 Vasari, Lives, 1979, 1413.


53 Ammannati, La Citta, 348.
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2For Vitruvius Order "gives due measure to the members of a work considered separately, and symmetrical agreement to the proportions of the whole." Eurythmy is "beauty and fitness in the adjustment of the members." Symmetry is "a proper agreement between the members of the work itself, and relation between the different parts of the whole general scheme, in accordance with certain parts selected as standard." From this follows Propriety which is "that perfection of style which comes when a work is authoritatively constructed on approved principles. To Vitruvius this meant the use of an order appropriate to the work, as "the temple of Minerva, Mars and Hercules, will be Doric, since the virile strength of these gods makes daintiness entirely inappropriate to their houses." Propriety "arises from usage when buildings having magnificent interiors are provided with elegant entrance-courts to correspond." Further, Propriety results from the decision to locate the building in the correct place, such as locating a temple dedicated to the god of healing, Aesculapius, near "suitable springs of water in the place where the fanes are to be built." This leads naturally to Economy, which denotes "the proper management of materials and the site, as well as a thrifty balancing of cost and common sense in the construction of works." Vitruvius, Ten Books, 1960, 13-16.


6Shearman, Mannerism, 1967, 49.

7"The beginnings of Mannerism in Italy are practically everywhere associated with the art of the High Renaissance
masters. In Rome the innovators were connected with Raphael and Michelangelo, in Florence with Andrea del Sarto..." Hauser, Mannerism, 1965, 148.

"Of course, it does not follow that Mannerism did not exist because Vasari and his contemporaries never noticed it. Equally, a modern historian is not bound to accept the existence of a style which, the closer it is defined, the more it seems second-generation High Renaissance rather than anything of a distinctly different nature." Levey, High Renaissance, 1975, 45.

"The Italian text reads as follows: e nei due primi decenni romani del Cinquecento, imperviati sulle figure di Bramante e di Raffaello, che avviene la svolta decisiva e si creano gli elementi operanti anche nel Manierismo. Si giunge a questa conclusione qualsiasi ordine di fatti si esplorino, da quelli più specificamente formali, a quelli religiosi, sociali, spirituali nel senso più universale e inclusivo." Anna Maria Brizio, "Manierismo: Rinascimento," in: Bollettino del Centro di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, IX, 1967, 222.

"The major architects of the century can be considered Mannerist: "nella sue extensione dell'analisi ad architetti come Peruzzi, Alessi, Vignola, o Palladio..." The translation reads as follows: "In the extension of the analysis towards architects such as Peruzzi, Alessi, Vignola or Palladio." Manfredo Tafuri, L'Architettura del Manierismo nel Cinquecento Europeo, Rome, 1966, 18.

"The French text reads as follows: "En effet les deux moments où l'on saisit le mieux la nature du Manierisme sont les années 1520/30 dans le milieu romain, et, au autre bout du siècle, les années 1580/1600 dans les centres septentrionaux, Prague, Anvers...Dans les deux cas le mouvement apparait dans sa netteté, le premier phase monter le developpement dans le milieu de Raphael d'une orientation ver le style suave que vont elaborer Corrège et Parmesan et d'une orientation inverse la 'terribilità' que va prolonger Jules Romain...les rencontre de 1524-25 a Rome semblent tout d'fait decisives à cet egard." Andre Chastel, "Le Manierisme et l'Art du Cinquecento," in: Bollettino del Centro di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio, IX, 1967, 228.


18 Wittkower, Idea and Image, 1978, 64.


23 The translation reads as follows: "the idea of the stylish architecture grew out of a game played with the walls." Antonio Terzaghi, "L'Architettura del Manierismo," in: Saggi di Storia dell'Architettura, Quaderni dello Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura, Universita di Roma, Rome, (no date), 198.

24 The Italian text reads as follows: "Macque cosi il manierismo dall'avere gli artisti del XVI secolo preso moralmente coscienza d'una conquista che superava le grandi affermazioni del primo rinascimento ma che in realtà non facendo che confermare che quanto di valido in quell'arte si era consistito nel risultato d'un adeguamento al modello antico, sibbene nella 'Maniera' con la quale l'artista l'aveva interpretato intingendo l'ultima loggia di gusto." Terzaghi, (no date), 195.

25 The translation reads as follows: "one could believe that the ancient architecture should respond to fixed laws..." Terzaghi, (no date), 195.

26 The principle development in the application of licenses to all architectural members, major and minor. Shearman, Mannerism, 1967, 74.
...suffice it to say that they stressed the novel interpretation given by Michelangelo and Giulio Romano to what may be called the then-established standards of architectural thought." Wolfgang Lotz, "Mannerism in Architecture: Changing Aspects," in: Renaissance: Mannerism, Studies in Western Art, II, 1963, 239.

The deception had to be so subtle that it was imperceptible. Bruschi, 1977, 103.

"Mannerism is quintessential art; it turns every-thing natural into the artistic, the artificial, often the artful." Hauser, Mannerism, 1965, 283.

"By 1540, Mannerism had spread throughout Italy, even to Venice. The new style took hold at the moment when Italian culture had conquered all of Europe, creating extraordinary hybrids in the Low Countries, along the Rhine and the Danube, in Spain and in France." Andre Chastel, "What is Mannerism?" Art News, 1965, 23.


The Italian text reads as follows: "Prima che si rendesse conto del carattere 'anticlassico' del Manierismo era quasi impossibile poter individuare una qualsiasi delle sue caratteristiche fondamentali. La definizione del Manierismo semplicemente come 'anticlassico' è comunque altrettanto inadeguata quanto il resto della sua interpretazione unilaterale. Infatti, se si asserisce che il Manierismo è anticlassico senza dire che è anche classico, non solo si restringe, ma in parte si distrugge la verità. In modo simile il sostenere che esso è formalistico e non naturalistico, o irrazionale ed eccentrico, rappresenta una mezza verità, perché in realtà il Manierismo rivela altrettante caratteristiche naturalistiche quanto non naturalistiche, ed il razionalismo può in qualsiasi momento prevalere sull'irrazionalismo di esso. Solo una corretta asserzione del contrasto dialettico e della reconciliazione dei due principi stilistici fornisce una
Sixteenth century Mannerism is characterized by... ambiguities... In the Capella Sforza, Michelangelo, working in the tradition of the centralized building, establishes an apparently centralized space; but, within its limits, every effort is then made to destroy that fact which such a space demands. Invaded by columns set on the diagonal supported by apses of a form both definite and incomplete, the central space is completed not by a dome but by a balloon vault, and with the space furrowed by the conflicting thrust and engaged in active competition with the area of the sanctuary, there ensues not so much ideal harmony, as planned distraction." Rowe, 1976, 45.
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1Satkowski, 1979, 103.
2Satkowski, 1979, 101.
3Satkowski, 1979, 110.
4Satkowski, 1979, 116.
6Carden, 1910, 148.
7Carden, 1910, 148.
8Carden, 1910, 148.
9Satkowski, 1979, 114-115.
10Carden, 1910, 165.
11Carden, 1910, 166.
12See: Satkowski, 1979, 115.
13"In reality, then, the Procuratie Vecchie was a series of linked palaces and for this reason it has been characterized as the true forerunner of the Uffizi." Satkowski, 1979, 112.
14Satkowski, 1979, 117.
15"By choosing to study Trajan's Market where the complex problems of urban planning were similar to projects like the Uffizi Vasari captured the pragmatic spirit of ancient design instead of the details of classical buildings." Satkowski, 1979, 107.
16"Baldassare Peruzzi was one of Vasari's most constant sources of inspiration, as he had already adapted
elements for the Palazzo Massimo for the facade of the Uffizi." Satkowski, 1979, 126.

17 "Yet his (Julius Caesar) contribution to the old Roman Forum, too, by constructing or reconstructing the splendid arcaded fronts of the Basilicas Aemilia and Julia, was as great as that of his predecessor Sulla, or even greater. When the Forum was sealed on its fourth and last side, soon afterwards, by the temple erected in his memory, it became an enclosed piazza and almost a closed interior shut in at this final end by the temple's new facade and on every other side by a great two-storeyed rhythm of columns, arches and arcades." Michael Grant, The Roman Forum, New York, 1979, 150.

18 "The Regia [was] erected in c. 575 B.C., just at the time when the Forum was becoming the main square." Grant, 1970, 150.

19 "Vitruvius is generally supposed to have lived in the brilliant age of Augustus, and to have been able to devote his time to literary works because he was in receipt of a pension from that great patron of the arts." Briggs, The Architect in History, 1974, 38.

20 "...i grandi organismi terminali, l'esedra dei mercati di Traiano, il Pantheon, il Colosseo, il Teatro di Marcello, il perduto portico dorico della Basilica Emilia, il Foro di Nerva, il Portico di Ottavia, le tombe della Via Appia e della Via Latina, la Crypta Balbi. Sé dovessimo in questo primo grande gruppo di disegni degli Uffizi scegliere raffigurazioni di opere preziose il periodo giulio-claudio, dureremmo una certa fatica ad allinearne un numero superiore alla mezzadozzina. Si oibetterà subito che la difficoltà non dipende tutta dai nostri artisti del Cinquecento, perché non sono numerosi i edifici repubblicani superstiti, ed in parte si debbono a scoperte recenti. Sia pure, ma è un fatto che tra le opere della tarda repubblica troviamo appena; il tempio rettangolare del Foro Boario, allora chiesa di S. Maria Egiziaca, il cosidetto tempio di Vesta a Tivoli, il tempio d'Ercole Vincitore a Tivoli, il santuario della Fortuna Primigenia a Palestrina (questo ultimo non furono però disegnati di frequente). C'è a domandarsi: perché è raro trovare -- ad esempio -- disegni del Tempio d'Ercole a Cori? Perse le sue proporzioni, così snelle ed ellenizzanti non piacevano." Zander, 1969, 338.
"Uno spiccatò interesse spinge gli artisti del Cinquecento verso la grande architettura a volte, l'opulenza di un'età matura, la pienezza del possesso delle forme, insieme con tutto ciò che la plastica subordinata, l'uso di splendidi marmi colorati, porfidi, e graniti antichi potevano offrire alla formazione degli architetti."


"The translation reads as follows: The Roman Antiquities acted as a rich font of inspiration...


"The Italian text reads as follows: "il Vasari diventa auto-critico e contrappesa ogni possibilità. In ogni dettaglio si afferma un nuovo scrupolo che tende più alla rigidezza Che all'enfasi. Ed è l'erudita attenzione alle regole costruttive degli antichi." Barocchi, 1958, 122.


"The translation reads as follows: "A pleasing classicist version, conscious of Roman models, but aware in a most dignified manner of the Florentine Renaissance tradition." Labó, 1950, 122.

Marcia B. Hall, Renovation and Counter Reformation, Oxford, 1979, 89.
diverse basi proporzionali che sorreggono l'ideazione architettonica e, con diversa incidenza ne impaginano le forme, si può subito dire che nei riguardi dei Vasari e degli artisti di questo periodo — non interessa solo la scelta ed il riposto significato dei rapporti, ma anche la specifica funzione e soprattutto la loro articolata commissione, che ora attinge ad una larga favolozza dei valori nell'intento di assicurare molteplici rapporti di basi, nonché per imprimerni dissonanti tocchi episodici."


"Vasari uses painting, sculpture, architecture — as Bernini was to on an expanded scale — to shape the spectator's space." Hall, 1979, 89.


"This, too, corresponds with the practice in painting of Vasari's generation where direct quotations tend to come from the supreme authorities of the 16th century." Satkowski, 1979, 161.

"...in Vasari's architecture the same principles of stylistic selection result in buildings which vary in style from Quattrocento revivals (Loggia del Pesce) through the inventive classicism of Peruzzi (the Loggia) to buildings which are unique in their own right (The Uffizi)." Satkowski, 1979, 161.
Furthermore, by the beginning of the fourth century this conception of castrum-palatium with flanking towers, a crowing marble arcade that had celestial and royal implications and with a domical vestibule, or salutatorium, was already established in the Palace of Diocletian at Salonae as the architectural prototype of a divina palatia patris." E. Baldwin Smith, Architectural Symbolism, 1956, 70.


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Sangallo il Giovane, "Palladio, XV, 1937, 17.


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