Cammy Brothers, *Giuliano da Sangallo and the Ruins of Rome*
(Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2022), 310 pp. incl. 210 colour and 53 b&w ills, ISBN 9780691137 93, £62
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Reviewed by RICHARD SCHOFIELD

Before the publication of this book, the celebrated late fifteenth- and sixteenth-century codices of architectural drawings known as the Codex Barberini and the Taccuino senese by Giuliano da Sangallo (*c.* 1445–1516) — founder of an illustrious dynasty of architects — have been studied in minutely detailed catalogues and innumerable articles concerning individual drawings and buildings. By contrast, Cammy Brothers adopts a synoptic approach with the aim of identifying a series of general characteristics of Giuliano's drawings. After discussing the dating of and materials used in the codices, she locates them in the period before the arrival of printed, illustrated books on architecture. She argues that Sangallo's Codex Barberini constituted the first thorough attempt to illustrate the monuments of Rome, that his representational techniques were innovative, and that he used a number of the architectural features illustrated in his drawings for his own buildings. She also maintains that only Sangallo enjoyed showing the damaging effects of time on ancient buildings, and that his selection of antiquities was more heterogeneous than that in the treatises of Serlio and Palladio, owing to a broader conception of the past that was less constrained by a preoccupation with Vitruvius. Among her other arguments are that the Codex Barberini was used by later architects as a repertoire of demonstration pieces and that it constituted a sort of autobiographical memoir.

While some of the arguments are intriguing, the book needs to be read with considerable circumspection. For example, the author maintains that Sangallo, unlike Palladio in the *Quattro Libri*, was not trying to establish a canon of approved buildings. But it is misleading to characterise the buildings he chose to draw as an 'anti-canon' by comparison with the illustrations of printed treatises, especially Palladio's, which was published many decades later in 1570. Had the author compared Sangallo's work with the corpus of Palladio's drawings rather than the *Quattro Libri*, the results would have been very different.

One of the author's main points is that Sangallo's study of Roman architecture encouraged him to experiment with novel modes of representation. Here we encounter another difficulty: we will never know how innovative Sangallo's representational techniques were, given that so many drawings have been lost, including those by Brunelleschi, Michelozzo and Bramante (of Hadrian's Villa, Praeneste, the Campagna, Naples and, apparently, the *maniera tedesca*), and those owned by Leonardo. Moreover, Brothers ignores the material in, for example, the Codex Destailleur OZ 111 (Berlin), and the Zichy and Salzburg drawing books, which contain many copies of older drawings of capitals and perspectivally rendered entablatures of the type that Sangallo was certain to have seen.

The book goes on to consider Sangallo's highly innovative contributions to Florentine palace architecture, but the author's analyses are often misleading. Brothers begins with

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Michelozzo's Palazzo Medici Riccardi, wrongly stating that the cornice is derived from the Theatre of Marcellus rather than being an *all'antica* reinvention. In addition, she argues that Florentine architects were reluctant to use ancient Roman elements on palaces in the city. The evidence cited is Vasari's story of the relentless public criticism of Baccio d'Agnolo's Palazzo Bartolini, the first palace in Florence with pedimented windows and a door with columns and an entablature. The author connects the opprobrium that it suffered to the fact that, in Vasari's words, 'the façade was more like that of a temple than of a palace'. However, the word 'temple' was commonly used at the time as a synonym for church, and that Vasari had 'church' not temple in mind is revealed by the nature of the critique, which took the form of decking the door and windows of the façade with festoons, 'as is done in churches for festivals'. Thus the objection was not to the imitation of ancient Roman architecture in itself, but to the indecorous appropriation of elements associated with ecclesiastical architecture in a domestic setting.

The author also underestimates Sangallo's willingness to use elements from different Roman buildings in single buildings. For example, she observes that at Palazzo Gondi he included pentagonal voussoirs around the windows — a common ancient Roman construction method — but omits to mention that the cornice derived from the Temple of Augustus at Pozzuoli, also drawn by Sangallo. While she notes his use of the Arch of Constantine in the courtyard of Palazzo Scala, she ignores that the major order of the ground floor is taken from the Mausoleum of Hadrian, well known to Sangallo (see Taccuino senese, f. 36r). The author sees the altar wall of the Gondi Chapel in Santa Maria Novella as exemplifying Sangallo's use of a less decorated version of a triumphal arch without recognising that the central section originally had a triangular tympanum, making the structure a version of the Arco dei Gavi in Verona, or wondering how he could have known about it.

Sangallo's magnificent recreation of the Crypta Balbi in the Codex Barberini presents a golden opportunity to demonstrate his inventiveness in reconstructing ancient buildings and the influence of those reconstructions on celebrated built and painted architecture. One of the features illustrated is the blind arch pierced by rectangular windows, which Sangallo employed at Palazzo Cocchi. This combination of motifs was used by Bramante in the cloisters of Sant'Ambrogio in Milan, a city visited by Sangallo in 1492, but the author does not discuss this or (therefore) wonder what that may tell us about the date of Sangallo's drawing. Similarly, the reappearance of the same set of forms in the spectacular panels showing ideal cities at the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino and the Walters Art Gallery in Boston is largely ignored, despite the extensive literature on them.

A second fascinating form presented in the reconstruction of the Crypta Balbi, likewise neglected by the author, is the entablature omitting the frieze of triglyphs and metopes, leaving just the guttae stuck to the top of the architrave, an arrangement imitated by Raphael, Antonio da Sangallo, Giulio Romano, Michelangelo and Sanmicheli. In the left background, Giuliano da Sangallo includes a fascinating palace of three storeys with pilasters or half-columns on pedestals and a tympanum. Strangely, Brothers suggests that this recalls the Septizonium which instead featured, according to Sangallo's own drawing of the building (f. 30r), three storeys of detached columns.

The volume draws to a close with a long account of how Sangallo's late drawing of the Temple of Serapis could have influenced the villa at Poggio a Caiano (started in

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the mid- to late 1480s) and other palace plans, on the assumption that he had started drawing the temple in the 1480s but for which there is no evidence.

Despite its flaws — both conceptual and factual — of which just a few are highlighted here, the volume is innovative in approach, asking new questions of the material which will undoubtedly stimulate discussion, especially about the large number of copies and variants of Sangallo's drawings made by other architects and his influence on later generations. It is well written, very well produced and copiously illustrated, and will make much of Sangallo's material conveniently available to a wider public.

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Simon Thurley, *Palaces of Revolution: Life, Death and Art at the Stuart Court*

(London: William Collins, 2021), 543 pp. incl. 25 colour and 138 b&w ills,
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Reviewed by MAURICE HOWARD

In seventeenth-century Europe, England had a reputation for a distinctive political instability. The established Anglican church was constantly undermined by forces seeking either to upturn or to radicalise it, Catholic loyalists on the one hand and Puritan diehards on the other. England was seen as at odds with itself, a malaise recently interrogated in Clare Jackson's *Devil-Land: England Under Siege, 1588–1688* (2022), the descriptor taken from a Dutch pamphlet of 1652. A broader understanding of the context of England's woes later emerged. At Schloss Wörlitz in Germany, built for the Anglophile Prince Franz of Anhalt-Dessau in the late eighteenth century, a room devoted to portraits of the protagonists of the Thirty Years War of 1618–48 includes — surprisingly, for some British visitors — images of Charles I and Oliver Cromwell, as if thereby to underline England's place in the wider European religious divides of the century.

Religious conflict is of deep significance in Simon Thurley's book, though this is as much to do with the personal religious beliefs of individual sovereigns and their consorts as any fundamental debate in wider society. The book draws on the wealth of its author's work on royal palaces, especially his previous monographs on Whitehall (1999), Hampton Court (2003), Somerset House (2009) and, as editor, St James's (2022). In all these, the interweaving of architectural and archaeological with social history is skilfully handled, as it was in his earlier *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England: A Social and Architectural History* (1993). Thurley's factual evidence has grown, through both his own research and, as he acknowledges, that of others, and he is never shy of shifting his interpretation. An interesting change of emphasis has been towards a greater attention to religious observance within the palaces and the reaction this incited at times of political upheaval. *Palaces of Revolution* follows Thurley's *Houses of Power: The Places That Shaped the Tudor World* (2017) and similarly uses command of detail towards a narrative that is highly readable and persuasive.

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