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Visual Ekphrasis and the Articulation of the Past

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Graphic descriptions of the architecture of antiquity increased both in their sophistication and popularity during the long eighteenth century. Arguably, they superseded their verbal counterparts, both in terms of their accuracy and efficacy as narrators of history. Yet, the scales still remain tipped in favor of the printed word as the primary means of articulating the past. This essay seeks to redress this imbalance by showing that these images of antique architecture are in fact a form of writing, in the full sense of the word, as they have syntactical and linguistic qualities. In this way, images are a kind of visual ekphrasis of the architecture they describe. The linguistic qualities inherent in the graphic techniques of recording the past operate like language through the changing effect of meter and rhythm; detail and impression create different moods and modes of description. And this causes me to question the idea of a single authoritative, authorial voice – or at least the impression visual images can give of the existence of such a phenomenon.

The seductive power of a visual ekphrasis is the illusion of total knowledge of what is being represented. We have confidence that visual images have the power to describe their subject completely – that is to say what is seen. But after the linguistic turn we do not accept this totality in language. And, if we apply this critique to the visual we are left with a plurality of voices in the visual ekphrasis of architecture and there are gaps between this speech or mode of description and the architecture it aims to describe. Ekphrasis, whether verbal or visual, surrounds the object of description with projected meanings. The Derridean notion of deconstruction has shown us that texts are open to multiple readings and it follows that description is most truthful when

the illusion of the single authorial voice is abandoned.¹ This position also reasserts the importance of the viewer as the act of “reading” images implies a dialogic relationship between viewer and viewed – a relationship where image and imagination are at play. I contend that this line of enquiry allows us new understandings of how these images operated as articulations of the past and as potent interlocutors between past and present.

My focus here is on how visual ekphrases of architecture in our period make the past a place that is distinct from that which text-based antiquarian studies articulate.² This opens up questions of how we perceive space and time and the ways in which they can be visually described. The visual recording of monuments had been a hallmark of antiquarian activity from the Renaissance onwards.³ But this was predicated on a desire to record and to preserve what might otherwise be lost. We see this concern, for instance, in the work of Raphael in his role as inspector of Rome’s ancient monuments for Pope Leo X. Later in the sixteenth century, Andrea Palladio included detailed visual reconstructions of ancient Roman architecture accompanied by the architect’s own remarks in Book Four of his seminal work *I Quattro Libri dell’architettura*, (1570). Palladio’s observations in the *Quattro Libri* provided a more scholarly counterpoint to his popular guidebook to Rome, *L’antichità* (1554). *Vetusta Monumenta* was an inheritor of the Renaissance tradition of recording and advocacy for preservation.⁴ Here individual papers and studies given by members of the Society of Antiquaries of London were gathered together and published as survey volumes, the first of which appeared in 1747. The large, detailed illustrations that accompanied the texts were novel and did much to enrich the understanding of the British past through the lens of its material culture and architecture.

The past is an ever-expanding place that is transformed through its verbal and visual articulations. I have chosen to concentrate on a moment in the mid-eighteenth century when the past also extended geographically, as travel in Greece became possible and revealed a new past with different scholarly legacies from the more familiar ancient Roman examples. The resulting Graeco-Roman controversy that dominated architectural discourse shows us how visual descriptions were used as evidence in different aesthetic debates and how they pulled architecture into the present, enabling it to be used part of architectural practice. My discussion focuses on *The Antiquities of Athens: Measured and Delineated* by James Stuart, FRS and FSA, and Nicholas Revett, *Painters and Architects*, the first volume of which appeared in 1762, and Giambattista Piranesi's *Ichnographia or Il Campo Marzio dell'Antica Roma*, which also appeared in 1762. I also consider the ways in which these articulations of the past are distinct from their Renaissance predecessors in terms of their intellectual concerns and techniques of representation. More broadly, I show how these new kinds of visual historical surveys established a visual apparatus for describing the past that was adopted in other studies, not least *Vetusta Monumenta*. This apparatus comprised not only increasingly sophisticated techniques of draftsmanship but also a fluid network of engravers and draftsmen that helped establish a pan-European currency of visual description.⁵

The linguistic qualities of images

I would like to begin with the concept of ekphrasis – the verbal description of a work of art or indeed its recreation through language. The roots of this process in the literature of classical antiquity need not concern us here. Suffice to say that the rhetorical tradition of ekphrasis, first found in Homer and thence Philostratus, Lucian

and other classical writers, is an established system of translating the visual into the verbal through the action of choosing details. Inevitably, the choice of certain details means that the same object can be represented differently and this process has had a substantial impact on the way in which we write about art. Indeed, there are many erudite analyses of the influence of ekphrasis on the development of the history of art.⁶ There is no doubt that description or narration is an essential process in the discipline of art history where the analysis of the visual is bound up in linguistic practices.⁷ What I am arguing here is that the visual representation of architecture also operates as a kind of ekphrasis. It is at once a means of both describing an actual object and translating it into a different mode of representation. An image of architecture, like an ekphrasis, chooses details in order to narrate or describe its subject. The mode of graphic notation of these details operates in the same way as words (language) to present architecture in a certain way. The various graphic conventions of architecture can conform to linguistic principles and through their selective representation of details can make visible what may not have previously been apparent and engaging with the imagination, whilst making the building seem “real.”

But our perception of the visual world – in our case architecture or the space it encloses, is not necessarily linear. For instance, we might look at the façade of a building and then concentrate on details – the eye is in constant motion. If we think about how we see/experience the space and scale of building this only becomes more complex. As such, verbal descriptions can be at odds with the architecture or spaces they attempt to describe.⁸ The rigor of grammatical sequence does not equate to the movement of our eyes nor does it convey our phenomenological, subjective response to architecture.

Text and image

The relationship between text and image is important as a means of understanding how the histories of the architecture of the past operated in the long eighteenth century. Here we see a significant break with the antiquarian reliance on textual precedent that had been prevalent since the Renaissance and dominated histories and representations of the antique. Instead, visual illustration becomes an increasingly independent form of knowledge. For instance, Bernard de Montfaucon published 15 volumes of *L'antiquité expliquée et représentée en figures* between 1719 and 1724. This wide-ranging work contained copperplate folio engravings of antiquities from ancient Egypt, Greece, Rome and elsewhere. Montfaucon uses illustrations to give clarity and order to what might otherwise appear the jumbled and divergent narratives of the past by acknowledging the significance of visual evidence when compared to textual sources. An English translation of this work was published in 1721-25 under the title *Antiquity Explained and Represented in Diagrams*. This publication prompted a number of antiquarians to reposition the role of images in the construction of histories. Rather than illustrations merely supporting an apparently known history, empirical observation of visual evidence could challenge the received wisdom of antiquity's textual sources.

There remained, however, a strong tradition of text-based antiquarian scholarship as typified in the work of Johann Joachim Winckelmann whose study of the past divorced artifacts from their contexts.⁹ The emphasis on text-based scholarship was probably an attempt to raise the status of antiquarianism by rejecting the focus on physical remains. In his *Gedanken uber die Nachahmung der griechischen Werke in der Malerei und Bildhauerkunst* (1755) Winckelmann introduced a systematic study of art history that was the first to distinguish between Greek and Roman art. His

chronological survey provided a central plank in the evolving idea of progress in western culture.¹⁰ But Winckelmann relied on textual descriptions of objects to write his verbal history, which has remained the standard chronology for art history. Winckelmann's ideas also draw heavily on contemporary theories of language, which was seen as having developed its resources to allow a clear knowledge of things but excesses in style and rhetoric led to its degeneration. This locates Winckelmann's analysis, or system of history, as he preferred to call it, firmly in the verbal tradition.¹¹ Winckelmann's major work, *Monumenti antichi inediti*, is notorious for the poor quality of its engraved images and its lack of interest in the physicality of the monuments he records. As a consequence, in a volume that ostensibly documents the great monuments under his care in the collection of the Pope, Clement XIII, Winckelmann chose instead to make these totally subservient to verbal texts. Indeed, his insistence on reading the iconography of monuments only in order to illuminate ancient texts saw the production of a volume in which engravings were not only inaccurate and aesthetically dull, but where bas-reliefs, statues and even paintings become almost indistinguishable. By removing ancient monuments from their historical and material contexts, Winckelmann insists that the material past is only of value in so far as its study aspires to the status of poetry.

The preoccupations of Winckelmann find a counterpoint in Gotthold Ephraim Lessing's *Laocoön* (1766). Lessing's choice of title is the well-known marble sculpture of the Trojan priest Laocoön and his two sons being attacked by snakes that had been sent by the gods. Unearthed in 1506, the work was in the papal collection of antiquities in the Vatican, which was under the care of Winckelmann. There is some irony here, however, as Lessing had not visited Rome before writing his *Laocoön*, so he relied on literary and pictorial representations of the work, including a possible description of it

in Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. But this distance from the original did not diminish the impact of Lessing's ideas or his exploration of the relationship between verbal and visual descriptions of artworks. In *Laocoön* the relationship between painting and poetry as modes of representation is traced back to the authors of antiquity, from Simonides' fifth-century BCE dictum "painting is silent poetry, and poetry is talking painting" to Horace's perhaps better known adage some four centuries later, "ut pictura poesis / as is painting so is poetry," which has become almost synonymous with eighteenth-century preoccupations with landscape. Whilst acknowledging that pleasure is derived from both poetry and painting, Lessing sought to differentiate between the two:¹²

Objects or parts of objects which exist in space are called bodies.

Accordingly, bodies with their visible properties are the true subjects of painting.

Objects or parts of objects which follow one another are called actions.

Accordingly, actions are the true subjects of poetry.

In this way, the visual world unfolds in space, whereas words follow one another in a sequence that connotes time.¹³

Indeed, Lessing's identification and exploration of the idea of the visual and linguistic sign continued to engage thinkers from Kant and Hegel to Foucault and Derrida, via Saussure.¹⁴ For art historians, Lessing has largely remained both as a part of the debates about representation in painting and its role in the historiography of art history, and about visual culture more broadly.¹⁵ Whereas this vast and engaging area of art-historical scholarship has focused on the relationship between word and image, with particular reference to painting, my interest rather different. Instead, I would like to explore the proposition that visual rather than verbal ekphrasis offers an alternative way

of understanding the past. And that this has broader implications for how we engage with the past and formulate its histories. My focus is on the ways in which eighteenth-century visual ekphrases of architecture operated as interlocutors between past and present. And it is here that we find a cross-over between aesthetics and narratives of history.

Tenses or Punctum Temporis

Writing at the beginning of our period, Lord Shaftesbury identified the relationship between time and the image:

Tis evident, that every Master in Painting, when he has made choice of the determinate Date or Point of Time, according to which he wou'd represent his History, is afterwards debar'd the taking advantage from any other Action than what is immediately present, and belonging to that single Instant he describes.¹⁶

Later on in the century, both Lessing and Winckelmann distinguish between the arts of time – music and poetry - and the arts of space – painting and architecture. This view of the *punctum temporis* or instant has largely been superseded by the invention of the camera and advances in the understanding of how we perceive.¹⁷ Recently, digital technologies of viewing have added additional layers of complexity to these deliberations, most pertinently here in the online edition of *Vetusta Monumenta*. My interest in the visual representation of a particular moment extends the debates about the *punctum temporis*, as I am concerned with how the longevity of time (or a series of instants) is described in relation to a building. But first we need to step back and think about how we perceive time – we cannot see it, nor are we able to hear or touch it. Do we then sense it in some other way? In terms of verbal history time is expressed through linguistic means – most obviously through the use of the past tense. In this way we can

think of an event as a segment in time that is distinguished by having a beginning and an end, as well as a specific location. The use of the simple past rather than the perfect tense of a verb can place an event firmly in the past.¹⁸

As I have suggested, the visual ekphrasis of architecture reveals the absence of a syntagmatic parallel between object and visual description. And this becomes more interesting when we think about the gap between past and present. When it comes to visual histories this disruption helps to explain why our temporal experience is limited in a way in which our spatial experience is not. We see a building represented on the printed page, which we also sense by touch if we turn the pages of the book. The type of printed representation may present a variety of spatial relations to us, for example a close-up detail, and a general view may spread our experience beyond the immediate vicinity. But, although we perceive the past in the image of the building, we do not perceive it as past, but as present. I suggest, then, that the absence of verbal language also releases these visual narratives from the constraints of time, as an image can describe various points in a building's history simultaneously. This is achieved in part by the absence of the use of tenses – it is not a question of what the building was, has been or is, as these temporal dimensions are collapsed into a single visual image. Returning, then, to the question of how visual ekphrases influenced histories of architecture, we can see that the absence of a linear syntactical structure may be compensated for by alternative imperatives of narrative. My interest here is in what happens to the past in visual descriptions.

Printing the Past

I would like now to focus on three case studies to explore how the architecture of the past was discovered, described and historicized. My examples, which appeared

in the mid eighteenth century, are indexical of the role visual ekphrasis played in the production of knowledge both through their similarities and their differences. As my focus is the architecture of antiquity, I cannot think of better instances than the cities of ancient Athens and Rome, specifically here two plates from James Stuart and Nicholas Revett's *The Antiquities of Athens* (1762-1830) and one from Giambattista Piranesi's *Ichnographia* or *Il Campo Marzio dell'Antica Roma* – a map of the Campus Martius. The *Ichnographia* was originally intended to be part of Piranesi's *Le Antichità Romane* (1756) but was in fact published in 1762, the same year as the first volume of Stuart and Revett's enterprise. Both studies were intended to instruct architects in the art of good design and typify the Greco-Roman controversy that dominated mid-eighteenth-century architectural debate. Increased knowledge of Greek and Roman antiquity and the chronology provided by Winckelmann had led to a split in opinion about the superiority of one over the other. Predictably here, Stuart and Revett championed Greece as the fount of classical architecture, whereas Piranesi claimed this title for Rome. Piranesi obviated the issue of historical precedence by adopting the claims of French and British antiquarians that the Romans had not learned from the Greeks but from the earlier inhabitants of Italy, the Etruscans.¹⁹ Despite their ideological differences, both of these publications broke with the Renaissance tradition of studying the architecture of the past through textual sources to re-create its history. Partly perhaps due to improved printing techniques as well as more sophisticated techniques of architectural drawing we find a freedom in the way images of architecture engage with and evoke the past. Lessing's *Laocoön* had identified the fissure between the verbal and visual articulations of antiquity and this was remarked upon by Johan Wolfgang von Goethe:

One has to be a young man to visualize what an effect Lessing's *Laocoön* had on us, this work that swept us away from the regions of meagre contemplation and onto the open terrain of thought. The saying 'ut pictura poesis', so long misunderstood, was now suddenly set aside, and the difference between the pictorial [sic] and verbal arts was now clear. The peaks of both now appeared separate, however closely they touched at the base. . . . The full consequence of this brilliant thought was illuminated for us as though by a flash of lightning. We cast off all previous critical instructions and judgments like a worn-out coat, we considered ourselves delivered from all evil, and we felt justified in looking down somewhat pityingly at the otherwise very magnificent sixteenth century.²⁰

I will return to the antiquarians of the "magnificent sixteenth century" and indeed their immediate forerunners later on.

We must remember that at this time, there were significant differences in the knowledge about ancient Athens and Rome. Athens, alongside the rest of the antique architecture in Greece, had remained largely untouched for centuries. Like those of its cultural counterpart, Rome, many of the ancient monuments in Athens were in ruins or now formed a part of later buildings. But Rome had been subjected to over three centuries of archaeological and historical investigation where the combination of the trowel and the text had succeeded in revealing much of its built past. In this way, in contradistinction to the on-going excavations and exploration of ancient Rome, the eighteenth-century re-discovery of ancient Athens had less input from the work that had been carried out by previous generations of antiquarians. The ancient monuments were largely undisturbed and the fabrication of knowledge about their past and their reconstruction for the present was new territory that remained to be charted.

Nevertheless, both of my examples demonstrate new ways of describing or articulating the architecture of the past.

My first two case studies are both plates of the Parthenon from Volume II of *The Antiquities of Athens*.²¹ Apart from their shared subject, each image is distinct from the other showing contrasting techniques of representation. The affect of each of these methods is vivified by their common focus. *The Antiquities* were part of a crowded field of publications offering systemic studies of the monuments of Greece and elsewhere that appeared in the mid eighteenth century.²² As a consequence, a brief outline of the historical circumstances surrounding the enterprise will provide helpful context. Plans for this survey were made in Rome when Stuart and Revett in discussion with various antiquarians, including the artist Gavin Hamilton, decided to visit and record the ancient monuments of Athens with a view to publishing the results in three volumes. Only one year was to be spent in Greece for the purposes of excavating, measuring, and recording the buildings themselves. The project was wildly optimistic both in its scope and in the timescale within which it was to be realized.

Stuart and Revett's aims for their ambitious project were expressed in the Proposal published in 1748, which was intended to attract subscribers to finance the venture. Stuart and Revett had "resolved to make a journey to Athens; and to publish at our return, such Remains of that famous City as we may be permitted to copy, and that appear to merit our attention." Their stated reasons for doing so foregrounded the historical need for such a survey, rather than the "neat profit" that was also envisaged:

But Athens the Mother of elegance and politeness, whose magnificence scarce yielded to that of Rome, and who for the beauties of a correct style must be allowed to surpass her; has been almost entirely neglected. So that unless exact copies of them be speedily made, all her beauteous Fabricks, her Temples, her

Palaces, now in ruins, will drop into Oblivion; and Posterity will have to reproach us, that we have not left them a tolerable Idea of what was so excellent, and so much deserved our attention; but that we have suffered the perfection of an Art to perish, when it was perhaps in our power to have retrieved it.²³

By 1751 Stuart and Revett had secured more than 500 subscribers and thus the appropriate funds plus the essential “recommendatory letters to all the principal persons of the places” they intended to visit and record.²⁴ The work on site had taken two years, during which time Stuart made notes and made sketches for his gouache paintings of the actual state of the principal monuments, whilst Revett produced meticulous reconstructions and measured drawings. On the pair’s return to London, Stuart supervised the engraving of the plates, prepared the text, and designed the binding. The first volume only appeared in 1762 and, owing to unforeseen circumstances, including an outbreak of plague, focused on only five buildings in the northern part of Athens. The survey work had been time consuming but the resulting publication set the tone for the remaining volumes.

Stuart and Revett noted in the Preface that they intended to record the remaining ancient monuments of Greece in the same way that Renaissance antiquarians had surveyed Rome:

Rome, who borrowed her Arts, and frequently her Artificers, from Greece, has by means of Serlio, Palladio, Santo Bartoli, and other Ingenious men, preserved the memory of the most Excellent Sculptures, and Magnificent Edifices, which once adorned her.²⁵

At first glance this statement can be interpreted as part of the rhetoric of the Graeco-Roman controversy that dominated European cultural and aesthetic debate in the middle years of the eighteenth century. More important for us is the way in which

Italian Renaissance architects and theorists are identified as the interlocutors between ancient Rome and the present. And this mediation had led to the privileging of Roman architecture over Greek. Here this new history would in the eyes of Stuart and Revett

[M]eet with the Approbation of all those Gentlemen, who are Lovers of Antiquity, or have a taste for what is Excellent in these Arts, as we are assured that those Artists, who aim at Perfection must be infinitely more pleased, and better instructed, the nearer they can draw their Examples, from the Fountain-head.²⁶

The remaining volumes of *The Antiquities* suffered further delay. Revett resigned from the project before the appearance of Volume I and ceded his interest to Stuart. Stuart's heavy drinking and premature death in 1788 meant Volume II appeared c.1789/90 under the editorship of William Newton with Volume III edited by Willey Reveley following a couple of years later. A fourth volume edited by Joseph Woods, based partly on surviving papers, followed much later in 1816.²⁷

There is no doubt that *The Antiquities* helped shape European knowledge and understanding of ancient Greece, and introduced a new vocabulary to architectural design. The primacy of Greek over Roman classicism as the model for contemporary architecture, as asserted by Stuart, is indeed analogous to the views of Winckelmann in his highly influential *History of the Art of Antiquity*, which, as we have seen, appeared at around the same time as the first volume of *The Antiquities*.²⁸ Volume I of *The Antiquities* provides an introduction to the authors and the rationale behind the project as a whole. Common to all the volumes is the system for presenting each monument, comprising a detailed explanation followed by a contemporary view of it in its surroundings.²⁹ The images were based on views sketched and possibly also partly painted in gouache on site by Stuart and conform to traditions of landscape painting.

These “pictorial” views were followed by Revett’s accurately drawn elevations, cross-sections, ground plans, underneath views and details of the architectural elements.³⁰ The measurements supplied were given to a thousandth of an inch – a technical impossibility given the use of brass rulers and the distortions that resulted from the ambient temperature of the site itself. Indeed, Stuart most likely calculated these near infinitesimal measurements whilst he worked on producing the volumes in London. The success and failure of *The Antiquities of Athens* both as an antiquarian endeavour and as an advocate for Grecian-styled architecture have been ably argued elsewhere, and it is not my purpose here to reiterate or challenge these analyses.³¹ Rather, my questions focus on how the fragments of the past were transformed into factual information and thence into historical knowledge. Most importantly, I am curious to know what the images in *The Antiquities* actually do.

Let me begin by thinking about how Stuart and Revett encountered the monuments themselves. It is important to remember that Greek art and architecture were not well known in Europe and they presented a distinctive, if not slightly exotic, aesthetic when compared to the more familiar remnants of ancient Rome. But rather like their Renaissance predecessors, Stuart and Revett’s guide to the architecture of Athens was textual. They believed that Greek architecture should be studied according to its “conformity to the doctrine of Vitruvius, and the descriptions of Strabo, Pausanias etc.”³² Here I focus on the Parthenon, although this only appeared in Volume II of *The Antiquities* (1789-90), owing to the various obstacles to the project already outlined. It is today one of the best known of ancient Greek monuments but was scarcely known and poorly documented in the eighteenth century. The plates in Volume II are excellent examples both of Stuart’s skill as a painter, and of Revett’s dexterity and diligence in producing measured reconstructions. Together they combine to show how the past was

brought into the present by this process of visual ekphrasis. And, importantly here, precedents for visual representations of the architecture of ancient Athens were virtually non-existent. Perhaps the most notable exceptions were the drawings made in the fifteenth century by the traveller Ciriaco d'Ancona and later on by the architect Giuliano da Sangallo, who knew of Ciriaco's work. My point is not to conjecture whether Stuart and Revett knew of the endeavors of either of these two Renaissance antiquarians, it is more to use their images as examples of different formulations of history that help to bring the distinctiveness of *The Antiquities* into sharp relief.

Ciriaco de'Pizzicolti d'Ancona (c.1391-1455) traveled throughout most of the Roman Empire recording Greek and Latin inscriptions, his impressions of ancient and modern sites, and, sometimes, sketches of antique buildings or ruins in a series of diaries or *commentaria*.³³ Ciriaco had no scientific or artistic training and his drawings are distinguished in equal measure by their lack of mathematical precision and of draftsman's skill. But by the end of the fifteenth century Ciriaco had acquired a substantial reputation as the leading authority on Greek antiquities. And as a consequence of the Turkish conquest of Byzantium in 1453, which severely restricted travel to and from Greece and other parts of Asia Minor, Ciriaco's *commentaria* were taken as being accurate records and were highly valued. His drawing of the Parthenon shows the west front of the Athenian temple.³⁴ There are eight, fluted Doric columns, but the proportions and measurements are extremely inaccurate and some of the sculptural details are omitted, misidentified or mis-recorded. Ciriaco's visual description was, then, an adjunct to the text that probably served as an aide memoire. The Parthenon is represented merely as a kind of floating façade with no volume or physical context. By contrast, Giuliano da Sangallo, in his sketchbook *Codex Vaticanus Barberinus Latinus*, viewed the temple through the lens of ancient Rome in terms of its

proportions and architectural details.³⁵ Most notably, the transformation of the portico columns from the Doric to the Composite order recalls the Pantheon. Giuliano drew his inspiration from the tradition of medieval pattern books comprising drawings of isolated elements, figures, or architectural details which were seen as a resource to inspire new configurations rather than the replication of whole buildings. As has been noted elsewhere, Giuliano's description of the Parthenon "is a mixture of motifs, some common to a number of antique monuments, some of Giuliano's own invention, and some the result of his intensely personal interpretation of the Ciriacan source."³⁶ What interests me is that both Ciriaco and Giuliano's drawings represent the Parthenon as a façade, giving no indication of it as a three-dimensional object; it is almost a pattern across the surface of the page. Neither image supplies much in terms of historical knowledge of the Parthenon, despite being made whilst the building was still intact. Indeed, it is difficult to recognize the building as the Parthenon.

Stuart and Revett's account of the Parthenon employs a quite different set of verbal and visual apparatus to describe the temple. And we can use this to trace the antiquarian journey of discovery as the building is memorialized, reconstructed and dissected. Their account begins with text that takes up the first 21 pages of the volume and includes explanation, of various lengths of each of the 21 plates that follow as well as the author's own verbal description of the temple, which draws on ancient sources. The text opens with a general remark about the grandeur of the temple, despite its present ruined state due not to the ravages of time, but to an "unlucky" bomb that fell on it during the Venetian siege of Athens in 1687. This is followed by a repeat of the description by Sir George Wheler (1650-1723) and Dr Jacob Spon (1647-1685) who had visited Athens in 1676 prior to the bomb damage:³⁷

Pillars [of the Doric order] are 46 in number, being eight to the front, and as many behind, and 17 on each side, counting the four corner ones twice over to be deducted. . . . This Portico beareth up a Front, and Freeze round the Temple, charged with historical Figures of admirable beauty and work. The figures of the Front, which the ancients called the Eagle, appear, though from that height, of the natural bigness; being entirely in Relievo, and wonderfully well carved. Pausanias saith no more of them, than they concern the birth of the Goddess Minerva.³⁸

Wheler then goes on to describe his own observations and remembrances of the sculptures in the portico and to give more measurements as well as a description of the present state of the temple as it had been adapted by the Greeks into a church, which had been largely left untouched by the Turks. He noted that some of the marble that had fallen down had, however, been re-used by the Turks in the mosque. Wheler's account is moderated by Stuart and Revett as it is noted he was copying Dr Spon's description, adding errors of his own which have been omitted. In this way the temple is verbally reconstructed through a kind of eyewitness account at a point in time before its partial destruction.

The series of plates devoted to the Parthenon begins with a contemporary, topographical view showing us how the past was encountered in this newly accessible site (Fig. 1). Stuart's view of the Parthenon shows us the east front of the temple with its ruined pediment. We see that the temple was surrounded by recent domestic building, that there are other buildings within the space of the temple itself and some of the columns that form the portico were included as part of these later structures. A number of anecdotal details of figures in contemporary Turkish dress add an almost ethnographic dimension to the narrative. This graphic technique operates within the

familiar rhetoric of topographical views where buildings or places of interest are placed within a broader visual context. The use of aerial perspective places The Parthenon in the middle ground and this creates a gentle rhythm as the eye moves across and through the space of the image and settles on the primary point of interest.

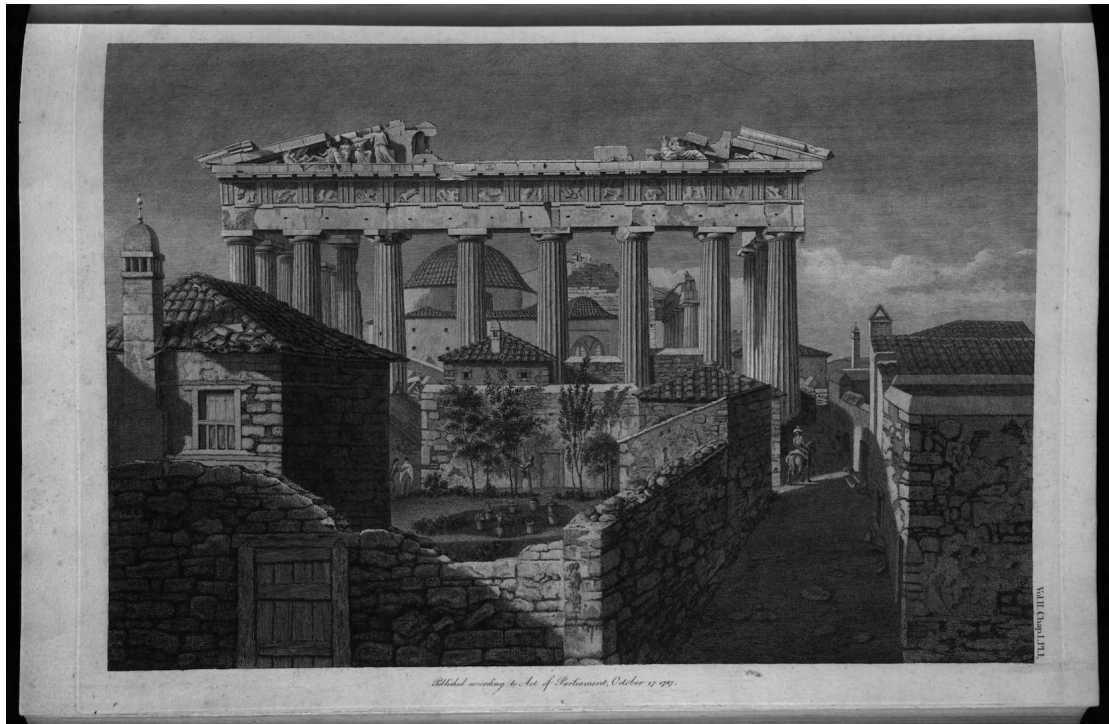


Fig 1 James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, A View of the Partheon, *The Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. II chapter I, plate I, 1789/90. Wikimedia / public domain.

The viewer sees an impression of the actuality of the Parthenon as it sits within its present-day environment where its Greek grandeur is muted by its domestic vernacular surroundings.

The Orthogonal Past

Andrea Palladio (1508-1580) is one of the best-known architects in the West, and his seminal text *I Quattro Libri dell'architettura* or *The Four Books* remains a standard work for historians and practitioners.³⁹ Although three of the four books were concerned with Palladio's own architecture, *The Four Books* were a crucial interlocutor

between the architecture of antiquity and those with an antiquarian interest in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This influence was partly due to the reconstructions of the architecture of the ancient Roman world with textual commentaries that appeared in book four as well as to the techniques of architectural drawing developed and employed by Palladio that established a visual epistemological system. Orthogonal perspective, a form of parallel projection to represent three dimensions in two, underpinned this system. This kind of representation provided accurate measurements of buildings as they were “flattened” against the picture surface – the only illusion of depth being shading to imply some kind of spatial recession. Orthogonal perspective preserved the proportional systems of architecture which would have been sacrificed if other techniques of representation had been used. In this way orthogonal representation stood in distinct contrast to the preoccupation in sixteenth-century Italy with the creation of the illusion of pictorial space through aerial and linear perspective. Instead of a realistic image of a building, this technique placed emphasis on proportions and measurements, which were accurately represented to allow replication. In this way, the ancient world is made to conform to a set of predetermined conventions governed by abstract notions of geometry.

Revett’s studies of the Parthenon demonstrate this technique or epistemological system. Here, the ruined edifice is reconstructed in orthogonal elevation and is presented out of its physical context. There is no surrounding landscape and there is no texture to the stone or patina of age. The image is staccato in its rhythm; the eye moves around the page as the viewer works to absorb the details of the multi-informational image. This method of representation relies on the viewer’s imagination, as the construction of this artificial composition is the creation of something other than the object under scrutiny. Revett’s studies of the reconstructed architectural details of the

Parthenon on subsequent pages of his publication re-present the temple - or parts of it - on a completely different scale, so privileging different kinds of information about it and prompting a different kind of cognition, response or understanding of it. And we see this forcibly, for example, in Plate VI which shows the Capital, and Entablature of the Columns of the Portico (Fig. 2). The details are fragmented and represented in

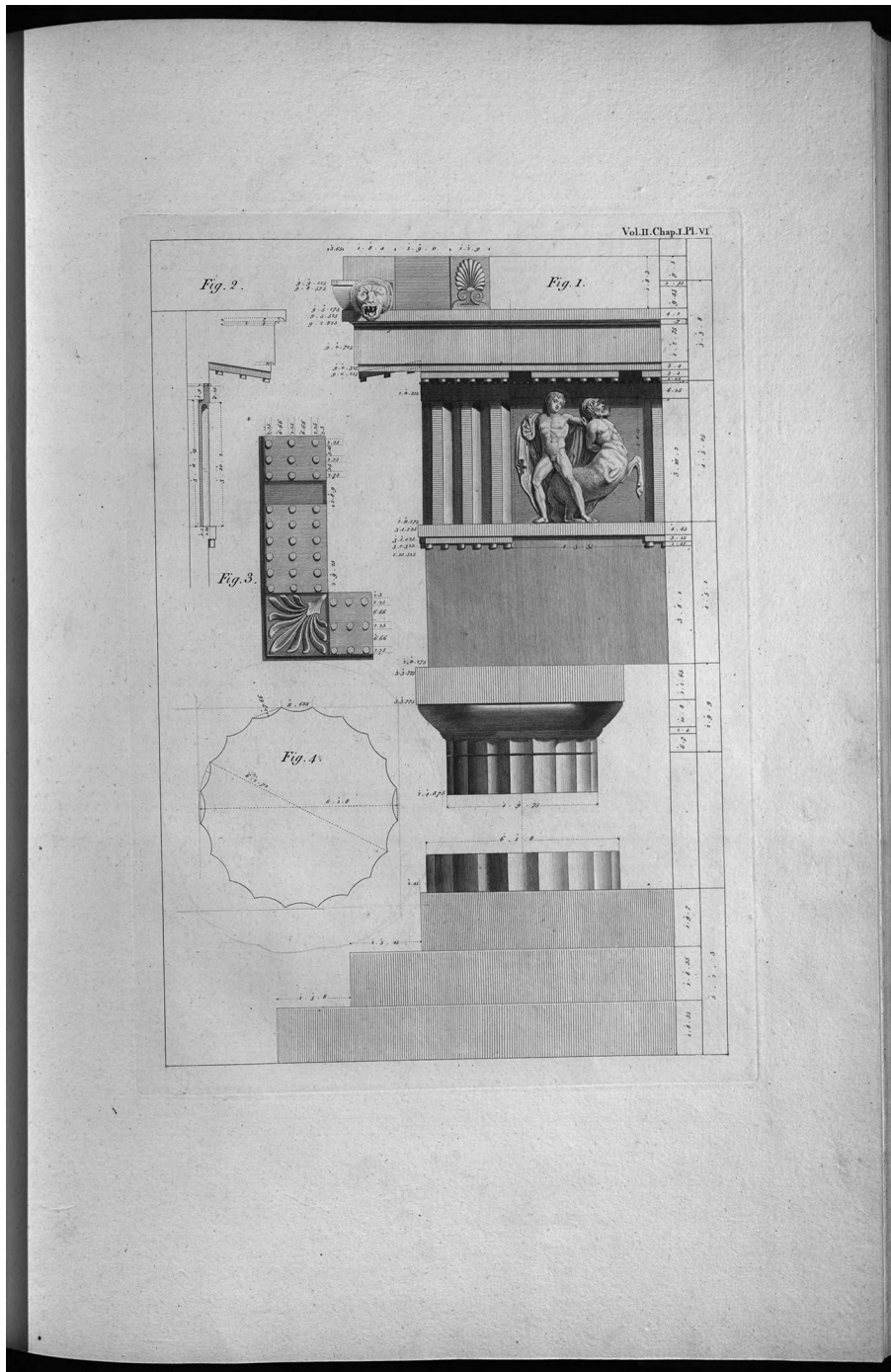


Fig. 2 James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, The Capital, and Entablature of the Columns of the Portico, *The Antiquities of Athens*, Vol. II chapter I, plate VI, 1789/90. Wikimedia / public domain.

orthogonal elevation and plan in a kind of shorthand that frees them from the original building. The abstraction of facts such as these became a hallmark of “scientific” or archaeological survey drawing and also became a system of standardization akin to the dictionaries and encyclopedias that proliferated in the eighteenth century. This produced a legible language of signs, which could follow linguistic systems. By this I mean that there appears to be no authorial voice; it is apparently objective rather than subjective observation. But Revett’s descriptions of the Parthenon manifest many authorial choices. Indeed, his mode of ekphrasis allows me to pursue further the linguistic analogies evoked by this visual system. The reconstructed image of the temple is decontextualized, floating in space offering no sense of scale or texture. This mode of ekphrasis also offers the deconstruction of the temple as seen in the study of the detail of its internal moldings including the cornice, soffit and column capitals. The temple is broken up into its constituent parts, which are reconfigured in an authorial sleight of hand that seems anonymous and objective. But this quasi “science of seeing” is very much the product of the imagination as tempered by the Vitruvian rules of architectural proportion, based on the perfect form of the circle or square. This taxonomic system was used to impose order on descriptions of antique architecture to create a rational, linear, geometric past.

The images of the Parthenon show us how modes of visual ekphrasis can offer very different sets of descriptions. Stuart’s image fixes the temple at a certain moment in time whereas Revett’s studies pull the building out of the past and into a never-ending present. And this mode of description facilitates the re-use of the various elements of the temple by eighteenth-century architects as the visual ekphrasis enables its physical

reconstruction, or re-performance, to make it real again. In this way the orthogonal descriptions of the Parthenon reconfigured its relationship between past and present.

Mapping the Past

The two examples from the *Antiquities of Athens* permit me to consider different modes of ekphrasis in relation to buildings in various states of being. But what of the potency of images as a mode of ekphrasis of a city and what better example than Rome, which remained the focus of antiquarian interest throughout our period? And how can the notion of ‘Rome’ be encapsulated in one image and what is the effect/affect? Topographical conventions produce tropes of narrative fiction or invented memory that perform linguistically as a means of describing and evoking the city. Maps work to recreate an apparent reality which is in fact an interpretation that is not based on the actuality of a city. “Truth” has to be sacrificed in order that a comprehensive representation of something as complex as a city can be produced. And we need to be able to “read” this. The features of a city have to be compressed into a single viewpoint, albeit that this may be a fictitious one. My example here is Giambattista Piranesi’s *Ichnographia*. The *Ichnographia* was originally part of *Le Antichità Romane* (1756) which was the fruit of Piranesi’s archaeological exploration of Rome. The survey aimed to demonstrate the Roman genius for design and its vivid illustrations of the city’s ancient architectural remains were intended to stimulate the imagination of contemporary architects.

Both *Le Antichità* and the *Ichnographia* added to a rich and longstanding tradition of surveys, guides and maps to ancient Rome, many of which were based on literary descriptions. What is remarkable in this context is how these visual ekphrases of the city frequently described something other than what was seen by the author.

Piranesi was no exception and this trope is worth exploring in more depth. I begin with Leon Battista Alberti (1404-1472), who is better known for his treatises on painting and architecture.⁴⁰ But in 1444 he also produced a description of Rome, *Descriptio Urbis Romae*.⁴¹ This short account, of around 1200 words, complemented by tables of references relating to the location of ancient monuments, tells us much about the conflation of literary sources and the actual remains of Rome. Alberti remarks:

Using mathematical instruments, I have recorded as carefully as I could the passage and lineamenta of the wall, the river and the streets of the city of Rome, as well as the sites and locations of the temples, public works, gates and commemorative monuments, and the outlines of the hills, not to mention the area which is occupied by habitable buildings, all as we know them to be in our time. Furthermore, I have invented a method by which anyone, even a man endowed with only average intellect, may make both exceptionally easily, and also very accurately, depictions on any surface, however large. It was some intellectuals, friends of mine, who moved me to do this, and I thought it good to assist their studies.⁴²

Alberti continues by describing a method for drawing to scale a plan of Rome that is circular in shape and takes the Capitol as its center, based on measurements he provides. Despite the claims to accuracy, Alberti follows this established conceptualization of the city that had also informed other contemporary maps – for example the Strozzi Map of Rome.⁴³ That said, Alberti's plan is more precise and it is an orthogonal projection. This mode of architectural representation was recommended almost a century later by the artist and antiquarian Raphael (1483-1520), who had been appointed as inspector of Rome's ancient monuments by Pope Leo X. In 1519 he wrote to the pontiff giving a detailed account of the continuing destruction of antique buildings and statuary, which

were broken down to make mortar for new construction. Raphael's letter was a plea for the preservation of the remains of ancient Rome and he gave a detailed description of how he planned to survey these monuments and record them using orthogonal projection.⁴⁴

In addition to his *I Quattro Libri dell'architettura*, Andrea Palladio also published two popular guidebooks to Rome, *Le chiese* and *L'antichità*, in 1554.⁴⁵ The former was rather popularist and drew on medieval guides to the churches in Rome and followed pilgrimage routes leading from one to the next. In his guide to the antiquities, Palladio's approach was more scholarly, using ancient textual sources for the monuments and placing more emphasis on virtue and history than the physical buildings themselves. In the accompanying maps, Palladio followed the tradition of representing Rome as circular in shape.

Piranesi's *Ichnographia* varies from its Renaissance predecessors as he intended it primarily to teach architects about design whereas Alberti, Raphael and to a lesser extent Palladio sought to record and preserve. Piranesi saw the creative potential of archaeology as a stimulus to design as well as its practical application to solving technical problems. The format of the *Le Antichità* underscores the primacy of the plates. The opening 15 pages of the volume comprised dense text printed in 3 columns that is very difficult to read. This is followed by a catalogue and index of the plates including a list of ruins represented. As noted earlier, Piranesi's grand and intricate foldout map was conceived of as part of this multi-image study of this low-lying ancient Roman district that nestles in the curves of the River Tiber. The *Ichnographia* comprised 16 plates that together formed a map measuring three meters square. It was dedicated to Scottish architect Robert Adam, as an acknowledgement of their friendship. In the dedication Piranesi notes that Adam had encouraged him "to engrave

the remains of the buildings ... and to produce a bird's eye view of the whole area."⁴⁶

The dedicatory tablet, dated 1757 when the work on the giant plan began, appears on the *Ichnographia* and is in itself an archaeological fiction (Fig. 3). It takes the form of



Fig. 3 Giovanni Battista Piranesi, *Ichnographia* or *Il Campo Marzio dell'Antica Roma* (Map of the Campus Martius of Ancient Rome), etching in six plates, 1757. Yale University Art Gallery / public domain.

a fragment bearing the portrait heads of both Adam and Piranesi and it appears to rest on top of the pattern of Rome that lies beneath it, obscuring some of the detailed information. This layering of the history of the friendship of Adam and Piranesi with

the history of Rome points to the importance of the imagination in the production of this innovative plan, its multi-informational properties, and the slippage between past and present. The illusionism continues, as the whole map, secured by clips on some kind of mount, appears to be a fragment of a larger version on a stone base that we see revealed by the uneven sides.

The *Ichnographia* stands distinct from other maps and guides of Rome. We have already considered the textual and conceptual bias of examples from the Renaissance. Carlo Nolli's large plan of Rome (1748), among other contemporary maps, provides a foil to Piranesi's view through its documentary focus on the present-day state of the city. Indeed, we could not find our way through Rome using Piranesi's map, which combines the ground plans of ancient Roman buildings from various periods of the city's past together with fictitious structures form an intricate pattern. The eye is almost dazzled by the volume of detail as it travels around the page. The novelty of this visual description challenges the familiar rhetoric of cartographic and topographical views and creates a mood of excitement. And Piranesi acknowledges his use of speculative evidence and the importance of his imagination, and perhaps by implication that of the viewer:

I am rather afraid that some parts of the Campus which I describe should seem figments of my imagination and not based on any evidence: certainly if anyone compares them with the architectural theory of the ancients he will see that they differ greatly from it and are actually closer to the usage of our own times. But before anyone accuses me of falsehood, he should, I beg, examine the ancient [marble] plan of the city, he should examine the villas of Latium and that of Hadrian at Tivoli, the baths, the tombs and other ruins, especially those beyond the Porta Capena, and he will find that the ancients transgressed the strict rules

of architecture just as much as the moderns. Perhaps it is inevitable and a general rule that the arts on reaching a peak should then decline, or perhaps it is part of man's nature to demand some licence in creative expression as in other things, but we should not be surprised to see that the ancient architects have done the very things which we sometimes criticise in buildings of our own times. Here then, my dear Adam, is the Campus Martius, not as perfect perhaps as you wanted but as complete as I could manage, given the complexities of the subject and the lapse of time. . . . Whatever your judgement may be about this little work, I am happy to have done as you asked and to have provided for posterity a monument to our friendship.⁴⁷

Clearly, this selective representation of fact and fiction has an effect on how the city is seen, read and remembered. It is important here to think historically as our present-day knowledge and familiarity with cities we have never visited is greatly enhanced by new technologies. Before photography, videos and the internet, prints were the main means of visual description or memorialization of cities. How do we begin to understand this process? Piranesi's *Ichnographia* it is at once Rome and not Rome; the space and time of the eternal city is flattened into an abstract pattern of the past. Piranesi's visual ekphrasis of Rome both transcends historical sequence and narrates a fiction.

Closing the gap

The past remains the same place. It is how we choose to visit, engage and articulate it that expands and transforms it. Verbal histories narrate episodes from the past and bring them into the present as events that exist at the moment they are read. But they are also a segment of time defined by the use of various shades of the past tense and so remain at a distance.⁴⁸ Although they may rely at times on the documentary evidence of

historical sources, visual ekphrases of architecture in our period present a version of the past that stands distinct from that of the text-based antiquarian studies. As we have seen, both orthogonal perspective and ichnography allow space and time to be collapsed together, closing the gap between past and present. Both these modes of description distill the “facts” of antique architecture, which can then be articulated in different configurations. Stuart and Revett and Piranesi have shown us the disjunction between a belief in the empirical observation embodied in accurate measurement and the fundamental unknowableness of the past. And I leave you with the provocation that the novelty and importance of their printed images of the past are as significant as the present-day shift to the virtual world of digital imagery and writing that we see in the online edition of *Vetusta Monumenta*.

¹ Jacques Derrida, *Positions*, trans. Alan Bass (London: Athlone, 1987) and *Writing and Difference*, trans. Bass (London: Routledge, 1980).

² This article expands on my book *Architecture and Ekphrasis: Space, Time and the Embodied Description of the Past* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2020). It addresses questions that arose during the research and writing that were not within the purview of the enquiry. My thanks to Noah Heringman and Crystal Lake for the opportunity to explore these issues here.

³ On this point see Maria Grazia Lolla “Ceci n’est pas un monument: *Vetusta Monumenta* and antiquarian aesthetics,” *Producing the Past: Aspects of Antiquarian Culture and Practice 1700-1850*, ed. Martin Myrone and Lucy Peltz (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999), 15-34, here 16.

⁴ Lolla, loc.cit.

⁵ Notable here is James Basire, Sr. (1730-1802) who had worked on the plates of Volume I of *The Antiquities of Athens* before succeeding George Vertue as Engraver to the Society of Antiquaries.

⁶ See, for instance, Svetlana Leontief Alpers, “Ekphrasis and Aesthetic Attitudes in Vasari’s *Lives*,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 23 (1960): 190-215,

and Patricia Rubin, *Giorgio Vasari Art and History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

⁷ See for instance W.J.T. Mitchell, *Picture Theory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), and Adrian Rifkin, “Addressing Ekphrasis: A prolegomenon to the next,” *Classical Philology* 102 (2007): 72-82.

⁸ On this point see Michael Baxandall, “The Language of Art History,” *New Literary History* 10.3 (Spring 1979): 453-465

⁹ A prime example of the concentration on text rather than the quality of the images can be found in Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Monumenti antichi inediti, spiegati ed illustrati*, 2 vols. (Rome, 1767). See also Alex Potts, *Flesh and Ideal: Winckelmann and the Origins of Art History* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1994); Maria Grazia Lolla, “Monuments and Texts: Antiquarianism and the Beauty of Antiquity,” in Dana Arnold and Stephen Bending (eds.), *Tracing Architecture: The Aesthetics of Antiquarianism, Art History*, 25:4, (2002): 431-449; and Katherine Harloe, *Winckelmann and the Invention of Antiquity: History and Aesthetics in the Age of Altermumswissenschaft* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹⁰ A bilingual edition in German with a new English translation was published as *Reflections on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture* (London: Open Court Classics, 1986).

¹¹ The artist Henry Fuseli translated this verbal system into English as *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* only ten years after its original publication. Henry Fuseli, *Reflections on the Painting and Sculpture of the Greeks* (London: Printed for the translator and sold by A. Millar in the Strand, 1765).

¹² Whether he aimed to assert the primacy of one over the other remains open to debate. See for instance, E. H. Gombrich, “Lessing: lecture on a master mind,” *Proceedings of the British Academy* 43 (1957): 133–56, and his *Tributes: Interpreters of our Cultural Tradition* (Oxford: Phaidon, 1984), 37, where he argued that Lessing wished to show the superiority of poetry. A selection of essays offering re-evaluations of Lessing from a range of disciplinary perspectives sheds light on this issue: Avi Lifschitz and Michael Squire (eds), *Rethinking Lessing's Laocoon: Antiquity, Enlightenment, and the Limits of Painting and Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

¹³ G.E. Lessing, *Laocoon: An Essay on the Limits of Painting and Poetry*, trans. E. A. McCormick, (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1984), 78.

¹⁴ Immanuel Kant, *Critique of Judgment* [1781], trans. W. S. Pluhar, (Indianapolis: Hackett, 1987), 7; G. W. F. Hegel, *Aesthetics: Lectures on Fine Arts*, trans. T. M. Knox (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975); Ferdinand de Saussure, *Course in General Linguistics* [1916], trans. W. Baskin, ed. P. Meisel and H. Saussy (New York: Columbia University Press, 2011); Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things* (London: Tavistock, 1970); Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. G. Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1979).

¹⁵ There is a vast literature; see for instance: Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, “Semiotics and art history,” *Art Bulletin* 73 (1991): 174–208; Norman Bryson, Michael Ann Holly, and Keith Moxey eds., *Visual Culture: Images and Interpretations* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1994); James Elkins, *The Object Stares Back: On the Nature of Seeing* (London: Routledge, 1996) and *On Pictures and the Words that Fail Them* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); W.J.T. Mitchell, “The politics of genre: space and time in Lessing’s *Laocoön*,” *Representations* 6 (1984): 98–115; “What is an image?,” *New Literary History* 15.3 (1984): 503–37; and *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986).

¹⁶ Anthony Ashley-Cooper, Earl of Shaftesbury, *Characteristicks of Men, Manners, Opinions, Times* (1714).

¹⁷ On this point see Ernst Gombrich, “Moment and Movement in Art,” *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* XXVII (1964): 293–306.

¹⁸ H. Reichenbach, *Elements of Symbolic Logic* (New York: Dover Publications), 1947 and B. Comrie, *Tense* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), esp. ch. 6. The notions speech time, event time, and reference time were introduced by Reichenbach to distinguish simple past and present perfect or, more generally, absolute and relative tense. His views were simplified by Comrie to become speech time and event time for the analysis of absolute time; i.e., present, (simple) past and future.

¹⁹ Cara Dufour Denison, Myra Nan Rosenfeld, and Stephanie Wiles, *Exploring Rome: Piranesi and his contemporaries* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 1994), esp. 17 and Michele Di Lucchi, Adam Lowe, and Giuseppe Pavanello, *The arts of Piranesi: architect, etcher, antiquarian, vedutista, designer*, (Madrid: Factum Arte, 2012), esp. 53.

²⁰ J. W. von Goethe, *Collected Works*, ed. V. Lange et al. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), vol. IV, p. 238.

²¹ Vol. 1 was published by J. Haberkorn in 1762 and vol. 2 was published by John Nichols in 1787 (on the actual dating, see notes 27 and 38 below). For a detailed outline of the volumes see Eileen Harris assisted by Nicholas Savage, *British Architectural Books and Writers, 1556–1785* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 439–49.

²² For instance Robert Wood, *The Ruins of Palmyra* (London, 1753) and *The Ruins of Balbec* (London, 1757). Many expeditions were also financed by The Society of Dilettanti and Revett was subsequently employed as a draftsman on some of these missions.

²³ James Stuart and Nicholas Revett, *Proposals for publishing an accurate description of the Antiquities of Athens* (1748).

²⁴ Thomas Hollis to John Ward, letter dated 26 February 1751, as quoted in Dora Wiebenson, *Sources of Greek Revival Architecture* (London: A. Zwemmer, 1969), 75-77.

²⁵ Stuart and Revett, *Antiquities*, vol. 1, note to Preface.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ For the debates around the chronology of the volumes of *The Antiquities of Athens* see Harris and Savage, *op. cit.*, and Nicholas Savage, Alison Shell, Paul W. Nash and others, *Early Printed Books 1478-1840: Catalogue of the British Architectural Library, Early Imprints Collection* (London: Bowker-Saur, 1995).

²⁸ Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums*, (Dresden, 1764). Published in English as Johann Joachim Winckelmann, *History of the Art of Antiquity*, trans. Harry Frances Malgrave (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute Texts and Documents, 2006). Winckelmann was however disappointed with Volume I of *The Antiquities of Athens* as he questioned the lavish scale used to represent what in his view were 'minor monuments'. On this point see Dora Wiebenson, *op.cit.*, p.113.

²⁹ The images are listed in Susan Weber Soros (ed.), *James 'Athenian' Stuart 1713-1788: The Rediscovery of Antiquity* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2006), 591-5.

³⁰ On this point see Bruce Redford, *Dilettanti: The Antic and the Antique in Eighteenth-century England* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008), ch. 2, esp. 52 ff.

³¹ See for instance Lesley Lawrence, "Stuart and Revett: Their Literary and Architectural Careers," *Journal of the Warburg Institute* 2.2 (1938): 128-146; Jacob Landy, "Stuart and Revett: Pioneer Archaeologists," *Archaeology* 9.3 (1956): 252-259; Frank Salmon, "Stuart as Antiquary and Archaeologist in Italy and Greece," in Susan Weber Soros, *op. cit.*, 107-117; and Frank Salmon's introduction to a reduced format facsimile edition of *The Antiquities of Athens: Measured and Delineated by James Stuart, FRS and FSA, and Nicholas Revett, Painters and Architects, London 1762* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 2008).

³² As quoted in Eileen Harris assisted by Nicholas Savage, *op. cit.*, p. 442.

³³ For a full discussion of Ciriaco d'Ancona and the Parthenon see E. W. Bodnar, "Athens in April 1436," *Archaeology* XXIII (1970): 96-105, 188-199; C. Mitchell, "Ciriaco d'Ancona: Fifteenth-Century Drawings and Descriptions of the Parthenon," in V. Bruno (ed.), *The Parthenon* (New York: Norton, 1974), 111-123; E. Bodnar and C. Mitchell, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean 1444-1445* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1976), ch. 1., p. 8; and Edward W Bodnar and Clive Foss, *Ciriaco, d'Ancona, 1391-1452, Later travels. The I Tatti Renaissance Library Series* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2003).

³⁴ MS Hamilton 254, fol. 85r (Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Berlin). There is some

debate as to whether this drawing is by Ciriaco. On this point see Beverly Louise Brown and Diana E. E. Kleiner, "Giuliano da Sangallo's Drawings after Ciriaco d'Ancona: Transformations of Greek and Roman Antiquities in Athens," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42.4 (Dec.1983): 321-335, here 326n31.

³⁵ Codex Vaticanus Barberinus latinus 4424, fol. 28v, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

³⁶ Brown and Kleiner, "Giuliano da Sangallo's Drawings," 325.

³⁷ Sir George Wheler and Jacob Spon, *A journey into Greece by George Wheler, Esq., in company of Dr. Spon of Lyons in six books ... : with variety of sculptures* (London: Printed for William Cademan, Robert Kettlewell, and Awnsham Churchill, 1682), 360-64. A French version was published in Amsterdam 1689.

³⁸ Stuart and Revett, *The Antiquities of Athens: Measured and Delineated by James Stuart, FRS and FSA, and Nicholas Revett, Painters and Architects*, vol. 2 (London: J. Nichols, 1787), ch. 1 pp. 1-3. The volume was only partly in print when Stuart died in 1788. As a consequence it appeared in its entirety c.1789/90 under the editorship of William Newton.

³⁹ Andrea Palladio, *I Quattro Libri dell'architettura* [1570] facsimile of translation by Isaac Ware, ed. Adolf K. Placzek (New York: Dover Publications, 1965).

⁴⁰ Leon Battista Alberti, *De Pictura*, (1435, published 1450) and Italian version *Della Pittura* (1435), translated as *On Painting*, trans. J. Spencer,. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956, 1966); and *De re aedificatoria* (1452), *On the art of building in ten books*, trans. Joseph Rykwert, Robert Tavernor and Neil Leach (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1988).

⁴¹ Translated by Peter Hicks in "Leonis Baptistae Alberti Descriptio Urbis Romae," *Albertiana* 6 (2003): 125-215

⁴² *Ibid.*, 197.

⁴³ Alessandro Strozzi, Map of Rome, MS Laur. Redi 77, CC, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Florence.

⁴⁴ A translation of the version of Raphael's Letter to Leo X 1519, which was written with the aid of Baldassare Castiglione and possibly also Giuliano da Sangallo the Younger, is held in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich, ref: Codex Italic. 37b, and appears as an Appendix in Vaughan Hart and Peter Hicks, *Palladio's Rome: A Translation of Andrea Palladio's Two Guidebooks to Rome* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press 2009), 177-192.

⁴⁵ Hart and Hicks, *op. cit.*

⁴⁶ Translation from Jonathan Scott, *Piranesi* (London: Academy Editions, 1975), 166-167.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ In contrast to the practice of many literary critics of historical periods, the historical present is not usually used by antiquarians and historians writing in English.