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Restauratio and Reuse: The Afterlife of Roman Ruins

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As sustainability becomes ever more critical to the architectural profession, it is worth noting that the practice of recycling has a long history. Perhaps nowhere is this so richly documented as in Rome—both for the abundance of its classical ruins and the fact that over many centuries it was really two cities—one pagan, the other Christian.

As the institutions of imperial Rome gradually gave way to the *urbs sacra*, their physical vestiges had to be reappropriated. At times, this process occurred with little thought as to symbolic meaning; at others, the effect was quite conscious.

Only by the sixteenth century, however, did something approximating "adaptive reuse," grounded in a set of design criteria, appear. Renaissance architects did not look upon classical antiquities solely as models for imitation. Their objective was to critically analyze these remains and assimilate their forms into new typologies. Their projects—some executed, some known only from drawings—hold many lessons for contemporary designers seeking to reuse and recontextualize the architectural forms of modern cities.

Traffic in Spolia during Classical Times

One of the earliest and most celebrated instances of recycling sits on the Akropolis, in Athens. After the Persians laid siege to the city in 470 BC, citizens salvaged the charred column drums and metopes from the Parthenon, then in its early stages of construction. Eventually, the blocks of that older temple became the matrix for the one we know today. The genius of Iktinos was to retrofit old with new into a single proportional system so refined that it eluded the notice of archaeologists until the last century.

Above: Porticus of Octavia (view of interior pediment from Severan restoration).
Opposite: Arch of Constantine, south facade.

In late republican Rome (123 to 23 BC), the scavenging of building material was likewise a thriving business. Cicero once reproved his friend Verres for faultily restoring the Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Forum with stones redressed from the original structure. New marble was preferable, he argued, and the old blocks would have been better discarded, given to the contractors as compensation.[1] One consequence was a market in recycled materials that made older habitations prime targets for demolition. This became such a problem that two far-sighted consuls, Hosidianus and Volusianus, pleaded before the Senate in 44 AD to outlaw the buying and selling of property by third-party speculators.

Eventually, the emperor Vespasian, who ruled from 69-79, issued an edict to regulate profiteering in building debris by private citizens. Alexander Severus renewed this sanction in 222, just as the imperial quarries at Luna began to restrict the supply of white marble.[2] Yet it was this same emperor who restored the Porticus Octaviae with dismembered column shafts and entablatures of Pentelic marble. On the exterior pediment, the blocks were dressed smooth, but on the interior face, less exposed to public view, they were left rough-hewn. Was this a question of haste, or negligence? Or did the builders purposefully leave it that way to draw attention to its "otherness"?

Such ambiguity is reflected in the Latin term *restauratio*—which Livy (59 BC–17 AD) and Tacitus (ca. 56–117) understood to mean something akin to our modern sense of restoration. Late classical authors, however, construed it more loosely. The fourth-century grammarian Servius drew an etymological connection between *instar* (likeness) and *instauro* (renew): "*instar autem est ad similitudinem; unde non Restaurata, sed Instaurata dicuntur aedificia ad antiquam similitudinem facta*" ("likeness in appearance also means in similitude, whence buildings made similar to the old are said to be not *restaurata* but *instaurata*").[3]

It may be mincing words to distinguish between renewing or even reconstructing, and repairing or restoring; but *instauratio* would come to signify a new form that *resembled* rather than *replicated* an original.[4]

The Gesture of Appropriation

Even by antique standards the Arch of Constantine, however, marked a wholly new way in which fragments from the past could be reappropriated and recommemorated. Earlier emperors had taken great license in cannibalizing the projects of their dishonored predecessors. Vespasian, Titus, Galba and Trajan all availed themselves of Nero's *condemnatio memoriae* by reclaiming the site of

his immense Domus Aurea for public edifices.[5] In the case of the emperor Commodus, who ruled from 180-192, this meant refashioning the bronze Colossus of Nero with his own likeness as the sun god Helios.

However, the triumphal arch dedicated by the emperor Constantine in 315 represented a more willful act of appropriation on several levels. Its architecture was almost entirely reconstituted from earlier monuments—not just the famous reliefs of Marcus Aurelius on the attic, the Hadrianic roundels, and the Trajanic frieze on the interior fornix, but also capitals, columns, and architraves.

The appropriation of these elements all formed part of a larger ideological program aimed at legitimizing Constantine's sovereign authority over Rome.[6] As part of this effort, the heads of Marcus Aurelius were replaced with those of Constantine and the tetrarch Licinius. However, the sculptors involved with this project also depicted honorific statues of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius in the relief of Constantine's oration. On the one hand, Constantine was projecting his victory over Maxentius by co-opting the memory of these beneficent rulers. On the other, he was physically appropriating the forms of an earlier epoch to forge a new aesthetic.

Seen in this light, the intermixing of spolia was hardly haphazard or spurious. It articulated a new taste for *varietas*. Put another way, the disparity in styles had an appeal of its own. This practice pervaded much of Constantine's building spurt in Rome, most notably the Lateran basilica, where despoiled capitals along the nave alternated between Ionic and Corinthian.

Resanctifying the Ruins

One of the last interventions on behalf of the ancient city was the repair of the Augustan Temple of Saturn in the Roman Forum, which had been ravaged by fire sometime between 360 and 380.[7] After this, the emperor Theodosius I, who spent little time in Rome, issued various ordinances against the transporting of marbles outside the city limits. But these all were to little avail. And the plundering of pagan cult sites became de facto policy when, in 382, his co-emperor, Gratian stripped the prefects of Rome of their responsibility for the upkeep of the city's ancient temples, which no longer held the status of public buildings.

Under Theodosius, Christianity became the official state religion. However, the new attitude toward ancient sites was probably driven as much by an urgent need for building material as any ideological divide. Thus, an injunc-

tion in the year 458 obliged Roman citizens to remove the ornament ("*ornatum*") from ruined buildings so it could be reused for new public projects. Such legislation stopped short of the destruction en masse of ancient *sancta*, however, leaving open the possibility that their vestiges could be reutilized for Christian worship. Ultimately, this was what spared large stores of antiquities from the nefarious lime-kilns, where marbles were incinerated to produce lime.

In early Christianity, clerics saw the need to exorcize pagan cult sites of their demons—a kind of spiritual white-washing. Upon arriving in Agrigento, in Sicily, in 597, Gregory the Great (540–604), then a bishop, set as his first official act the reconsecration of the Temple of Concordia, to the saints Peter and Paul. And in the following century, the citizens of Siracusa erected a new roof over the archaic Temple of Athena, and rededicated it to the Virgin (Duomo of S. Maria delle Colonne).[8]

In Rome, the popes took a different tack. Rather than look to places of cult devotion, they set their sights on the Roman Forum, still rich in imperial aura, and specifically profane buildings. The church of Santi Cosma e Damiano, consecrated in 527 by Felix IV, occupied the former audience hall of the city prefect's office (Templum Urbis Romae) and an adjoining library from the Templum Pacis. The old Curia Senatus required only minor modifications to be rededicated to Sant'Adriano by Honorius I (625–38). And, after being donated to Boniface IV by the Byzantine emperor Phocas in 609, the Pantheon became the first in a long line of Roman temples to undergo official conversion, when it was dedicated to S. Maria ad Omnes Martyres.

Left to right: San Nicola in Carcere, south flank and east facade; south flank (incorporating Doric temple of Spes); north flank (incorporating Ionic temple of Juno Sospes).
Opposite: Casa de' Crescenzi, east facade.

In the case of San Nicola in Carcere, at the heart of the Ripa district, the basilica arose over the ruins of three contiguous temples in the old Forum Holitorium. Fish, produce, and cattle markets carried on from ancient days gave vitality to this neighborhood, which had come to be dominated by powerful clans, and one of these *magnati*, Cardinal Pietro Pierleoni, was likely responsible for the renovations to the basilica, which was rededicated in 1128.

The church's fortified tower was erected partly over the podium of the north temple (Janus) and partially immuring the front columns of the middle temple (Juno Sospes—Juno the Savior). Its prominent form and position, facing directly toward the Capitoline, declared the family's patronage of the church and the architectural relics it enshrined. Rather than obscure the ruins, however, the masons solidified the Ionic colonnade of the middle temple on the north exterior wall of the basilica. Its broken architraves were shored with fieldstone and rubble, and pier buttresses were added around the ancient cella.[9] In the fourteenth century, as today, six Doric columns of the south temple (Spes—"Hope") also supported trabeation embedded in the south flank of the church.[10]

To medieval visitors, this heterogeneous appearance must have added to the basilica's curiosity. Renaissance architects, by contrast, recognized these temples as key to interpreting the writings of Vitruvius from the first century BC, and surveyed its ruins in isolation from the Christian accretions. Giacomo della Porta's surgical restoration of the facade at the behest of Cardinal Pietro Aldobrandini in 1599 was of a kindred spirit. He retained two of the Ionic columns from the ancient pronaos flanking a central aedicula, while the colossal order and attic gave the effect of a triumphal arch all but detached from the structure behind.

During this time, families competed in the appropriation of antiquities, not just to vaunt their Roman lineage, but also to attain strategic and territorial advantage. The Crescenzi, neighbors of the Pierleoni (and their formidable rivals), constructed a tower over their mansion to control traffic along the Tiber, as well as passage across the dilapidated Ponte Fabrizio.

The Casa dei Crescenzi is generally dated between 1040 and 1065. Its resplendent south facade is composed of brick half-columns between recessed piers. Overhead, antique corbels recarved with putti and sphinxes support a frieze composted from two different spolia (their provenance has recently been traced to the Baths of Caracalla). Recessed arches support the projecting wall (*sporti*) for the *piano nobile*, with a dado stitched together from coffers to simulate a rinceaux motive.

The pastiche reveals the rudimentary quality of these masons' knowledge of ancient building technology. Yet, for all its deficiencies, the owner proudly attested in an inscription over the entrance that he was moved not "by vain desire, but to restore the city to its former beauty" (QUAM ROME VETEREM RENOVARE DECOREM).

Translatio: Place, Re-Place, and Context

Here it is fair to speak of *translatio* in both the literal sense, of a lifting from one physical context and re-placement in another, and the figurative sense, of a recontextualizing. But when does the architectural grammar become so altered as to invest new meaning or function in the original? This could occur only with historical perspective. A rich literature of medieval guides allows us to see how visitors came to distinguish between contemporary
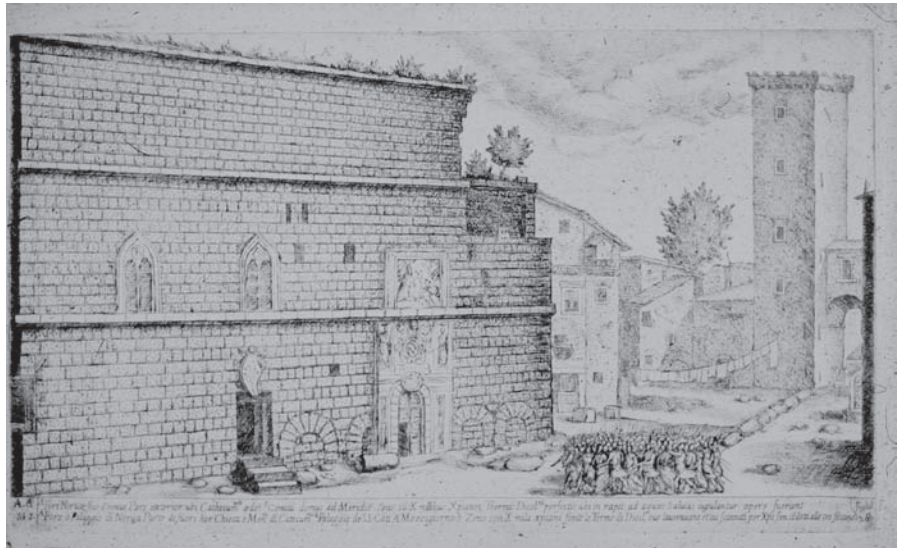
Rome, the living city, and the memory of classical antiquity as conjured from the spectacle of its ruins.

One example may illustrate how these two worlds came to intersect. There are few sights more impressive than the massive firewall constructed of volcanic *peperino* blocks skirting the back side of the Forum of Augustus. At one end, a voussoir arch, known as the Arco de' Pantani, leads into the south exedra flanking the Temple of Mars Ultor. Travertine ledges divide the rusticated stone blocks into three courses. During medieval times this would have called to mind the new fashion for rusticated palaces, most notably the Palazzo Vecchio in Florence. Indeed, a popular twelfth-century guide, the *Mirabilia Urbis Romae*, erroneously identified the ruins of this wall as those of an imperial palace attached to the fora of Augustus and Nerva.[11]

It was probably not by coincidence then that, not long after, this so-called "Palatium Nervae" was turned into a residence by Pope Innocent III, as a priory for the Order of Knights of St. John (Cavalieri di Rodi). And in 1466 Paul II entrusted its administration to his nephew, Cardinal Marco Barbo, who added a series of chambers rising to an elegant loggia with a magnificent view across the markets of Trajan

Left: Forum of Augustus, exterior firewall along Salita del Grillo (Arco de' Pantani in foreground; Temple of Mars Ultor in background). For a view of the north exedra inside the Forum of Augustus, see p.4.
Right: Alò Giovannoli, view of atrium to Forum of Augustus and Casa de' Cavalieri di Rodi (above). Engraving, 1615.

to his uncle's Palazzo Venezia, then close to completion.

Alò Giovannoli's engraving of 1615 shows the two *bifore* windows on the *piano nobile* and the modest ground-floor portal from the street. Today, viewed from the Via dei Fori Imperiali, traces of medieval arches can still be detected around the newer Ghibelline windows, above what remained of the ancient walling in *opus quadratum* below—a veritable architectural palimpsest.

Restoration, Adaptation, Reinvention

In an oft-quoted letter addressed to Leo X around 1519, Raphael and his collaborator, the erudite Baldassare Castiglione, laid out a comprehensive account of Roman architecture leading up to their own day. For the first time, antiquity was not seen as monolithic, but as having evolved in distinct stylistic stages—from Augustan to Flavian to Severan. After deploring the incursions of the Goths, Raphael and Castiglione noted that in imperial times monuments often would be restored (*ristaurati*), yet always "in the same manner and method" (*con la medesima maniera e ragione*).[12] As examples, they pointed to the Domus Aurea, on whose foundations Titus later erected his *thermae* (baths), and to the Flavian amphitheater, which rose on the site of Nero's artificial lake.

Clearly, they were not referring to restoration in our modern sense, because neither of these later monuments bore the slightest resemblance to their precursors, but rather to a continuity in the technical art of building. This attitude toward the past came to an abrupt halt with the Arch of Constantine, which they deemed nothing short of
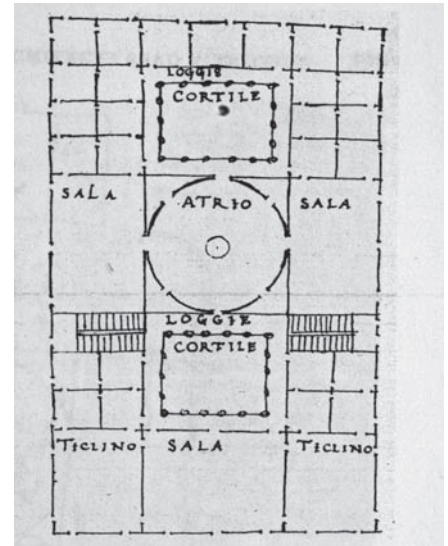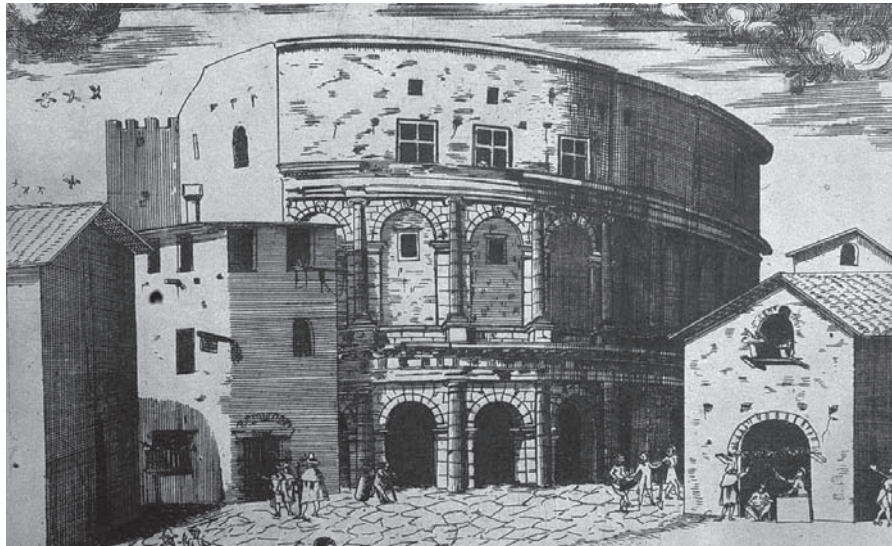
an aberration from the canon of Classical architecture—
"foolish, without art or any good design." Interestingly
enough, this conclusion was made not without careful
observation of the monument itself, from which Raphael
and Castiglione were able to discern its hybridizing of
Hadrianic, Trajanic, and Antonine elements.

Theater of Marcellus—Palazzo Savelli

In the same way that Raphael understood the act of *ris-
torare* as a process of adaptation by successive emperors, so
too Renaissance architects saw a continuum between the
physical fabric of ancient Rome, such as it had survived,
and the emerging building style known as *all'antica*. It
would not have occurred to them to preserve these ruins
in archaeological isolation, only to modify their forms as
appropriate to contemporary needs.

An early example of this practice can be seen in the
Theater of Marcellus.[13] Begun by Caesar and dedicated by
Augustus, it had fallen into disuse by 525, when a Roman
prefect hauled away portions of the travertine revetment
to restore the nearby Ponte Cestio (Fabrizio). In the four-
teenth century, the ruins, by then heavily fortified, passed
from the Fabii to the Savelli family.[14] At that time, however,
the exterior was so obscured by ramparts that Petrarch
mistook it for an amphitheater ("*quliseo de' Saveli*").

In 1523, when Cardinal Giulio Savelli commissioned
Baldassare Peruzzi to redesign the attic story for a more
sumptuous palace, butchers' stalls occupied the ground-
floor *tabernae*, and a warren of medieval houses had filled
in around the interior *caveae*.[15] According to his pupil

Sebastiano Serlio, Peruzzi relished the opportunity to
undertake his own excavations and to analyze its struc-
tural system from the foundations. It is unlikely any trace
survived of the third order on the exterior, which Peruzzi
left as an astylar attic. Given that the Ghibelline windows
do not align with the arcades below, he likely had no
choice but to follow the preexisting wall partitions.

Baths of Agrippa—Palazzo Orsini

Around 1525, a count of the Orsini from the Pitigliano
line charged Peruzzi with developing a plan to convert
the Baths of Agrippa into a grandiose palace. The project
is known only from a large drawing in the Uffizi, labeled
"therme agrippine." Technically, the drawing is quite
unusual, because Peruzzi rendered the proposed construc-
tion in sepia wash to distinguish it from the ancient ruins
in situ, which he superimposed in a precise red line.[16]

Peruzzi anchored his plan around the open rotunda,
originally the *laconicum* (dry sweat bath)—popularly
known as the Arco della Ciambella from the extensive
portion of its dome still standing. The sheet is oriented
east at the top, cut off where it would have connected by
a wide hall to the *caldarium* (hot bath). Recognizing the

Left: View of Theater of Marcellus with Savelli apartments on attic story. From
Giovanni Antonio Dosio, *Urbis Romae Aedificiorum Reliquiae* (1569), pl. 31.
Right: Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Plan for the palace of a *signore*. From
Trattato d'architettura, II. Codice Magliabechiano II. I. 141, fol. 20 recto. Biblioteca
Nazionale, Florence.
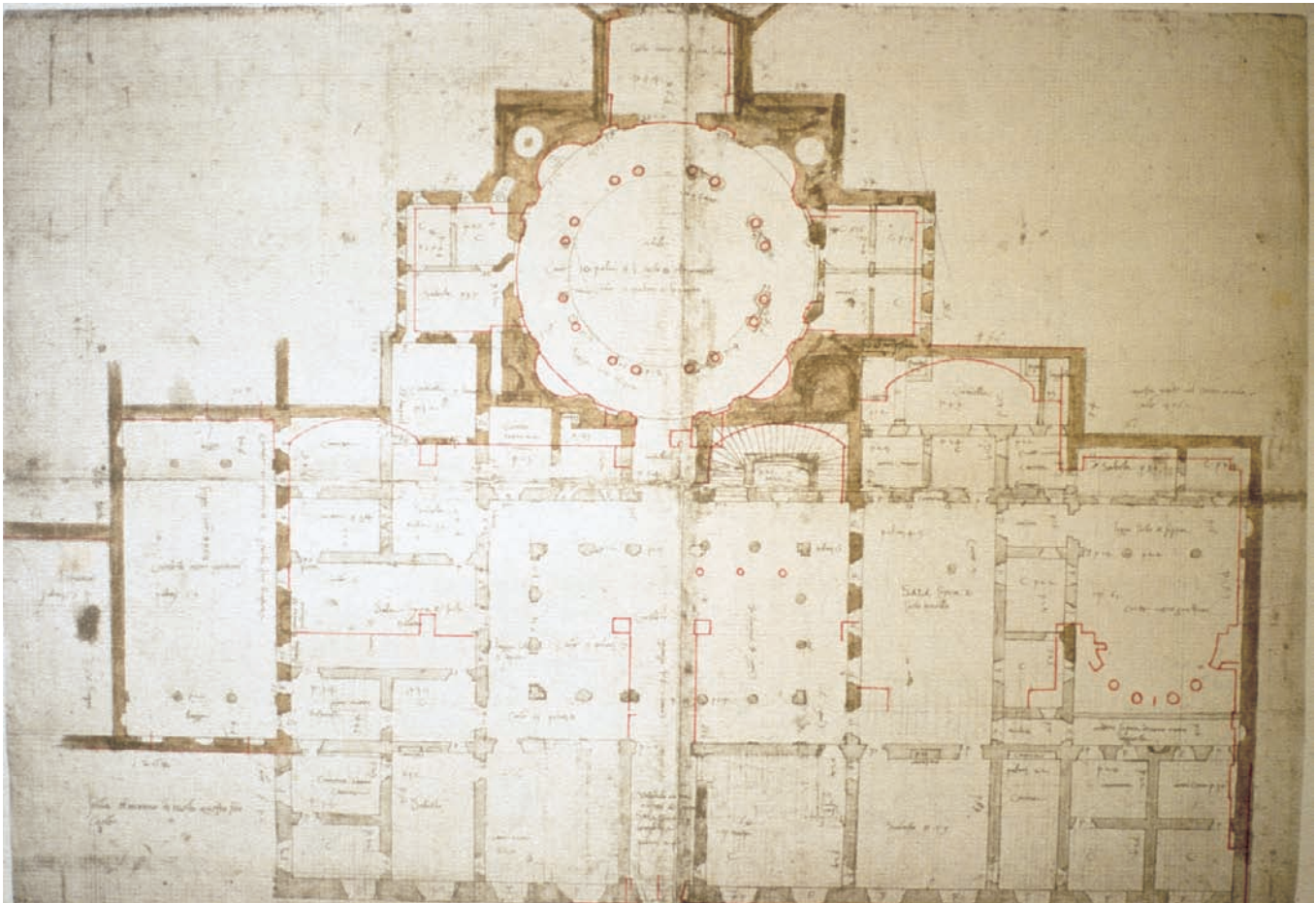
asymmetry of the ancient foundations, Peruzzi used it as a spur for invention: on one side of the rotunda he drew the binary columns as free-standing, on the opposite side as half-columns engaged to piers.

Below, the red outline shows partial walls constricting the axis from east to west. But he used the suggestion of three solitary columns running on a transverse axis here to create a spacious garden/courtyard (*cortiletto ovvero giardino*). This, in turn, egresses through a barrel-vaulted vestibule to the western entrance of the palace facing onto Via di Torre Argentina.

An avid scholar of Vitruvius, Peruzzi would have looked

to the ancient writer's description of the patriciate *domus* as a model for the Orsini project. In *De Architectura* (VI, 3), Vitruvius used the term *cavum aedium* to denote the central courtyard—further noting that the ancients called one specific type, covered by vaults, *testudinate*. Although no foundations of Roman houses had yet been unearthed, Renaissance architects would have found a number of ruins vaguely corresponding to Vitruvius's description. Leon Battista Alberti had identified just such a room in the imperial baths (ostensibly the *caldarium* in the Thermae of Caracalla): "In the middle, as in the center of a house, there is an atrium, roofed, spacious, and majestic; off this are rooms, their lineaments taken from the Etruscan temple, as we have described it. The entrance to this atrium is through the main vestibule, whose facade faces south."[17]

Of course, the centrifugal disposition of chambers in a *thermae* made little sense when compared to the way Vitruvius described the progression from vestibule to atrium

BAGNI DI PAOLO EMILIO.

to peristyle in a *domus*. But, in his translation of Vitruvius into Italian, the architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini had been the first to tackle this problem systematically. And in several diagrams for houses of *signori* which he worked on in the 1490s, he laid out three variations of the atrium (*ridutto*), the third called the *forma rotonda*.

Given Francesco's limited knowledge of classical precedent, the affinity of this symmetrical arrangement to the *palaestrae* in the ancient *thermae* is probably accidental. In Peruzzi's case, however, there is good reason to believe it informed the design process. Not far away, just to the east of Piazza Navona, the architect Antonio da Sangallo the Younger had been engaged since 1512 in enlarging the small Medici palace occupying a portion of the Baths of Nero (Thermae Alexandrinae). Here portions of one ancient *palaestra*—even some ancient statuary—were found in situ.[18] The grandiose Palazzo Madama, as eventually completed later in the century, retained the disposition of twin courtyards, but rotated at 90 degrees, parallel to the Piazza Lombarda.

Markets of Trajan—"Theatrum Paulli"

Arguably the most radical project to transform an ancient site—the complex today known as the Markets of Trajan—never saw realization. The picturesque Torre delle Milizie, erected in 1232, rises to the north of the Aula Magna as the road ascends along the promontory up to the Quirinal hill. Medieval guides denoted this piazza as "Balnea Neapolis," then Bagnanapoli, and eventually "Magnanapoli."

Renaissance architects interpreted the cluster of ancient *tabernae* as a grand palace, the so-called "Palatium Militiarum," replete with a semicircular atrium facing onto the imperial forum. The antiquarian Pomponio

Leto traced the medieval toponomastic to the Roman *aedile* L. Aemilius Paullus, noting that Balneapolis was a vulgarized form of "Balneum Paulli." This false etymology steered Renaissance antiquarians, who saw a further affinity of the sweeping hemicycle to an ancient theater or, alternately, to the exedra of the ancient *thermae*, as in the Baths of Diocletian.

The grandest of the schemes for the transformation of the market ruins was that of Sallustio Peruzzi, who extensively studied the site in 1563, when Porzia Massimi founded the convent of S. Caterina da Siena. This new structure would comprise the former Conti palace, to which were annexed the Torre delle Milizie and ancient markets. The shops along the Via Biberatica were to be redisposed for a choir, cistern, refectory, and poultry farm. In one sketch, Peruzzi contemplated transforming the hemicyle into a *frons scaenae*, inverting the plan of the Roman theater by placing the spectators on the site of Trajan's Forum. Shortly after 1574, Ottavio Mascarino proposed a more conservative reutilization to accommodate the nuns.[19]

Baroque Rome and the Church Triumphant

As the popes engaged in ever more ambitious attempts to leave their imprint on the city, antiquities became increasingly vulnerable to despoiling. No site engendered more controversy than the Colosseum, which lay abandoned by the sixth century.

Left: The Markets of Trajan as they appear today.
Right: So-called "Bagni di Paolo" (hemicycle of Markets of Trajan). From Bernardo Gamucci, *Libri Quattro delle Antichità della Città di Roma* (1565). Woodcut based on drawing by Giovanni Antonio Dosio.
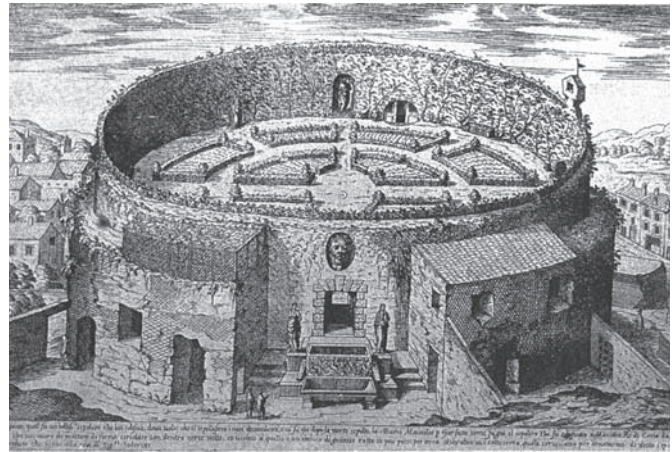
The structure had already been appropriated in various ways. By the twelfth century the Frangipane family had claimed two levels of arcades on its eastern side for their *palatium*. In 1332, on the occasion of King Ludwig of Bavaria's visit to Rome, the arena was outfitted for bull-fights. In 1366, the Compagnia dei Nobili Romani Sancta Sanctorum began purchasing houses clustered around the arena. After 1490, the Compagnia del Gonfalone performed passion plays there and erected a modest chapel, dedicated to S. Maria della Pietà.

In 1585, however, Sixtus V earmarked the Colosseum as part of his grand scheme to reconfigure Rome on a stellar plan. The amphitheater would be converted into a monumental church with an esplanade all around to link with the road under construction from S. Giovanni in Laterano (Via Merulana). Only two years later, however, he changed his mind and directed the architect Domenico Fontana to revamp the ruins as a wool factory, with covered shops on the ground floor and artisans' lodgings on the second story. The ancient Meta Sudans (a monumental conical fountain) and newly dug fountains extending as far as the Tor de' Conti would supply water for washing and dying fabrics. According to Fontana, the project was one year from realization when Sixtus's death put an end to it.[20]

Bernini, when approached by Clement X to erect a

Tempio de' Martiri on the site for the Jubilee of 1675, advocated leaving the Colosseum unaltered as a testimony both to Christian martyrdom and the grandeur of imperial Rome. But his pupil Carlo Fontana was more easily swayed. Around 1705, he undertook a round peripteral church at one end of the long axis by commission of Innocent XI Odescalchi. His design, published posthumously in *L'Anfiteatro Flavio* of 1725, never saw realization.[21]

Roma Fascista

It is appropriate to end with the Mausoleum of Augustus, a monument which, more than any other, has embodied the sense of historical destiny for modern-day Romans from 1934, when Mussolini commenced work on the Piazzale Augusto Imperatore, right up to the present.

Ironically, this tomb of Rome's second founder, who had transformed a city of brick into one of gleaming marble, remained devoid of symbolic importance for most of its afterlife. The Colonna family used it for their fortified enclave in the twelfth century. In 1519, Leo X had its exterior stripped of travertine blocks for the laying of the Via Ripetta (at which time the obelisk from the ancient *horologium* was unearthed). Then, in 1546, Francesco Soderini bought the ruinous mound and undertook excavations that resulted in the discovery of numerous ancient statues.[22] At this time the interior was rearranged with circular hedges forming a labyrinth garden. And in the eighteenth century, its Portuguese owner, Vincenzo Correa, sold the property to the Marchese Francesco Saverio Vivaldi-Armentieri, who refitted its grounds as a bullring.

The Master Plan of 1909 called for refurbishing the mausoleum as a concert hall, renamed the Augusteo, and disencumbering it from annexed buildings. Mus-

Left: Sallustio Peruzzi, Design for renovation of the hemicycle of the Markets of Trajan as a Vitruvian theater. Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni, Arch. 682 recto.
Right: Mausoleum of Augustus as labyrinth garden of Palazzo Soderini. From Etienne Du Pérac, *I Vestigi delle Antichità di Roma* (1575).
Opposite: Richard Meier's reuse of the Ara Pacis. Photo by Gianpietro Ziro from Flickr.com.

solini expanded the scope of this project to clear a new road (Via Vittoria) linking eastward to the Corso. By 1938, the architect Vittorio Ballo Mopurgo's new design called for reintegrating the mausoleum with the two Renaissance churches along the Via di Ripetta—San Girolamo and San Rocco—to create a grander aspect on the west. Two new buildings for the Fascist administration, their low-rising porticoes deferring to the apses of Sant'Ambrogio and San Carlo, would then define the piazza on the north and east.[23]

It was a foregone conclusion that the fragments of the Ara Pacis, which Augustus had erected in 9 BC near the Via Flaminia, and which, since their discovery in the sixteenth century had remained orphaned in the Palazzo Fiano, would find a more fitting home around the Piazzale. Mopurgo's enshrining of the altar was uninspired, but it amply fulfilled the propagandistic aims of Il Duce.

When in 1995 the mayor of Rome, Francesco Rutelli, commissioned Richard Meier to reinvigorate the monument with a new enclosure, it seemed again inevitable that the

result would stir controversy. Ironically, few critics voiced much concern about preserving the memory of Rome's Fascist past; rather, they complained of the impact of another tourist attraction on the surrounding cityscape. Meier contextualized in a way that seemingly has become de rigueur in the new techno-formalism: he left one wall of Mopurgo's travertine structure (with the text of Augustus's *Res Gestae* inscribed) dramatically piercing through the glass encasement.

Contextualizing in another, less successful way, Meier also tucked the entry to the museum beneath a travertine pavilion that rises from the Tiber and oddly cuts off the lower half of the facades of San Rocco and San Gerolamo degli Schiavoni.[24] Visitors can, however, take some consolation in the reflection of the soaring dome of San Rocco captured in the windows facing on the opposite side of Via di Ripetta. Whether this effect was conscious or not, hardly matters. Today, no less than in earlier ages, Rome has come down to us as a mélange of images—both real and virtual—experienced in time and space.

Notes

1. Cicero, *Oratio ad Verrem* II, 1, 54, §146-48.

2. Patrizio Pensabene and Clementina Panella, "Reimpiego e progettazione architettonica nei monumenti tardo-antichi di Roma," par. I, *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia*, *Rendiconti* LXVI (1995), p. 112f. These quarries were located some 300 km. north of Rome, at modern Carrara.

3. D. du Cange, *Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis*, tom. VII (Paris: Librairie des sciences et des arts, 1938), p. 154.

4. This subtle difference was not lost on the early Renaissance humanist Flavio Biondo, who entitled his guidebook *Roma Instaurata* (1446). This ground-breaking work transposed, as it were, the physical layout of the ancient city, obliterated with time, into a textual mapping ordered topographically.

5. Nero ruled from 54 to 68, followed by Galba in 69. Vespasian ushered in the Flavian dynasty, succeeded by his sons Titus and Domitian. Trajan was emperor from 98 to 117.

6. Beat Brenk, "Spolia from Constantine to Charlemagne: Aesthetics versus Ideology," in *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 41 (1987), pp. 104-5.

7. The inscription reads: SENATVS POPVLVSQVE ROMANVS INCENDIO CONSVMPTVM RESTITVIT.

8. Francesco Gandolfo, "Luoghi dei santi e luoghi dei demoni: il riuso di templi nel Medioevo," in *Santi e Demoni nell'Alto Medioevo occidentale*, *Settimane di Studio del CISAM*, XXXVI (Spoleto: 1988), pp. 895-97.

9. Andreina Palombi, *La Basilica di San Nicola in Carcere: il complesso architettonico dei tre templi del Foro Olitorio* (Rome: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 2006), pp. 75-79.

10. For a fourteenth-century drawing of the ruins in situ, see T.E. Mommsen, "Un problema riguardante la topografia medioevale di Roma: S. Nicola in Carcere nell'anno 1400," *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia*, *Rendiconti* 24 (1949), pp. 309-15.

11. On the perpetuation of this misnomer into the Renaissance, see Andreas Tönnesmann, "'Palatium Nervae': Ein antikes Vorbild für Florentiner Rustikafassaden," *Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 21 (1984), pp. 63-65.

12. For the text, which exists in three variants, see John Shearman, *Raphael in Early Modern Sources (1483-1602)* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2003), pp. 520-21.

13. Richard Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City, 312-1308* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980), pp. 299-301.

14. Benedetta Origo and Enzo Crea, *Theatrvm Marcelli: 'El Quliseo de' Saveli'* (Rome: Edizione dell'Elefante, 1973), p. 19, purport that Luca Savelli acquired the ruins in 1368 from the Pierleoni, but this is unsubstantiated.

15. Serlio, *Tutte l'opere d'architettura* (Venice: 1619), Bk. III, f. 69v. In 1925, excavations within the *caveae* revealed a fourteenth-century house. Paolo Fidenzoni, "La liberazione del teatro di Marcello e lo scoprimento di una casetta medioevale," *Capitolium* 2 (1926-27), p. 599. (*Tabernae* were single-room shops covered by barrel vaults, often built in groups in ancient Rome. *Caveae* were the subterranean chambers in in a Roman arena or amphitheater.)

16. The drawing, Uffizi Arch. 456 recto, was first published by Heinrich Geymüller, *Documents inédits sur les Thermes d'Agrippa, le Panthéon et les Thermes de Dioclétien* (Lausanne-Rome, 1883), p. 16f. Further, Alfonso Bartoli, *I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi* (Rome: C. A. Bontempelli, 1914-22), vol. VI, p. 32. Rodolfo Lanciani refused to accept that the plan was asymmetrical around the north-south axis. In his *Forma Urbis Romae* (1893-1901), pl. 21, the entire bottom half of Peruzzi's drawing is transposed from the west to the south with a long corridor opening to the Via Papalis. The accuracy of Peruzzi's drawing (as recorded later by Palladio) was confirmed by a fragment of the Severan plan discovered in 1900. Christian Huelsen, *Die Thermen des Agrippa: ein Beitrag zur Topogaphie des Marsfeldes in Rom* (Rome: Loescher, 1910), pp. 14-16. Heinrich Würm, *Baldassare Peruzzi: Architekturzeichnungen. Tafelband* (Tubingen: E. Wasmuth, 1984), pl. 147.

17. Alberti, *De re aedificatoria*, VIII, 10. For discussion of this passage, see Linda Pellecchia, "Architects Read Vitruvius: Renaissance Interpretations of the Atrium of the Ancient House," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 51 (1992), p. 390f.

18. In 1509 Alfonsina Orsini, widow of Pietro de' Medici, acquired the palace and adjacent properties "*con vestigia e pareti delle antiche Terme*…." Foundations of the Alexandrine baths extended as far south as the medieval church of S. Salvatore alle Terme. On the overlapping typologies, see Christoph L. Frommel, *Der Römische Palastbau der Hochrenaissance* (Tübingen: E. Wasmuth, 1973), Bd. I, 55f.

19. Jack Wasserman, *Ottavio Mascarino and his Drawings in the Accademia Nazionale di San Luca* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale di San Luca, 1966), pp. 81-82, fig. 38. Mascarino's complex was demolished during the restoration of this archaeological zone under Corrado Ricci in the 1920s.

20. Domenico Fontana, *Della Trasportazione dell'Obelisco Vaticano e delle Fabriche di Nostro Signore papa Sisto V* (Rome: D. Basa, 1590).

21. Hellmut Hager, "Carlo Fontana's Project for a Church in Honour of the 'Ecclesia Triumphans' in the Colosseum, Rome," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 36 (1973), pp. 319-37.

22. Anna Maria Riccomini, "A Garden of Statues and Marbles: the Soderini Collection in the Mausoleum of Augustus," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 58 (1995), pp. 265-83.

23. Spiro Kostof, "The Emperor and the Duce: The Planning of Piazzale Augusto Imperatore in Rome," in Henry A. Millon and Linda Nochlin, eds., *Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1978), pp. 270-302. In the context of Mussolini's grander *sventramento*, see Idem, *The Third Rome, 1870-1950: Traffic and Glory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973), p. 32f.

24. Nicolai Ouroussoff, "An Oracle of Modernism in Ancient Rome," *New York Times*, Sept. 25, 2006.

All photos are by the author unless otherwise noted.