Chapter 50
Raphael and the Pantheon's Interior: A Pivotal Moment in Architectural Representation

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In the first decade of the sixteenth century, several artists from Bramante's circle created a series of six related drawings of the Pantheon's interior.[1] Although each drawing exhibits unique traits, the set resulted from the copying of a single master or model drawing. I believe that the drawing catalogued as *Uffizi 164 A.r.*, attributed to Raphael, was that master image (Fig. 50.1).[2]

Although the debate over the primacy of *Uffizi 164 A.r.* may never be fully put to rest, I would like to leave aside these issues in favour of a return to the question originally asked by Hermann Egger. Why did this model drawing become so famous and so frequently copied? (Lotz 1977: 25).

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[1] Three of these are now housed in the Uffizi, (U 1950 A r, U 4333 A r, and U 164 A r); one lies at the Universitätsbibliothek in Salzburg (Salzburg H 193/2 r), and another is folio 30 r of the Codex Escurialensis housed at the Biblioteca, El Escorial (Cod. Inv. 28.II.2). The sixth drawing, folio 33 r from the *Mellon Codex* is held at the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York (1978.44). This last drawing is clearly related to the others, sharing the same general point of view and compositional strategy. However, the *Mellon Codex* drawing is executed at a much smaller scale and was subsequently used to record what appears to be field measurements of the Pantheon, a particularly interesting use considering the drawing's deviation from that building's architecture.

[2] Subsequent discourse has offered alternative theories allowing the possibility of a lost model drawing or the suggestion that the version within the *Codex Escurialensis* was the master. However, none of these alternatives fully synthesize the various discoveries about the set. Although the intricacy involved in resolving the work of scholars such as Hermann Egger, Wolfgang Lotz, Gustina Scaglia and John Shearman is beyond the scope of this chapter, my work with the drawings, in tandem with the rich scholarship of these other authors, has made it possible for me to conclude that *Uffizi 164 A.r.* was the most likely master drawing. Their arguments and my attempt at resolution, along with my own observations are provided as Appendix to this chapter.

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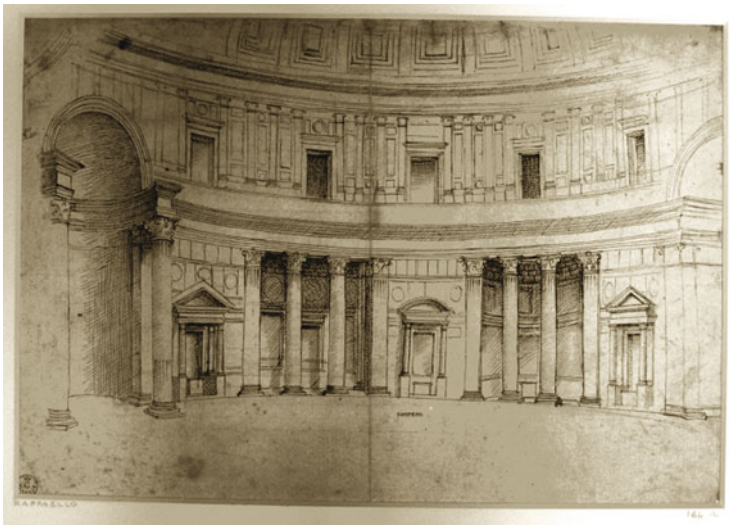

Fig. 50.1 Interior view of the Pantheon, attributed to Raphael. *Uffizi 164 A.r.*, Florence, Italy

This question is difficult to answer since *Uffizi 164 A.r.* defies our expectations of what constitutes a master drawing on a number of levels. The image presents an edited fiction of the Pantheon's architectural composition using an extremely idiosyncratic graphic structure. Generally, the drawing resists taxonomic categorization, and yet, in our recognition of the drawing's importance we have often elided these difficulties. For example, while the drawing's angle of view alone is enough to subvert the idea that *Uffizi 164 A.r.* is a perspective in any Albertian sense, this simple fact has not prevented the drawing from being "considered a masterpiece of applied perspective" (Lotz 1977: 25). Wolfgang Lotz writes that it may have been used "as an example in the teaching of perspective drawing," even as he writes just three paragraphs later that the drawing stands "in utter contradiction to Alberti's definition of a perspective view of an interior" (Lotz 1977: 26). Clearly *Uffizi 164 A.r.* is engaged in the creation of illusions, and yet just as clearly its perspectival structure, if indeed the drawing's structure is perspective-based, is highly irregular.

Similar arguments might be made about the drawing's portrayal of the vast space of the Pantheon's interior. By presenting the Pantheon from niche to vestibule, it seems logical that the drawing would capture a sense of the Pantheon's spatial feel. Further, in light of the building's compositional symmetry, this particularly wide-angle view allows the entire building structure to be inferred. All the information needed to understand the totality of the Pantheon seems to be presented. However, none of these proposals turns out to be accurate.

Rather than capturing the Pantheon's grand and centralized space, the architecture appears flattened in Raphael's image. The shallow sweeping curve at the base of the wall is more suggestive of a wide ellipse rather than the circular plan of the Pantheon's ideal architecture.

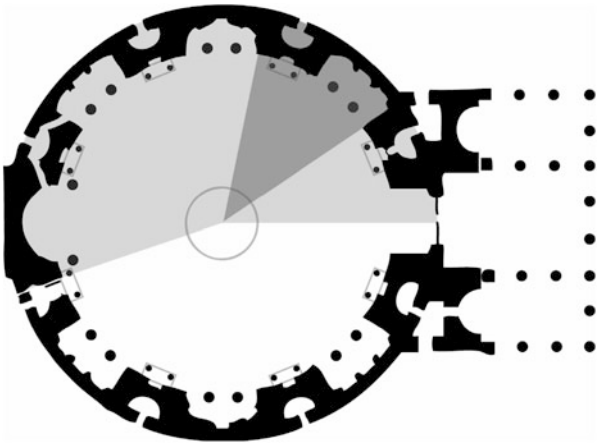

Fig. 50.2 Plan view of the Pantheon showing the extents of the building depicted by *Uffizi 164 A.r.* (*light grey*) and the area of the building that the drawing omits (*dark grey*). Image: courtesy George Weinberg, The Getty Research Institute

The dome above appears similarly compacted onto the drawing's surface. *Uffizi 164 A.r.* seems to offer little fidelity to the spatial experience of the Pantheon. If on the other hand, the drawing was meant to capture the total form of the Pantheon, the image still presents us with problems. Although the drawing has a naturalizing tendency, presenting itself as a faithful transcription of the Pantheon, as John Shearman has carefully demonstrated the image contains some rather glaring solecisms (Shearman 1977).[3] In its approximate 200° sweep, the drawing captures the Pantheon from the altar-niche on the left to the vestibule on the right, and between these are depicted two recesses and three aediculae. However, in the actual Pantheon, as Fig. 50.2 shows, there are three recesses and consequently, four aediculae.[4]

The arrangement of these in the building constitutes a carefully woven pattern of hierarchically received axes. While the omissions of Raphael's drawing might still reflect the idea of this rhythm, they destroy the actual composition's careful structure. Considering the attentive study of antique architecture underway during this stage of the Renaissance, the perturbation of the relationships the Pantheon exemplified seems curious.

In other words, *Uffizi 164 A. r.* presents us with an image that was clearly significant, having been the subject of study and replication by some of the most important architects of the Renaissance, and yet, as modern viewers we have very little ability to understand what it was our Renaissance counterparts saw as remarkable. Further, Raphael's association with the image becomes particularly

[3] However, Shearman is not the only scholar to have seen these documentary inaccuracies. Lotz mentions them as well (1977: 26).

[4] Lotz explains that these errors were a result of the author's desire to capture the opposing vestibule and niche, a goal that was impossible in terms of perspective given the "point of view" for the drawing. Certainly, I agree that this approximate 200° sweep was a motivating factor, but I disagree with Lotz's assumption that a single graphic structure, and therefore singular point of view, is reigning over the image.

important in light of his letter to Pope Leo X, in which he advocates for a certain methodology in the documentation of architecture: the combined use of plan, section and elevation. It is possible that if we can recapture an explanation of why the drawing served as such a significant model, this image may tell us something about the development of that triadic system of architectural representation, its eventual establishment as architectural convention and the hurdles that initially prevented its acceptance. Such an explanation is the goal of this brief chapter.

Thus far we have established many things that *Uffizi 164 A.r.* is not. It is not a traditional perspective. It is also not a reflection of the spatial feel of the Pantheon, nor is it an accurate portrayal of the Pantheon's architectural composition. Let us now turn to what the drawing is. It is of interest that in spite of the ways in which the drawing defies our expectations, it is still highly illusionistic. The space presented by the image is coherent, even if that space is a fiction. Lotz resolved this effect and his own contradictory impressions by concluding that the "Uffizi drawing consequently represents the sum total of many glances" (Lotz 1977: 26).

Interestingly, this description mirrors that of a drawing from two to three decades earlier. Although Juan Guas's presentation drawing for San Juan de los Reyes (Fig. 50.3), clearly captures a different architectural tradition, it engages in very similar imaging practices as that of *Uffizi 164 A.r.* (Sanabria 1992: 163).

It is further the case with both drawings that our own modern viewing habits mask many of the complexities of their compositions. The tendency is to read the perspectival qualities of the drawings as evidence of a resolved form of picturing space, but something much more transitional is taking place in both images. While the Prado drawing may resemble a perspective, or even a cavalier perspective, on closer examination the structure decomposes into an assemblage of elevations that have been perceptually pleated into place, surfaces unfolding whenever possible. "The space becomes like a folding polyptych, opened partially to reveal all sides" (Sanabria 1992: 168). The vaults appear to have been tipped backwards to reveal more of their surface. The rear transept walls likewise angle backwards in the space, allowing the front wall of the transept to be seen. The same is true of the clerestory windows, where the front-most jambs and their sculpture are visible. Sergio Sanabria, described this drawing as having been treated as a "fish-eye photograph. . .. The total space does not read as a unit; rather, there is a succession and articulation of parts, connected by the viewer, who processes nearsightedly through them" (Sanabria 1992: 168).

The Uffizi image functions similarly, but unlike the Gothic image where nearly unabridged detail is offered at the expense of spatial coherency, the space depicted in the Pantheon drawing functions as a complete unit. The drawing offers a strong and seemingly consistent spatial depiction that, without immediate recourse to other images or to direct experiences of the Pantheon, appears to be complete and highly illusionistic. *Uffizi 164 A.r.* creates this spatial fiction by marshalling together elements of multiple projective structures (perspective, cartography and orthography) in its attempt to resolve and portray the Pantheon. The resulting naturalistic impression of space makes it clear that perspective is playing a role in the composition of the Uffizi drawing, but further explanation is necessary to

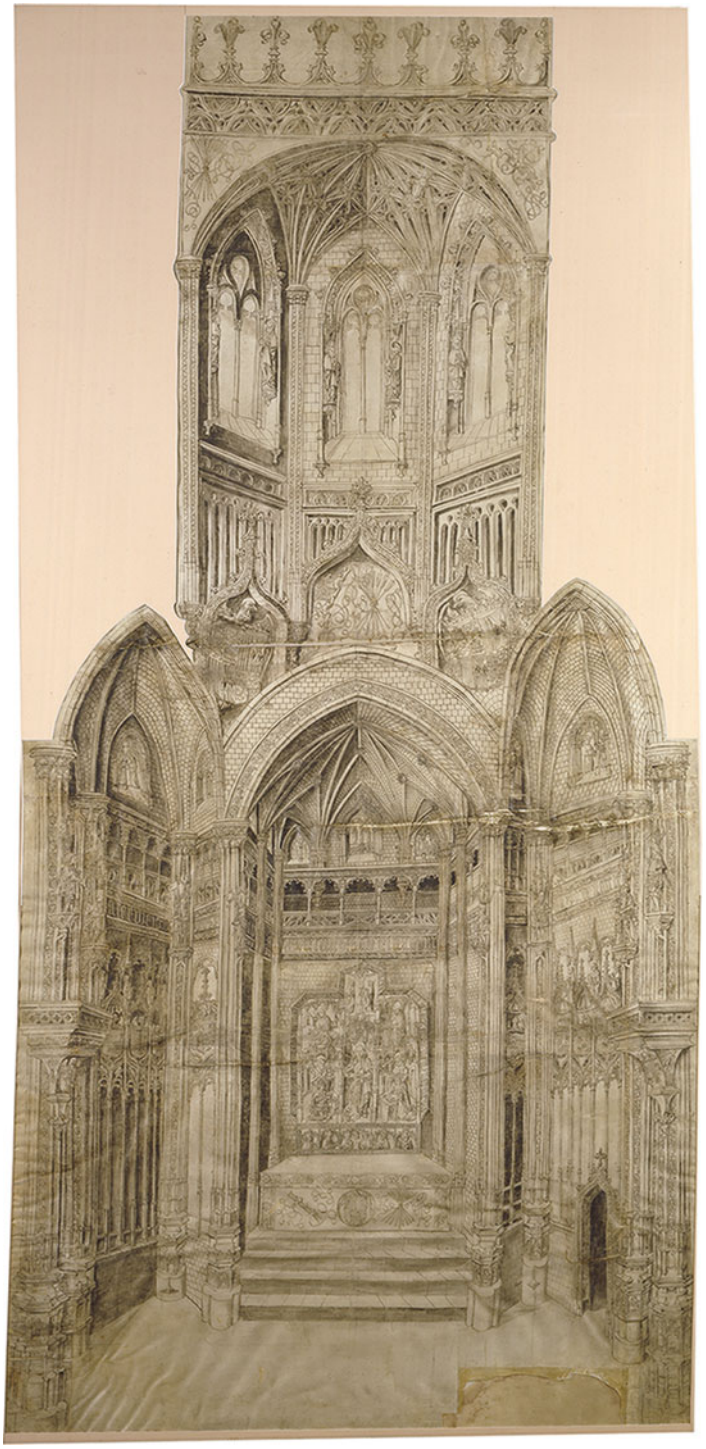

Fig. 50.3 The presentation drawing for the altar piece of San Juan de los Reyes in Toledo, attributed to Juan Guas, c.1479–1480 (Prado D/5526). Image: ©Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid, Spain, reproduced by permission

demonstrate how the drawing also exhibits affinities with orthographic and cartographic systems of projection.

The distinction between orthographic and perspective projections was voiced in Alberti's Book Two of *The Art of Building in Ten Books*, when he wrote that unlike the painter who engages the relief of objects, the architect "takes his projections from the ground plan and, without altering the lines and by maintaining the true angles, reveals the extent and shape of each elevation and side" (Alberti 1988: 34). In addition to describing the mechanics of creating an architectural drawing, the quality that Alberti is emphasizing here is that of preserved shape, or, to put a finer point on it, Alberti stresses the importance of formal commensurability between the drawing and the building. In such a system, objects that are similar will appear to be similar in the drawing because their true "shape and extent will be preserved." Perspective allows for no such preservation since identical objects depicted in perspective can have vastly different shapes and sizes depending on their relationship to the viewer/picture plane.[5] And, while it is true that the orthographic procedure Alberti outlines usually maintains the extent and shape of objects, this is only the case when the object's geometry is in harmony with geometry of orthographic projection. Such a harmony requires that the object reinforce the rectilinear projectors and 90° angles of orthographic projection with its own parallel lines and 90° angles. When planes occur at oblique angles, or worse, when they are round like the Pantheon, Alberti's imperative for commensurability within architectural drawings becomes impossible.

Uffizi 164 A.r., however, stands between the painterly and architectural models for drawing that Alberti described. It attempts to depict both the relief and the extents and shapes of objects. As resulted from the Prado image's spatial manipulations, by flattening the round and centralized space of the Pantheon, similar objects could be portrayed at nearly the same scale. In Raphael's drawing, the identical columns of the recesses are similarly sized, as they would be in an elevation. Likewise, the depicted sizes of aediculae are nearly identical even though the perspective should dictate that the outer two be larger. The artifice of the image and the alterations to the Pantheon's actual architecture are working to blend the two systems together. Perceptually, it is as if the Pantheon had been unrolled before it was depicted in perspective, or alternatively as if it was actually a drawing of an elevation partially bent into semi-cylindrical form.[6] The result is, as Lotz wrote, to make the drawing seem to occupy a place "halfway between the perspective image of the interior and the orthogonal projection of the inner wall" (Lotz 1977).

However, Lotz's explanation doesn't fully articulate what is happening within *Uffizi 164 A.r.* In addition to occupying the ground between perspective and section, Raphael's technique of unrolling or bending the Pantheon's architecture shares

[5] While we may perceive the shape and extents of these objects as identical, their presentation on the actual picture plane is not.

[6] This description is a reference to James Ackerman's analysis and description of Villard de Honnecourt's drawings of the choir at Reims cathedral (2002: 34).

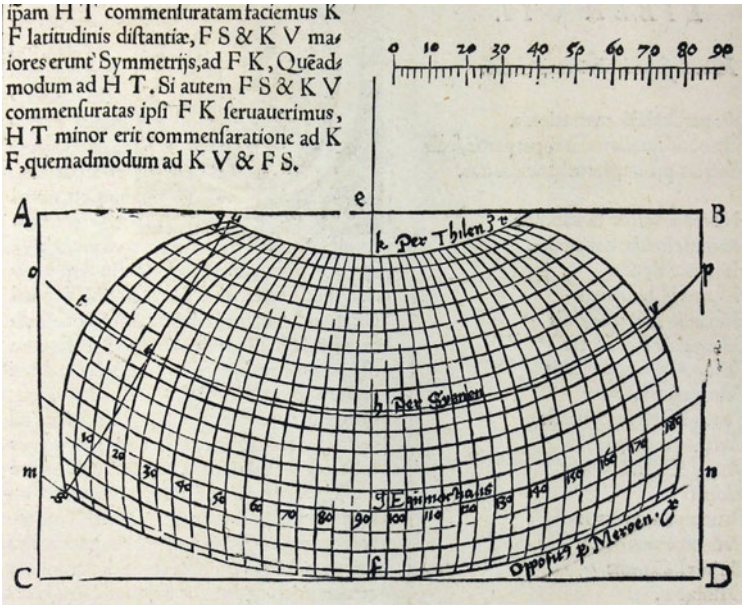

Fig. 50.4 Framework for the Ptolemaic projection of the globe, from *Geographicae enarrationis libri octo* (Ptolemy 1541: Book I, Chap. 24, p. 23)

similarities with another form of picturing during the Renaissance. The cosmographers, cartographers and choreographers of the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries also attempted to resolve curved forms into flat representations.[7] Just as the Pantheon problematized the projection of a sphere onto paper, so mathematical geography required the globe to be similarly flattened onto a surface. Raphael's strikingly flat drawing of the Pantheon seems to be informed by these contemplations of the globe. Although specific parallels might be drawn to several of these early global pictures, Ptolemy's generic framework projecting the world onto paper is enough to demonstrate the links between the cartographic images and Raphael's depiction of the Pantheon (Fig. 50.4).

Perez-Gomez describes the form of Ptolemy's global projection:

> Ptolemy's map itself is not a circle as would be formed by a section through the globe, nor an ellipse as argued later by Edgerton, but an elongated and curved stretch of land—the *oikumēnē*—whose center of curvature lies at the north pole (Pérez Gómez and Pelletier 1997: 95).

[7] "Ptolemy's *Geographia* was not included in the Ptolemaic *opera* introduced into the West in the twelfth century. It was only rediscovered in the West c.1406, when it was translated into Latin by Jacobus Angelus in Florence. In addition to numerous manuscript copies, it appeared in six printed editions in the fifteenth century: Bologna 1462 (1482?); Vicenza, 1475; Rome 1478; Ulm, 1482; Ulm, 1486; and Rome, 1490. It appeared in numerous editions in the sixteenth century in both folio and quarto; twenty in Latin, six in Italian and two in Greek" (Cormack 1991: note 17).

This account, and particularly that portion that describes the image as an elongated and curved stretch of land, could apply equally well to Raphael's depiction of the Pantheon. Both drawings demonstrate considerable flattening of their curvatures on the macro-level in order to portray more accurately the relative sizes and shapes of the objects within their projective frameworks. One need only imagine the interior of the Pantheon as the interior of a globe or as the celestial sphere, not a large ontological leap given the sensibilities of the sixteenth century, and even the curvature of the world map would then correspond to Raphael's image of the Pantheon.[8] Raphael's drawing, it would seem, actually stands between orthography, perspective and cartography.

Unfortunately, using Ptolemy's projection as a spatial framework, like the spatial schema used by Guas, still required compromise and undermined the Albertian goals for architectural drawing. By combining elements of orthography, perspective and cartography artists could attempt to go beyond what each system could capture on its own. However, this representational creativity undermined the geometric accuracy of each system of projection. Though these drawings struck a compromise in that they preserved a sense of commensurability, no actual measurements could be taken from them.

Other, slightly later, drawings partially resolved this problem. An image taken from the manuscript by the Giacomo Andrea da Ferrara (ca. 1490; Sgarbi 2004), one of the earliest illustrated versions of Vitruvius, today conserved in the Biblioteca Ariostea in Ferrara, is a drawing that pulls the tensions we have seen in *Uffizi 164 A.r.* into projective clarity (Fig. 50.5).

In this drawing we find the Pantheon with its interior surface fully unrolled; its dome broken into recognizable cartographically-influenced interrupted surface of four lobes, or gores. Waldseemüller is known to have used interrupted surfaces for cartographic images as early as 1507. While *Uffizi 164 A.r.* predates such images, these drawings do indicate that a graphic discourse was taking place, that a form of picturing and projection was being sought that could cope with centralized forms like the Pantheon while maintaining the aims Alberti laid out for architectural drawing.

Clearly, Raphael's drawing gains some of its significance because of the importance of this debate, but what is really at stake here? Alberti's call for formal commensurability is decades old, and yet for Raphael the Pantheon still presented a problem for architectural representation. The image of the Pantheon in the *Vitruvio ferrarese* suggestively gestures towards an increased acceptance of orthography, but neither image follows Alberti's description of how the architect draws. Even though measurements could theoretically be taken from the *Vitruvio ferrarese*, the image is not related to plan or section images of the Pantheon in a

[8] Although it changes the status of what we assume was Villard's knowledge of geometry, it is difficult not to see that the projection in *Geographia* also provides an explanation for Villard's visually ambiguous spatial contrivance for the Reims chapel drawings. Those structural features that cause its curves to create an equivocating spatial illusion, first projecting inward and then outward from the drawing's top to bottom, seem consistent with Ptolemaic projection.

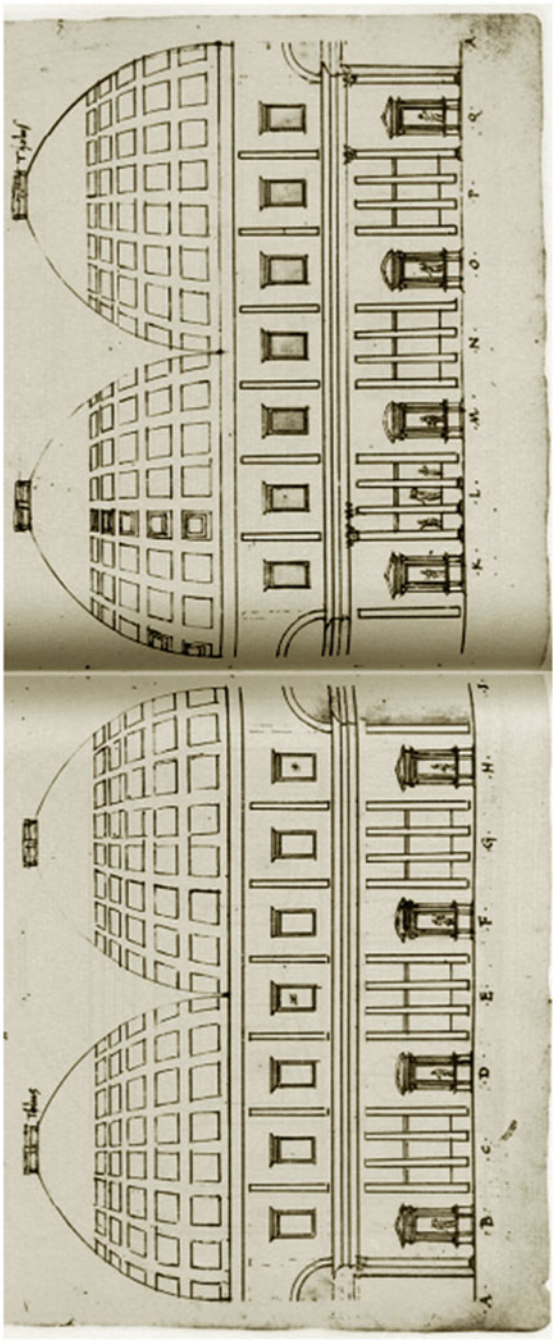

Fig. 50.5 Interior image of the Pantheon by Giacomo Andrea da Ferrara (attributed). Image: Vitruvius (ca. 1490), ms. cart., (1490–1518), Classe II 176, cc. 65v-66r. Reproduced by permission, Biblioteca Ariostea, Ferrara

linear manner. The projective links between the drawings were broken when the wall was unrolled.

In other words, one thing that was at stake was the representation of the particular type of building embodied by the Pantheon. Unlike the built form of San Juan de los Reyes, the structure of the Pantheon is not an assemblage. It is an interlocked totality of sphere, cylinder, axes and cross-axes.[9] The round, centralized form provides no opportunity to easily dis/re-aggregate building parts and drawn elevations as did the additive structure of a Gothic building. Unlike those Renaissance buildings that mirrored Gothic composition with a series of linearly arranged repeating bays (buildings like Saint Peter's or San Lorenzo), the Pantheon resisted fracture. Where those other buildings could be drawn in a manner that systematically portrayed some elements in one projective system and some in another, the importance of the Pantheon was that it challenged the apparent transparency of these hybrid techniques. Further, the building challenged Alberti's definition of the architectural drawing as an image that maintains commensurability by being projected from the plan. In the case of the Pantheon, such a projection would not preserve extent or shape. As a centralized space, the curves of the Pantheon distorted the true shape and width of every element along the wall when depicted in elevation. Nothing depicted in such a drawing would be commensurable with the building. *Uffizi 164 A.r.* illuminates these tensions. It demonstrates how the geometry of certain representational priorities may be at odds with certain buildings. By 1519, Raphael would write of this problem in his letter to Pope Leo X, when he identified domes and other inherently oblique geometries as those special cases where the ground plan, elevation, and section were ambiguous in themselves. In these cases, all three drawings were necessary, and only through a comparison of all three could a correct understanding occur.[10]

When Raphael penned this statement, he was not just talking about the craft of imaging. By allowing that no one representation could capture a building, he effectively advocated for a relocation of the realm in which architectural images could be verified. Where Brunelleschi's experiments functioned to link the image rhetorically to a reality against which that image could be measured and validated, Raphael acknowledged that architectural images should not be corroborated to vision, but instead to the mental constructs they created. He extended the primacy of the architectural quality of shape and allied it with ideal geometries and constructs. Where Alberti admonished the architect who tried to incorporate relief, Raphael's system dictated that such drawings should avoid perspective not

[9] The spatial composition of the Pantheon is sometimes referred to as an "ideal dome." This arrangement perfectly nests a complete sphere into a cylinder whose height matches its radius, allowing the base of the sphere to be exactly tangent to the base of the cylinder.

[10] There is some dispute as to whether this description of perspective, which is only found in the Munich copy of the letter, was actually authored by Raphael or was a later addendum by another author. I tend to think that the Pantheon drawing, which seems to problematize this very issue, makes a strong case for this thought being Raphael's even if it only made it into one copy of the letter. See Lotz (1977: 29 and n. 77).

just because measurements were necessary, but because perspective belonged outside the syntax of architecture. Through the projective grammar of plan, section and elevation, architectural representation became an internally coherent and verifiable system of architectural conception. Drawings that mimicked vision were insufficient for the expression of architecture, and multiplying and assembling views or glances could not solve the problem. Through the interplay of plan, section and elevation architectural images broke free of their links to the realities of vision and instead inhered to the abstract conception of a total building.

This shift in architectural conception is more than just a representational trope. It is indicative of the transformed manner in which buildings were understood during the Renaissance. Instead of the additive structure of a Gothic building conceived, built and altered through time, the Renaissance conceived the building as a total and coherent object. Fields outside architecture similarly shared this new grasp of the subject as a totality and the desire to represent it as such. When analysing the late fifteenth-century image depicting Florence, *Map with a Chain*, Samuel Edgerton described a similar tension between unity and assembly. The image, wrote Edgerton:

> makes it possible to grasp instantly the overall plan of Florence and its relationship to the surrounding countryside, but forces the viewer to lose tactile contact with the individual details that so delight all the senses when he walks through the city. The unity of the Renaissance view has replaced the diversity of the mediaeval one (Edgerton 1974: 277).

Again, a similar mode of thought and expression is presented by both architectural and cartographic fields. For architecture, the centralized form and ideal dome of the Pantheon was the ultimate example of this new conception of the building as a totality, and the challenge of picturing the Pantheon offered an especially timely problem: namely, if one begins to understand and conceive of the building as a totality, how should it be represented? In 1519, Raphael suggested that it should be represented within a system; not as a single image, but as a dialogue between three images whose interplay created a larger unified concept of the building. In essence, he suggests that if buildings are to be understood as totalities, then they should be represented as abstractions.

In some ways, then, hidden in the quiet of Raphael's drawing of the Pantheon is a very large conflict. The silence of *Uffizi 164 A.r.* comes from its illusionism, from the convincing way it mimics perspective, and therefore, speaks of the Pantheon with all of perspective's authority. Amusingly, however, the vision it presents is of reality reflected in a fun-house mirror rather than Brunelleschi's. The drawing is a kind of trompe l'oeil. Delightfully, even when we know the image presented is false, we are still convinced. Its deception throws into relief the opposition between visual and conceptual frames of knowledge. More than just representational play, the issue is one of abstraction, and in particular how a conceptual totality challenges images that acquire their authority through recourse to vision. The perspective, as explained by Damisch, was meant to be reality's mirror, but in the case of the Pantheon the building's conceptual totality competes with what the mirror can show (Damisch 1994). The impulse documented by *Uffizi 164 A.r.*, and its

200° + sweep, is to reach towards a total image of the Pantheon, but this mental schema resists graphic representation.

These are the conflicts Raphael captures with *Uffizi 164 A.r*. The image became so famous and so copied because it mounted so many questions about vision, formal totalities and representation. Together these questions mount one more: what is it that defines architecture? Is architecture of the world to be perceived and ordered by vision, or is it conceptual and abstract? Such matters had a particular valence during the Renaissance because the very discipline and definition of architecture was being reworked. *Uffizi 164 A.r*. holds us paused in that moment right before the decisions get made. The drawing captures neither the ideal nor the real, but is caught between the two. It mounts a mimetic masquerade which, once uncovered, highlights architecture's ineffability and the gap between vision and conception without picturing either.

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Appendix: Was *Uffizi 164 A.r.* the Primary Drawing? A Summary of the Arguments and Another Suggested Resolution

The question of dates and, by extension, the establishment of a model for this series of drawings was raised in 1956 by Wolfgang Lotz in his article "Das Raumbild in der Architekturzeichnung der italienischen Renaissance" (1956). Lotz proposed Raphael as the designer of the drawing, but a conflict exists with the date of the arrival of the *Codex Escurialensis* in Spain, which makes it nearly impossible for Raphael to have constructed the model given our current understanding of his arrival date in Rome.

John Shearman (1977) offers one resolution to this conflict, hypothesizing that *Uffizi 164 A.r*., as it stands now, is a second, extended state of Raphael's original drawing, which was not in error. By identifying differences in the quality of ink and line, Shearman argues that the right most tabernacle and vestibule portion of the

drawing, among other features, are later additions that sought to transform Raphael's working drawing into something that resembled a *veduta*. The reduced angle of view of Shearman's proposed original state for *Uffizi 164 A.r.* eliminates many of the perspectival irregularities that are apparent in the final drawing. Shearman believes that the artist who was later responsible for extending Raphael's drawing had not seen the Pantheon, but had in his possession another view that captured the right-most two recesses and the vestibule and that overlapped with Raphael's drawing. When fusing the two drawings together, the artist assumed that the drawings presented the same two recesses, rather than there being only one recess in common. This assumption resulted in an interior view of the Pantheon with only two recesses between the altar-niche and vestibule. Shearman's theory also explains the incorrect rhythm of the tabernacle pediments depicted in the final drawing. If the artist did indeed work with two overlapping drawings as Shearman thinks, the belief that only two recesses existed would consequently eliminate one of the segmental pediments, thus producing the incorrect alternating rhythm that *Uffizi 164 A.r.* demonstrates.

I find Shearman's theory intriguing, particularly because, through logical extension, it establishes that *Uffizi 164 A.r.* was the model copied by the other drawings, since those demonstrate only one state, not the two that Shearman sees. However, Gustina Scaglia (1995) argues that the opposite is the case. She believes that the Escurialensis drawing served as model to a now lost drawing, possibly by the artist of the Chinnery Album, which was subsequently copied by the others. Her argument is based on the use of abbreviated fluting seen in *Uffizi 164 A.r.* and all other copies. She sees these abbreviations as derivative of the complete fluting depicted in the Escurialensis version. However, Shearman points out that Raphael's abbreviated fluting also indicated the cabling at the bottom of the columns, an observation more accurate than the consistent fluting shown by the Escurialensis artist. Additionally, because the Escurialensis drawing maintains the segmental, triangular rhythm of the tabernacle pediments, I believe it must be a copy of *Uffizi 164 A.r.*

When considering these arguments together, it becomes significant that Shearman fails to acknowledge the copy of *Uffizi 164 A.r.* found in Salzberg. Scaglia quite convincingly argues that this drawing was also authored by Raphael, and the attribution complicates Shearman's theory. Even if a later artist altered Raphael's original version of the Pantheon interior, Raphael saw fit to make a copy of these alterations. There must have been something compelling about the new construction that made it worth recording, even in light of its documentary errors. If Raphael did not author *Uffizi 164 A.r.* in its entirety, his replication of it in the Salzberg drawing certainly legitimates his engagement with the unique features of the altered composition.

Further, after examining the actual drawings in the Uffizi, and high quality facsimiles of the drawings in Austria and Spain, I tend to believe that *Uffizi 164 A.r.* was the model for the other drawings. If the entire composition is not original to Raphael, I believe that Raphael drew his version in tandem with visits to the Pantheon. His drawing alone seems to engage in a process of sketching and correction as he matches the image to his conceptions. Other drawings seem to

replicate his pentimenti and even attempt to resolve the ambiguities. The left-most aedicule is one area where these features are apparent. The other versions, including Raphael's copy of his own work in Salzberg, appear as simplifications of *Uffizi 164 A.r.*, and given this observation, I believe logic dictates that *Uffizi 164 A.r.* should be considered the model. As Shearman suggests, it may be our understanding of Raphael's travels that need some slight alteration, perhaps allowing for a visit to Rome on his journey to Florence.

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