

PEGASUS

Berliner Beiträge
zum Nachleben der Antike
Heft 16 · 2014

Census of Antique Works of Art
and Architecture Known in the Renaissance
Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

www.census.de

Census of Antique Works of Art
and Architecture Known in the Renaissance
Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften
Humboldt-Universität zu Berlin

Herausgeber: Horst Bredekamp, Arnold Nesselrath

Redaktion: Barbara Lück, Philipp Schneider, Maika Stobbe, Timo Strauch

Institut für Kunst- und Bildgeschichte
Unter den Linden 6
10099 Berlin

© 2015 Census of Antique Works of Art
and Architecture Known in the Renaissance

Satz: Susanne Werner (Lukas Verlag)
Druck: Elbe Druckerei Wittenberg

ISBN: 978-3-86732-201-0

ISSN: 1436-3461

INHALT

Vorwort <i>Horst Bredekamp / Marzia Faietti / Arnold Nesselrath / Timo Strauch</i>	5
Francesco di Giorgio and the Reconstruction of Antiquity. Epigraphy, Archeology, and Newly Discovered Drawings <i>Michael J. Waters</i>	9
Dorisch, ionisch, korinthisch? Anmerkungen zu einigen Zeichnungen der drei Tempel des Forum Holitorium aus dem Sangallo-Kreis <i>Franz Engel</i>	103
The Hidden Signature: Scale Keys in Italian Renaissance Architectural Drawings <i>Paul Davies</i>	123
Antike Rundgräber in der Vigna Cavalieri. Drei Zeichnungen des Sangallo-Kreises und die archäologischen Befunde am Bastione Ardeatino in Rom <i>Andreas Huth</i>	151
Das Mausoleum von Halikarnassos in den Zeichnungen Antonio da Sangallos des Jüngeren. Ein zerstörtes Weltwunder und der Beginn seiner Rekonstruktion <i>Andreas Raub</i>	167
La basilica Emilia: architettura, lessico, costruzione <i>Paola Zampa</i>	207
Zwei Maßzeichnungen der Weinrankensäulen aus Alt-St. Peter <i>Timo Strauch</i>	241

Drawings by Palladio and Others of the Porta dei Leoni in Verona <i>David Hemsoll</i>	263
Andrea Palladios »Quattro Libri« als Vorlage für die Antikenzeichnungen des Giorgio Vasari il Giovane <i>Lilla Mátyók</i>	295
»1551 ali 17 magio in Roma«. Disegni di antichità romane nella collezione di Alfonso Rossetti <i>Francesca Mattei</i>	317
Tilmann Buddensieg. 21. 6. 1928–2. 9. 2013 <i>Horst Bredekamp</i>	363

Die fünf Tafelbände und der Textband von Alfonso Bartoli mit dem deskriptiven Titel »I monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze«, die zwischen 1914 und 1922 erschienen sind, bildeten fast ein Jahrhundert lang für die Kunstgeschichte, aber auch für die Archäologie die Grundlage für das Studium der Bauaufnahmen antiker Architektur oder verlorener Monumente. Die später kaum noch erreichte Qualität der Reproduktionen der Zeichnungen hat dazu geführt, dass die Bestände der Uffizien zum Brennspiegel wurden, der den Blick auf diese Gattung der Dokumentation, Interpretation und künstlerischen Auseinandersetzung gebündelt und gelenkt hat. Bereits rund ein Jahrzehnt zuvor, im Jahr 1903, hatte Hermann Egger sein »Kritisches Verzeichnis der Sammlung architektonischer Handzeichnungen der k. k. Hofbibliothek« vorgelegt, dessen erster Teil den »Aufnahmen antiker Baudenkmäler aus dem XV. bis XVIII. Jahrhundert« gewidmet war. Er ergibt einen wesentlich differenzierteren Überblick, da die Wiener Zeichnungen zum Teil deutlich früher entstanden sind als die Florentiner Bestände und von einem heterogeneren Spektrum von Zeichnern und Architekten stammen. Da die Publikation nur wenige – wenngleich ebenfalls sehr qualitätvolle – Abbildungen enthielt und weitere Bände nicht erschienen, blieb ihre Wirkung sehr gering und ging über die eines Inventars nicht hinaus. Auch die großen Publikationen von Christian Hülsen, Thomas Ashby, Rodolfo Lanciani, Adolf Michaelis oder eben wieder Hermann Egger und weiteren konnten nicht verhindern, dass die Befundlage der Uffizien durch die verdienstvolle Arbeit Bartolis als allgemeine Dokumentenlage missverstanden wurde. Wie vor allem die Arbeiten von Wolfgang Lotz, James Ackerman, aber auch von anderen zeigen, kam es zu einer verzerrten Beurteilung der Architekturzeichnung des 15. Jahrhunderts in Italien. Leon Battista Albertis Unterscheidung zwischen der Methode der Architekturzeichnung des Architekten und des Malers wurde dabei sogar auf den Kopf gestellt und musste folglich neu gelesen werden.¹ Erst 2005 hat die römische Ausstellung zu Alberti deutlich gemacht, dass viel mehr Zeichnungen von Architekten der Frührenaissance erhalten oder zumindest rekonstruierbar sind als bis dahin angenommen wurde, und dass sich eine wesentlich homogenere Tradition und ein Anschluss an die mittelalter-

liche Praxis der Baurisse ergibt, als die Fokussierung auf das umfangreiche Florentiner Sangallo-Erbe suggeriert.²

Während die Wiener Bestände bereits seit 1986 vollständig in der *Census*-Datenbank erschlossen waren, blieb die Aufnahme der Uffizienzeichnungen auf einzelne Teilbestände begrenzt. Erst während der fünf Jahre von 2009 bis 2014 widmete sich der *Census* schwerpunktmäßig der Aufgabe, den Uffizienbestand zu vervollständigen und gleichzeitig alle alten und neuen Datenbankeinträge, dem Erbe Alfonso Bartolis verpflichtet und durch die Erfahrung Hermann Eggers gewarnt, mit hochwertigen Farbaufnahmen der Zeichnungen zu illustrieren. Da das Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi (GDSU) zur gleichen Zeit im Rahmen des »Progetto EUPLOOS« die Weichen für einen eigenen digitalen Bestandskatalog im Internet gestellt hatte, bot sich die Gelegenheit, beide Initiativen zu bündeln. Im Rahmen einer engen und freundschaftlichen Kooperation zwischen *Census* und GDSU sowie dem Fotografen Cristian Ciccanti wurden in fünf umfangreichen Kampagnen insgesamt über 1500 Vorder- und Rückseiten von Zeichnungen nach höchsten Qualitätsstandards digitalisiert. Die so entstandenen Aufnahmen bildeten die ideale Arbeitsgrundlage für die Dateneingabe des *Census* in Berlin und gleichzeitig den substanziellen Grundstock für den Online-Katalog des GDSU. Dabei reicht das »Progetto EUPLOOS« seinerseits weit über die Katalogisierung des Gesamtbestands der Florentiner Zeichnungssammlung hinaus. Das Projekt, das 2006 gemeinsam vom GDSU, dem Kunsthistorischen Institut in Florenz und der Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa entwickelt worden war, hat sich von Beginn an auch zum Ziel gesetzt, insbesondere den wissenschaftlichen Nachwuchs mit der Kunst der Grafik näher vertraut zu machen und organisiert in diesem Sinne Seminare, Tagungen und Online-Ausstellungen.³ Dieser zweite Aspekt hat mit der Zeit beständig an Bedeutung gewonnen und erfährt seit August 2014 eine großzügige Förderung durch die Intesa Sanpaolo S.p.A. Die Bearbeitung der Florentiner Antikenzeichnungen durch die studentischen Mitarbeiterinnen und Mitarbeiter des *Census* entspricht somit in idealer Weise den von EUPLOOS formulierten Absichten.

Nach Abschluss der Arbeiten enthält der *Census* nun über 1200 Inventarnummern (Vorder- und Rückseiten) des »Fondo Architettura« des GDSU, und die hervorragenden Illustrationen erlauben es den Nutzern der Datenbank, den Zeichnungen von Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Cronaca, Raffael, Baldassarre und Sallustio Peruzzi, Antonio da Sangallo dem Jüngeren und seiner gesamten Sippe sowie zahlreichen anderen am Bildschirm so nahezukom-

men wie sonst nur in den Uffizien selbst. Damit aufgrund dieses Qualitätsvorsprungs gegenüber den in die Jahre gekommenen Schwarz-Weiß-Aufnahmen der Albertina-Einträge nicht erneut Verzerrungen in der Wahrnehmung der Dokumente eintreten, strebt der *Census* eine entsprechende Kooperation mit der Wiener Sammlung an.

Um den Abschluss der Schwerpunkts zu feiern und um sich die Ergebnisse der geleisteten Arbeit auch außerhalb des Arbeitsinstruments ‚Datenbank‘ zu vergegenwärtigen, lud der *Census* im November 2013 zu einem Studientag nach Berlin ein, und zahlreiche internationale Experten der Architekturtheorie und -praxis sowie des Antikenstudiums der Renaissance folgten der Einladung.⁴ Die Beiträge dieses Treffens, das von der Berlin-Brandenburgischen Akademie der Wissenschaften großzügig gefördert wurde, finden sich nahezu vollzählig in diesem Heft des *Pegasus* vereint: Aufsätze der *Census*-Mitarbeiterinnen und -Mitarbeiter, die unmittelbar aus der Dateneingabe zu Uffizienzeichnungen hervorgegangen sind, werden ergänzt durch Studien eingeladener Experten, ehemaliger Mitarbeiter und alter und junger Weggefährten des *Census*, die einen größeren Bogen spannen. Das Panorama, das von Francesco di Giorgio bis zu Giorgio Vasari il Giovane reicht, bildet den passenden Rahmen für den zusätzlich zum Tagungsprogramm aufgenommenen Beitrag von Francesca Mattei, mit dem eine aufregende Neuentdeckung aus Ferrara erstmals publiziert wird.

Mit der Erinnerung an Tilmann Buddensieg mündet der 16. *Pegasus* in die Forschungsgeschichte. Matthias Winner und Tilmann Buddensieg sind eine Art zweiter Pioniergeneration für die Erforschung des Nachlebens der Antike gewesen. Ihre Arbeiten zu den verschiedensten Facetten des Antikenstudiums der Renaissance zählen zu den Fundamenten des *Census*. Vor allem Buddensieg hat mit seiner Entdeckung, dass Bernardo della Volpaia der Autor des sogenannten Codex Coner ist, wie auch mit seinen Studien zum Pantheon den Blick auf das zeichnerische Studium der antiken Architektur in der Renaissance gerichtet und bahnbrechende Erkenntnisse geliefert. Die Zitate im vorliegenden *Pegasus* belegen dies eindrucksvoll und machen deutlich, dass seine Forschungen auf diesem Gebiet ebenso wegweisend waren wie seine späteren Arbeiten zu Peter Behrens und der Industriekultur. Mit dem Nachruf auf Tilmann Buddensieg wird dieses Heft zum Zeugnis einer Kontinuität, die in die Zukunft und auf weitere Projekte weist.

Die Herausgeber, gemeinsam mit Marzia Faietti und Timo Strauch

ANMERKUNGEN

- 1 Arnold Nesselrath: Der Zeichner und sein Buch. Die Darstellung der antiken Architektur im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert, Mainz/Ruhpolding 2014 (Cyriacus. Studien zur Rezeption der Antike 5), S. 105–106.
- 2 La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti. Umanisti, architetti e artisti alla scoperta dell'antico nella città del Quattrocento, Ausstellungskatalog Rom, Musei Capitolini, hg. von Francesco Paolo Fiore und Arnold Nesselrath, Mailand 2005.
- 3 Siehe auch <http://www.polomuseale.firenze.it/gdsu/euploos/>.
- 4 Tagungsbericht und Programm unter <http://www.census.de/census/inhalte/schwerpunktthema-2009-2013-1/studenttag-2013-1>.

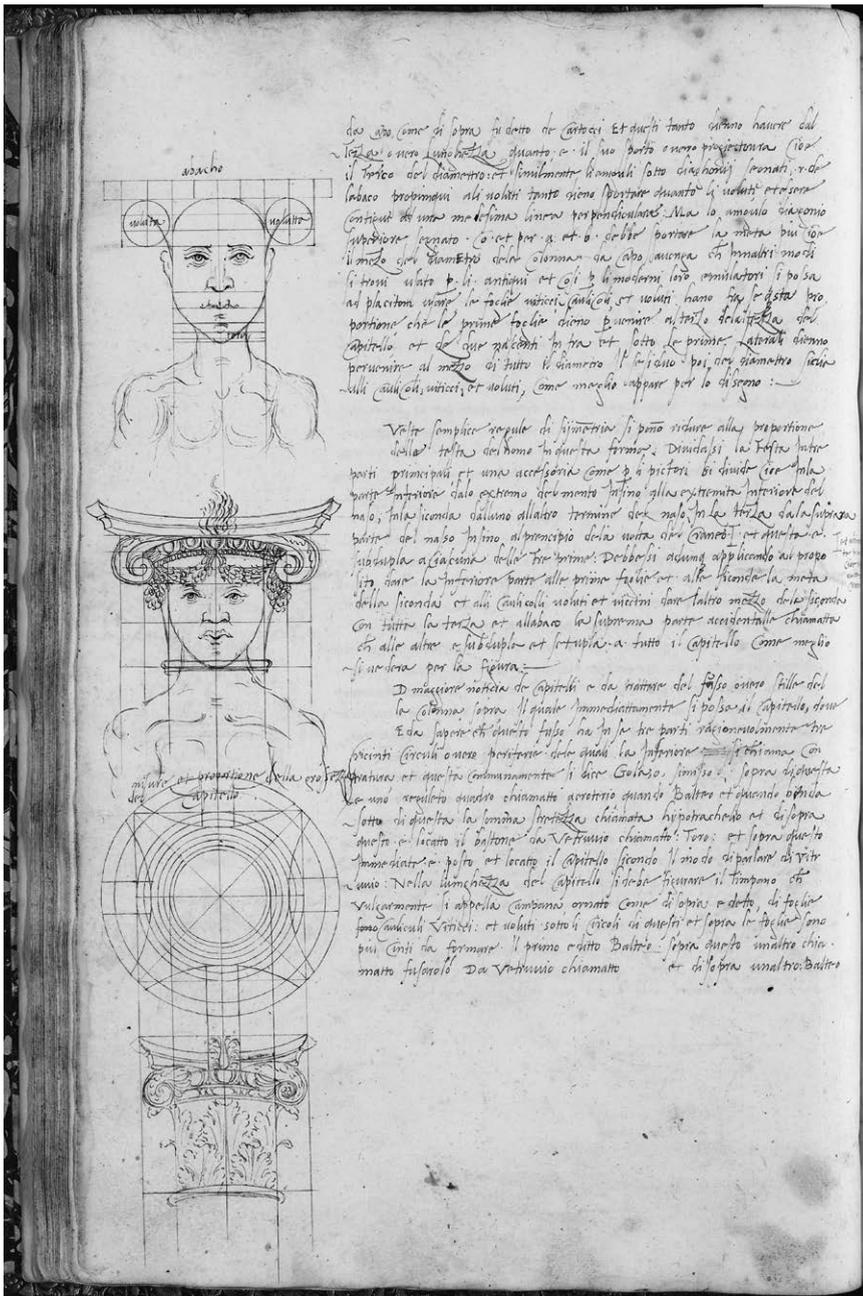
FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF
ANTIQUITY.
EPIGRAPHY, ARCHEOLOGY, AND NEWLY DISCOVERED DRAWINGS

MICHAEL J. WATERS

This article fundamentally reinterprets a group of Renaissance drawings of ancient monuments – preserved primarily in the Houfe Album and Codex Cholmondeley – in light of a newly discovered set conserved at the Yale Center for British Art. It argues that these various drawings derive from a lost set of originals made by the architect Francesco di Giorgio Martini and his collaborators sometime in the late-1490s. Furthermore, by reconstructing this initial corpus and examining its use of inscriptions, this article suggests that these drawings were part of an attempt to visualize the monuments of ancient Rome primarily through inscriptions, specifically those recorded in an early sylloge. As such, they represent a lost episode in the development of Renaissance antiquarianism in which the graphic reconstruction of Roman architecture intersected with the philological study of ancient epigraphy. These drawings moreover suggest that Francesco di Giorgio, during the last years of his life, was producing a drawn corpus of ancient monuments that combined epigraphic evidence, archeological information, and *all'antica* invention. While sometimes fanciful on the surface, these reconstructions were the product of an erudite synthetic process, one that attempted to distill typological norms and resurrect ancient Rome from its fragmentary remains. Although this effort was quickly overshadowed by the work of later architects, this rediscovered set of drawings sheds important light on the dynamic and multifaceted practice of reconstructing antiquity in the late-Quattrocento and reaffirms Francesco di Giorgio's central role in this phenomenon.

RECONSTRUCTING A CORPUS: THE YALE MANUSCRIPT AND
RELATED DRAWINGS

Within the Paul Mellon collection at the Yale Center for British Art there is a manuscript copy of the second version of Francesco di Giorgio's architectural treatise (figs 1a–b).¹ Purchased some time before 1974, the treatise has gone



das (cioè) come di sopra si detto de' capitoli Et d'altro tanto hanno hauuto del
 ... il truce del diametro: et finalmente hanno fatto due capitoli ...
 ... di tutto il diametro ...
 ... di tutto il diametro ...
 ... di tutto il diametro ...

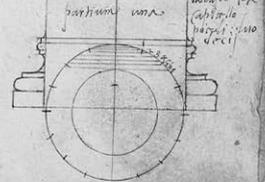
Valse sempre regole di similitudine si sono riduce alla proporzione
 della testa del homo in questo modo. Dividasi la testa in
 parti principali et una accensione come si è picta di diuide ...
 ... della seconda et alla cavità del uolto et uicini ...
 ... di tutto il diametro ...

Di uisione uisione de' capitoli e da natura del falso o vero fillo del
 la colonna sopra il quale immediatamente si posa il capitale, dou
 ... di tutto il diametro ...
 ... di tutto il diametro ...
 ... di tutto il diametro ...

1a-b Francesco di Giorgio (copy after): Trattato di architettura, 1521, New Haven, Yale Center for British Art, Paul Mellon Collection, Mil Mss (4to flat), fol. F I verso-F II recto

et de l'orden il nuovo da Vitruvio chiamato edoato Et li Circoli figurati
 Inaltrata di questo son d'altri chiamati Angoli Con la sua facitta per
 amidi. Et di loro quello si pensa tenuto d'altre d'altre Con la sua facitta
 e uno eola con lo scello suo et bastone come appare a lo disegno
 Et bnto la preditta descriptione di Capitea fin la sua communa
 non e pero da pertrasmittre le altre d'altre figure et a le rima
 antique mandosi poi ho designate et attate et appo dechant di
 mia intentione dele quali Capitea sono rima come quella che piu altri
 piacera ma per non multiplicare le proportioni et a fugire ogni super
 fluita di disegno mi dipinto.

Ora che della supora parte della Colonna d'ora ad istruzione se fatto
 bastato con le d'istruitione et da componimenti dele tre parti ora siella
 con la parte dele Colonne. Douer ora sapere che in questa forma li suo termino
 Le note d'istruitione, faciasi uno circulo equale alle circonferentia dela
 Colonna da questo nel quale si tirano in tre parte equali da poi
 li termini un altro circulo concentrico al primo di tanto che il centro del primo
 sia ogni parte una parte dele preditte. Dopo li trii una linea retta la
 quale tocchi il minore circulo Con la sua parte di mezzo. Da poi quella portione
 del circulo maggiore che contiene la detta linea tirando la parte in parte
 Et dopo questo dalla linea alla permuta li trii un'altra retta linea et
 di quella faccia alla parte preditta un'altra et gli e ordine in uno altro
 et ultima linea. Douer appare che sopra questa ora linea sono tre spaci li quali
 in questo modo dela Colonna li d'ora bastato dimostrarli la Colonna in tre parti
 le quali et le due superiori in tre equali et alla supora septione particolare
 interno interno li trii li spaci auuto dalle due linee superiori et della
 parte lo spaci predetto al centro et alla quinta parte spaci minore et gli
 e ordine in lora alla preditta parte et minore spaci partendo restario in
 fatto la parte parte dela Colonna in tre parti. Et prima dimostrarli non per
 tutto la parte parte ne chiamando a una circulo a portione di circulo
 ma a un po parte di parte parte dele quali parte particolare ora linee
 et di ostessa. Et in questo d'ora linee appropinquate alla natura dela portione
 d'una circulo parte siante la d'istruitione in una parte ma in istruitione
 et in Capitea. Gli d'istruitione sono dimostrarli. Ma a che commiare d'istruitione
 et della portione parte parte d'istruitione e maggiore la Colonna tanto piu
 portionalmente minore d'istruitione richiede et a d'istruitione sua e le
 medesima alla parte d'istruitione parte e da sapere che come il diametro dela
 Colonna d'ora dimostrarli in tre parti equali gli li suo ostessa non et in tre
 parti equali ad istruitione d'istruitione parte et d'istruitione d'istruitione dela
 Colonna et d'istruitione parte parte parte parte parte parte parte parte parte
 e parte et d'istruitione parte parte parte parte parte parte parte parte parte
 d'istruitione d'istruitione parte parte parte parte parte parte parte parte parte



Misure del pedimento et
 d'istruitione dela Colonna

unnoticed for decades among Mellon's collection of military manuscripts and was not included in Gustina Scaglia's 1992 catalogue of Francesco di Giorgio manuscripts.² Composed of ninety-five folios, the treatise closely replicates the Codex Magliabechianus II.I.141 conserved at the Biblioteca Nazionale in Florence. The hand of the illustrator is consistent throughout as is the hand of the scribe, who also labeled all of the drawings. The scribe and illustrator may also have been the same person.³ The text of the treatise was clearly carefully transcribed first, then the illustrations were added afterwards. Also, unlike some early copies of the second version of the treatise, all of the labels and captions in Magliabechianus II.I.141 were replicated, though some subtle changes to spelling were made throughout.⁴ The illustrations in the first half of the treatise were laid out with pencil, and then drawn in pen and ink, while those of the second half, primarily fortifications and machines, were shaded with wash. These drawings were faithfully copied and in general are well executed with the exception of the numerous sketchily rendered human figures. The last page of the treatise is inscribed »Telos 1521«, a date which is confirmed by both stylistic and watermark evidence.⁵ An early owner signed the final page of the manuscript (Y.12), but this signature was later crossed out. While it is still possible to make out the beginning of the inscription »Al M.^o et Nobile et Bello et Virtuoso / Signore U. Thadeo Pie...«, the identity of the owner remains obscure.

At the end of the treatise, there are six additional folios with sixteen drawings. Illustrated in brown ink and wash on the same paper and by the same hand as the rest of the treatise, these drawings were not a later addition, but original to the manuscript. Also like the drawings of the treatise, they were carefully laid out with ruled lines and pencil underdrawing before being executed in ink. As a set, they range greatly in their ancient subject matter and include a triumphal arch, a tomb monument, two temples, two statue groups, four bridges, two pyramids, and four Roman ships (see Appendix 1 for a catalogue). Additionally, all but five of the drawings prominently feature inscriptions. From this epigraphy, it is possible to identify the bridges as the Pons Fabricius (Y.7a), Pons Aemilius (Y.7b), Pons Neronianus (Y.8a), and Pons Cestius (Y.8b), and the two temples as the Temple of Saturn (Y.3) and Porticus of Octavia (Y.4). Another drawing represents the Pyramid of Cestius (Y.10), while the other conical monument (Y.11), inscribed PATERTERA and ΠΑΤΕΡΤΕΡΑ, likely references a passage in Suetonius describing a column to Julius Caesar which bore the inscription PARENTI PATRIAE. Equally strange are two drawings of statues set in niches that according to their inscriptions represent the funerary stele of a gladiator

(Y.5) and the statues of Constantine I and his son Constantine II (Y.6). Likewise, the tomb monument (Y.2) refers to an inscription to C. Calpurnius found in the vicinity of Fara in Sabina.

Obviously very little unites these sixteen drawings. Even the eleven with inscriptions depict a wildly diverse group of monuments, from the well-known to the exceptionally obscure. Yet in spite of this apparent disunity, other evidence suggests that all of these drawings were part of a cohesive set. In fact, all eleven inscriptions derive from the earliest known sylloges of ancient Roman inscriptions, beginning with those produced by Nicolò Signorili. This includes the curious inscription *PATERTERA*, which could not have been transcribed directly from the column of Julius Caesar since it was destroyed shortly after it was built. Yet why would an artist choose to illustrate these specific inscriptions of the many recorded in early sylloges? As there is little logic to the selection, it is more likely the Yale drawings are copies from a larger corpus.

Two albums now in private collections that contain drawings also found in the Yale Album support this theory. The first of these is the Houfe Album, which contains four drawings also in the Yale Album. The other is the Codex Cholmondeley, which shares five drawings with the Yale Album. Likewise, seven reconstructions of ancient monuments found in the Codex Cholmondeley are also illustrated in the Houfe Album, in addition to many drawings of architectural details (see Appendix 2 for full list of concordances). Furthermore, none of the drawings in these albums directly copy each other, but instead derive from a now lost set of originals. As such, the drawings contained in these albums, along with two others in Windsor, demonstrate that the designs in the Yale Album represent a portion of a much larger collection, which can now be reconstructed here for the first time (see Appendix 3 for images of the reconstructed corpus).

The Codex Cholmondeley has only recently become the subject of scholarly attention. Sold at Christie's in 1996, the album was once owned by the Marquis of Cholmondeley and before him by the Royal Library of France.⁶ Arnold Nesselrath has proposed that it was likely a gift to Catherine de' Medici, either upon her marriage to the future Henry II of France in 1533 or upon the birth of their first child in 1543. Either of these dates would also support his attribution of the Codex to the so-called Anonymus Mantovanus A, who was active in Italy in the 1530s and 1540s.⁷ The deluxe album, titled »aedificorvm antiqvae vrbis monvmenta qvaedam e rvinis exerpta«, is composed of 108 folios of drawings depicting a variety of ancient subject matter. As Nesselrath has outlined, the

drawings in the album derive primarily from two sources. The first of these is a series produced by Raphael and his circle in the early sixteenth century. Known today primarily through copies, such as those in the Kassel Codex, the majority of these drawings depict architectural ornament, triumphal arches, and other highly detailed ancient buildings rendered in plan, section, and elevation. The other source for the Codex Cholmondeley, specifically its drawings of capitals, bases, vases, and other ancient monuments, is a lost set of drawings that was also copied into the Houfe Album.

The Houfe Album is a collection of drawings likely executed near the beginning of the sixteenth century that was later assembled into an album.⁸ Drawn on paper soaked in linseed oil, Arnold Nesselrath has convincingly argued that these drawings were traced directly from a set of originals.⁹ This helps explain their generally mechanical quality and the numerous small details randomly omitted. Nesselrath has also suggested that this specific technique was often used to create copies to be engraved onto woodblocks, an issue I will return to in the conclusion. As it exists today, the album consists of fifty-one folios with drawings by a single artist. Thirty ancient Roman monuments are depicted, all but five of which also bear inscriptions. The other folios are filled with drawings of bases, capitals, cornices, vases, and armor, some of which are also found in the Codex Cholmondeley.

Despite their many similarities, it is unlikely that the artist of Codex Cholmondeley copied drawings from the Houfe Album. Not only does the Codex Cholmondeley contain drawings not found in the Houfe Album, but some of the Cholmondeley drawings also reproduce details not included in this earlier album. For example, the reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Cecilia Metella in the Codex Cholmondeley is topped by a spherical finial – a feature common to many of the reconstructions in the set – while the Houfe drawing omits this detail altogether (H.55).¹⁰ Similarly, it is also doubtful that the artist of the Yale Album copied the drawings in the Houfe Album. The reconstructions of the Calpurnius Tomb (Y.2) and the Temple of Saturn (Y.5) in the Yale Album, for instance, both contain details not found in the Houfe drawings (H.2; H.39). While these inclusions could conceivably be later inventions, in the case of the Temple of Saturn drawing, they are also found in two earlier copies, suggesting they were in the original drawing.¹¹

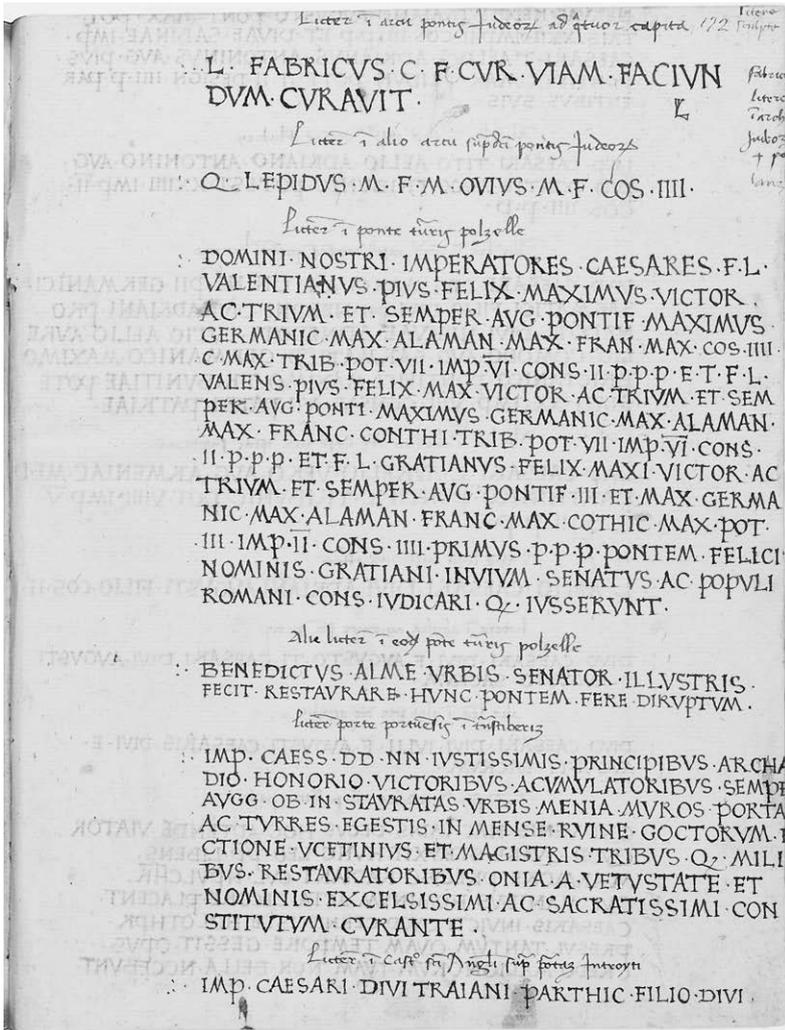
In addition to these two albums, there is also a single folio with two drawings in the Royal Library at Windsor Castle that should be included in the reconstructed corpus. Both of these drawings depict the Mausoleum of Au-

gustus according to their inscriptions.¹² The building illustrated on the recto (W.1) is also found in the Codex Cholmondeley.¹³ The drawing on the verso (W.2), in contrast, is in none of the other albums, though it was later copied by Oreste Biringuccio and Raffaello da Montelupo and likely served as the model for Antonio Labacco's reconstruction of the Mausoleum of Hadrian.¹⁴ Both Windsor drawings are executed in brown ink with wash and closely resemble the drawings in the Yale Album. In fact, there are a number of stylistic similarities between the Yale and Windsor drawings, from the sketchy handling of figures, to the haphazard copying of inscriptions, to the mode of architectural rendering. The Yale drawings are much larger and executed with greater care, so it is unlikely the Windsor folio was once part of this album. Nonetheless, it is possible that the same artist produced both examples.

Taken as a group, these various drawings yield a set of almost fifty reconstructions of ancient monuments, the majority of which are labeled with inscriptions. It is these inscriptions that are the key to understanding this collection. They not only reveal the logic behind this curious set, but also demonstrate that it was part of a systematic attempt to reconstruct the monuments of ancient Rome and beyond.

INSCRIPTIONS, SYLLOGES, AND THE RECONSTRUCTION OF ANTIQUITY

The original corpus of drawings includes nearly fifty individual inscriptions, almost all of which, extraordinarily, are also found in early fifteenth-century sylloges. Produced by humanists and antiquarians, these epigraphic collections were at the core of the study of antiquity in the early Renaissance.¹⁵ The earliest of these sylloges was assembled by Nicolò Signorili in 1409 and consists largely of inscriptions transcribed from monuments in Rome (fig. 2).¹⁶ Signorili titled the final redaction of his collection »Descriptio Urbis Romae eiusque excellentiae« and dedicated it in the 1420s to Pope Martin V under whom he served as secretary of the Roman Senate.¹⁷ Over the course of the century this collection of inscriptions was copied, corrected, and expanded by a number of antiquarians, yet all the while, they remained at the core of the tradition of sylloges. It was only at the end of the fifteenth century that individuals such as Fra Giovanni Giocondo began to systematically study ancient epigraphy and create a more accurate, philologically correct corpus of inscriptions.



2 First redaction of Nicolò Signorili sylloge, Vatican City, BAV, Barb. Lat. 1952, fol. 172r

As few of these sylloges are identical in their content and spelling, it is often possible to trace their origins. Yet in the case of the drawings discussed here, the process is problematic because the original corpus is lost. Despite the fact the Houfe and Cholmondeley copies appear largely epigraphically faithful, the inscriptions found in these albums cannot be directly linked to a known fifteenth-century sylloge.¹⁸ Nevertheless, these inscriptions still reveal

information about their origins. For example, many of the drawings maintain antiquated or incorrect spellings found in early sylloges but corrected in many later transcriptions. In a drawing in the Yale Album, for instance, the name of a gladiator is transcribed twice as M. ANTONIVS EXOCVVS (Y.5). Yet, later representations of this monument confirm that the name was actually spelled EXOCHVVS, which was mistranscribed by Signorili as EXOCVVS.¹⁹ This error was later reiterated in the sylloges of Cyriac of Ancona and Michele Ferrarini, but for the most part, fifteenth-century syllogists correct this mistake.²⁰ For example, Giovanni Marcanova already adds the missing H to his earliest sylloge (ca. 1460) and subsequent redactions.²¹ Likewise the corrected spelling is also found in the sylloges of Fra Giocondo and Andrea Alciato, and also in Jacopo Mazzocchi's »Epigrammata antiquae urbis«, published in 1521.²² Mazzocchi (possibly assisted by Angelo Colocci, Mariangelo Accursio, or Andrea Fulvio) fixed many similar errors that are still found in the Houfe, Cholmondeley, and Yale drawings, proving that these inscriptions do not derive from this publication as Gustina Scaglia posited.²³ For the same reason it is also unlikely that they originate from the work of Fra Giocondo. Rather, all of the evidence suggests that these inscriptions derive from an early fifteenth-century sylloge, or a later copy of one.

This is supported by the fact that over four-fifths of the inscriptions illustrated in the reconstructed corpus of drawings are also found in the core of Signorili's »Descriptio Urbis Romae«. While this could be simply coincidence as many of the drawings depict well-known Roman monuments such as the Arch of Septimius Severus (H.28), Temple of Saturn (H.39), and Column of Trajan (H.42), the presence of a number of more obscure inscriptions confirms this connection. These include some mentioned previously, such as the Calpurnius tomb (Y.2) and PATERTERA inscription (Y.8), as well as others such as the Pons Mammeus (H.34c), two Roman elogia (H.1), an inscription from an unknown mithraeum (C.112), and the destroyed Arch of Lentulus and Crispinus (H.19). In all of these cases, it is either impossible or extremely unlikely that an artist could have recorded these inscriptions in situ. Rather, they must have come from a collection of inscriptions that derived in part from Signorili's original sylloge.

This idea is further supported by drawings in which the setting for the inscription has been completely changed or invented. The most striking of these is the just mentioned epitaph to M. Antonius Exochus, which adorned a stele with a gladiator and various objects (fig. 3). While many Renaissance artists copied this relief, the Yale drawing (Y.5) suggests no knowledge of the actual

monument and instead depicts two figures set in a niche. The artist similarly transformed other inscriptions into invented monuments, such as an eulogium to Q. Fabius Maximus into a triumphal arch (H.1) and an obscure Mithraic inscription located in a garden near S. Susanna into an enormous mausoleum-like structure (C.112).²⁴ In all of these cases, inscriptions originally transcribed by Signorili were the generative force behind the drawings.

The artist also grafted two similarly obscure inscriptions onto the well-known Arch of Janus Quadrifrons (H.10). The first of these originally adorned the Augustan Arch of Lentulus and Crispinus that stood near the church of S. Maria in Cosmedin until it was destroyed in the 1440s.²⁵ The other, which according to many sylloges adorned the portico of S. Giorgio in Velabro, falsely commemorates a census conducted by the Emperor Claudius. Both inscriptions were thus said to be located in the immediate vicinity of the Arch of Janus, a fact that must have compelled the artist to place them atop the monument, which was obscured by the Frangipani tower in the Renaissance. Strikingly, no other artist used these inscriptions in their depiction of the arch, though both Antonio and Giovanni Battista da Sangallo later included an invented inscription in their reconstructions of this monument.²⁶

Yet, despite the numerous correspondences to Signorili's »Descriptio Urbis Romae«, it is unlikely that the artist of this corpus of drawings directly transcribed inscriptions from an original redaction of this sylloge. Instead, he must have copied a slightly later sylloge, one that expanded Signorili's original collection. This is because the set of drawings also includes nine inscriptions not found in the »Descriptio Urbis Romae«. While two of these derive from the medieval Einsiedeln Itinerary, two others come from a later sylloge assembled by Cyriac of Ancona. A merchant, antiquarian, diplomat, and prodigious traveler, Cyriac was a voracious collector of antiquities and inscriptions from throughout the Mediterranean world. Yet it was only in 1421, at the age of thirty, that he began to document ancient monuments, first with the Arch of Trajan in his native Ancona. Soon afterwards he traveled to Rome, where beginning in 1424 he studied the ruins of the ancient city and copied Signorili's collection of inscriptions.²⁷ While Cyriac greatly expanded this original epigraphic corpus over the next thirty years, the inscriptions assembled by Signorili remained at the core of many of his sylloges.

The two drawings with inscriptions first transcribed by Cyriac of Ancona depict a pair of ancient arches – the Arch of Augustus in Fano (H.18) and the Arch of Melia Anniana in Zadar (H.27). Cyriac first visited Fano in 1423 and

centem equum nomine CALLIDVM, *rufo* colore ex adiectâ notâ R fuisse. (credo) tertium denique, nomen ipsius domini equorum AQVILONIS, quod eum nomine prioris equi coincidit. Nec nouum hoc esse potest, quia & hodie à possessoribus nomina equis communia fieri, non raro videmus.

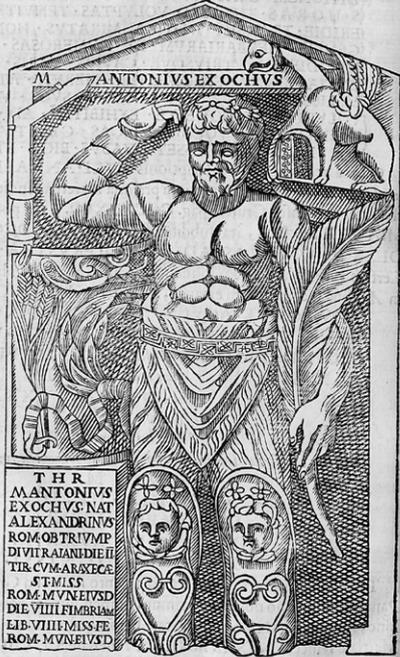
Palmam tandem & *Coronam* in dictâ Annæi inscriptione (quæ tot alias in. sui explicationem traxit) eundem meruisse, admonent notæ illæ PAL-ET-COR;

nec secus ex marmore vtrunque ornamentum viri imagini Boissardus appingit.

Secunda hæc M. Antonij Exochi, digna est ob plurimam quam continet eruditionem, quæ exactè perpendatur: quod vt assequi possimus, prius erroribus in quos ex prauâ Boissardi delineatione Gruterus in explicatione incidit, sincero exemplari exhibito, ex marmore penes Iacobum Mascardum, existente, medeamur.

Vides è latere dextro *harpen*, qualem Grut. pag. cccxxv. § vbi hanc inscriptionem recenset, iam agnouit; & Thracum propriam fuisse, ex Clemente Alexandrino, Artemidoro, & Iuuenalis Interprete probat Lipsius dicto lib. II. cap. IX. : inuersâ tamen intus acie, falcis modo, non, vt Lipsius exhibit, gladijs Turcicis similem, quod omnino figurâ falcis (id *harpe* græcè sonat) contrarium est. Nec

moqueat quempiam locus Iuuen. Sat. VIII. de Gladiatoribus Thracibus intellegitur, *Nec clypeo Gracchum pugnantem, aut falce supinâ;*



3 *Funerary Stele to Gladiator Marcus Antonius Exochus, from Raffaele Fabretti: De columna Traiani, Rome 1683, p. 256*

it was likely at this time that he lectured publicly about the city's arch and recorded its inscriptions. This documentation effort took on special importance when in 1463 the troops of Federico da Montefeltro destroyed the top portion of the arch while attacking the city. While the lower two inscriptions remained undamaged, the upper one commemorating the emperor Constantine was almost completely lost and is known today through Cyriac's transcription. The presence of this destroyed inscription in the Houfe drawing of the arch therefore suggests it derives from a sylloge linked to Cyriac of Ancona.²⁸

In the Houfe Album, there is also a drawing of an ancient arch in Zadar (H.27), which is the only known Renaissance representation of the present day Porta Marina. Built by Melia Anniana in honor of her husband, the arch was restored in 1434 by Pietro de Crissava, the abbot of San Grisogono.²⁹ A year later, Cyriac of Ancona mentioned the arch in a letter to Leonardo Bruni and noted that it featured both an inscription and a statue of a triton.³⁰ It was likely at this time that the syllogist recorded both of these elements in his notebook. While his drawing of the triton is now lost, the transcription survives in several manuscript copies as well as in a handful of sylloges.³¹ Yet, whereas many of these later sylloges replicate the long Latin inscription commemorating Melia Anniana and her husband, almost none include the much shorter Latin and Greek labels that accompanied the triton figure.³² Interestingly, the Houfe drawing includes all of these inscriptions further connecting it directly to a sylloge produced by Cyriac of Ancona. Since the arch was rebuilt within the new city fortifications in 1573, it is unclear if this reconstruction contains other details found in the actual ancient structure, though it seems unlikely. What can be said for sure is that the inscriptions, like those from the Arch of Augustus in Fano, derive either directly or indirectly from a transcription and possibly a drawing made by Cyriac of Ancona in the first half of the fifteenth century.

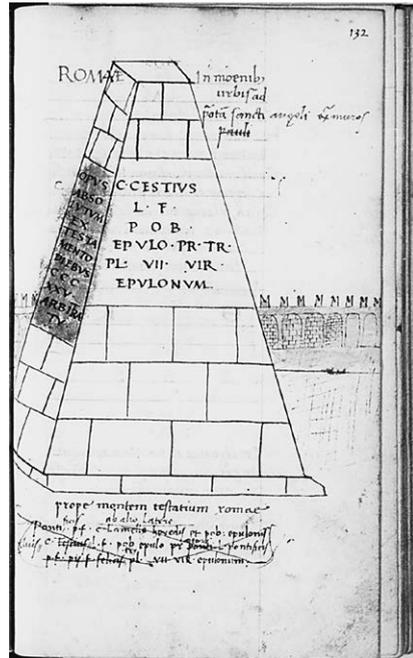
The question of the epigraphic source of the drawings is further complicated by three additional inscriptions included in the Houfe Album that are not found in the sylloges of Signorili and Cyriac of Ancona. Two of these come from the town of Città di Castello. Once found in the Duomo, today they are embedded in the walls of the Palazzo Comunale. The first of these inscriptions commemorates C. Aninius Gallus, a soldier from Arezzo who served in the Praetorian Guard, while the other refers to the Empress Faustina Minor. In the Houfe Album, these inscriptions were placed within two statue bases on the same folio (H.46). Above these bases, the artist of the album depicted a bald general with a staff and a nude female figure with a candelabrum derived from the ancient Belvedere Venus.³³ The other inscription, which has been conserved since at least the eighteenth century in the Palazzo Ducale in Urbino, commemorates an ancient bridge built by Diocletian that crosses the river Metaurus between Calmazzo and Fossombrone (H.34b).³⁴ Besides their geographic proximity, very little unites these three inscriptions. In fact, the only Renaissance syllogist to record them all is Fra Giocondo.

This connection to Fra Giocondo once again raises the possibility that the inscriptions used in the drawings derive from a sylloge he produced in the late

fifteenth century. Yet, as mentioned previously, Fra Giocondo was one of the first antiquarians to employ a modern epigraphic method, in which he examined ancient inscriptions and compared earlier transcriptions to create a more philologically accurate corpus.³⁵ As such, many of his transcriptions correct errors commonly found in early sylloges, as well as in the drawings in question. Additionally, although Fra Giocondo is the only fifteenth-century syllogist to record the Faustina Minor inscription from Città di Castello, his transcription, unlike that in the Houfe drawing, omits the final letter of the inscription.³⁶

Thus, as a whole, the nearly fifty inscriptions employed in these drawings do not clearly reveal their origins. Nonetheless, based on the evidence outlined above, they likely derive from a sylloge assembled in the mid-fifteenth century possibly after a copy made by Cyriac of Ancona that maintained the original Signorili corpus of inscriptions. At the same time, the artist of this set of drawings had access to at least three inscriptions located in the vicinity of the Duchy of Urbino. What is clear is that these inscriptions taken from a sylloge were the generative force behind the set of drawings. As such, these reconstructions of ancient Roman monuments are unique among Renaissance drawings of antiquity.

This is not to say syllogists were not interested in the visual representation of antiquity.³⁷ Cyriac of Ancona, beyond transcribing inscriptions, drew many ancient monuments, statues, coins, and gems throughout his travels. While most of these drawings are lost today or known only through copies, an autographed album in the Biblioteca Ambrosiana reveals that he was a capable draftsman.³⁸ Other antiquarians also included drawings in their sylloges. Some, such as Michele Ferrarini, even placed inscriptions abstractly within small drawings of ancient monuments, such as the Pyramid of Cestius (fig. 4).³⁹ Felice Feliciano

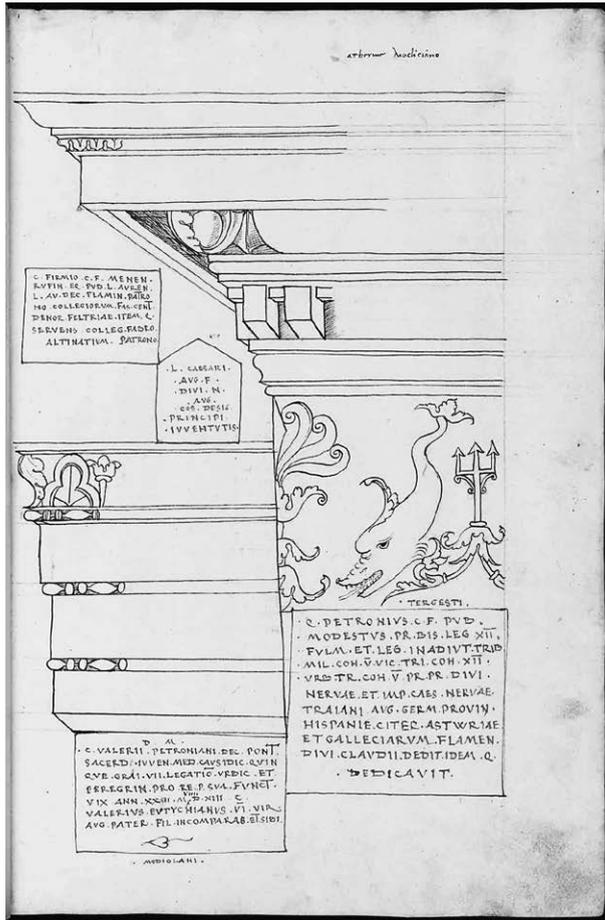


4 Michele Ferrarini: Pyramid of Cestius, ca. 1480, Paris, BnF, MS Lat. 6128, fol. 132

likewise executed similar simplistic drawings of tombs and steles with inscriptions for the second version of Giovanni Marcanova's sylloge. This impressive compilation, which was initially dedicated to Malatesta Novello, also included lavish full-page illustrations by Marco Zoppo that fancifully reconstruct a variety of Roman monuments, including the Baths of Diocletian, Colosseum, and Mausoleum of Hadrian.⁴⁰ A late fifteenth-century sylloge conserved in Florence similarly features images of ancient Roman monuments interspersed throughout.⁴¹ While all of these examples include drawings of antiquities, they are either pictorial or descriptive, none attempt to use inscriptions in the process of reconstructing ancient structures. Indeed, most of the inscriptions in the Marcanova drawings simply function as labels. Likewise, even as antiquarians became increasingly interested in replicating the formal attributes of Roman inscriptions, from their lineation to letter forms, they rarely attempted to accurately represent major monuments with correctly placed epigraphy. Even in Mazzocchi's »Epigrammata antiquae urbis«, inscriptions and monuments are in most cases printed separately.⁴² Sylloges, even well into the era of printing, remained primarily textual rather than visual.

Fifteenth-century artists similarly made only limited attempts to join image and epigraphy while recording ancient monuments. As is well known, both Andrea Mantegna and Jacopo Bellini, in addition to imaginatively reinventing ancient fragments, were active antiquarians who copied inscriptions.⁴³ Felice Feliciano even dedicated his sylloge to Mantegna with whom he had searched for antiquities around Lake Garda.⁴⁴ Yet, little physical evidence of this activity survives besides a few drawings by Bellini of partially invented monuments with inscriptions possibly copied from a sylloge.⁴⁵ Later albums, such as the Zichy Codex now in Budapest, for example, include a handful of inscriptions interspersed among late fifteenth-century drawings of architectural fragments and ornament.⁴⁶ The Codex Chlumczansky, likely created for Federico Gonzaga after a lost album produced around 1500, also features numerous ancient cornices and decorated bases juxtaposed with hundreds of inscriptions taken from monuments in Rome and elsewhere.⁴⁷ While some of the architectural fragments are labeled with their topographic location, the inscriptions lack almost any textual explanation. Moreover, there is no clear relationship between the inscriptions and architectural details. An ancient inscription from Como, for example, accompanies the distinctive entablature of the Temple of Antoninus and Faustina in Rome.⁴⁸ Similarly, a decorated entablature from the Basilica of Neptune displays an inscription from Trieste (fig. 5).⁴⁹ In these cases,

5 Prague, Národní Muzeum,
XVII A 6, Codex
Chlumczansky, fol. 26r



epigraphy and architecture have no connection despite their equal prominence. Their primary purpose seems neither antiquarian nor archeological.

Renaissance architects, such as Baldassare Peruzzi, Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, and Giovanni Antonio Dosio, also copied inscriptions into their sketchbooks, some even directly from ancient monuments. Yet few before Pirro Ligorio widely employed this epigraphic evidence in their reconstructions. Giuliano da Sangallo is the most notable exception. Many ancient buildings recorded in his Codex Barberini, for instance, prominently feature epigraphy. Some of these inscriptions, even very long ones, were transcribed by the architect directly from monuments such as the Arch of Septimius Severus, Porticus of Octavia,



6 Salzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, Ital. M III 40, Codex Salzburg, fol. 15v

and Arch of Trajan in Ancona. In other cases, including the Column of Trajan and Arch of Constantine, as well as possibly the Porta Maggiore, Giuliano employed inscriptions copied from a sylloge.⁵⁰ An unknown Lombard artist similarly utilized a sylloge for some of the drawings in the late fifteenth-century Salzburg Codex.⁵¹ The rendering of the Column of Trajan (fig. 6), for example, contains two inscriptions first found in the Einsiedeln Itinerary that were later copied into sylloges as well as the Houfe Album (H.42) but not found on the actual monument.⁵² The Vatican Obelisk is similarly depicted alongside two variations of the same inscription recorded by Signorili, while the reconstructed Arch of Janus Quadrifrons features an inscription from the nearby Arch of the Argentarii.⁵³ The nearly dozen additional monuments illustrated in the codex, by contrast, are devoid of epigraphic evidence.

Thus, a handful of fifteenth-century reconstructions did exploit the potential of inscriptions, just as some sylloges included reconstructed ancient monuments. Yet, unlike the Yale, Houfe, and Cholmondeley albums, none of these collections employed epigraphy systematically in the process of reconstruction. It is this aspect that makes this corpus of drawings unique. They are a methodical collection of ancient buildings reconstructed based on inscriptions found in an early sylloge. As such, epigraphy provided both the organizing framework and generative force behind the set. These drawings in this way represent much more than just reconstructions with inscriptions; they are part of a graphic sylloge in which epigraphy and archeology were both used to visualize the monuments of ancient Rome. The significance of this collection therefore lies in both the systematic quality and hybrid nature of its reconstructions. Yet the question remains, what was the source of this cohesive set? Based on a variety of evidence, it is possible to trace its origins to one of the most important architects of the fifteenth century: Francesco di Giorgio.

THE ATTRIBUTION TO FRANCESCO DI GIORGIO

The task of attributing a corpus of Renaissance architectural drawings known only through copies with limited comparative evidence must rely largely upon a network of tenuous connections. Yet in this case, when this nebulous body of evidence is assembled together, a fairly clear picture emerges. Despite a number of lacunae, it strongly suggests that these drawings derive from originals produced by the painter, sculptor, architect, and engineer Francesco di Giorgio. Active primarily in Siena and Urbino during the second half of the fifteenth century, Francesco produced numerous buildings and works of art as well as an architectural treatise, which he continued to revise over the course of his career. In addition to this, he also began a translation of Vitruvius and closely studied ancient monuments in Rome and elsewhere as testified to by comments found in his treatise and by a series of drawings now in Florence and Turin.

The earliest of these drawings are preserved in nineteen folios at the Uffizi.⁵⁴ Known today as the »Taccuino del Viaggio«, this remnant of a much larger collection contains sketches made in situ by the architect during his travels throughout Umbria, Lazio, and Campania. Most of these roughly executed drawings depict ancient buildings in plan and perspective with basic measurements. Francesco di Giorgio also recorded a handful of architectural details as well as two Roman