



Edited by Dario Donetti and Cara Rachele

BUILDING WITH PAPER

THE MATERIALITY OF RENAISSANCE ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS



BREPOLS

Building with Paper

Edited by Dario Donetti and Cara Rachele

MATERIALITY II

Series editors Donata Levi and Lucia Simonato

BUILDING WITH PAPER

THE MATERIALITY OF RENAISSANCE
ARCHITECTURAL DRAWINGS

BREPOLS

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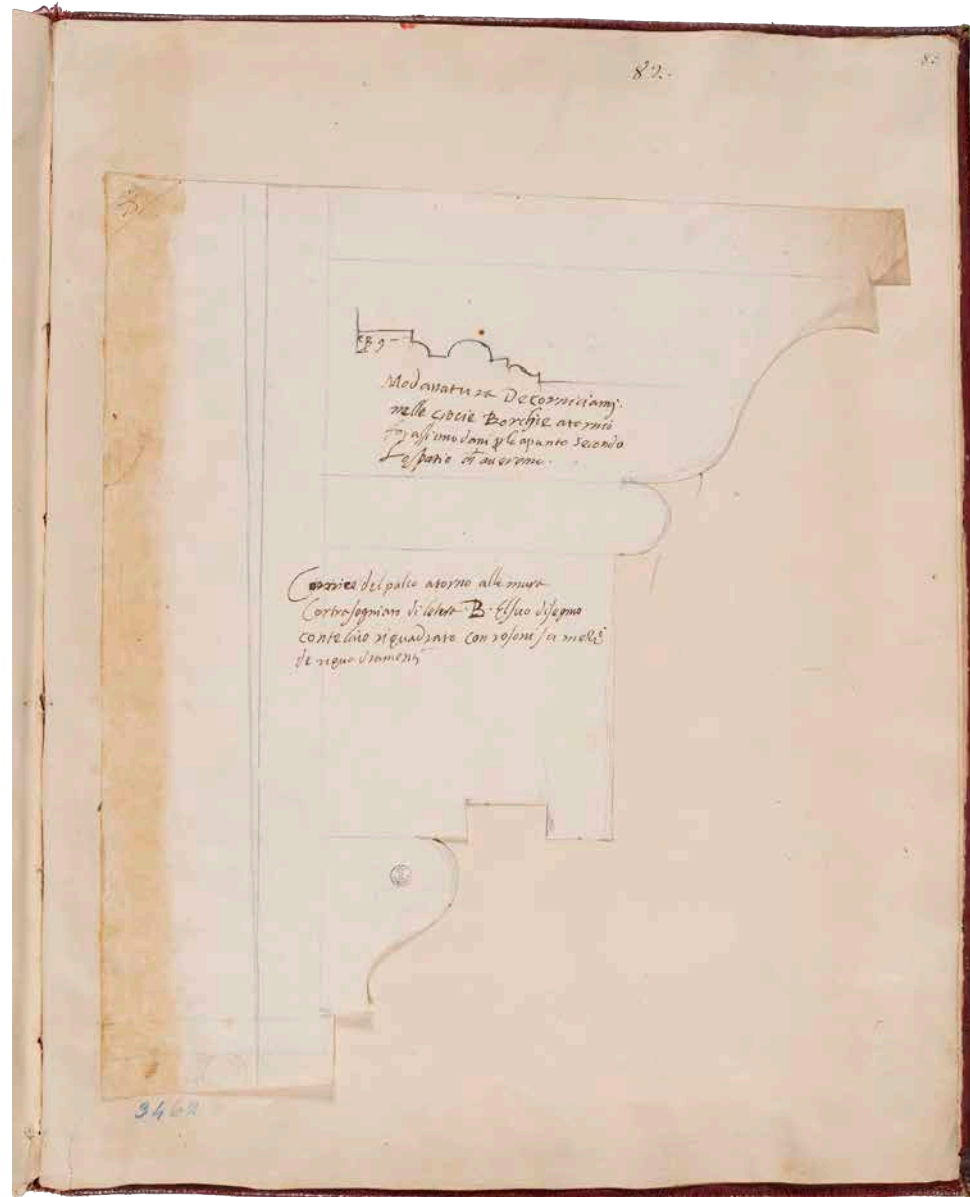
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◆ Fig. 6
 BARTOLOMEO AMMANNATI,
*Modano for San Giovannino, cut-out
 profile, black chalk and ink on paper,*
 37 × 32.5 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi,
 Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe,
 inv. 3462A (© Ministero per i beni e le
 attività culturali)



DARIO DONETTI

Into the Fold Drawings on the Move from the Sangallo Archive

Among the multiplicity of processes involved in the production of Renaissance architectural drawings, one that still awaits in-depth analysis concerns sheets that have been folded up and transported from the workshop to the building site, the patron, and sometimes back again: a particular type of drawing intentionally created to be sent by mail, which thus formed part of the larger phenomenon of letter writing in the early modern period. In recent years, the attributes of Renaissance epistolary practices has received increasing scholarly attention. From Armando Petrucci's survey of the technical aspects of letter production to the more recent account by Deanna Shemek, the explosive growth of paper mail that took place in Europe between the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries has come to be examined on the basis of the many traces it has left in modern archives¹. However, only a few cases of such practices have emerged in the literature on Renaissance architectural drawings. The vast *corpus* of Michelangelo's drawings may be the only case that permits this kind of analysis, due in part to the relatively low degree of subsequent manipulation that his architectural drawings have undergone².

The Uffizi possesses one of the largest collections of sixteenth-century architectural drawings, and perhaps the largest reserve of works on paper for the study of Italian Renaissance architecture in general. An important subset of this collection is made up of the hundreds of sheets attributed to the Sangallo family: nearly fifteen hundred drawings created by Giuliano and Antonio the Elder, and subsequently by Francesco, Antonio the Younger, Battista, Giovan Francesco, and Aristotile³. This wide and varied *corpus* offers an opportunity to verify the extent to which drawings were mailed in Cinquecento architectural practice. In the specific case of Antonio the Younger, a highly professionalized architect, it is also possible to compare the refined techniques used to organize such architectural documents with the strategies employed by the papal bureaucracy, whose practices also seem to have influenced Antonio's use of correspondence to control the building site from a distance. In the late 1510s—the same years that Antonio the Younger became architect of the *Fabbrica di San Pietro*—Leo X created the first modern chancellery in Rome: a response to the sudden growth of epistolary exchange

1 PETRUCCI 2008; SHEMEK 2013. Cf. also INNIS-BUXTON, CHENEY, HEYER 2015, pp. 15–56.
 2 According to Vittorio Ernesto Vasarri, most of the sheets are still kept in the Florentine collection of Casa Buonarroti, having remained in the possession of the family for generations after Michelangelo's death; see VASARRI 1987. More recently, Silvia Catitti identified a presentation drawing in Casa Buonarroti as the content of a letter sent to pope Clement VII; see CATITTI 2012. In the same volume,

cf. also MUSSOLIN 2012, for a systematic examination of the subsequent manipulations that these sheets underwent. As a general introduction to Michelangelo's epistolary activity, cf. PARKER 2010, pp. 1–7.
 3 In the first printed catalog by Pasquale Nerino Ferri, FERRI 1885, pp. XL–XLI, the exact amount is 1496 sheets; see DONETTI 2015, with bibliography. On the history of the collection, cf. also FORLANI TEMPESTI 1977.

in the early sixteenth century, made possible by the unprecedentedly widespread availability of paper on the market⁴. An effective model to manage a large, diversified building site, with its incredibly high number of laborers, contractors, and suppliers, was offered in the form of the official construction managers of St. Peter's, known as *computatori*. These central figures, such as Francesco Magalotti and, later, Jacopo Melegghino, adopted innovative systems for filing their personal archives that can still be detected among the documents of the *Fabbrica* and that show striking similarities with the practices utilized by the Sangallos⁵.

Tracing the Archive

The Sangallos' drawings arrived at the Uffizi thanks to two episodes in the history of the collection that testify to an interest in architectural representation characteristic of the Florentine elite. The first occurred in 1574, when the grandson of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger gave Grand Duke Francesco twenty-one volumes of drawings originally made in his grandfather's workshop, as he declared in a letter accompanying the gift: «Having found some drawings of fortresses and cities [...], I will ask your Most Serene Highness in your goodness and grace to deign to accept them, not as a gift from myself, but as works of the Blessed Memory of master Antonio da Sangallo⁶. A list of the drawings followed, which clarified the strategic and functional reasons for the grand duke's interest in the volumes. They documented an extensive system of fortifications situated in Tuscany, Lazio, and Romagna, where Antonio the Younger had worked for decades as an experienced military engineer and as the first architect of papal Rome. Only later, as property of the Medici family, were these sheets included in the collection of their state museum. The number of Sangallo drawings in the Uffizi increased further thanks to the 1778 acquisition of a large group, including architectural subjects, from Gasparo Pitti Gaddi, the last heir of a large and diverse art collection assembled by his ancestor Niccolò in the late sixteenth century⁷. Giuseppe Pelli Bencivenni, the then-director of the museum, mentioned in his private diary in particular «8 volumes with architectural studies and sketches, among which I found things by Francesco di Giuliano and Antonio da Sangallo⁸.

«Drawings of fortresses», wrote Antonio d'Orazio, or «studies and sketches», as they were defined by Pelli Bencivenni: this is what, in most cases, the Sangallos' drawings in the Uffizi appear to be, since they correspond to a relevant part of the paper archive collected by Antonio the Younger during his almost thirty years in the service of the two Medici popes and of Paul III Farnese⁹. Given the distinctly functional nature of these sheets, only a small portion consists

of finished presentation drawings; far more abundant are the rough working sketches that document the everyday activity of the workshop. When examined as a whole, these drawings shed exceptional light on the technical and antiquarian knowledge accumulated by one of the crucial architects of the Renaissance, and on the design method adopted by him and his large team of collaborators¹⁰.

Antonio da Sangallo organized these many sheets according to a consistent filing method, with a systematic labeling system that permanently changed their appearance: for instance, by placing all his annotations in roughly the same location on the page, he made the drawings easier to browse and consult, while a progressive series of numbers guaranteed that each item would find its way back to its original position. The same practice is also evident in some drawings that he did not create himself, but that landed in his archive to document previous phases of the vast, constantly transformed building sites under his supervision: the Vatican Basilica and the annexed Papal Palaces¹¹. The most well-known case is the so-called 'Parchment Plan' [*Piano di pergamena*], a partial ground plan showing Bramante's first project for St. Peter's. On the *verso* of the parchment the rushed handwriting of Antonio, easy to identify, states that this is the «Plan of St. Peter's by Bramante, which was not realized» (Fig. 1)¹². This is the first inventory entry in the architectural collection, GDSU inv.1 A, a drawing whose importance was consecrated by architectural history at the turn of the twentieth century. It was already considered a precious historical document in the Cinquecento, however, as proven by the fact that its subsequent owner was Giorgio Vasari, who even mentioned the sheet in the second edition of his *Lives*¹³. Something similar happened to a demonstration drawing by Piermatteo d'Amelia that probably illustrated a contract (Fig. 2). It depicts the fifteenth-century appearance of the Sistine ceiling, lingering over such details as the constellations once painted on the vault, or the vivid blue of the sky, achieved with a dense layer of tempera brushed over the whole area within the lunettes¹⁴. A loss of color along the horizontal centerline and four more parallel creases at regular distance are the consequence of the folding of the sheet, which was filed and annotated on the back: specifically, on the upper right corner of the portion that was left visible. Here Antonio da Sangallo wrote: «For Sixtus' chapel in the manner of Piermatteo d'Amelia; it wasn't made like this: Michelangelo later made it with figures as can be seen in the work» (Fig. 3)¹⁵.

This practice of recording the sheet's subject or original function and, at the same time, preserving it in an easily searchable order, was both simple to realize and extremely efficient¹⁶. Once systematized, it constituted a basic archival system that was applied to most of the drawings made by Antonio the Younger and his collaborators, many of which travelled via mail, passing

4 GUALDO, GUALDO 2002, p. 34; PETRUCCI 2008, pp. 90-97. On early modern papermaking, cf. BARRETT 2019, and particularly FOWLER 2019 for its consequences on visual arts.

5 On Magalotti, cf. SABENE 2012, pp. 39-40; DI SANTE 2015, pp. 21-24. On Melegghino, cf. GHISSETTI GIAVARINA 2009. For an example, see the «ristretto di lettere»—an index of previous correspondence—AFSP, Arm. 51, D, 38, fols 38-40.

6 My translation: «Havendo trovato alcuni disegni di fortezze di città [...] la pregherò che per la sua bontà et gratia V.A.S. si degni accettarli, non come da me, ma come opere della B.M. di maestro Antonio Sangallo». GAYE 1839-1849, III, pp. 391-393. See ZAVATTA 2008, pp. 56-63.

7 BELLUZZI 2008, p. 97.

8 My translation: «8 volumi di studi e sbizzi di architettura nei quali ho trovato delle cose di Francesco di Giuliano e di Antonio da Sangallo». BNCF, N.A., 1050, *Efemeridi*, s. II, VI, April 13, 1778, c. 951^r; for the transcription, see FILETI MAZZA 2009, p. 70.

9 For the chronology of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, cf. GIOVANNONI 1959; BRUSCHI 1983a; FROMMEL 1994b, pp. 1-39.

10 Only a few authors have attempted a comprehensive examination of Antonio the Younger's graphic production, namely Carlo Pini (PINI 1854), Gustavo Giovannoni in his posthumous monograph (GIOVANNONI 1959), and recently Christoph Frommel and Nick Adams in their multi-volume catalogue (FROMMEL, ADAMS, 1994-2000).

11 See DONETTI 2014, with bibliography.

12 My translation: «Pianta di Sto. Pietro di mano di Bramante che non ebbe effetto», GDSU inv.1 A.

13 VASARI-BETTARINI, BAROCCHI 1966-1997, IV, p. 80: «Fe' molti disegni di piante e di edifizii, che molto bene erano disegnati da lui, come nel nostro libro ne appare alcuni ben misurati e fatti con arte grandissima».

14 PFISTERER 2014, pp. 39-40.

15 My translation: «p[er] la capella di sisto di mann[i]era di piermat[eo] damelia non[n] si fece così / L'a fatta michelagnolo poi a filg[jure] come si vede i[n] op[er]a», GDSU inv. 711 A.

16 On the early modern practice of annotating drawings by other artists, as well as on the mnemonic function of the archive, cf. also FOWLER 2019, pp. 83-99.

from one hand to another. As will be seen, the material manipulations used to classify such drawings was, in many cases, a consequence of their former life as items of correspondence.

Conversation Drawings

The words «drawings for Poggio a Caiano [*Disegni del poggio a cajano*]» on GDSU inv.4012 A, added by Antonio the Younger, identify the subject of a homogeneous group of sheets, produced at a very precise moment in the evolution of the building they represent: the revolutionary prototype of the humanistic villa designed by Giuliano da Sangallo for Lorenzo de' Medici and begun around 1490¹⁷. The five presentation drawings were carefully executed in a painterly style to be shown to and approved by the patron. The traces of such a discussion—in the form of textual annotations, emendations, and quick additional sketches—can still be detected on their surface. In addition, some folds and residues of red wax demonstrate that they were mailed, according to the distinctive format of a 'tuck and seal letter' widely used in the early modern period¹⁸. The paper was first reduced in size by quartering it, so that one edge could tuck into the other. Subsequently it was secured with an adhesive, sealing wax in the case of the Poggio a Caiano drawings, whose stains are still visible on the largest two sheets of the series, which appear to have contained the remaining ones during shipment.

The sequence of five drawings includes a general plan of the complex, an elevation of the façade, and different projects for the grand staircase, connecting the ground level with the pedimented loggia of the main floor. The version in the upper part of GDSU inv.4013 A depicts two rectilinear flights, which actually correspond to the original stairs, modified only in the nineteenth century and still visible in the plan of the *Taccuino Senese*, a portable codex of demonstration drawings by Giuliano himself (Fig.4)¹⁹. This is why the annotation says «that is how the old stairs work»; this reference confirms that the plan was conceived several years after 1498, by which time the terrace and the front block of the villa had certainly been built²⁰. The drawings proposed a new monumental solution for the main building access and demonstrated three different hypotheses that were likely discussed by the patron on the basis of the drawings: a two-flight stair, rectangular in plan, surrounding a deep courtyard (Fig. 4); a much more elegant version with symmetrical curved ramps made of low winders (Fig. 5); and a final solution with two parallel flights introduced by a convex podium, which are also illustrated in the elevation (Figs. 6-7). This last variant considerably enlarges the width of the stairs, from five to seven intercolumniations of the portico. As a result, the new staircase modifies the entire lower register of the façade. Two windows are placed above the intermediate landings to replace the openings of the walled arches, and the Doric pilasters and the corresponding pillars of the

balustrade are repositioned to regularize the rhythm of the vertical elements—in other words, «to obtain three voids between the pilasters», as a caption explains²¹.

The many subtle modifications introduced for the new stairs would have been difficult to notice unless one was standing in front of the actual building. This explains the detailed annotations that integrate them, and the fact that—as happens in other similar cases of conversation on paper—they are all addressed to the recipient of the letter, who was exceptionally important, since the recurring appellatives of «Your Holiness [*Vostra Santità*]» and «Vostra Beatitudine [*Your Beatitude*]» imply that the interlocutor must have been the supreme pontiff, most likely one of the two Medici popes who *de facto* ruled Florence in the first decades of the sixteenth century (Fig. 8). Of the two, Leo X was the one who showed more affection for the building, which he had been acquainted with since his childhood as a commission ardently desired by his father Lorenzo. In February 1520, after his nephew Lorenzo of Urbino and his sister-in-law Alfonsina Orsini had passed away, Leo X finally inherited and completed the villa with the execution of the grand barrel vault of the main hall, whose original decoration bears Leo's coat of arms²². The five drawings at the Uffizi, documenting the necessity of a safer dwelling and proposing a newly monumentalized façade, were probably made in this lively moment of the architectural history of Poggio a Caiano. The drawings were initially attributed to Bernardo Buontalenti, and thus dated to a much later period, apparently due to the long captions transcribed in an accurate *cancelleresca* style reminiscent of many of his drawings²³. But the calligraphy of the annotations actually matches Battista da Sangallo's handwriting, down to exact correspondences in the motions that produced the different letters: a correspondence that is especially evident on comparison with his manuscript translation of Vitruvius in the Biblioteca Corsini in Rome²⁴. Battista, called *il Gobbo*, started working for his elder brother Antonio in the 1520s, which explains why these sheets were originally part of the latter's personal archive, as demonstrated by the autograph inscription identifying the project's destination²⁵. Consequently, we can also attribute to Antonio the Younger the numerous sketches realized in a rough black chalk, with a characteristically soft *ductus*, typical of the many other impromptu scribbles he left on his drawings. An arrow crosses the area of the villa in the project overview to indicate the main axis of distribution. Elsewhere, a nonchalant plan and a concise depiction of a pillar explain the transformations necessary to realize the new stairs, while two simple rectangles indicate the actual position for the doors inside the shadowed backgrounds of the loggia and of the central arch (Fig. 9). Other hastily drawn lines complete the number of steps where the horizontal section does not allow for their representation, and just below, similar segments suggest an additional solution for the stairs, with a single rectilinear flight that could have replaced the convex podium (Fig. 10). All these quick sketches in black chalk appear to have been realized after the accurate pen drawings had been finished, probably in order to

17 FOSTER 1978, pp. 120-121; FOSTER 1992, pp. 110-111; D. Donetti's entry in BALDINI, BIETTI 2013, pp. 468-471. For a discussion of the construction timeline, cf. BELLUZZI 2017, with bibliography.

18 I am using here the classification recently standardized by Jana Dambrogio; see the author's informative website, *LETTERLOCKING*.

19 BCIS, s.IV.8, fol. 19^v; see FALB 1902, p. XX; FROMMEL 2017, p. 35.

20 My translation: «Questo è il modo come fanno le scale vecchie». For the 1498 document describing the front of the villa as completed (ASE, Decima Repubblica, 28, c. 457^v), see FOSTER 1992, p. 98.

21 My translation: «Ha intendere V. Sta che sebene questi balaustri qui paiano piu stretti e per amore de Risalti che tutti ricorran a uno modo Cioè ta[n] to è il vano qua[n]to el pieno tra l'uno balaustro et l'altro et vegha V.ta beat.ne che e risalti che sono rasente

lescale no[n] vi sono al presente ma mettiamolj noi adesso p[er] fare che tra ogni risalto sia tre vanj come sivede qui indisegnio S. C.», GDSU inv.4014 A. More generally, the drawing provides a unique testimony of this aspect of the villa before the modifications introduced by Alfonso Parigi in 1575; see D. Lamberini's entry on GDSU, inv.1540 A in BELTRAMINI, BURNS 2005, p. 226.

22 REISS 1993, pp. 465-468.

23 FERRI 1885, pp. XXI, 73; SMITH 1958, pp. 131-134.

24 See PAGLIARA 1982, pp. 27-28.

25 PAGLIARA 1983, pp. 24-25.

explain obscure passages to the patron, or to aid in the discussion with him of the possible modifications to the project. Therefore, we can easily assume that Battista—who was based in Florence at that moment—first made a clear copy of Antonio the Younger’s ideas, and then sent the drawings to their client in Rome, after folding and appropriately sealing them. Once arrived, they were evaluated and further annotated by Antonio, the project’s author, in the presence of the recipient, who was most likely the pope.

On Demand

A similar procedure of letter locking was used for another drawing belonging to the Sangallo group in the Uffizi collection: the plan of the Palace of Maecenas, GDSU inv.1681 A, whose paper was folded into ten parts with the same ‘tuck and seal letter’ technique seen on GDSU inv.4012 A and 4014 A (Figs.11-12)²⁶. The author is Francesco da Sangallo, who was a cousin of Antonio the Younger and the heir of the Florentine branch of the family²⁷. On this sheet, he copied a page of the Codex Barberini, the famous and admired trove of drawings after the antique originally compiled by his father Giuliano da Sangallo, which Francesco helped to gather in his youth and then conserved as a precious artistic legacy throughout his life²⁸. The drawing reproduces the plan on folio 65 *verso*, without any changes and at the same scale, on a large sheet of paper almost the same size as that of the original codex²⁹. However, in the lower part of the sheet, Francesco da Sangallo adds a long inscription in refined *cancelleresca*, a message addressed directly to Antonio. We read that the latter had requested the copy from Francesco, who was answering from Florence, and this is why this sheet was folded into ten parts, specifically eight equal sections, as usually happens in such letters, with a few centimeters exceeding the subdivision. The overabundant information recapitulating his cousin’s request evokes the courtly manners and conventions of letter writing by then common, spread by the editorial genre of the *epistolari*³⁰. Examples of letters by Francesco da Sangallo, expressly intended for publication, are known from the production of Florentine literati such as Benedetto Varchi and Niccolò Martelli, and even in this private exchange, he shows off his qualities as an amateur poet by adding some vernacular figures of speech in the tradition of Tuscan sonnets³¹. This is the case, for instance, with the words he uses to mock himself for sending a drawing of an ancient monument in Rome to a recipient in the same city: «like one who, from the mountain, sends

lettuce as a present to a man who lives in the countryside, and the latter as a response to such a gift sends wood to the mountain»³². The letter ends with a mention of the exceptional value of the Codex Barberini and with an affectionate memory of the days that Francesco had spent in Rome with his father, during his youth: «I don’t think there is another like this in Florence and I’ll take care of it, since it reminds me of when I was there with Giuliano»³³.

This sheet can be compared with another better known example of a traveling drawing, GDSU inv.307 A (Fig.13). This drawing, also a letter, in this case addressed to Francesco by Antonio the Younger, carefully describes the orientation of the Pantheon in relation to the compass rose, schematically represented all around the plan of the building³⁴. The reason why at some point—probably in the late nineteenth century, when Carlo Pini was a director of the Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi—this sheet came to be included in the larger group of Antonio’s drawings, despite being originally part of Francesco’s archive, must lie in the content of the inscriptions, and also in the hasty idiosyncratic handwriting, which led to a secure attribution. Not surprisingly, given its author’s lack of interest in any demonstration of literary skill, the message is rather offhand in tone and expresses far more prosaic concerns than Francesco’s letter. However, Antonio still mixes scholarly considerations with a short glimpse into his family life when he asks his cousin to take care of his elderly mother Smeralda, who was living in Florence with his unreliable brother Battista³⁵. The letter is dated 21 December 1538, and the copy of the Palace of Maecenas was probably realized at that time, and perhaps even nearly the same day, during a moment of family intimacy and also erudite exchange that was partly carried out in words, and partly in the two drawings.

The plan of the Temple of Serapis is thus revealed to be another lively example of working sheets in the Sangallo archive, where it was kept for some time. Once again, this is confirmed by what Antonio the Younger wrote on the back, after the drawing had reached its destination (Fig.14): «My own survey [*disegno*] of the plan of Maecenas’ palace—and I got this copy back from Francesco, after lending it to his father»³⁶. In other words, he was the one who actually measured the ruins of the Temple of Serapis, on the Quirinal Hill, which was later redrawn in Giuliano’s codex, reusing the information he provided. Indeed, Antonio is documented in Rome from the early sixteenth century, when he started to collaborate with his uncle³⁷. Therefore, in the archival note he records not only the subject of the drawing, but also locates its creation within his personal professional journey. In the late 1530s, when he had already become a respected architect, he was not so interested in the drawing itself, but rather in its

26 FERRI 1885, p.172, describes it as a «pianta del palazzo di Mecenate in Monte Cavallo (tempio del Sole) con lettera dichiarativa autografa ad Antonio da Sangallo zio di Francesco [plan of the palace of Maecenas in Monte Cavallo (Temple of the Sun) with autograph declarative letter by Francesco to his uncle Antonio da Sangallo]». BARTOLI 1914-1922, VI, p.23, also misinterprets the annotation, but correctly identifies the recipient.

27 For a comprehensive profile of Francesco da Sangallo, cf. DONETTI 2020.

28 See BROTHERS forthcoming; BROTHERS 2002, focusing on the strategies employed in Giuliano da Sangallo’s reconstruction, as well as on the broader early modern reception of the monument.

29 The paper sheet measures 376 × 348 mm—corresponding to the half of a *reale* format—while the page of the Codex Barberini is 455 × 390 mm and shows also a detail of the last cornice of the Colosseum; see HÜLSEN 1910, p.69.

30 For an updated overview of book production as related to epistolary practice, cf. ERDMANN, GOVI, GOVI 2014.

31 VARCHI 1550, pp.139-149; BNCF, MS Magliabechiano VIII, 1447, fols 53^r-55^r. See HEIKAMP 1957; MENDELSON 1982, p.156; GAMBERINI 2017; DONETTI 2018.

32 My translation: «come quello che manda a presentare dal alpe la latuga a quello da legnaia, ovvero, come quell’altro in guidardone di tanto dono, manda la legnie al [a]lpe.» GDSU inv.1681 A^r.

33 My translation: «non credo che in Fiorenza uno altro c’en sia e parmi sia da tenerlo per sé caro, che mi ricorda già andarvi con Giuliano», GDSU inv.1681 A^r. On Giuliano’s legacy in the work and life of his son Francesco, cf. DONETTI 2017a; DONETTI 2020, pp.14-32.

34 See A. Nesselrath’s entry in FROMMEL, ADAMS 1994-2000, II, pp.135-136.

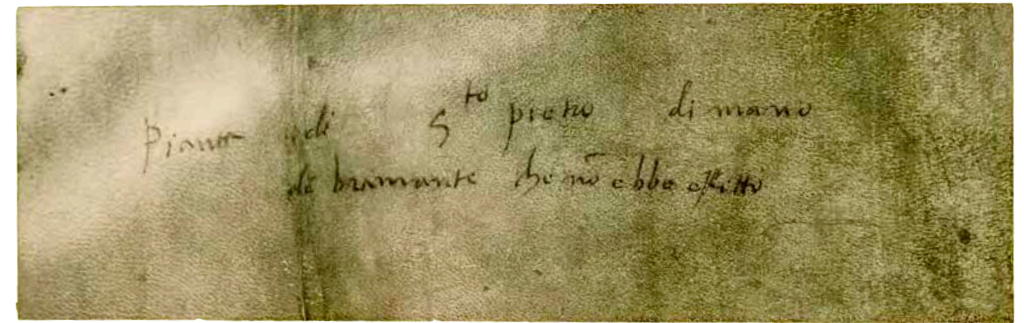
35 «Circa a casi di mona smeralda li ma[n]dai cento danari: Confortala a vivere più che ella può e io no[n] sono p[er] ma[n]charle p[er] qua[n]to potrò ma vorrei

ch’ella spronassi batista a darle la sua parte, Come vole el dovere maximo, ave[n]do lui el modo. Come lui ha, ne altro a te mi racoma[n]do [as for monna Smeralda, I sent her 100 *denari*. Please, encourage her to live as long as she can. I will not fail as far as I can, but I wish she spurred Battista to give her his own portion as the sense of duty should demand when one has the means, as he does. I do not ask you for anything else]», GDSU inv.307 A.

36 My translation: «Disegno della pia[n]ta di mecenata di mia mano / et proprio questa copia lo riauta da fr[ancesco] / prestata a giuliano suo padre», GDSU inv.1681 A^r.

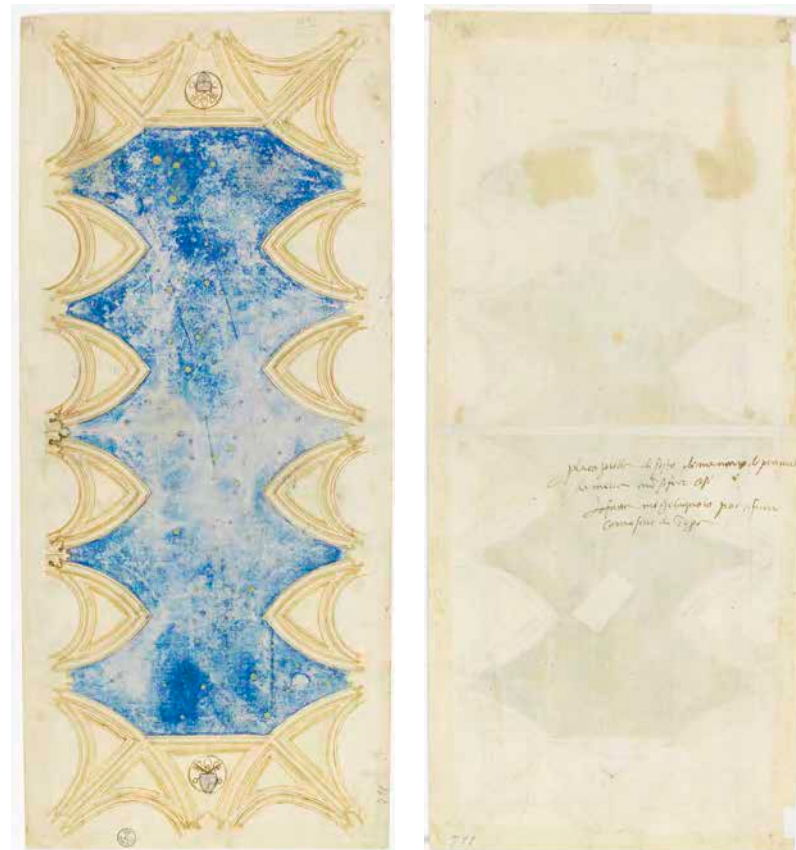
37 GIOVANNONI 1959, pp.91-92; FROMMEL 1994b, pp.10-23.

archeological content, and it is meaningful here to note how the word «disegno» alludes both to the subject—i.e., the temple's architecture as reconstructed by the Sangallos—and to its graphic representation³⁸. Without understanding this equivalence, and the peculiar typology of drawing we are looking at, previous literature attributed the annotation to Giuliano and dated the drawing to the 1510s at the latest³⁹. Deciphering this inscription thus illuminates the complex genesis of the Codex Barberini: the most monumental product of the vivacious cultural exchanges passing between Florence and Rome around 1500. Such an extended artistic network was based on copies and drawings that were constantly on the move, contributing to the diffusion of the sort of antiquarian knowledge that would make its way into early printed treatises⁴⁰. In fact, the plan of the Palace of Maecenas, initially reconstructed by Giuliano da Sangallo and subsequently copied by Francesco to be sent to Antonio the Younger, would re-emerge in the first treatise to provide a repertoire of ancient architecture to a European-wide audience: Sebastiano Serlio's *Third Book* on the «Antiquità di Roma», written in Bologna and Rome and finally published in Venice in 1540, just a few months after this epistolary exchange (Fig. 15)⁴¹.



◆ Fig. 1

ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER, Annotation on the verso of Bramante's Project for St. Peter's Basilica in Rome, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 1 A', detail (© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)

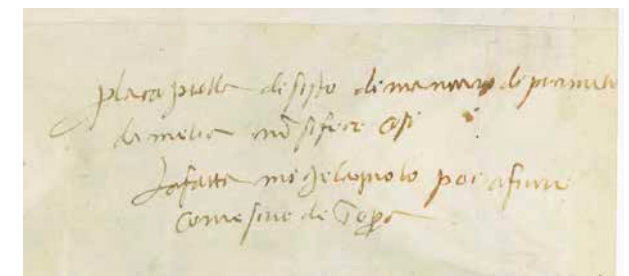


◆ Fig. 2

PIER MATTEO D'AMELIA, Contract-Drawing for the Fresco on the Vault of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, 1481, black chalk, ink, and tempera on paper, 39 × 17.1 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 711 A^{UV} (© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)

◆ Fig. 3

ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER, Annotation on the verso of Pier Matteo D'Amelia's Contract-Drawing for the Fresco on the Vault of the Sistine Chapel in Rome, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 711 A^{UV}, detail (© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)



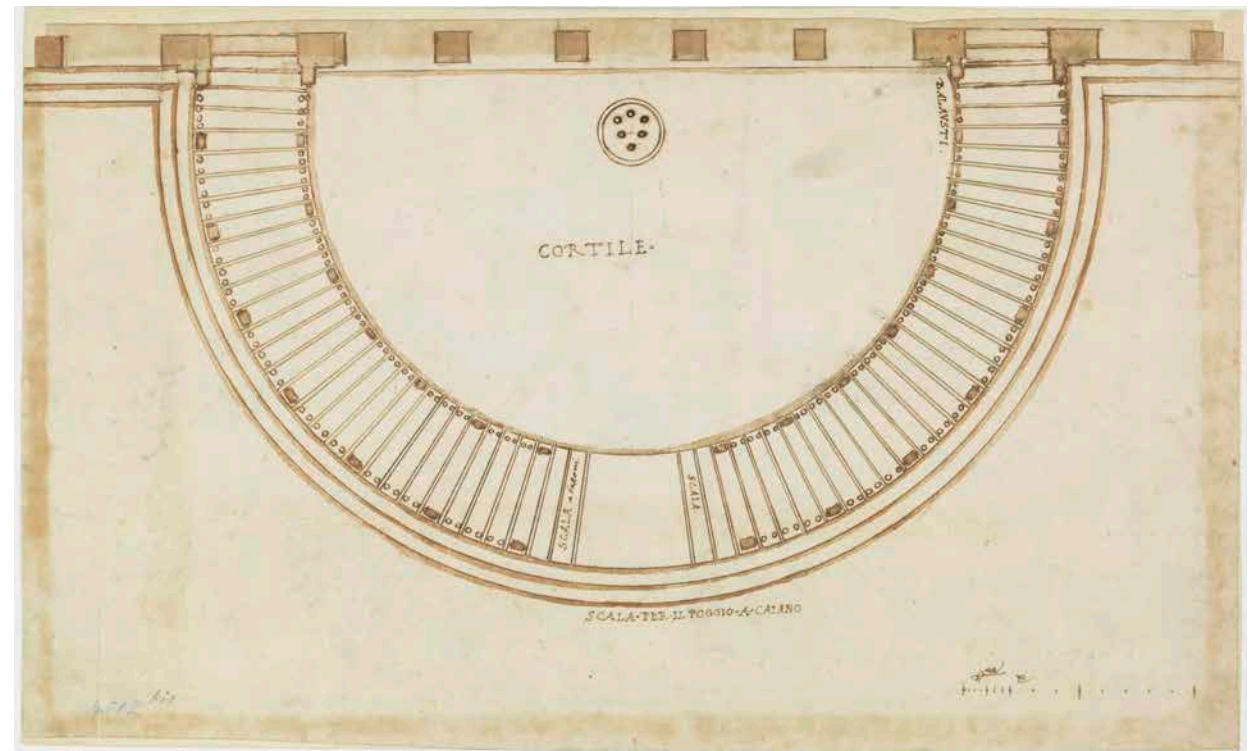
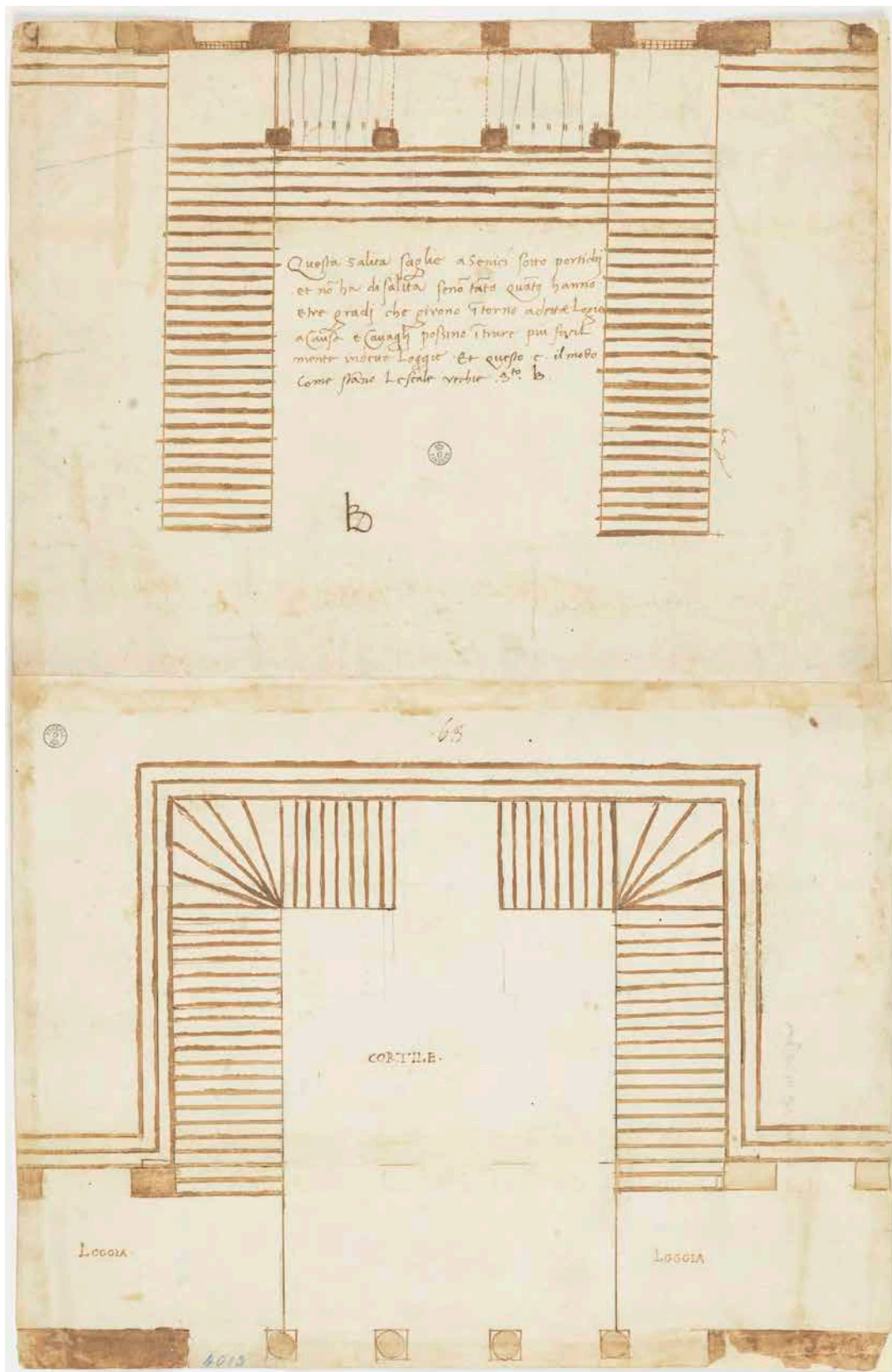
38 On the semantic implications of the word «disegno» in the Italian Cinquecento, cf., the contribution of Victoria Addona in this volume.

39 F.P. Fiore's entry on GDSU, inv. 1681 A, in FIORE, NESSELRATH 2005, p. 273, dates the drawing to ca 1515, since he accepts the attribution of the inscription on the verso to Giuliano da Sangallo proposed by BORSI 1985, pp. 235-236. While the latter transcribes it partially, Fiore reports the annotation in its entirety and, consequently, attributes the last lines to Antonio the Younger. See also BARTOLI 1914-1922, VI, p. 23, for a different, unlikely

hypothesis, according to which Francesco lent the drawing to both Giuliano and Antonio the Younger.

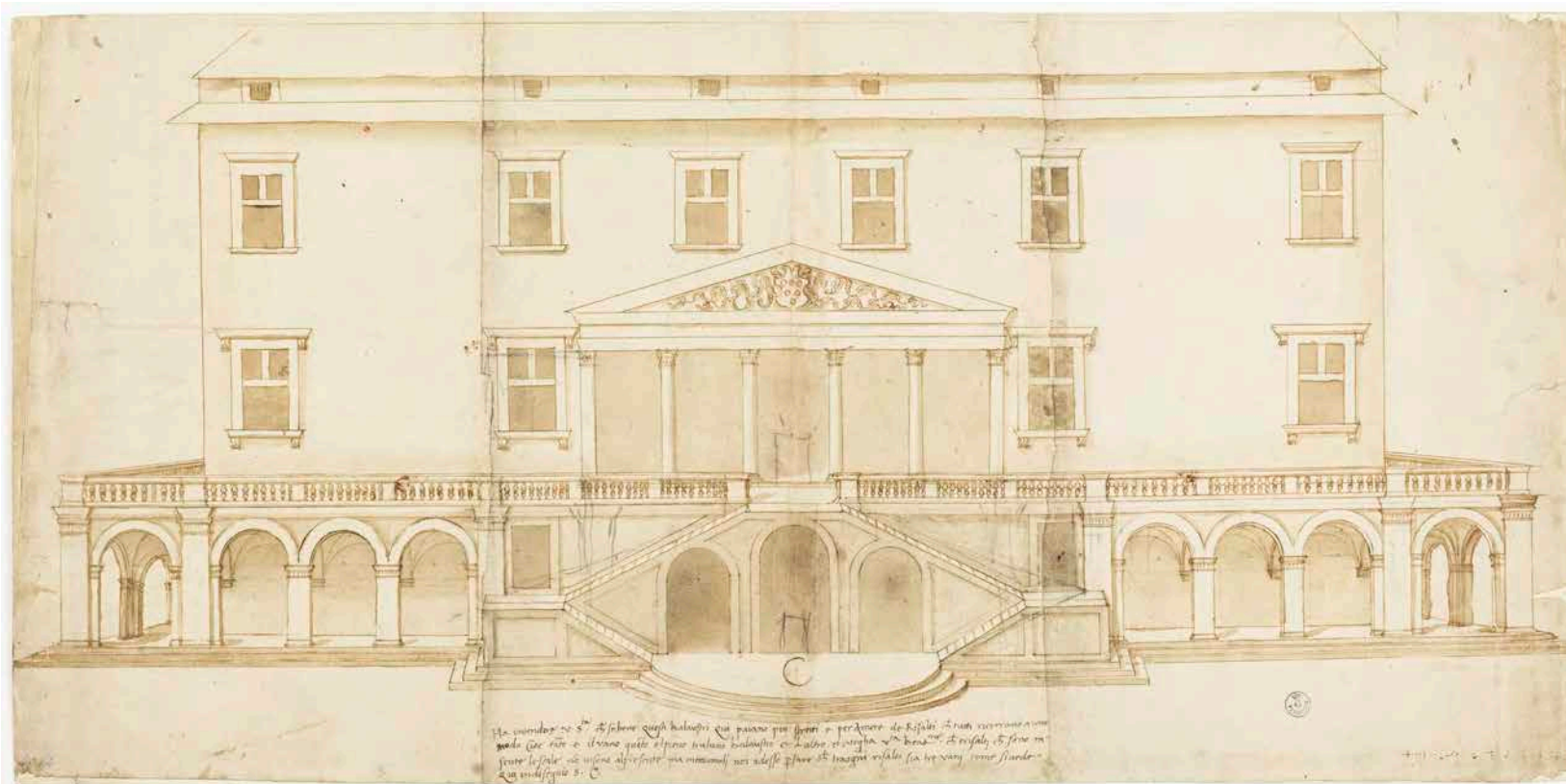
40 For recent accounts on this topic, cf. NESSELRATH 2014, particularly pp. 63-149; BROTHERS 2017; RACHELE 2015, pp. 71-121.

41 SERLIO 1540, fols LXXX-LXXXI. See BARTOLI 1914-1922, VI, p. 55; WURM 1984, p. 481; BROTHERS 2002, pp. 61-62; BENELLI 2017.

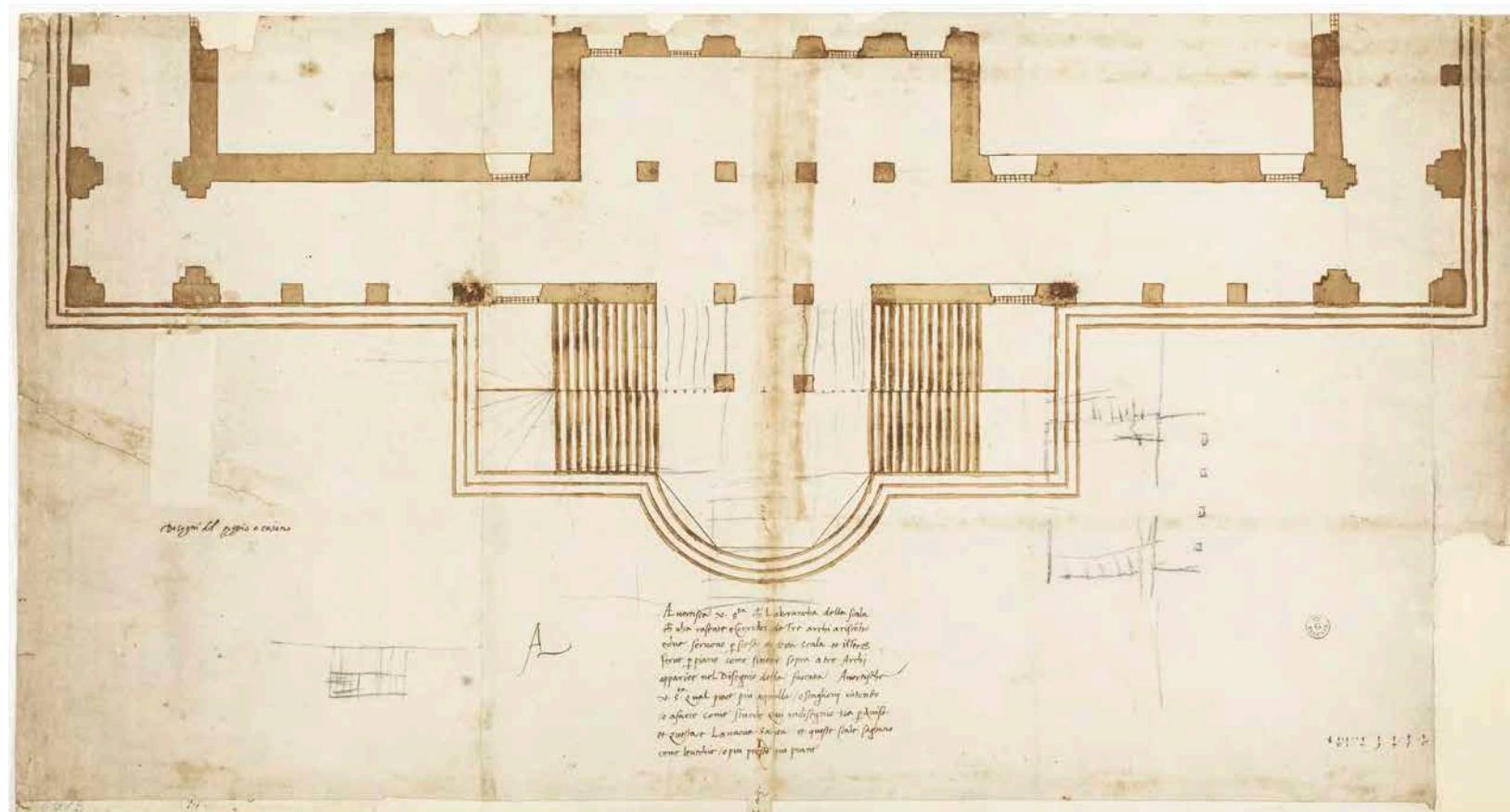


♦ Fig. 5
 GIOVAN BATTISTA DA SANGALLO, CALLED IL GOBBO,
 Project for the Staircase of Poggio a Caiano
 (Third Version: Plan), ca 1520, ink on paper,
 24.7 × 42.1 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi,
 Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 4012 bis A
 (© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)

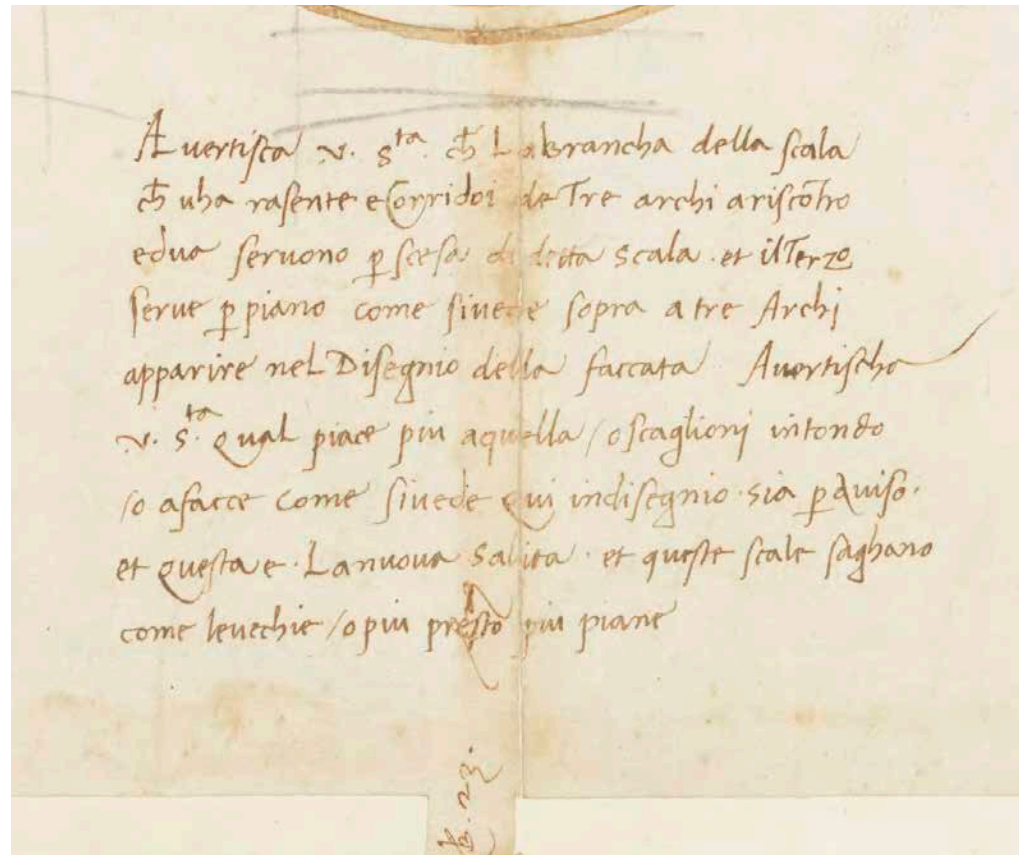
♦ Fig. 4 ♦
 GIOVAN BATTISTA DA SANGALLO, CALLED IL GOBBO,
 Project for the Staircase of Poggio a Caiano
 (First and Second Version: Plan), ca 1520, black chalk
 and ink on paper, 49.8 × 32.5 cm, Florence, Gallerie
 degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe,
 inv. 4013 A (© Ministero per i beni e le attività
 culturali)



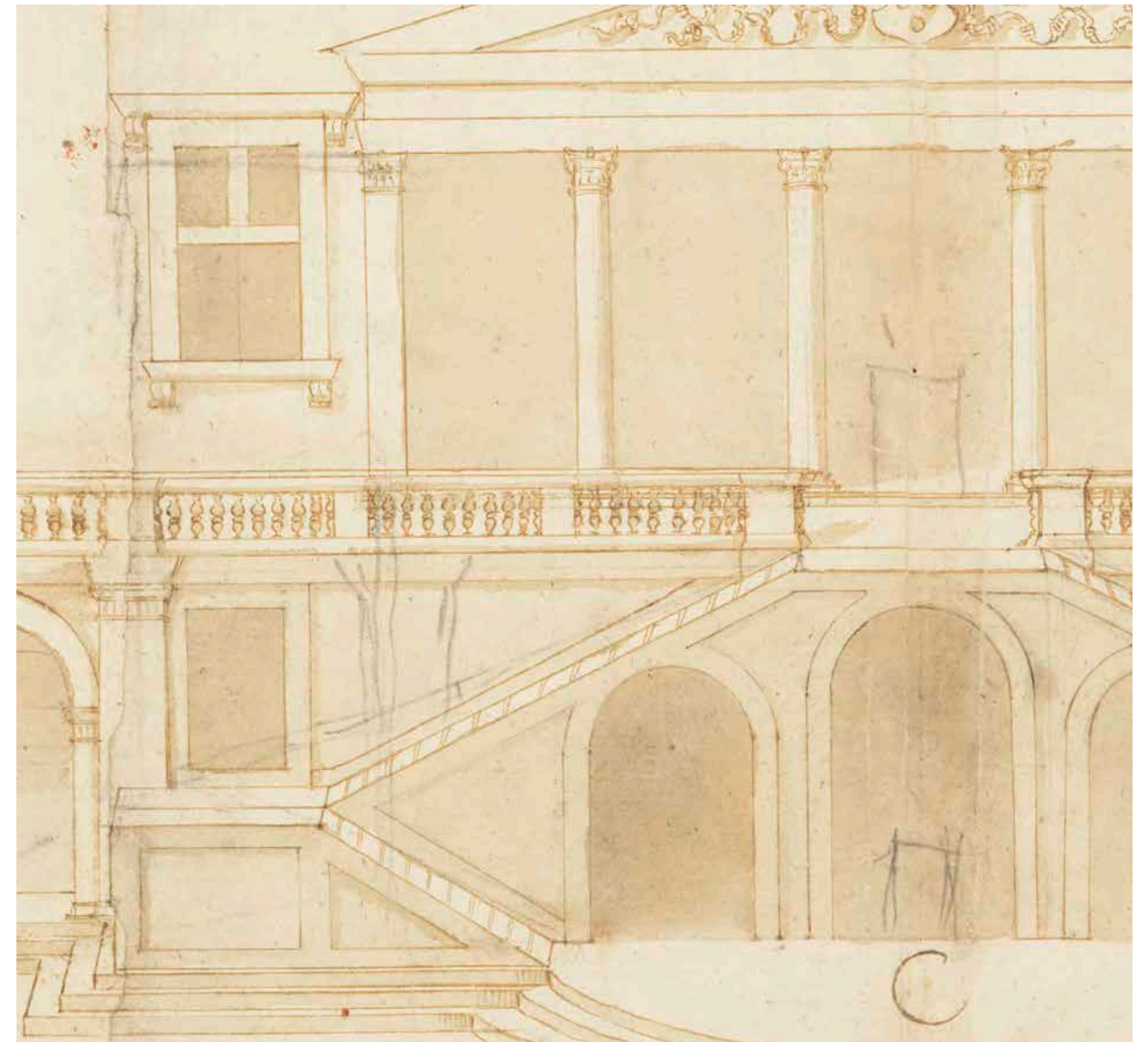
◆ Fig.6
GIOVAN BATTISTA DA SANGALLO,
CALLED IL GOBBO,
Project for the Staircase of Poggio a
Caiano (Fourth Version: Elevation),
ca 1520, black chalk and ink on paper,
37.8 × 77.7 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli
Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle
Stampe, inv.4014 A (© Ministero per
i beni e le attività culturali)



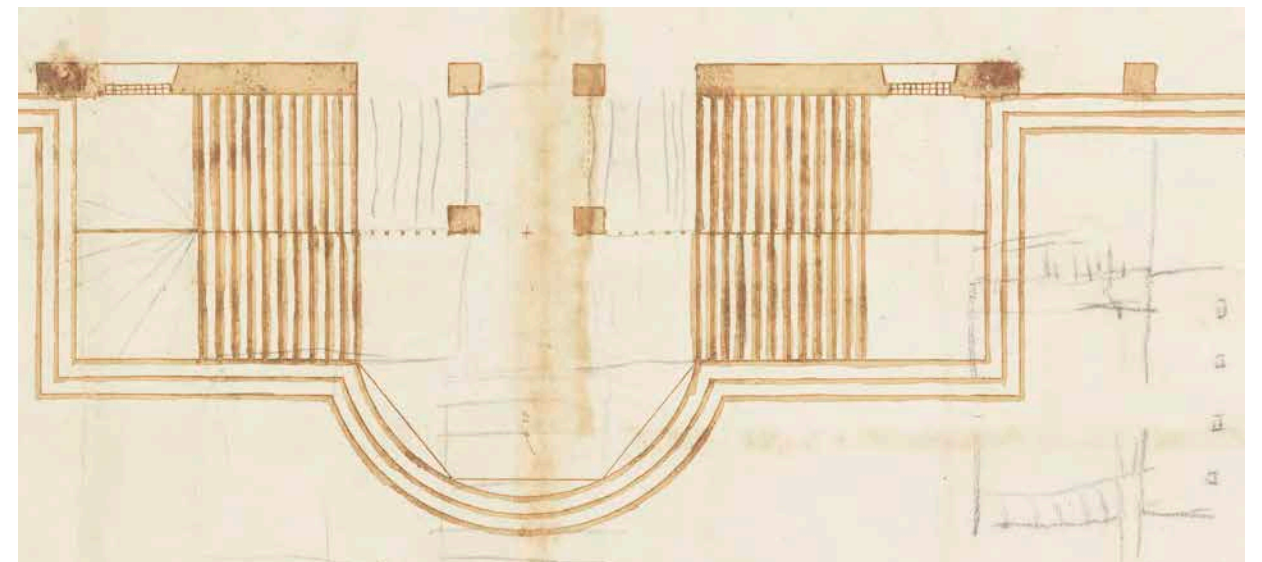
◆ Fig.7
GIOVAN BATTISTA DA SANGALLO,
CALLED IL GOBBO, Project for the
Staircase of Poggio a Caiano (Fourth
Version: Plan), ca 1520, black chalk
and ink on paper, 38.4 × 77.9 cm,
Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi,
Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle
Stampe, inv.4012 A (© Ministero per
i beni e le attività culturali)



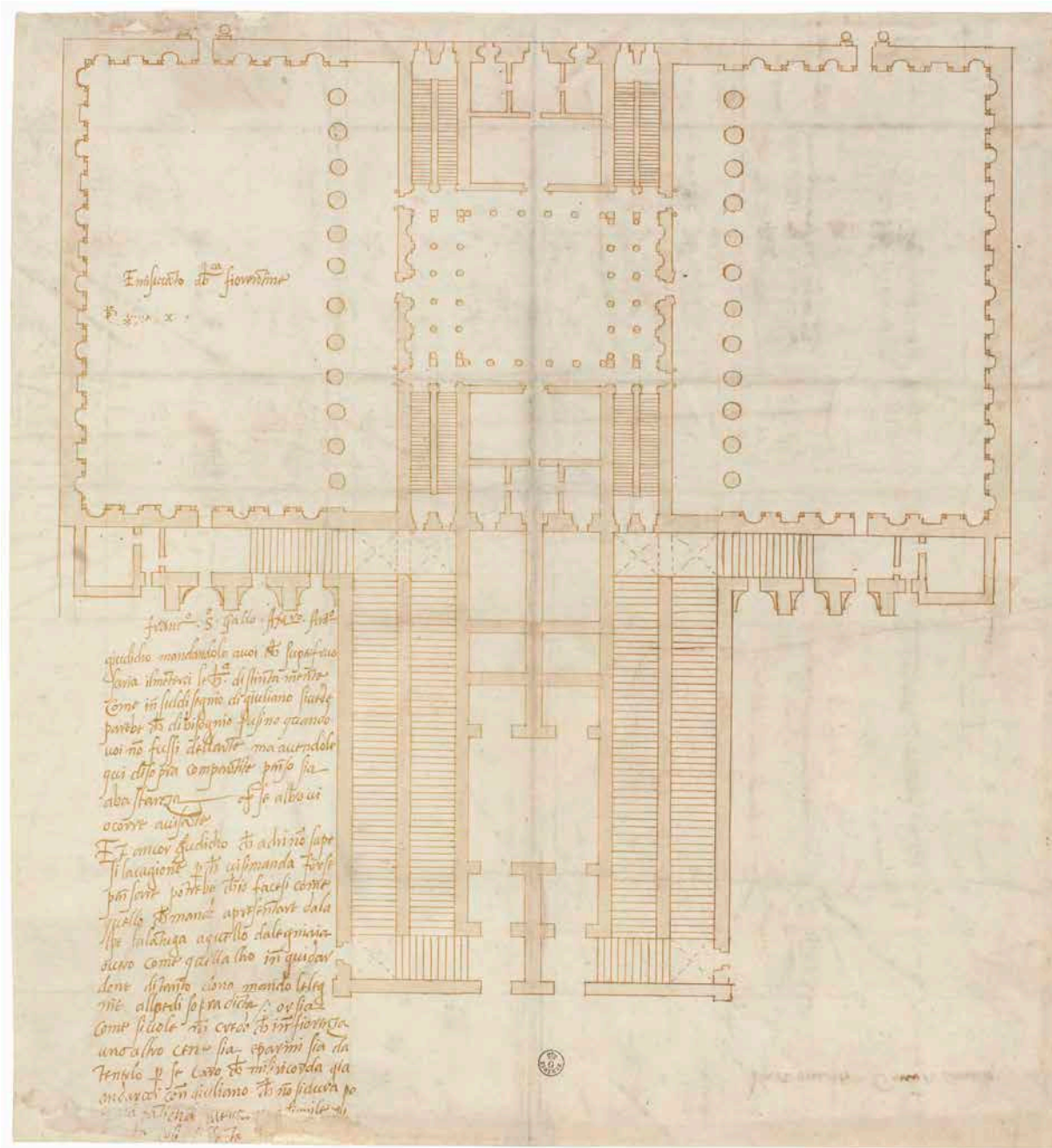
◆ Fig. 8
 GIOVAN BATTISTA DA SANGALLO, CALLED IL GOBBO,
 Annotation on the Project for the Staircase of Poggio
 a Caiano, 38.4 × 77.9 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi,
 Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 4012 A, detail
 (© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)



◆ Fig. 9
 ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER,
 Sketches on the Project for the Staircase of
 Poggio a Caiano, ca 1520, black chalk and ink on
 paper, 37.8 × 77.7 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi,
 Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 4014 A,
 detail (© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)

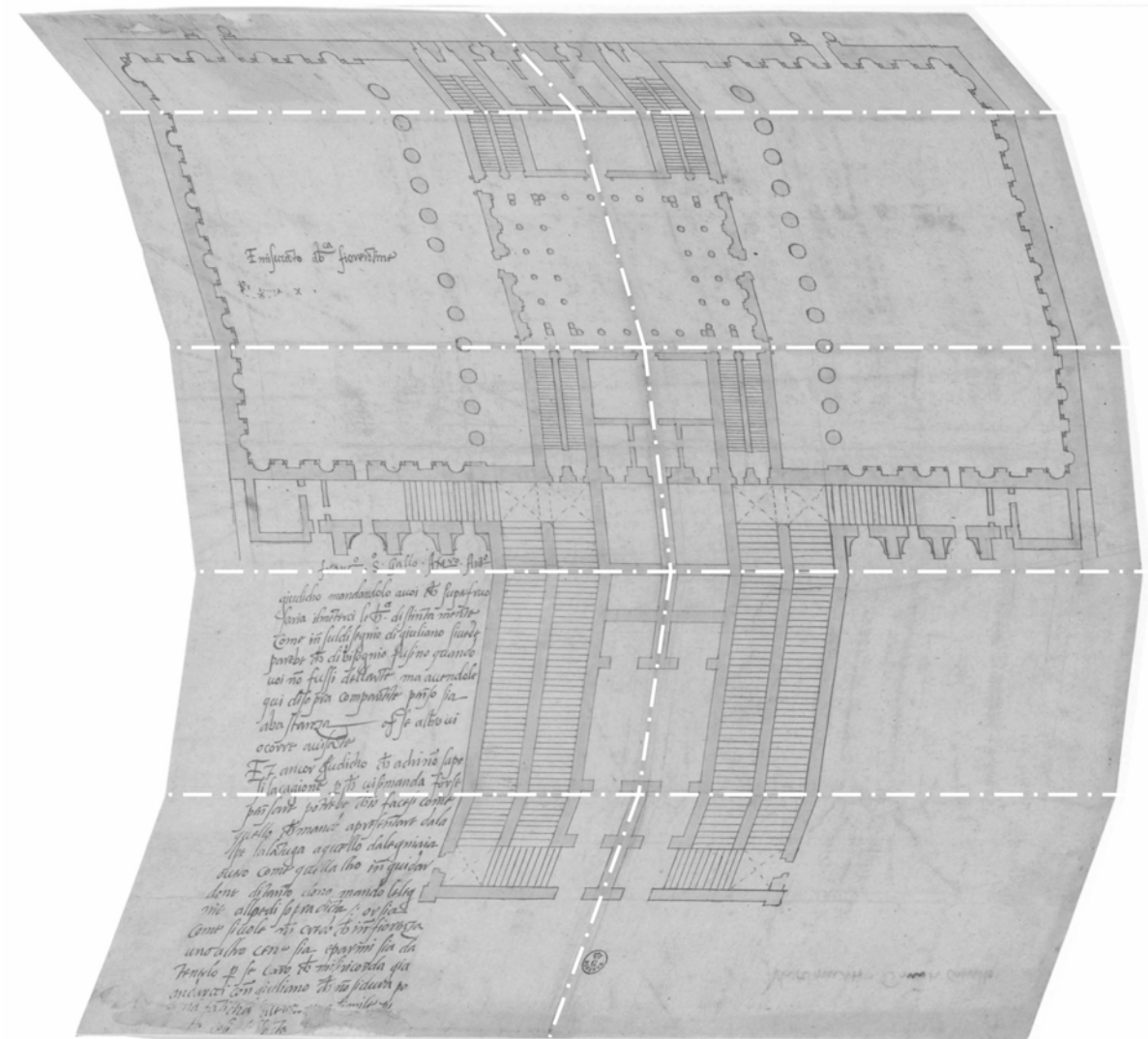


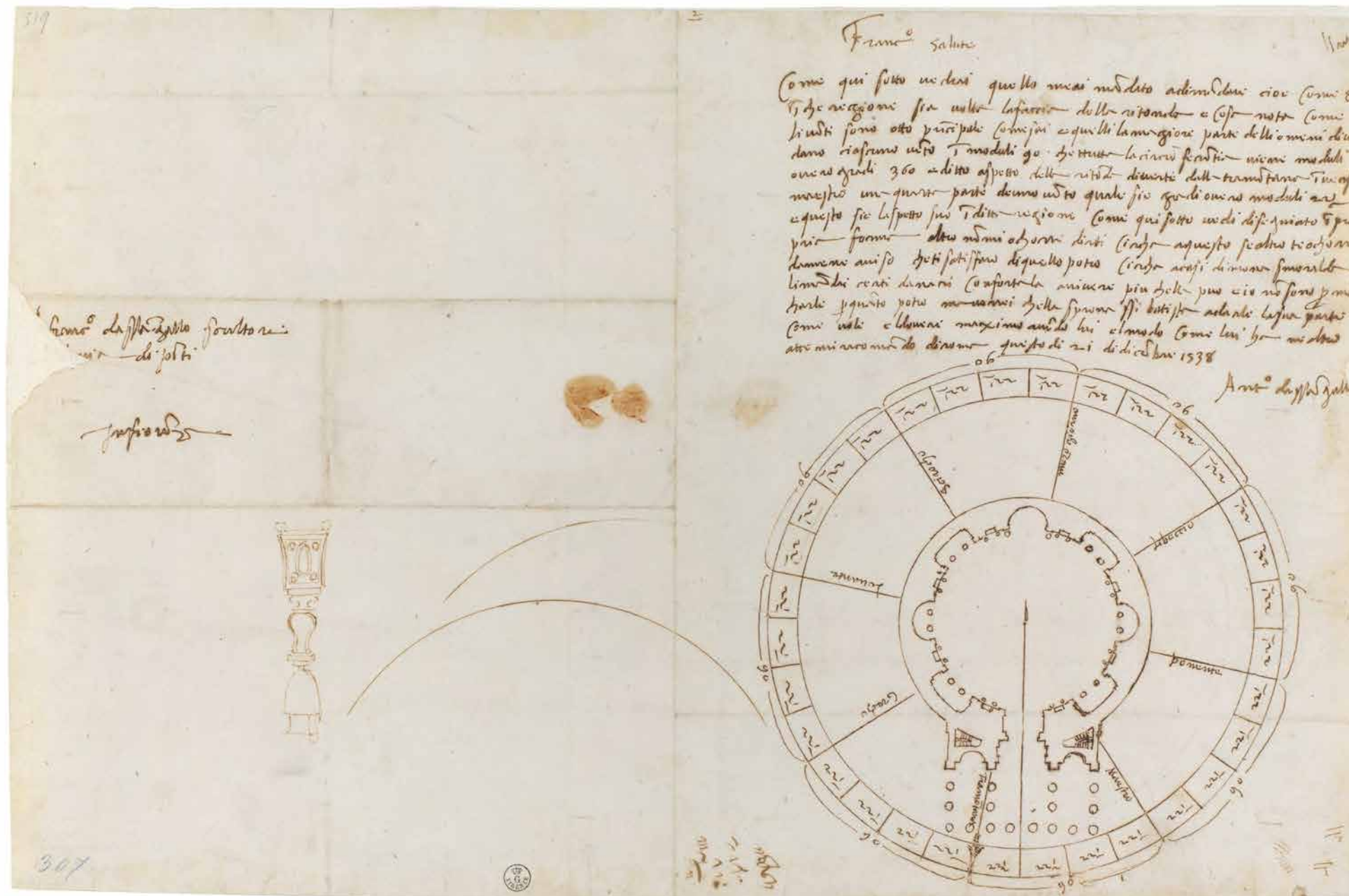
◆ Fig. 10
 ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER,
 Sketches on the Project for the Staircase of Poggio
 a Caiano, ca 1520, black chalk and ink on paper,
 38.4 × 77.9 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi,
 Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv. 4012 A,
 detail (© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)



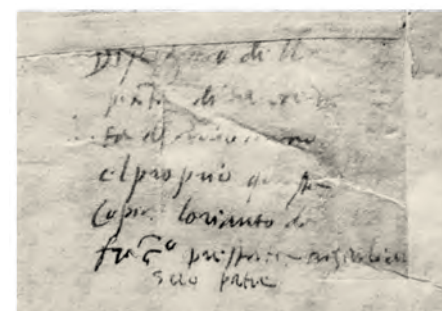
◆ Fig. 11
FRANCESCO DA SANGALLO,
Plan of the Palace of Maecenas
(Temple of Serapis) in Rome, 1538-1539,
black chalk and ink on paper, 37.7 × 34.7 cm,
Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto
dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv.1681 A
(© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)

◆ Fig. 12
Reconstruction of the Folding of Francesco
da Sangallo's Plan of the Palace of
Maecenas (Temple of Serapis) in Rome
(© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)

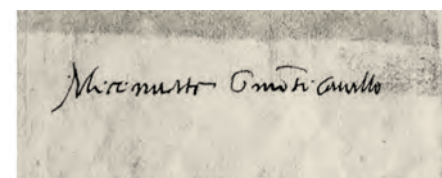


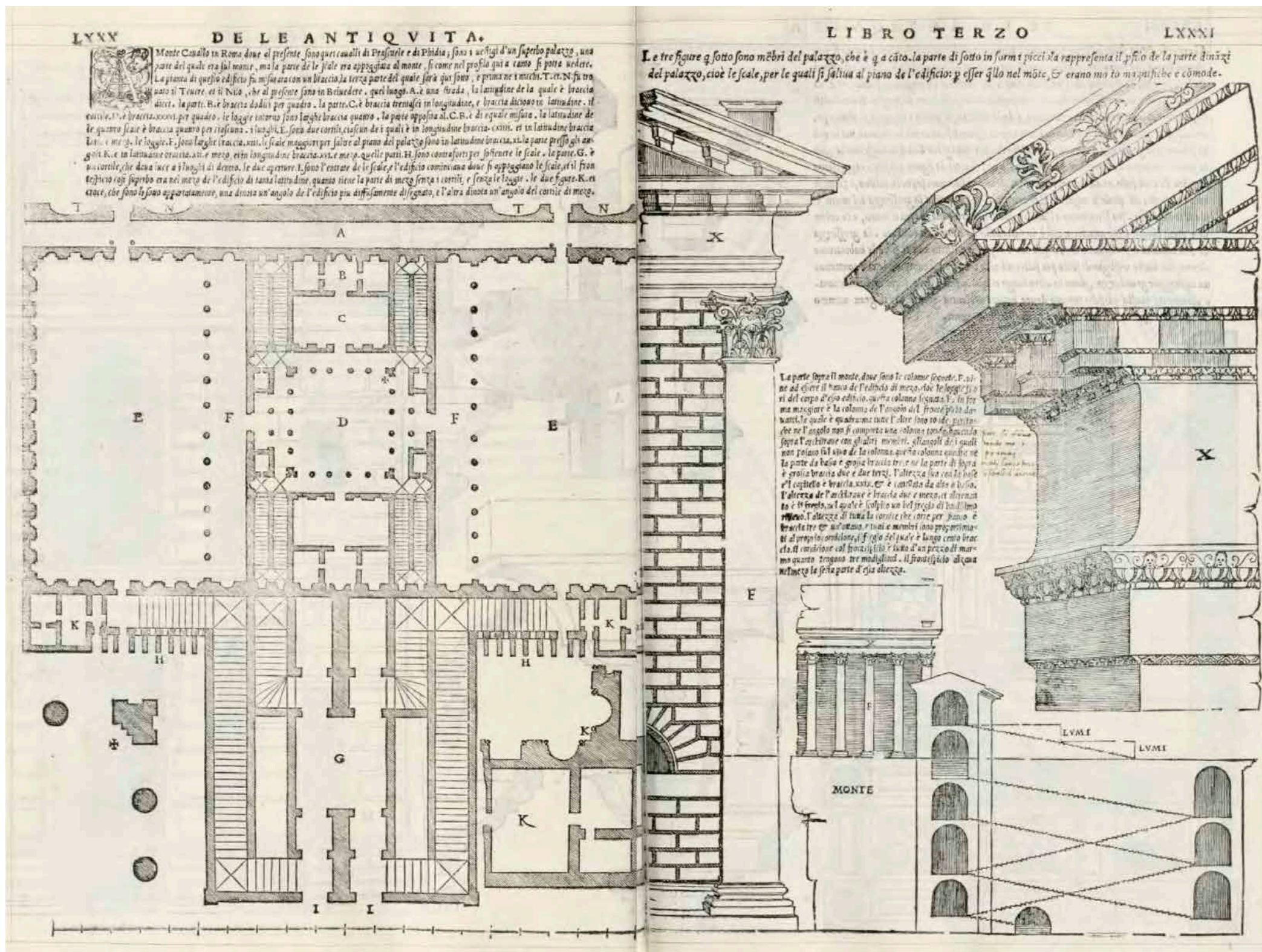


◆ Fig.13
 ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER, Plan of the Pantheon in Rome Oriented in Relation to the Compass Rose, 1538, ink on paper, 28 × 42.8 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv.307 A (© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)



◆ Fig.14
 ANTONIO DA SANGALLO THE YOUNGER, Annotations on the verso of Francesco da Sangallo's Plan of the Palace of Maecenas (Temple of Serapis) in Rome, 37.7 × 34.7 cm, Florence, Gallerie degli Uffizi, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe, inv.1681 A, details (© Ministero per i beni e le attività culturali)





◆ Fig.15
 SEBASTIANO SERLIO,
 Antiquità di Roma,
 Venezia, 1540, fols.
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Abbreviations

AB	Florence, Casa Buonarroti, Archivio Buonarroti
AFDM	Milan, Archivio della Veneranda Fabbrica del Duomo
AFSP	Vatican City, Archivio della Fabbrica di San Pietro
AFSPE	Bologna, Archivio della Fabbrica di San Petronio
AOSMF	Florence, Archivio dell'Opera di Santa Maria del Fiore
ASF	Florence, Archivio di Stato
ASP	Prato, Archivio di Stato
BAV	Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
BCIS	Siena, Biblioteca Comunale degli Intronati
BM	London, British Museum
BNCF	Florence, Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale
DMBA	Dijon, Musée des Beaux Arts
GDSU	Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi
MM	New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art
SMBK	Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kunstbibliothek

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To whom it may concern:

We hereby confirm that *Building with Paper: The Materiality of Renaissance Architectural Drawings*, edited by Dario Donetti and Cara Rachele, has been accepted for publication by the editorial boards of the Materiality series and Brepols Publishers, having passed both an internal and an external editorial review process.

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Yours sincerely,

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