

Reconstruction as Design: Giuliano da Sangallo and the “palazo di mecenate” on the Quirinal Hill



1. Antonio Tempesta, Map of Rome, 1593, showing fragments of the temple as they appeared in the Renaissance.

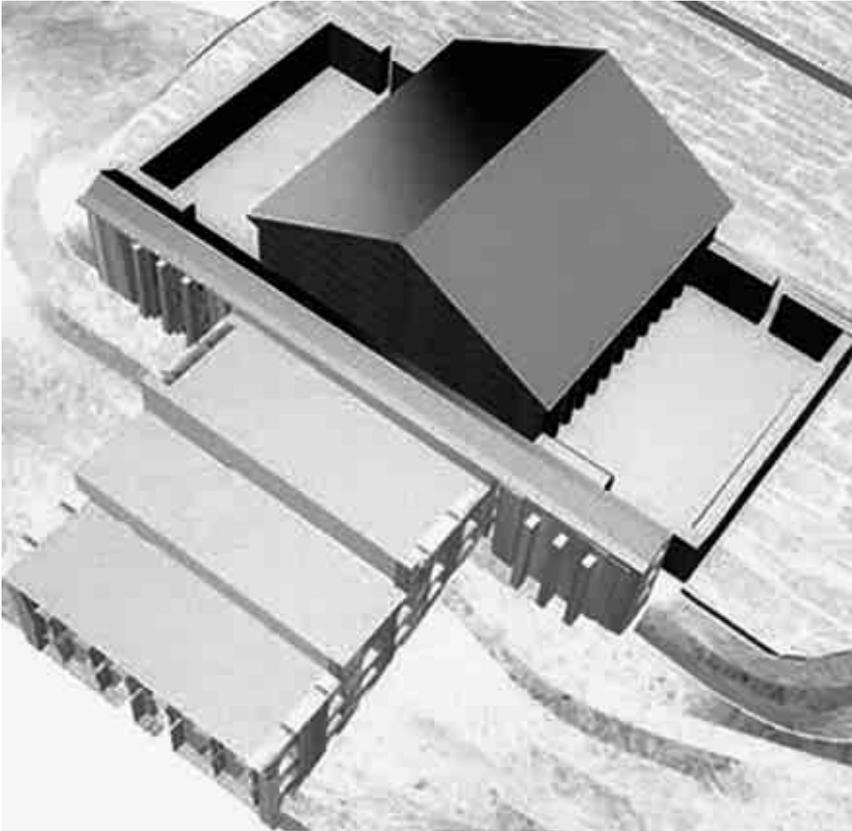
Giuliano da Sangallo's drawings have suffered by comparison to those of his nephew, Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. Although his drawings are more beautiful, they are on the whole less accurate, or at least less consistent in their mode of representation and their use of measurements. Given the direction in which architectural drawing developed over the course of the following centuries, scholars looking back at this period have tended to group Giuliano with others, such as Francesco di Giorgio, who are seen as old fashioned relative to the trends of the sixteenth century. While I do not intend here to fully disprove this perception, I do wish to suggest that the situation is more complicated than such an account acknowledges.

This essay will focus on Giuliano's reconstruction of what he calls the “palazo di mecenate”, even though the monument in question is not a palace and has nothing to do with Maecenas. But there is more to this than your ordinary case of mistaken identity, and Giuliano's error is in fact far more illuminating than a correct identification could possibly have been. The monument that Giuliano drew was in fact the so-called “Temple of Serapis,” which has the distinction of having been both the largest and least understood in Rome¹. In the first part of

this paper I will survey information regarding both the condition and conception of the monument in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

When Giuliano saw the temple, the only fragments left standing were a portion of the façade and parts of the massive stair structure. His seven drawings of the monument were the first attempts to reconstruct the entire building, as well as the most complex and large scale reconstructions that he ever executed. The second part of this essay will compare Giuliano's drawings with those of Peruzzi and Palladio, with the aim of demonstrating, contrary to the theory that drawings after the antique became increasingly accurate over time, that Giuliano in fact took fewer liberties in his reconstruction than did Palladio. Aside from providing some insight into Giuliano's working method, I hope through this comparison to suggest that fifteenth- and sixteenth-century drawings of antiquities cannot appropriately be judged according to one standard, because each architect had his own particular aims. Giuliano's drawings suggest that he approached reconstruction not with the attitude we would expect of a present day archaeologist, but rather with that of a designer, keen to understand the ruins in terms that were meaningful for his own work.

Finally, I will attempt to elaborate on the relation between Giuliano's antiquarianism and his architecture, by means of a hypothesis regarding the connection between Giuliano's reconstruction of the Quirinal temple and his design for the villa of Poggio a Caiano. Although it is well known that Giuliano's energies were divided between his work as an antiquarian and draughtsman and as an architect, it is surprising how rarely they have been specifically linked. Most studies of Giuliano and the antique have focused on the presence of Vitruvian ideas, or perhaps on Vitruvian ideas as filtered through Alberti. Certainly, the difficulty dating either the *Codex Barberini* or the *Taccuino Senese* confounds efforts to establish precise links between Giuliano's architectural projects and his studies of ancient monuments. While acknowledging these chronological problems, I will consider a particular case with the aim of reassessing the relationship between these two spheres of activity.



2. Digital reconstruction of temple by author, bird's eye view.

3. Digital reconstruction of temple by author, side elevation.



I. The Temple of Serapis

The location and general appearance of the Temple of Serapis in the Renaissance can be seen in Antonio Tempesta's map of 1593 (ill. 1)². Although the Quirinal Hill was once occupied by the temple and by the baths of Constantine, as well as being the site of some of the most famous pieces of ancient sculpture uncovered in the Renaissance, today the only visible marker of the original aspect of the hill are the Dioscurides³. From early drawings, we know that the temple originally consisted of a monumental double covered stair structure which rose from the base of the Quirinal Hill behind Santi Apostoli, and that it was surrounded on both sides by large open courtyards bounded by an outer wall (ills. 2, 3). The temple and outer wall alone covered 10,000 square meters, excluding the monumental stairs. It would have occupied the area now filled by the Colonna gardens and the Gregorian University,

from the roof of which substantial portions of the stair and retaining wall can still be seen (ills. 4-7)⁴. Documenting what survives today is a dicey affair: an enormous fragment of the cornice survives in the Colonna family gardens, but the best available photographs date from the turn of the century (ill. 8).

The scarcity of images of the temple pre-dating Giuliano's reconstruction make the history of its excavation and destruction particularly important in helping to establish what he would have seen. The temple's dimensions made it an obvious source of marble, and as early as the eighth century Justinian had eight columns removed for the construction of Santa Sophia in Constantinople⁵. Buildings around Rome tell the story of the temple's destruction over the centuries to follow. Santa Maria d'Aracoeli boasts marble steps removed from the temple in 1348⁶. The trend was briefly countered by Prospero Colonna, who rebuilt parts of the stairs that had been damaged by the removal of their marble⁷. Ironically, this attempt at preservation was followed by a major campaign to provide building materials for the Cancelleria of Cardinal Raffaele Riario (begun ca. 1489). As Sallustio Peruzzi informs us in his drawing of the temple, "tutti li marmi che so[n]o i[n] nel palazzo di sa[n] giorgio [Palazzo della Cancelleria] sono cavati da q[ue]sto edificio"⁸.

The pace of destruction increased in the 1540s and 50s, and by 1553 it was known as the "cava di Montecavallo"⁹. Pope Paul III made an arrangement with the Colonna family to excavate marble from the temple for use in Palazzo Farnese¹⁰. Julius III made a similar deal, and between 1552 and 1555 had cart loads of stone removed for use in the Villa Giulia, as well as in the Cesi chapel of Santa Maria Maggiore¹¹. The Colonna themselves used the marble for the pavement of their gallery and the balustrade of their family chapel¹². The last remaining portion of the temple fell in 1630¹³.

Given the early and extensive pattern of destruction, written descriptions, drawings, views and maps form the basis for our knowledge of the temple. The monument was the object of a controversy over its naming that continues to this day. In the Renaissance it was known as the Frontispizio di Nerone, Casa di Nerone, Torre di Nerone, Torre di Mecenate, Torre Mesa, Palazzo dei Cornuti, Tempio di Serapide, Tempio del Sole, Tempio di Giove, and the Palazzo di Mecenate, and today it is known either as the Temple of the Sun or the Temple of Serapis and most recently as the Temple of Hercules and Dionysus¹⁴. The disagreement of early sources over its identification makes it possible to trace the origin of Giuliano's unusual naming of it as the "palazzo di mecenate".



4. A view of a wall of the stair structure and the Quirinal Hill (photo C. Brothers).

5. A window in the side wall of the stair structure (photo C. Brothers).

6. A view of the retaining wall in the Colonna Gardens (photo C. Brothers).

7. A view into the stair structure (photo C. Brothers).

8. Fragments of the "Frontispizio" in the Colonna Gardens (photo Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Roma).

9. Detail of map by Pietro del Massaio (Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [BAV], Vat. Lat. 5699, fol. 127. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana), showing the Quirinal Hill and the Dioscurides.



10. "Pseudo-Cronaca", Palatium Neronis (Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 163 S).

11. Detail from Marco Fabio Calvo, *Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum*, Roma 1527.

12. Sallustio Peruzzi, Plan and reconstructed bird's eye view of temple (Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 664 A).

13. Detail from Pirro Ligorio, *Anteiquae Urbis imago accuratissime ex vetustis monumentis formata*, Roma 1561.

14. View of Palazzo Colonna and temple (Etienne Dupérac, *I vestigi dell' antichità di Roma*, Roma 1675, fol. 31).

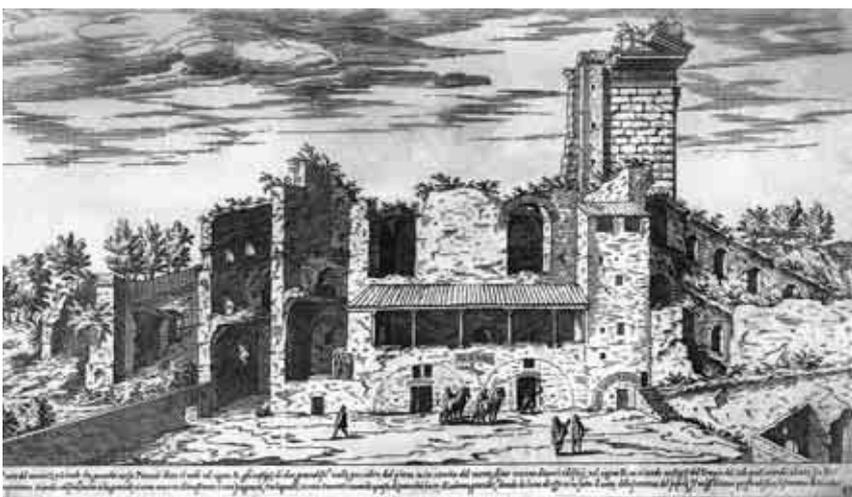
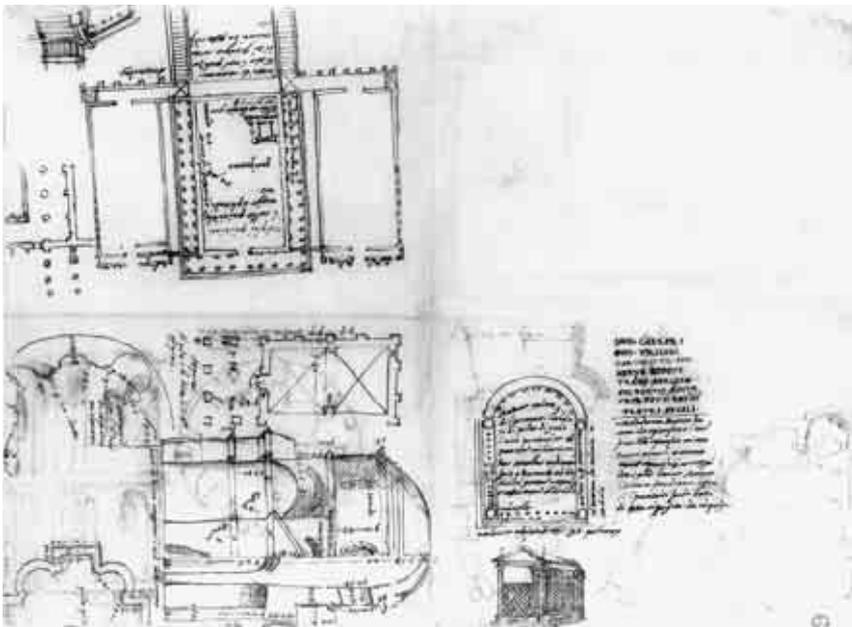


Flavio Biondo's *Roma Instaurata* (1472) is the earliest published source to mention the monument and the most significant in understanding Giuliano's naming of the temple and the associations that grew up around it. Confusing the Quirinal Hill with the Esquiline, Biondo identifies the Quirinal temple as the "hortorum Meconatis". He claims that the tower of Maecenas was also the site of Nero's house, from which he watched the fires of Rome burn. He refers to the owner of the property, Prospero Colonna, as Maecenas, and describes the activities he has undertaken to restore a part of the colored marble pavement¹⁵. Biondo's reference to Colonna as Maecenas in itself is unremarkable; it was the most conventional of praises for a patron, and Biondo was in Colonna's circle. However, in the context of a discussion of the supposed gardens of Maecenas and with reference to a restoration of the monument, it takes on another dimension, suggesting a possible desire on the part of Colonna to build on a circumstantial association by recreating his own all'antica garden with materials drawn from that of his illustrious predecessor.

Biondo's interest in the monument was taken up by many later antiquarians, perhaps in part due to its situation among the palaces of some of the most avid collectors of antiquities and patrons of humanist studies in Rome¹⁶. In addition to the Colonna family, Cardinal Oliviero Carafa had his palace and garden with antiquities (described by Albertini as a palace "cum vinea et hortulo et aliis locis multis, picturis et epitaphiis exornatis cum epigramma multis") on the summit of the hill, as did Pomponio Leto, while Cardinal Domenico Grimani's palace was on the back side of the Quirinal, and Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere's in the area behind Santi Apostoli¹⁷. Given Cardinal della Rovere's well-documented interest in antiquities, and his friendship with Giuliano, it is possible to imagine that it was he who encouraged the architect's investigations in the area immediately annexing his property¹⁸.

These antiquarian sources, although helpful in tracing the name Giuliano gives the temple, were composed mainly on the basis of earlier texts and yield little information concerning the monument's appearance. For this it is necessary to turn to early maps and views of Rome, which are likewise highly conventionalized, but do provide a fairly consistent image of the monument as it stood in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

Fifteenth-century representations of the temple may be found in several maps of Rome: inserted into the *Tres Riches Heures* of Jean de Berry; by Taddeo di Bartolo in the Palazzo Pubblico in Siena (1406-14); and by Pietro del Massaio in manuscripts in Paris and Rome (ca. 1470-80) (ill. 9)¹⁹. Although imprecise in some ways,



such as in their “correction” of the half pediment to a full one, these early maps confirm the testimony of the written sources: that already by the fifteenth century, only a portion of the frontispiece and a skeleton of the stairs remained.

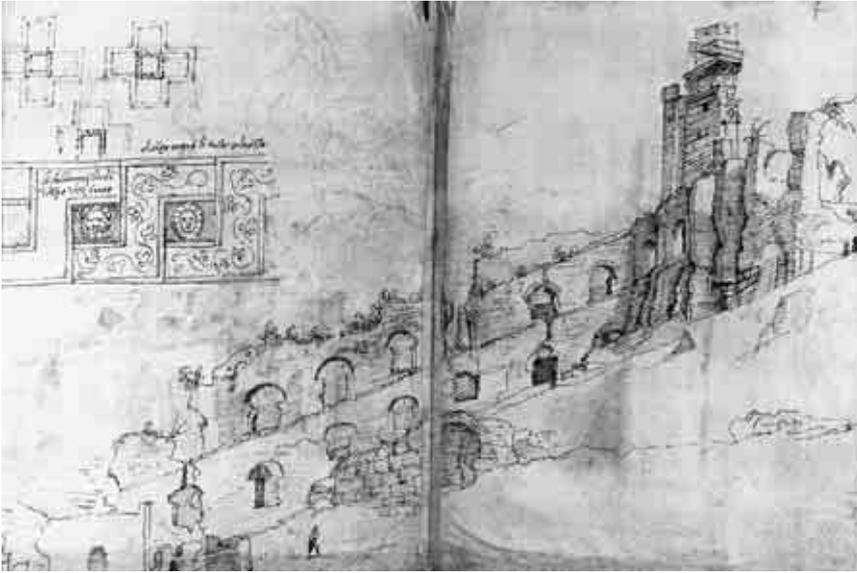
Another group of draughtsmen chose to reconstruct the temple, with varying degrees of fidelity. A drawing of the so-called “pseudo-Cronaca” group identifies the building as the “Palatium Neronis”, showing a restored pediment and one wall of the stair structure, and filling in the rest of the building with a generic palatium form (ill. 10)²⁰. Later reconstructed images of the temple appear in Fabio Calvo’s 1527 map of Rome (ill. 11), a sketch by Sallustio Peruzzi (ill. 12) and in Pirro Ligorio’s 1561 map of Rome (ill. 13)²¹.

More informative about the state of the monument are the drawings made by foreign artists visiting Rome in the mid-sixteenth century. A sketch by Marten van Heemskerck and a print by Dupérac are useful in confirming that one of the outermost walls of the stairs was still standing (ills. 14, 15)²². Another sketch by Heemskerck shows the presence of vaulted spaces below the façade, while Anton van Wyngaerde’s mid-sixteenth-century view of Rome shows that little remained in the area behind the frontispiece (ills. 16, 17). Bufalini’s 1551 map of Rome confirms these sources: it represents the temple in plan as a single wall, with a few protruding fragments corresponding to parts of the stair structure (ill. 18).

II. Architectural drawings

The features by which the Quirinal temple was identified in antiquarian writings and views were also those most commonly represented by architects. The frontispiece, both in its fragmentary state, reconstructed, and in its component parts, often appears in Renaissance drawings, several of which may be related to Giuliano’s own. Bernardo della Volpaia identified the fragment as the “Palatii Mercenatis” in the *Codex Coner* (ill. 19), and Cronaca calls it the “palazzo di mecenate” in the *Strozzi Codex* (ill. 20)²³.

Less common were plans, sections, and elevations; of these we have only those by Giuliano, Peruzzi, and Palladio and copies thereof²⁴. The relative scarcity of plans of the temple in proportion to the proliferation of details in itself testifies to the increasing difficulty of discerning information about the plan from the fragments on the ground. Read attentively, the drawings by Giuliano, Peruzzi and Palladio provide further detailed information about the state of the temple when they saw it, and at the same time reveal each architect’s approach to the problem of documenting and reconstructing ancient monuments. The drawings by Peruzzi and Pal-



15. Marten van Heemskerck, Side view of temple and hill (Roman sketchbook, fol. 36; Berlin Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 79 D 2, fol. 36r) (photo J.P. Anders).

16. Marten van Heemskerck, Side view of temple (Roman sketchbook, fol. 36; Berlin, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin-Preussischer Kulturbesitz, 79 D 2 a, fol. 81v) (photo J.P. Anders).

radio together help to illuminate the basis upon which Giuliano's reconstruction took the form that it did.

Giuliano's seven drawings of the temple testify to his interest in every aspect of the building. These include details of the frontispiece (fols. 60v, 68v [ill. 23] & fol. 10r), a profile of the pilaster (fol. 68r), and most notably, a section and plan (fols. 65r and 65v [ills. 21, 22]). The section through the monumental stairs, one of the few sections in the Codex Barberini, demonstrates an impressive feat of imagination: Giuliano could have known no parallels for this structure, and by all accounts would have had only a shell of a building to go on²⁵. But most revealing of Giuliano's approach to reconstruction is the plan. Evidence from antiquarian

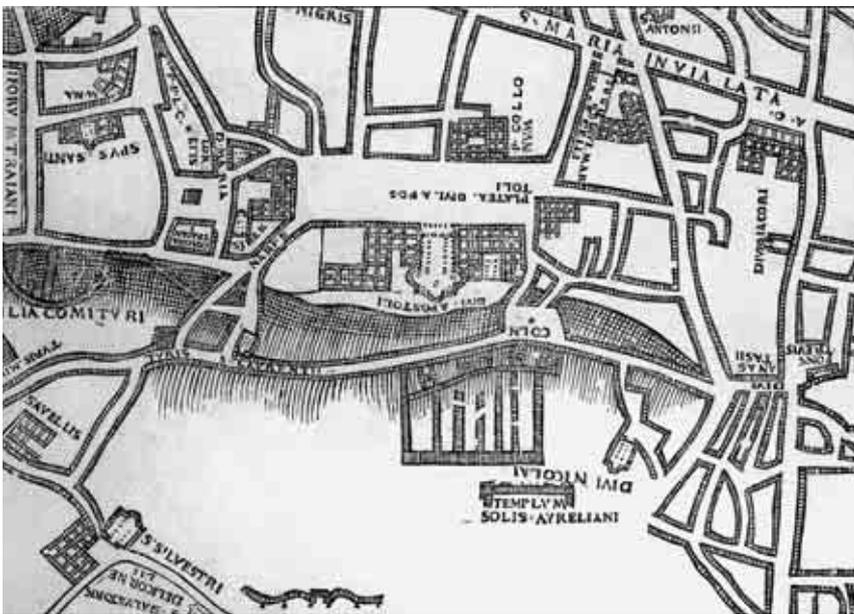
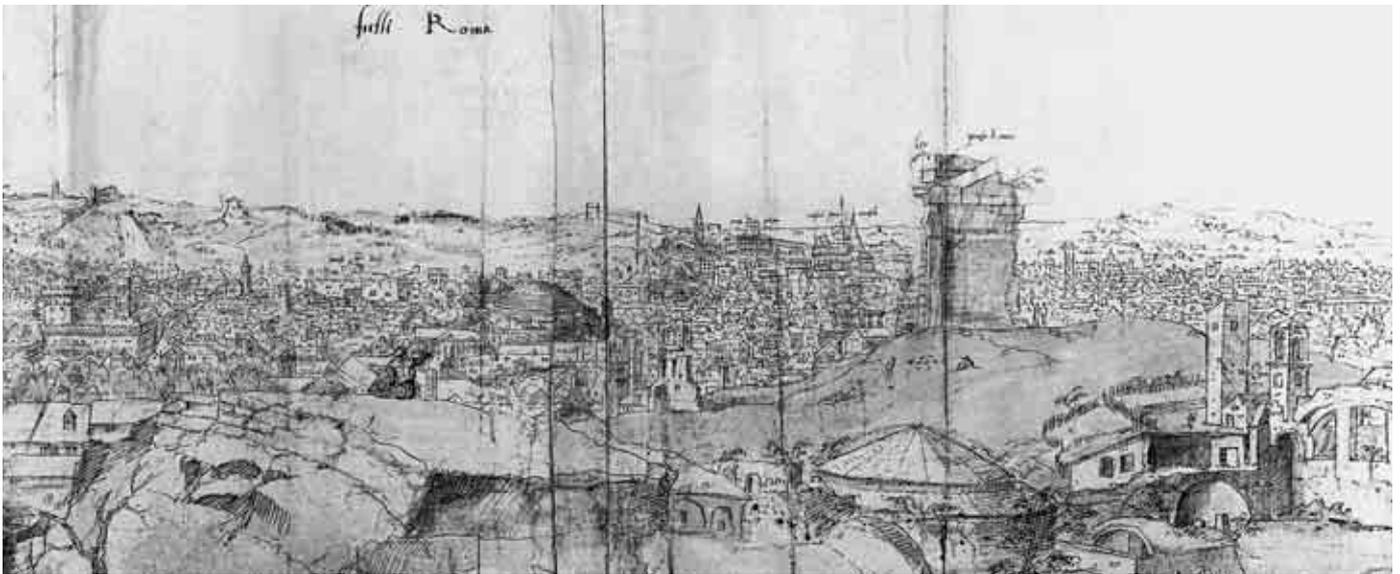
descriptions and views, and comparisons with later drawings, indicate that Giuliano could have been sure of the position of the monumental stairs and of the wall containing the frontispiece. He probably had to guess the exact dimensions and articulation of the outer wall, but would have had clues. Aside from the pilaster on the side of the frontispiece, some fragments probably remained of the line of large columns inside the courtyard. He also would have had evidence of the position of the outer wall of the main structure, as well as of the presence of a colonnaded courtyard in the central section, but little information regarding the arrangement of spaces.

Giuliano's inscription indicates what he found most intriguing and the hypotheses it provoked:

"dal'uno pilastro alaltro, cioè quelli che sono arinchonttro de le chonone grose p[er] questo verso, si è b[raccia] 100 apu[n]tto, e queste b[raccia] 100 è la facciata del palazzo che se alza i[n] aria ed è quella che va su el frontispizio grande, che da ogni testa del palazzo v'era uno de frontospizi e questi erano nel più alto de lo difizio chome anchora si vede i[n]opera, e tutto e[ll] resto delo edificio si teneva baso, e dal muro gros[s]o del fronttone ispizio i[n] qua veniva digradando e ne venivano le schale chosi di gradavano, le isttanze di mano i[n] mano p[er] avere elumi e sopra le schale dove potevano o cavare o fare isttanze le feciono i[n] modo che sopra a tutte le schale era isttanze, che non si p[er]deva niente; queste isttanze cherano dal frontospizio i[n] qua servivano p[er] bagni".

Given that no views or maps show two frontispieces, Giuliano's assertion that there were two must have been based on an assumed symmetry. In any case it is worth noting that his extension of the palace block to the outer wall has been confirmed by recent excavations²⁶. Giuliano seems to have been particularly fascinated by the rooms between the stairs, well lit and spatially efficient: "non si p[er]deva niente". His identification of these rooms as baths may have been based on his observations of Hadrian's villa.

Other inscriptions provide further insights as to Giuliano's interpretation of the ruins. In the center of the courtyard he writes, "tutto questo era el ttenpio cioe daluno muro alaltro." Giuliano must have recognized qualities in the fragments that suggested that it was a temple, but because he had no model to suggest that a temple could be inserted within a larger complex, he envisioned it as part of a palace. His idea that a temple could be inserted within a palace may have derived from Suetonius, who describes how Augustus built the temple of Apollo adjoining his house on the Palatine²⁷. Another possible inspiration, also from the Palatine, could have



17. Anton van Wyngaerde, View of Rome, after 1547 (Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, Sutherland Collecting, inv. N. Large vol. IV, 96 a-b).

18. Leonardo Bufalini, Map of Rome, 1551, detail of remains of temple plan.

been the inclusion of a room in the shape of an early Christian basilica in Domitian's palace. An even more likely model may have been the practice of enveloping a Cardinal's titular church in his palace, for example at the Cancelleria, and at San Pietro in Vincoli; Giuliano's familiarity with this modern convention may have shaped his reading of the ancient Roman cases²⁸.

The balance between documentation and conjecture in Giuliano's reconstruction gives it a character similar to that of a building designed around pre-existing structures. The resulting plan is peculiar in several ways. The disproportionately small amount of living space may be a consequence of Giuliano's rendering of the dimensions of the so-called "ttenpio" and of strict adherence to axial symmetry. The sequen-

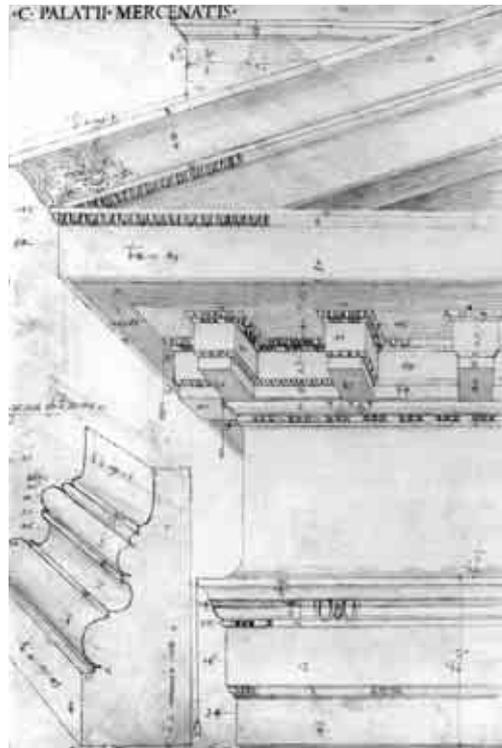
tial ordering of spaces, moving along the central axis from small to large and back again is also distinctive, and may reflect Vitruvian or Albertian principles. Also unusual are the multiple points of entry: the central entrance is through the frontispiece facing the street, but there are also direct entrances from the street into both courtyards, then from the courtyards into the temple, and from both sides of the monumental stairs into the courtyards. The ease of access to the heart of the complex would seem more appropriate for a public monument than for a private residence, and perhaps reveals a degree of typological uncertainty²⁹.

Closest in date to Giuliano's reconstruction, and the most fruitful object of comparison, is a drawing by Peruzzi (Uffizi 564 A [ill. 24]). Unfortunately Peruzzi drew only a fraction of the temple, chiefly the monumental stairs. Of the portion he does draw, he does so conditionally, noting along the inner wall of the stair, "Questo manca tutto," and along the middle wall "Questo muro dal mezo in su ma[n]ca".

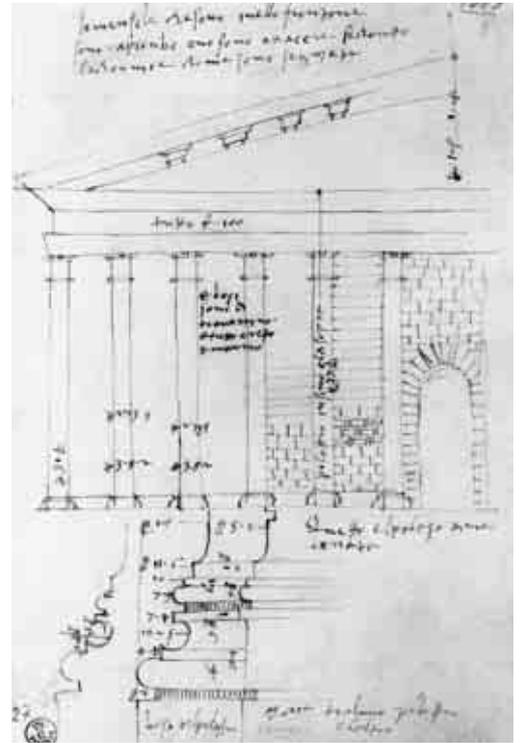
The scrupulous tone of his annotations make precious the few indications of the temple structure he does provide. He shows the beginning of two walls extending perpendicularly to the façade, and at an equal distance a pilaster axially aligned with a single large column – this corresponds exactly to Giuliano's reconstruction³⁰. Peruzzi also indicates the articulation of the outer wall of the temple, with alternating round and square niches, again corresponding to Giuliano's drawing, although he includes an extra detail of small columns flanking the pilasters. On the whole, the dimensions cited by Peruzzi vary substantially from Giuliano's, but the proportions of the two plans are roughly the same.

Aligned with Peruzzi's plan is a sketched sec-

19. Bernardo della Volpaia, "Palatii Mercenatis", detail of cornice (London, Soane's Museum, Codex Coner, fol. 81, by courtesy of the Trustees of Sir John Soane's Museum).



20. Cronaca, "palazo di mecenata" (Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Strozzi Codex, 1586 A).



tion through the stairs, the only parallel to Giuliano's. The correspondence between the two sections suggests that much of this part of the structure could still be seen. Peruzzi's drawing is consistent with views of the monument from later in the century, which show remnants of the stair walls and some other skeletal structures around them, and part of the frontispiece with one pilaster on the side. His plan is thus the most probable indication of what Giuliano had to work with in making his reconstruction, supplemented perhaps by a few scattered capitals and marble blocks.

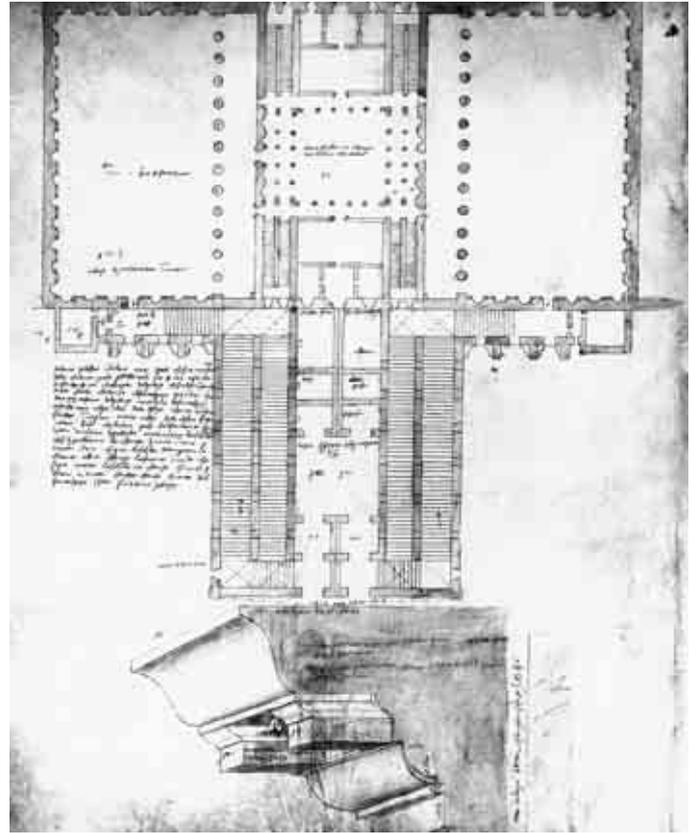
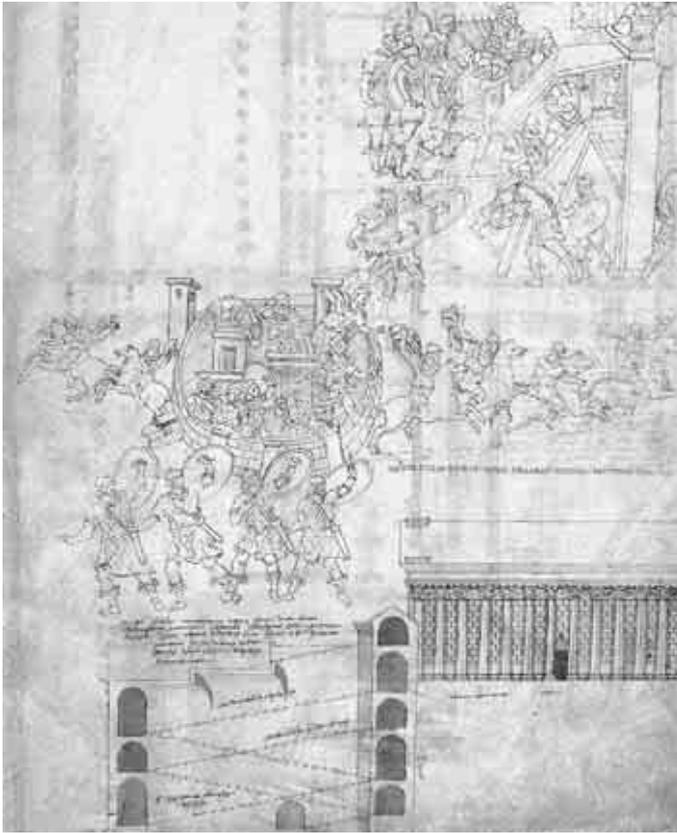
Later in the century, and probably following the campaigns of destruction of the temple in the 1540s, Palladio made a series of studies preserved in the RIBA and reproduced in his *Quattro Libri* (RIBA XI, fols. 23r, 23v, 24r, 24v. [ills. 25, 26]). These include views of the portico and inner courtyard, as well as a plan. Though far more extensive than the drawings made by Giuliano or Peruzzi, they were probably based on less evidence on the ground.

In the *Quattro Libri* Palladio provides a valuable description of the state of the temple when he saw it. He writes:

"Io per me credo, che questo fusse un Tempio dedicato à Giove: perciocche ritrovandomi in Roma vidi cavare dove era il corpo del Tempio, & furono trovati alcuni capitelli Ionichi, i quali servivano alla parte di dentro del Tempio, & erano quelli de gli angoli delle loggie, perche la parte di mezzo per mia opinione era scoperta. Lo aspetto di questo Tempio

era il falso alato detto da Vitruvio Pseudodipteros. La maniera sua era di spesse colonne. Le colonne dei portici di fuori erano di ordine Corinthio. L'Architrave, il Fregio, e la Cornice erano per la quarta parte dell'altezza delle colonne. L'Architrave aveva il suo cimacio di molto bella inventione. Il fregio ne i lati era intagliato à fogliami, ma nella fronte, la quale è ruinata vi dovevano esser le lettere della inscrizione. La Cornice ha i modiglioni riquadrati, & uno di essi viene al diritto del mezzo della colonna. I modiglioni, che sono nella cornice del Frontespicio sono dritti à piombo, e così si deono fare. Nella parte di dentro del Tempio vi dovevano essere i portici, come io ho disegnato. Intorno a questo Tempio v'era un Cortile ornato con colonne, e statue, & davanti v'erano i due cavalli, che si veggono nella via publica, da quali esso monte ha preso il nome di Monte Cavallo; furono fatti l'uno da Prasitele, e l'altro da Fidia. V'erano Scale commodissime, che ascendevano al Tempio, e per mia opinione questo doveva essere il maggiore, & più ornato Tempio, che fusse in Roma"³¹.

Palladio's reference to the excavations taking place in the heart of the temple during his visit coincides with Lanciani's reports that the activity of destruction was escalating in this period, and thus that Palladio would have seen the ruin in a different state than had Giuliano³². Particularly important is his mention of Ionic capitals found in the heart of the temple; this provides a basis for his and Giuliano's inclusion of an inferior order in their reconstruction of the central block interior. Palladio's identification of the temple as a pseudo-



21. Giuliano da Sangallo, Quirinal temple, section (BAV, Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 65r. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

22. Giuliano da Sangallo, Quirinal temple, plan (BAV, Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 65v. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

23. Giuliano da Sangallo, Quirinal temple, details of the frontispice (BAV, Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 68v. © Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).

dipteros indicates that what he saw fell into a Vitruvian category familiar to him, or perhaps that he projected this typology onto the fragments.

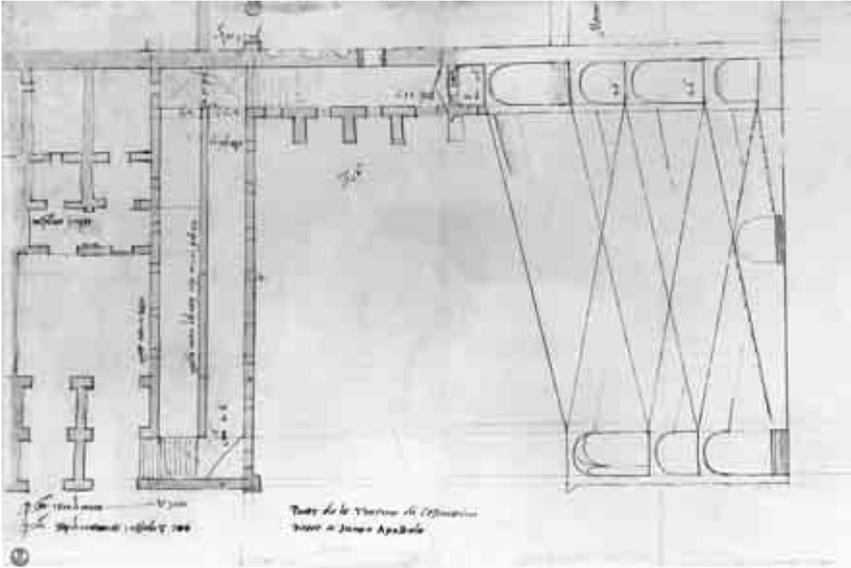
Palladio's prints and drawings offer the only alternative reconstruction of the temple's side elevation (ill. 26). Giuliano's rendition of the side elevation has roughly the same dimensions as Palladio's, but is more conservative in its details. While Giuliano represents large order Corinthian columns or pilasters articulating a masonry wall, Palladio depicts free-standing columns, surmounted by statuary, and moving from a giant order to two stories of lower order columns. Palladio's representation in the *Quattro Libri* departs still further from Giuliano's, showing a full-scale portico decorated with statues and an elaborate frieze. None of the evidence available through descriptions, views, or other drawings confirms the existence of these details – they were probably invented. Both Giuliano and Palladio must have imagined the side elevation on the basis of the front façade, but Giuliano took fewer liberties.

Palladio's plan of the temple has even less in common with Giuliano's than does his elevation (ill. 27). The most obvious differences occur in the reconstruction of the main block. Although both include a line of large columns, and locate the outer wall of the main structure in the same place, the internal arrangement of the rooms is



completely different. The dimensions given for corresponding parts of their plans coincide only roughly, probably as a result of adjustments made later and justified by the conjectural nature of the plans overall. The only point at which the measurements are close is in the dimensions of the rooms between the stairs, which were largely still standing.

Given the unlikelihood that either architect



24. Baldassarre Peruzzi, Quirinal temple, fragment of plan and monumental stairs (Firenze, Galleria degli Uffizi, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe, 564 A).

would deliberately ignore archaeological evidence, the variance in their reconstructions suggests how scant the clues on the ground must have been. One of Palladio's drawings (RIBA XI/23 [ill. 25]) shows him considering various alternatives for the plan of the central block, just as he would in a project; he has overlaid both the solution he chooses for the *Quattro Libri*, and a more elaborate version, terminating with an apse.

The differences between the plans of Giuliano and Palladio reveal an important fact about reconstruction: its form depends not only on the evidence available, but in equal measure on what the architect expects to find. Giuliano's knowledge of Roman ruins and of ancient texts had taught him that a structure of the scale of the Quirinal temple could only be an imperial palace, on the model of Hadrian's villa or the Flavian palace on the Palatine. Palladio, on the other hand, knew the typology of the monumental temple enclosed in a courtyard, both through experience of the greater number and variety of ancient complexes that were known by the mid-sixteenth century, and through a deeper understanding of Vitruvius. For Palladio it was enough to recognize among the fragments one or two elements that belonged to a Vitruvian pseudodipterous temple and the rest of the reconstruction drew itself. And because Palladio's understanding of Vitruvian typologies confirmed his perceptions, the reconstruction he generated could easily have taken on the mantle of this ancient authority. Operating at a different historical moment, Giuliano lacked these clear typologies to project onto what he saw, and is likely to have been fully aware of the conjectural status of his reconstruction.

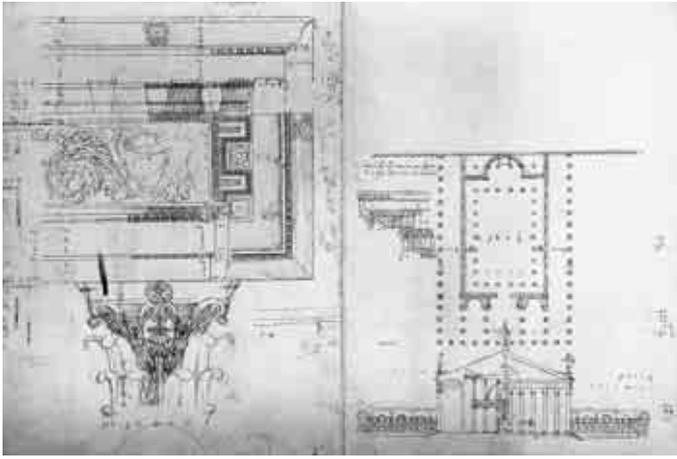
Archaeologists beginning with Lanciani have consistently found Palladio's interpretation of

the temple more convincing. Although evidence from other drawings and from recent excavations indicates that Giuliano's plan is more accurate, Palladio's has been much more widely adopted, not only as a result of its greater accessibility (in the form of a printed book) and its graphically assured form, but also because Palladio molded the temple into a normative type still recognized by archaeologists³³.

Although recent excavations have been limited and haphazard, they do provide some measurements useful for comparative purposes (see table, p. 69). According to data gathered in these excavations, Giuliano made the lateral perimeter of the outer wall of the temple twenty-eight percent wider than it actually was. The length of the temple, on the other hand, he made sixteen percent shorter than it was; Palladio was not much closer, making it fourteen percent shorter than the actual size. There is almost precise correspondence however in the width of the podium (or distance between the outer rows of large columns) measured by contemporary archaeologists and by Giuliano and Palladio. The results of these comparisons are consistent with the evidence (most significantly from Peruzzi's drawing) of what would have been available in the Renaissance for precise surveying.

As the comparison with Palladio highlighted, the form taken by Giuliano's reconstruction depended on his identification of the monument as a palace. The ideas he already had about the ancient palace would have informed both his identification and his reconstruction. But relatively few sources for these ideas were available in the late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-centuries³⁴. As visual models of the palace type, Hadrian's villa and Domitian's palace on the Palatine have several features in common that Giuliano is likely to have noted: their enormous scale, the multiplicity of functions they accommodated, from baths to gardens, and the variation and geometrical complexity of their spaces³⁵.

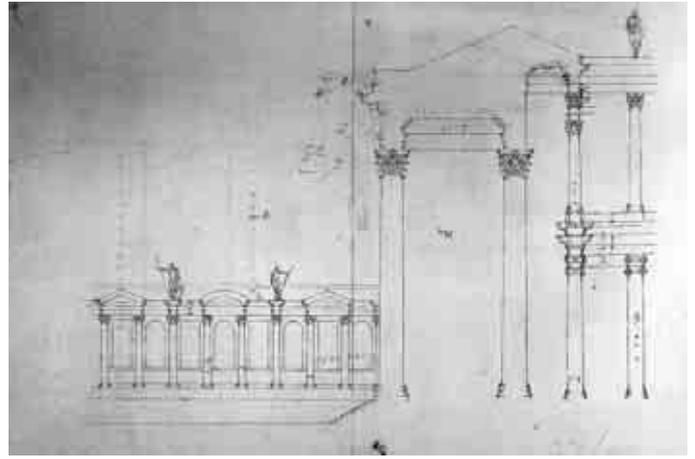
In terms of literary sources, the Vitruvian and Albertian content of Giuliano's palace designs have received much emphasis, but deserve further critical examination³⁶. While Giuliano's contact with Alberti was early and no doubt formative, his direct knowledge and study of Vitruvius is more difficult to establish, or rather to distinguish from knowledge filtered through Alberti's *De re aedificatoria* (first printed in 1486). Certainly the great value Vitruvius places on symmetry made an impression on Giuliano, but less clear is the extent to which he was influenced by Vitruvius's description of the internal arrangement and proportions of the rooms³⁷. Although not very specific, the passages Alberti devotes to the interior of a palace clearly state that the rooms should be hierarchically arranged



25. Andrea Palladio, Plan of temple (London, RIBA, XI, 23r).

26. Andrea Palladio, Side section through temple (London, RIBA, XI, 23v).

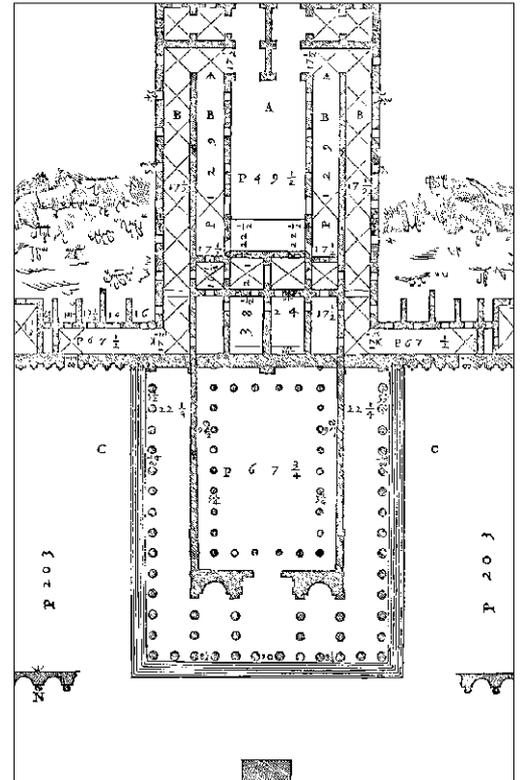
27. Temple plan (Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, Venezia 1570, p. 42).



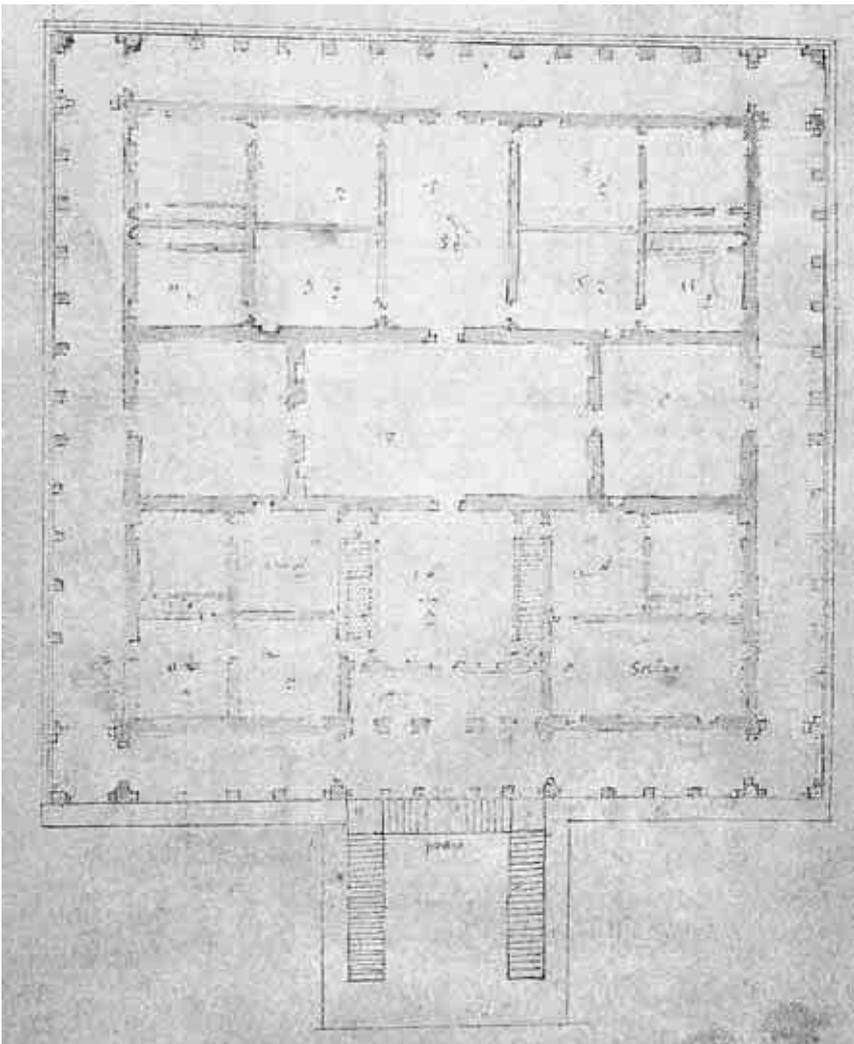
to culminate in grand public spaces; this is in fact the organizing principle of Giuliano's reconstruction and of his designs³⁸. As Günther has suggested, Alberti's own ideas may have in part been formed by his knowledge of ancient Roman complexes thought to be palaces³⁹.

III. The "palazzo di mecenate" and Poggio a Caiano
 In the foregoing analysis, I have hoped to suggest the ways in which Giuliano's reconstruction, though accurate when enough evidence remained, also included a large component of design, not to say invention. While clearly marking the distinction in his approach and aims from those of present day archaeologists, it also raises the possibility that there were connections between Giuliano's thinking about this reconstruction and his activities as a designer. Although no one denies the impact of Giuliano's antiquarian studies on his architecture, recent scholarship has in my view assigned a disproportionate importance to the role of texts over and above that of actual Roman ruins. This has particularly been true with regard to Giuliano's villa and palace plans, the novelty of which has generally been accounted for in these terms. While not wishing to underestimate the importance of theoretical ideas for Giuliano, it seems to me obvious that his many years of arduous study among the ruins would also have had an impact on his buildings. Unfortunately, any attempt to pinpoint a connection between Giuliano's drawings of the antique and his architectural projects quickly becomes mired in the chronological uncertainties surrounding both his life and work. Nonetheless, it is important to attempt to characterize the relationship between these two realms of Giuliano's work both from the point of view of understanding the purposes for which he undertook his antiquarian studies, as well as the broader context in which he conceived his architectural projects.

The difficulty arises on the basis of a series of



unknown or disputed facts: these include Giuliano's date of birth; the date of his first trip to Rome; and the sequence by which he compiled his two books of drawings. The documentary evidence regarding Giuliano's birth date is contradictory – either 1445 or 1452 is sustainable – and the question of when he went to Rome to some extent depends on it. Preferring the earlier birth date, Fabrizzy follows Müntz in his reading of Vatican documents referring to a "Giuliano di Francesco di Firenze" as pertaining to Giuliano; if correct, these would place him in the service of Paul II at Palazzo Venezia as early as 1467⁴⁰. Giuliano himself states in the frontispiece of the Codex Barberini that it was begun



28. Poggio a Caiano, begun ca. 1484
(photo C. Brothers).

29. Giuliano da Sangallo, Plan of Poggio
a Caiano (Siena, Biblioteca Comunale,
Taccuino Senese, fol. 19v).

in Rome in 1465, although scholars have often viewed this date skeptically. As long as these questions remain unresolved, any suggestion of a relationship of the drawings to his built work is bound to remain tentative; nonetheless, it is possible to work out a probable set of relationships based on what we do know.

The point of departure for this analysis is the observation that the Villa Medici at Poggio a Caiano (begun ca. 1484) shares with the Temple of Serapis the configuration of a set of double straight stairs leading to a pediment (ills. 28, 29). Of course there are also significant differences between the temple and the villa: the Temple of Serapis does not feature an open terrace at the top of the stairs, as does Poggio a Caiano, nor does it provide a model for the podium on which the villa rests, a feature found at the Temple of Claudius and at the Temple of Anxor at Terracina, and to which I will refer again. Nonetheless, both the stairs and the pediment are features of the villa which distinguish it from earlier villa typology, and which, while they can be individually explained by reference to other sources, are not to my knowledge found elsewhere in this combination⁴¹.

A further level of connection between Poggio a Caiano and the so called "palazzo di mecenate" arises in a poem by Naldo Naldi⁴². This poem, addressed to Lorenzo il Magnifico in praise of his new villa, refers to the honor Maecenas paid to the poets, and suggests that Lorenzo is repeating this honor through his villa. Naldi's poem has been summarized as follows: "the wealth of Crassus, the great spirit and wisdom of Julius Caesar, the honor which Maecenas paid to the poets, and the shrine of Lucullus, with its porticoes, are all brought together by Lorenzo in Lorenzo's new villa"⁴³. Dempsey noted how the features of Lucullus' villa referred to in the poem also correspond to those of Poggio a Caiano, both the "large halls built on spacious porticoes" and the ambitious agricultural enterprise begun by Lucullus, with his cultivation of the cherry tree paralleling Lorenzo's cultivation of the mulberry bush⁴⁴.

As already mentioned, Biondo's account of the horti of Maecenas includes a mention of Prospero Colonna as the "Maecenas of our age", and a description of his attempts to build an all'antica garden incorporating fragments of the ancient building. Maecenas' fame as the enlightened patron of Virgil and Horace made him a natural model for Renaissance patrons. And Colonna was not the only one to be referred to as a Maecenas: as early as 1468, Lorenzo de' Medici was honored by this name, and the association was repeated in poetry and eulogistic literature over the next decades⁴⁵. In an undated letter to Ludovico Bolognino,

30. "Horti Maecenatis cum turri" (Marco Fabio Calvo, *Antiquae urbis Romae cum regionibus simulachrum*, Roma 1527).

31. View of the Sanctuary of Hercules, or "Villa of Maecenas" (Giovann Battista Piranesi, *Vedute di Roma*, Roma 1748-1778, XII, fig. 52).

Poliziano specifies that Lorenzo "is the Maecenas of his age, and like the Roman Maecenas, assists men of genius and erudition with his advice, his wealth, and his personal efforts"⁴⁶. Certainly these scattered references are not enough to suggest that Lorenzo programmatically promoted his identification with Maecenas any more than other Renaissance patrons⁴⁷. Nonetheless, an association with Maecenas was certainly a flattering one that was well suited to Lorenzo's reputation for generous patronage of poets and artists.

Ancient literary sources, including Horace, Virgil, and Suetonius, make frequent mention of the palace and horti of Maecenas, but yield little in the way of concrete descriptions. Its magnificence is often mentioned, as are its beautiful gardens and its lofty tower. Horace, writing from the country farm which Maecenas had given to him, calls on Maecenas to "Abandon cloying luxury and the pile that towers to the lofty clouds"! From Horace we also learn that Maecenas built his beautiful garden over the communal graveyard as part of a project of city improvement and urban renewal on which he was cooperating with Augustus⁴⁸. Horace writes in the voice of Priapus, "To-day one may live on a wholesome Esquiline, and stroll on the sunny Rampart [agger], where of late one sadly looked out on the ground ghastly with bleaching bones". The horti are also mentioned as a gathering place for philosophers and poets, and as Augustus' retreat when he was sick⁴⁹.

Biondo provides one of several indications that these sources were known in the early Renaissance. Fra Mariano di Firenze, writing around 1517, indicates his knowledge of the correct location of the horti of Maecenas, and of the ancient sources describing them⁵⁰. The literary qualities were given visual form by Fabio Calvo in an illustration of the "Horti Moeenatis cum turri" from 1527 (ill. 30). Pirro Ligorio, in the Turin manuscript of his *Antichità Romane*, provides a useful synopsis of the qualities associated with the horti of Maecenas, including its position in the highest part of the hill, its "superba torre", its "vigna", and its "superba veduta" which afforded a view of the city from every side⁵¹. These qualities ascribed to the horti of Maecenas in ancient literature would have seemed to confirm what Giuliano saw and drew at the Quirinal: its high position and the presence of large open courtyards, presumably serving as gardens.

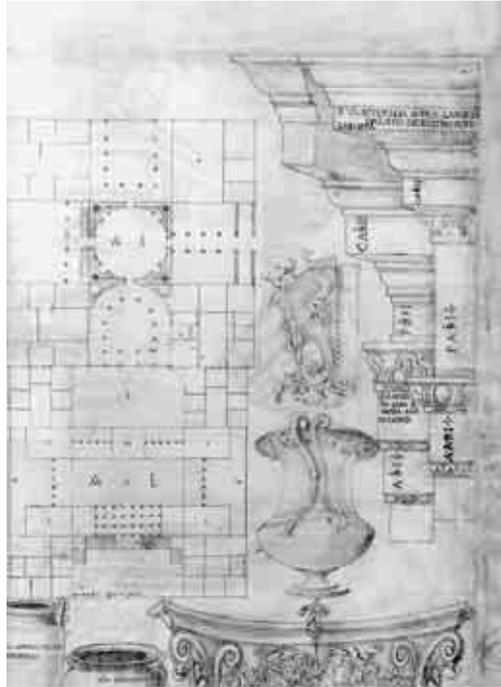
The association between Maecenas and Poggio a Caiano is further enhanced with reference to another monument: the Sanctuary of Hercules just south of Tivoli was known in the Renaissance as the "Villa of Maecenas"⁵². Although no drawing by Giuliano of the monu-



ment survives, it was drawn by Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane and later by Pirro Ligorio, Piranesi and others (ill. 31)⁵³. One striking feature of Poggio a Caiano also appears in the "Villa of Maecenas" – that is, the podium or ground floor portico on which the villa sits.

Assembling these various sources to which I have alluded, we have: the archaeological remains of a monumental stair leading to a pediment at the "palazzo di mecenate"; the poetic allusion to the "large halls built on spacious porticoes" and the agricultural ambitions of the villa of Lucullus; the high site with a view and a garden known through ancient literature to be associated with the hortus of Maecenas; and the portico base for the villa from the so-called "Villa of Maecenas". Taken together, these features constitute the most innovative aspects of "Poggio a Caiano".

If we accept as more than coincidental the similarity between Poggio a Caiano and the "palazzo di mecenate", then we must imagine that Giuliano had at the very least seen it before he entered the service of Lorenzo de' Medici in 1479⁵⁴. Several years earlier, in 1474, Lorenzo had acquired the property at Poggio a Caiano from Giovanni Rucellai⁵⁵. Although the exact date of the breaking of ground at Poggio a Caiano is not known, work was underway by 1484⁵⁶. The complication arises from the discrepancy between this date and that of Giuliano's drawings of the "palazzo" in the *Codex Barberini*. Their position within the codex (in the fourth fascicule), the scale and ambition of



the surveying involved – comparable only to that of his plan of the colosseum, on which Giuliano wrote the date 1513 –, and the style of the handwriting all support Hülsen’s dating of them to ca. 1513⁵⁷. The scenario that emerges is that Giuliano saw the remains of the “palazo” when he was in Rome in the 1470’s, and perhaps did some sketches; that having seen the “palazo” and knowing its association with Maecenas he adopted its most characteristic features in the villa he was designing for Lorenzo de’ Medici; and that, having returned to Rome, years later made the reconstruction and copied it into the Codex Barberini.

When one considers the reconstruction *per se*, apart from the surviving features of the monument, another intriguing relationship with Poggio a Caiano emerges. While the stairs and pediment of Poggio a Caiano related to aspects of the ancient temple known to have been visible in the Renaissance, the plan bears features in common with the plan of the “palazo” as Giuliano reconstructed it. The plan of the reconstructed “palazo” is governed by the same rules of symmetry as is Poggio a Caiano, and is also organized around a central, grand, laterally oriented room. Both plans have a similar sequence leading to an oblong hall, and are characterized by an alignment of axes and hierarchy of spaces. In both, access to the central room is from both sides along the central axis, and the natural entry sequence moves from a small room into the main room. The disposition of rooms on either side of this central room varies, but the spatial hierarchy of large to small is maintained.

These similarities raise the possibility of a distinct sort of connection between the reconstruction and Poggio a Caiano, in which the direction of influence runs in the opposite way. In other words, having made the association between Poggio a Caiano and the “palazo di mecenate”, Giuliano may have reconstructed the “palazo” in such a way as to incorporate elements of the villa he had already designed.

Beyond the connections thus far outlined between the real and imagined “palazo di mecenate” and Poggio a Caiano, the reconstructed “palazo” also has some elements in common with a various unexecuted palace designs by Giuliano, including the Naples palace (1488), the via Laura (date uncertain), and the two unidentified palaces drawn in the Codex Barberini (fol. 9r [ill. 32])⁵⁸. If Giuliano’s reconstruction is considered in part a design, then it shares with these projects ideas about spatial organization, sequence between spaces, wall articulation, use of a pediment on a palace, manipulation of different levels, and relationship between palace and garden, or interior and exterior space⁵⁹.

The fluidity and multi-directional nature of the relationship between Giuliano’s study of the antique and his designs was not unique in the period. Francesco di Giorgio made similarly inventive reconstructions, although with far less pretense of accuracy – he frankly states on his reconstruction of the Campidoglio, “In maggior parte ito imaginando che per le molte ruine pocho conpredar se ne po” – and he also ignores evidence on the ground, as Giuliano does not⁶⁰. But there is much in common in the mutually nourishing relationship between the palace designs and reconstructions, and in more specifically formal terms, in the way the two architects manipulate geometric units along a symmetrical axis⁶¹. In the case of the Quirinal temple, Giuliano’s reconstruction was faithful to the remains when enough existed from which to make an educated guess. However, with the central block of the temple, where it seems that very little of the original structure was visible, he took the opportunity to design a palace. And the way in which he did so, as with Francesco di Giorgio, reflects the same principles and predilections that generally governed his architecture.

Giuliano’s approach to the reconstruction/design of the Quirinal temple, and its proposed relationship to Poggio a Caiano, allows us to look beyond the conventional source-copy paradigm. It suggests the need to think in a more complex and dynamic way about an architect’s relations to earlier architecture. A ruined building thus becomes a spur to an architect’s imaginative projection, and an invitation to engage with the past through manipulation and play.

source	subject	braccia	piedi	palmi	canne	metric	%difference	
excavations Giuliano	temple, distance from outer wall to podium temple, distance from outer wall to podium	62,5				28,5 36,5	-28,10%	(ex-Giu)/ex
excavations Palladio Giuliano	temple, width of podium temple, width of podium temple, width of podium	95	157,75			56 56,32 55,48		(ex-Pal)/ex
excavations Palladio Giuliano	temple, total length temple, total length (added) temple, total length (added)	120,77	203			84 72,47 70,53	13,70% 16,00%	(ex-Pal)/ex (ex-Giu)/ex
Palladio Giuliano	temple, width of cella within columns temple, width of cella within columns	36	67,75			24,19 21,02	-15%	(Giu-Pal)/Giu
Palladio Giuliano	temple, width of W wall opening temple, width of W wall opening	6	8			2,86 3,39	15,80%	(Giu-Pal)/Giu
Palladio Giuliano	temple, distance from column to wall temple, distance from column to wall	4	9,5			3,39 2,34	-45,20%	(Giu-Pal)/Giu
Peruzzi Palladio Giuliano	stairs, inside length, S stairs, inside length, S stairs, inside length, S	114			26	57,98 66,58	-14,80%	(Per-Giu)/Per
Peruzzi Palladio Giuliano	stairs, outer wall width, S stairs, outer wall width stairs, outer wall width, N	3	5,5	10		2,23 1,96 1,75	12,00% -12,10% 21,40%	(Per-Pal)/Per (Giu-Pal)/Giu (Per-Giu)/Per
Peruzzi Palladio Giuliano	stairs, outer aisle width, S stairs, outer aisle width, S stairs, outer aisle width, N	11,5	17,5	27,5		6,13 6,25 6,72	-1,90% 7,00% -9,50%	(Per-Pal)/Per (Giu-Pal)/Giu (Per-Giu)/Per
Peruzzi Palladio Giuliano	stairs, lateral length, SE stairs, lateral length stairs, lateral length, NE	54,75	67,5	117		26,09 24,1 31,97	7,60% 24,60% -22,50%	(Per-Pal)/Per (Giu-Pal)/Giu (Per-Giu)/Per
Peruzzi Palladio Giuliano	stairs, lateral aisle width stairs, lateral aisle width stairs, lateral aisle width	11,5	17,5	26		5,8 6,25 6,72	-7,80% 7,00% -15,80%	(Per-Pal)/Per (Giu-Pal)/Giu (Per-Giu)/Per
Peruzzi Palladio Giuliano	stairs, width of lateral wall stairs, width of lateral wall stairs, width of lateral wall	5		4		0,89 2,92	-227,40%	(Per-Giu)/Per
Peruzzi Giuliano	width of stair window width of stair window	11,5		26		5,8 6,72	-15,80%	(Per-Giu)/Per
Palladio Giuliano	length of large stair room length of large stair room	24	38,5			13,74 14,02	1,90%	(Giu-Pal)/Giu
Palladio Giuliano	width of large stair room width of large stair room	14,5	24			8,57 8,47	-1,20%	(Giu-Pal)/Giu
Palladio Giuliano	length of small stair room length of small stair room	10	21			7,5 5,84	-28,40%	(Giu-Pal)/Giu
Palladio Giuliano	total width of stairs (added) total width of stairs	98	142,75			50,96 57,23	11,00%	(Giu-Pal)/Giu

Comparative Measurements
Temple of Serapis
(Measurements refer to Florentine
braccia, Roman palmi and canne, and
Vicentine piedi).

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1. Problems surrounding the name of the temple will be discussed later in the paper. The temple's size is discussed by R.S. Valenzani, ΝΕΩΣ ΥΠΕΡΜΕΓΕΘΗΣ. Osservazioni sul tempio di piazza del Quirinale, in "Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma", XCIV, 4, 1991-92, p. 15. The temple's columns were more than twenty-one meters high and two meters in diameter; the fragments of the pediment in the Colonna garden are thought to weigh roughly 100 tons (measurements cited by M. Santangelo, *Il Quirinale nell'antichità classica*, in "Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Memorie" V, 1941, pp. 77-214, and in S.B. Platner and T. Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, London 1929, pp. 492-93). The temple's fame in the Renaissance is discussed by S. Borsi, *La fortuna del 'Frontispizio di Nerone' nel Rinascimento*, in S.D. Squarzina (ed.) *Roma, centro ideale della cultura dell'antico nei secoli XV e XVI*, Milano 1989; and by G. Scaglia, *Il Frontispizio di Nerone, La Casa Colonna e La Scala di Età Romana Antica in un Disegno nel Metropolitan Museum of Art di New York*, in "Bollettino d'Arte", LXXII, 1992, pp. 35-62. Two drawings of the Quirinal from Christchurch, Oxford, by an anonymous seventeenth century Dutch author and by Paul Brill were part of an exhibition curated by Caroline Elam, and listed in the catalog, *Design into Architecture*, Oxford 2001, cat. numbers 46, 47.

2. Tempesta's map is published in *Roma al tempo di Clemente VIII, La pianta di Roma di Antonio Tempesta del 1593*, Città del Vaticano 1932.

3. These include a sarcophagus showing Leda and the swan, the river gods and the Constantines (which were transported to the Capitoline in 1517), "Hercules Resting", the "Torso Belvedere", and of course the Dioscurides, who were known as the "cavalli", and who gave the Quirinal its popular name of "Monte Cavallo" (P.P. Bober and R. Rubinstein, *Renaissance Artists and Antique Sculpture*, London 1986, pp. 53-54 and 159-161). Poggio Bracciolini, in his dialogue *De varietate fortunae*, notes that the statues on Monte Cavallo included "duas (statuas) stantes pone equos, Phidiae et Praxitelis opus, duas recubantes". Cited by R. Lanciani,

Storia di Roma (from now on *Storia*), I, reprint, Roma 1989, p. 71. A. Nesselrath discusses the Renaissance restoration of the Dioscurides (Antico and Monte Cavallo, in "The Burlington Magazine", CXXIV, 1982, pp. 353-357).

4. The fact that parts of the ruins are still visible is rarely noted in the archaeological literature. Valenzani (*Osservazioni...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. 12) notes the existence of the ruins, but does not provide a detailed description or photographs. E. Nash, in *A Pictorial Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (New York 1962, II, pp. 378-81), does include photos of the ruins, as does M. Scherer, in *Marvels of Ancient Rome* (London-New York 1955, description pp. 107-111, plates 174, 176, 181). Although access to the Colonna gardens is highly restricted, the opening of the Scuderia Papale on the Quirinal for exhibitions has provided a view onto the ruins.

5. Lanciani, *Storia*, I, p. 27; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. 491. F. Contursi provides the source for this information (Lantico e grandioso tempio che occupava in parte la Villa Colonna sul Quirinale e l'ubicazione del tempio del Sole di Aureliano, diss. "Topografia Romana", R. Università degli Studi di Roma, Roma 1921, in collected notes of Lanciani, *Vat. Lat. 13036*, fols. 129-186). Selected portions of Lanciani's notes (not including this dissertation) have been published by M. Buonocore, *Appunti di Topografia Romana nei Codici Lanciani della Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana*, I-II, Roma 1997.

6. The remnants of the temple formed part of the Colonna family's fortifications (R. Lanciani, *Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome*, Boston-New York 1987, p. 429).

7. Flavio Biondo, *Roma instaurata*, Roma 1472, *Liber Primus*, C, n.p. Fra Mariano describes the removal of the steps: "In medio fere dorso Quirinalis in sinistra fuit templum Herculis; a dextris vero templum Romuli qui et ipse Deus Quirinus appellatus unde et Quirites: ex quo templo Otho mediolanensis civis, senator urbis, anno 1383 die 25 Octobris, marmora substulit ac ex eis 128 gradus scaelae templi sanctae Mariae de Aracaeli facti, nec non gradus quibus ascenditur in aedificium senatoris et Capitolii" (Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, ed. P. Enrico Bullettii O.F.M., Roma 1931, chapter 16.9, p. 198; the manuscript is dated ca. 1517). Lanciani reports that Card. Prospero Colonna did work around the base of the Quirinal temple ca. 1440 (Lanciani, *Storia*, I, p. 59).

8. Lanciani, *Storia*, I, p. 20. The precise date on which the excavations were begun is not known. The Sallustio Peruzzi drawing is Uffizi 664 A, reproduced in ill. 12, and noted by Lanciani, *Storia*, I, p. 20, n. 6 and III, p. 29. The probable presence of Bernardo della Volpaia as the "ingegnerj" of the fabbrica of the Cancelleria is interesting, in that he was probably a member of the Sangallo workshop (E. Bentivoglio, *Nel cantiere del Palazzo del Card. Raffaele Riario* (La Cancelleria): *Organizzazione, Materiali, Maestranze, Personaggi*, in "Quaderni dell'Isti-

tuto di Storia dell'Architettura" XXVII, 1982, pp. 27-34, esp. pp. 30-31; on Volpaia, T. Buddensieg, *Bernardo della Volpaia und Giovanni Francesco da Sangallo in "Römisches Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte"*, XV, 1975, pp. 89-103). The probable starting date for construction of the palace is suggested by Ch.L. Frommel, Raffaele Riario, committente della Cancelleria, in A. Esch and Ch.L. Frommel (eds.), *Arte, committenza ed economia a Roma e nelle corti del Rinascimento* (1420-1530), Torino 1995, p. 197.

9. Contursi, *L'antico...*, cit. [cf. note 5], p. 15. A document of 1549 cited by Contursi (p. 14) states: "Addi 17 giugno 1549 sc. venticinque alla Ill.ma Signora Giulia Colonna per pigione di un anno cominciato addi 6 del presente delli fenili overo grotte da fieno del suo palazzo sotto il Montecavallo, dove si fa la cava per uso del Palazzo".

10. Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane notes on a drawing of part of the frieze: "si trova al palazzo di Farnese" (Uffizi 1120, cited by Lanciani, *Storia*, III, p. 218 and reproduced p. 220, fig. 164).

11. Lanciani, *Storia*, III, pp. 29 and 217; Flaminio Vacca describes some of these events: "Mi ricordo, che appresso il frontispizio di Nerone fu trovato un gran colonnato di marmi salini, il maggior de' membri, ch'io habbia ancor visto: colonne grosse nove palmi maravigliose, delle quali ne furono fatti vari lavori, tra quali la facciata della cappella del Cardinal Cesii a Santa Maria Maggiore: d'una base si fece la Tazza della fonte del Popolo, e d'uno altra quella di Piazza Giudia". *Memoria di varie antichità trovate in diverse luoghi della città di Roma scritte da Flaminio Vacca nell'Anno 1594*, published by Carlo Fea, *Miscellanea Filologica Critica e Antiquaria dell'Avvocato Carlo Fea*, I, Roma 1790, p. 78. Excavation activities on the "Monte Cavallo" are also described in the *Avvisi di 1585* (Urb. Lat. 1053, fols. 457r-458r).

12. Contursi, *L'antico...*, cit. [cf. note 5], p. 11.

13. P.C. Rossetto et al. (eds.), *Roma Antiqua*. "Envois" degli architetti francesi (1786-1901) *Grandi Edifici Pubblici*, Roma 1992, p. 37.

14. The ancient Regional Catalogs include mention of the "Templum Serapeum" in the sixth region, but make no mention of the "Palace of Maecenas". A fake version of the Catalogs by the so-called Publius Victor, first printed in 1503 and later used by Raphael, includes the "Horti Mecaenatis" in the fifth region and the "Templum Serapeum" in the sixth. Several versions of the *Mirabilia* mention the Dioscurides, or "caballi marmorei", without mentioning the remnants of the temple. Master Gregorius, writing in the thirteenth century, identifies this "large and towering structure" as the "Palatium Cornelium", thereby providing an early source for the classification of the temple as a palace. However this may reflect the medieval usage of "palatium" to refer to any large building. Giovanni Rucellai, in his account of 1449, refers to the "terme di Cornelio" and "più altre terme per la

terra in diversi luoghi, non si grandi come quelle di sopra et più manciate et disfatte". by which he means the temple.

15. Biondo, *Roma instaurata*, cit. [cf. note 7], *Liber Primus*, C, n.p.

16. Pomponio Leto refers in a manuscript of the *Regional Catalogs* in the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* to the "Templum Serapeum", and in another to the "templum quirini". Early sixteenth-century authors such as Francesco Albertini (*Opusculum de Mirabilibus Novae & Veteris Urbis Romae*, Roma 1510, n.p.), Andrea Fulvio (*Antiquaria Urbis*, Roma 1513, fol. 32v, and *Antiquitates Urbis*, Roma 1527), and Fra Mariano, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, cit., [cf. note 7], p. 196) recognized and corrected Biondo's error, all referring to the monument as the Aurelian Temple of the Sun. Flaminio Vacca writes in 1594: "Mi ricordo, che dove al presente si sono collocati i cavalli di Monte Cavallo da Sisto V, vi era una gran massa di selci con scaglia di travertino mescolata, quale credo fosse un mausoleo; ma essendo del tutto spogliata, non se ne può dir altro. Fu spianata a pari terra, come oggi si vede" (Vacca, in Fea, *Miscellanea...*, cit. [cf. note 11], 78). Lanciani cites other memories of the Quirinal by Vacca (Lanciani, *Storia*, III, p. 217). Christian Hülsen and Rodolfo Lanciani ardently disagreed over the temple's name, with Hülsen identifying it as Caracalla's *Templum Serapis*, and Lanciani following the later antiquarian sources in identifying it as Aurelian's *Templum Solis*. The reconstruction Lanciani produced is of limited use because it is based so closely on Palladio's; ironically it was Lanciani who documented the extensive excavations and looting of the temple which took place in the 1540's and 1550's, probably before Palladio had a chance to take his measurements. Among the several articles each author published on the monument are the following: R. Lanciani, *Di un frammento inedito della pianta di Roma antica riferibile alla Regione VII*, in "Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma", XXII, 1894, pp. 285-311; C. Hülsen, *Il Tempio del Sole nella regione VII di Roma*, in "Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma", XXIII, 1895, pp. 39-59. Although Hülsen's identification has been repeated by Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. 491-193, Nash, *A Pictorial Dictionary...*, cit. [cf. note 4], pp. 376-383, as well as by F. Coarelli, *Guida archeologica di Roma*, Milano, 1974, p. 220 and L. Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore-London, 1992, p. 361, it has recently been challenged by Valenzani, who argues that it is instead the Temple of Hercules and Dionysus (Valenzani, *Osservazioni...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. 10-12; and entry in *Lexicon Topographicum Urbis Romae*, ed. E. M. Steinby, III, Roma 1996, pp. 25-26).

17. Lanciani, *Storia*, I, 182-85. The Quirinal garden of Pomponio Leto was also the home of his *Accademia Pomponiana*. Palazzo della Rovere was attributed to Giuliano by P. Tomei (*La Palazzina di Giuliano della Rovere ai SS. Apostoli*, Roma 1937, and Id., *L'Architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, Roma 1942, pp.

287-89), but the attribution can no longer be sustained.

18. I would like to thank Christoph Frommel for reminding me of the presence of Cardinal Giuliano della Rovere's palace behind SS. Apostoli. An inventory of Cardinal Giuliano's avidness as an antiquarian is cited in L. Fusco and G. Corti, Giovanni Ciampolini (d.1505), a Renaissance Dealer in Rome and his Collection of Antiquities, in "Xenia" XXI, 1991, p. 9.

19. This plan of Rome was inexplicably added to the manuscript of the *Très Riches Heures*; it is not clear if it was inserted by the Limbourg brothers or later. It is contemporary with Taddeo di Bartolo's plan, and does not appear to be copied from it. It appears on fol. 141v of the manuscript in the Musée Condé, Chantilly, and is reproduced in *The Très Riches Heures of Jean, Duke of Berry*, ed. Jean Longon, New York 1969. A similar view is also included in the anonymous sixteenth-century painted map of Rome in the Palazzo Ducale in Mantua. The Rome Massaio manuscript is Cod. Vat. Lat. 5699, fol. 127; it appears in a more detailed form in the Paris manuscript (Bibliothèque Nationale, Ms. Lat. 4802).

20. Uffizi, Sant. 163r. I would like to thank Georgia Clarke for reminding me of this drawing. The building represented seems to be a conflation of elements from the Temple of Serapis and from Terracina, in particular in the inclusion of piers between the arches; I am grateful to Howard Burns for this observation.

21. Sallustio's drawing is Uffizi 664 Ar; he also draws the plan on 653 A. It would be consistent with Calvo's and Ligorio's general working methods if their images of the temple were based on coins or medals, and this raises the possibility that Giuliano too could have had access to such sources (P.N. Pagliara, *La Roma antica di Fabio Calvo*. Note sulla cultura antiquaria e architettonica, in "Psicon", VIII-IX, 1978, pp. 65-88; H. Burns, *Pirro Ligorio's Reconstruction of Ancient Rome: the 'Antiquae urbis imago' of 1561 in R.W. Gaston [ed.]*, Pirro Ligorio, Artist and Antiquarian, Milano 1988, pp. 19-92). However so far no such coins have been uncovered, and the continuing debate over the name of the temple suggests that they have never been known. Calvo arrived at his representation by using his basic temple type and adding on double enclosed stairs, and this or Serlio's print could have been the source for the later versions (Sebastiano Serlio, *Il terzo libro di Sebastiano Serlio [...] nel quale si figurano, e descrivono le antichità di Roma, Venezia 1534*). Ligorio also made a drawing of the 'frontispizio' which is at the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford (K.T. Parker, *Catalogue of the Collection of Drawings in the Ashmolean Museum, 2, Italian Schools*, Oxford 1956, no. 281).

22. This view appears frequently: for example in a drawing by a Marten van Heemskerck follower (Düsseldorf, Kunstmuseum, Kupferstichkabinett, f.p. 5004, illustrated in Lanciani, *Storia*, I, fig. 67, p. 139 Israel Silvestre (Stockholm, Nationalmuseum, Inv. N. NM H THC 4/1867, Alò Giovannoli (Roma antica,

Roma 1619, fol. 35, illustrated in Lanciani, *Storia*, I, fig. 68), and in an anonymous drawing in the Fototeca of the Hertziana Library in Rome, in the file "Palazzo Colonna."

23. The fact that two Codex Coner drawings (fols. 64 and 81) are labelled as the "Palatii Mercenatis" may be a measure of the closeness of this codex and of Volpafia to Giuliano's workshop (Buddensieg, *Bernardo della Volpafia...*, cit. [cf. note 8]). The drawing by Cronaca (Uffizi 1586 A) suggests his closeness to Giuliano for the same reason. Another drawing from the Strozzi Codex (Uffizi 1591 A) showing the cornice identifies it as the "frontone di mecenata". Vasari writes: "Ma quanto fu e sarà sempre lodata questa cornice del Cronaca, tanto fu biasimata quella che fece nella medesima città al palazzo de' Bartolini Baccio d'Agnolo, il quale pose sopra una facciata piccola e gentile di membra, per imitare il Cronaca, una gran cornice antica misurata appunto dal frontespizio di Montecavallo: ma tornò tanto male, per non avere saputo con giudizio accomodarla, che non potrebbe star peggio, e pare sopra un capo piccino una gran berretta. Non basta agl'artefici, come molti dicono, fatto ch'egli hanno l'opere, scusarsi con dire: elle sono misurate appunto dall'antico e sono cavate da buoni maestri, atteso che il buon giudizio e l'occhio più giuoca in tutte le cose che non fa la misura de le seste" (Giorgio Vasari *Le vite*, ed. R. Bettarini and P. Barocchi, IV, Firenze 1976, p. 236, cited by H. Burns, Raffaello e "quel'antiqua architectura", in M. Tafuri, Ch.L. Frommel, S. Ray [eds.], *Raffaello architetto*, Milano 1984, p. 403, n. 110). A number of drawings of the monument, Renaissance and later, are listed by Lanciani in his Vatican notes (Vat. Lat. 13036, fol. 126v).

24. Among the copies of Giuliano's plan are drawings by Francesco da Sangallo, Giovan Battista da Sangallo, the author of the *Kassel Codex*, and Serlio, *Il terzo libro...*, cit. [cf. note 21]. Palladio's prints of the temple were not copied until the seventeenth century. A full list of drawings of the monument is in the *Census of Antique Works of Art and Architecture Known in the Renaissance* (consulted 30 April 1996); photographs of many are in the *Fototeca of the Bibliotheca Hertziana, Roma*.

25. His annotations provide some idea of the hypotheses his analysis of the stairs revealed: "Queste ischale montavano ogni 5 chane una chana che venghono a montare el quinto che dal piano dove chomincia le scale i[n] sino el piano del palazzo sono chane 15 B i 2/5 ettantto montano questa ultima volta ista chosi di sopra aschalonì del palazzo di macienatta [on the stairs] Questa andava su al palazzo / Questa ischala saliva a bagni / B 88 Quanto elungo la scala".

26. Excavations of 1939 demonstrated that the temple was much longer than had been thought, and that it was in line with the outer wall (Valenzani, *Osservazioni...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. 10).

27. Although it is uncertain how much of the ruins on the Palatine had been identified by this point, Suetonius was certainly a well known source. I am grateful

to Georgia Clarke and to Malcolm Bell for pointing me to this source.

28. I would like to thank Arnold Nesselrath for his proposal of Domitian's Palace. John Shearman suggested the example of a Cardinal's titular church being enclosed within his palace.

29. It also goes against Alberti's explicit recommendation: "the house should not have several entrances, but only one, to prevent anyone's removing anything or entering without the knowledge of the doorkeeper". Leon Battista Alberti, *On the art of building in ten books*, trans. by J. Rykwert, N. Leach and R. Tavernor, Cambridge (Mass.) 1988, Book 5, Chapter 2, p. 119.

30. As will be evident in the next section, this does not correspond to Palladio's plan, which lacks the second inner wall. The difference suggests that this inner wall was no longer visible by the time Palladio saw the temple.

31. Andrea Palladio, *I quattro libri dell'architettura*, Venezia 1570, IV, 12, p. 41. Palladio begins by dismissing various associations with the temple, including that with Maecenas.

32. Lanciani, *Storia*, II, pp. 165-67.

33. Giuliano's plan was available in printed form, as copied by Serlio, *Il terzo libro...*, cit. [cf. note 21]. Recent excavation results are summarized by Valenzani, *Osservazioni...*, cit. [cf. note 1], pp. 10-12. I would like to thank Peter Whincop for help with the table.

34. This will be discussed by Georgia Clarke in her book, *Roman House - Renaissance Palace*, Cambridge, forthcoming.

35. The extent of the excavation of the Palatine during the Renaissance is not well known, but it was drawn by both Francesco di Giorgio and by pseudo-Cronaca (as the "palazzo maiore") (Lanciani, *Storia* II, pp. 40-59, includes sixteenth-century excavation reports).

36. Biermann and Pellicchia, in particular, have emphasized the importance of Vitruvius for Giuliano (H. Biermann, *Das Palastmodell Giuliano da Sangallos für Ferdinand I. König von Neapel*, in "Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte", XXIII, 1970, pp. 154-195; H. Biermann and E. Worgull, *Das Palastmodell Giuliano da Sangallos für Ferdinand I., König von Neapel: Versuch einer Rekonstruktion*, in "Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen", XXI, 1979, pp. 91-118; L. Pellicchia, *Architects Read Vitruvius: Renaissance Interpretations of the Atrium of the Ancient House*, in "Journal for the Society of Architectural Historians", LI, 1992, pp. 377-415; Id., *Reconstructing the Greek House: Giuliano da Sangallo's Villa for the Medici in Florence*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", LII, 1993, pp. 323-38; Id., *Designing the Via Laura Palace: Giuliano da Sangallo, the Medici, and Time*, in M. Mallett and N. Mann [eds.], *Lorenzo the Magnificent: Culture and Politics*, London 1996, pp. 37-48). P. N. Pagliara provides a thorough discussion of the relation between Vitruvian

studies and studies of ruins on the understanding of the Roman house (L'attività edilizia di Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. Il confronto tra gli studi sull'antico e la letteratura vitruviana. *Influenze sangalesche sulla manualistica di Sebastiano Serlio*, in "Controspazio", IV, 1972, pp. 19-55).

37. Vitruvius, *De architectura*, VI, 2.1. A further investigation of Giuliano's knowledge of Vitruvius might consider the probable contact between Fra Giocondo and Giuliano in Naples.

38. These passages include Alberti, *On the art...*, cit. [cf. note 29], Book 5, Chapter 2, p. 119; and Book 5, Chapter 17, p. 146.

39. H. Günther also discusses Biondo and the gardens of Maecenas (Alberti Vorstellung von antiken Häusern, in K.F. Forster and H. Locher [eds.], *Theorie der Praxis: Leon Battista Alberti als Humanist und Theoretiker der bildenden Künste*, Berlin 1999, pp. 157-202).

40. E. Müntz, *Les Arts à la Cour des Papes pendant le XV^e et le XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1879, pp. 166-17; C. von Fabrizy, *Giuliano da Sangallo. Chronologischer Prospekt der Lebensdaten und Werke*, in "Jahrbuch der Königlich Preussischen Kunstsammlungen", XXIII, 1902, p. 1.

41. Biermann claims that the combination has no classical precedent, (*Das Palastmodell...*, cit., [cf. note 36, 1970], pp. 166-8). H. Burns has noted several sources for the stairs at Poggio a Caiano: in addition to the Temple of Claudius as reconstructed by Francesco di Giorgio (Uffizi 327 A r), there is the background of Leonardo's Adoration of the Magi; and the interior of San Miniato al Monte (I disegni di Francesco di Giorgio agli Uffizi di Firenze, in H. Burns and M. Tafuri [eds.], *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, Milano 1994, p. 360).

42. Naldo Naldi, *Naldus Naldus Florentinus Epigrammaton liber*, ed. A. Perosa, Budapest 1934, p. 4. P. Foster tentatively suggests a possible connection with the Quirinal Temple in a footnote but suggests that the connection could have also worked the other way around, that the design of the palace for Lorenzo would have given him the idea of identifying the Quirinal as the Palace of Maecenas (A Study of Lorenzo de' Medici's Villa at Poggio a Caiano, New York-London 1978, pp. 524-529, n. 710). Coffin, in his review of Foster, points out the potential significance of this connection, and its implications for the image of the villa and of Lorenzo (D.R. Coffin, *Review of Philip Ellis Foster*, in "The Burlington Magazine", CXXII, 1980, p. 350).

43. Foster, *A Study...*, cit. [cf. note 42], p. 221.

44. Dempsey, *Lorenzo de' Medici's Ambra*, in A. Morrogh et al. (eds.), *Renaissance Studies in Honor of Craig Hugh Smyth*, Firenze 1985, p. 180. Alberti's recommendations for the hortus or villa would have complemented these literary allusions (for example Alberti, *On the art...*, cit. [cf. note 29], Book 9, Chapter 2; p. 294-295). Other classical sources for the Tuscan villa, including Poggio a Caiano,

are discussed by H. Bierman, *Lo sviluppo della villa toscana sotto l'influenza umanistica della corte di Lorenzo il Magnifico*, in *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio*, XI, 1969, pp. 36-47.

45. In 1468 Benedetto Colucci finished a letter to Lorenzo with "Vale, Maecenas noster" (Benedetto Colucci, *Scritti inediti di Benedetto Colucci da Pistoia*, ed. Aresenio Frugoni, Firenze 1939). Poliziano begins a poem of 1479: "Laurentio Medici maecenati suo" (I. Del Lungo [ed.], Angelo Poliziano, *prose volgari inedite e poesie latine e greche edite e inedite*, Firenze 1867, p. 124; cited by Foster, *A Study...*, cit. [cf. note 42], pp. 526-527, n. 710).

46. Angeli Politiani *Epistolarum*, Strasbourg 1513, pp. CLV, Book XI, letter 21; cited by Foster, *A Study...*, cit. [cf. note 42], p. 527, n. 710.

47. M. Bullard believes that no particular classical models, Maecenas included, guided Lorenzo's patronage as much as did the much more immediate model of his grandfather, Cosimo de' Medici (Lorenzo de' Medici: Anxiety, Image Making, and Political Reality in the Renaissance, in G.C. Garfagnini [ed.], *Lorenzo de' Medici: Studi*, Firenze 1992, pp. 10-11).

48. H. Rushton Fairclough (ed.), introduction to Horace, *Satires I-VIII*, p. 95. References to Maecenas also occur in Horace, *Odes*, III, ode XXIX and *Epodes*, epode IX. The urban renewal aspect of Maecenas' achievement on the Esquiline may have encouraged Lorenzo's aims for the Via Laura. The bibliography includes: G. Miarelli Mariani, *Il disegno per il complesso mediceo di Via Laura a Firenze*, in "Palladio", 1972, pp. 127-162; C. Elam, *Lorenzo de' Medici and the Urban Development of Renaissance Florence*, in "Art History", I, 1978, pp. 43-66; L. Pellecchia, *Reconstructing the Greek House: Giuliano da Sangallo's Villa for the Medici in Florence*, in "Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians", LII, 1993, pp. 323-38; C. Elam, *Lorenzo's Architectural and Urban Policies*, in G.C. Garfagnini (ed.), *Lorenzo il Magnifico e il suo mondo*, Firenze 1994, pp. 357-384; and several articles by Pellecchia, cit. [cf. note 36]. Problems surrounding the date of Via Laura are discussed in Brothers, *Drawing from Memory...*, cit. [cf. author's note], pp. 143-46.

49. The status of the gardens as a place of retreat continued after the death of Maecenas, when the horti became imperial property. Suetonius writes that Tiberius "On his return to Rome [...] at once moved from the Carinae and the house of the Pompey to the gardens of Maecenas on the Esquiline, where he led a very retired life, merely attending to his personal affairs and exercising no public functions" (Suetonius, *Life of Tiberius*, XV) (W. Evenpoel, *Maecenas: A Survey of Recent Literature* in "Ancient Society", XXI, 1990, pp. 99-107; K.J. Reckford, *Horace and Maecenas*, in "Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association", XC, 1959, pp. 195-208; Platner and Ashby, *A Topographical Dictionary...*, cit. [cf. note 1], p. 269. In *Epodes*, epode IX addresses

"happy Maecenas, within thy lofty palace...". The actual location of the palace and horti of Maecenas remain elusive (C. Häuber, entry in *Lexicon Topographicum...*, cit. [cf. note 16], III, pp. 70-74).

50. "Non longe a loco isto, orientem versus, ubi in illa parte ascensus est eminentior, fuit hortus et turris Maecenatis, unde Nero imperator spectavit incendium urbis, in quo loco multa marmora nuper effossa fuere cum tiburtinis lapidibus; nam turris ipsa tota marmorea erat, a Maecenate exstructa, quem Horatius increpabat quod haedificando insaniret. Sub ipsa turri, septemtrionem versus, campus est Exquilinus ubi olim comburebantur cadavera mortuorum. Huius rei nidior multum urbi nocebat. Augustus qui studuit emendare aerem, consensu populi romani et senatus, concessit campum dicto Maecenati, ubi plurimos faceret hortos. Campus ille appellatur nunc vivarium, quod ibi postea detinebantur animalia". Fra Mariano da Firenze, *Itinerarium Urbis Romae*, cit. [cf. note 7], 17.9, p. 205.

51. Ligorio describes the "Horti Maecenatis cum Turris": "Furono vicini al Campo Esquilino, nel piano del colle, e nel più alto sito, over fu una superba torre come havemo posto nel disegno della Roma già stampata, che ha insegnato ad'ogniuno di riconoscere le antichità e i luoghi, e nel cui sito fu trovata memoria di Maecenate [...] Et per la grande alte via delle Torre e per la superba veduta, che havea, scoprendo tutta la città in vista da ogni banda". (Torino, *Archivio di Stato*, Pirro Ligorio, *Antichità Romane*, XV, fols. 150v-151r).

52. A.M. Reggiani, *Il Santuario di Ercole Vincitore*, Milano 1998, p. 14.

53. Antonio da Sangallo's drawing of the plan is Uffizi 1156 A.

54. It is tempting to imagine that the Quirinal was among the sites visited by Lorenzo in his famous visit to Rome in the company of Alberti.

55. Lorenzo's early idea for his villa is documented in the letter from Bernardo Rucellai to Lorenzo of June, 1474 (F.W. Kent, *Lorenzo de' Medici's Acquisition of Poggio a Caiano in 1474 and an Early Reference to his Architectural Expertise*, in "Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes", XLII, 1979, pp. 250-257).

56. John Shearman has discovered an important letter with regard to the chronology of Poggio a Caiano's construction, and I am grateful to him for sharing it with me prior to its publication (J. Shearman, *Il mecenatismo di Giulio II e Leone X*, in Esch and Frommel [eds.], *Arte, committenza ed economia...*, cit. [cf. note 8], pp. 233-235).

57. C. Hülsen, *Il Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo*. Codice Vaticano Barberiniano Latino 4424, I-II, Leipzig, 1910, p. 28. Giuliano draws the colosseum on fol. 68r (where he provides the date) and 68v of the Codex Barberini and on fol. 5v of the *Taccuino Senese*. It is difficult to be as precise as 1513 for the drawing of the Temple of Serapis, but it is a reasonable estimate.

58. The Via Laura plan is Uffizi 282 A. The plan of the palace for the King of Naples appears several times: in the Codex Barberini in a small version on fol. 18v, enlarged on fol. 39v, and in the *Taccuino Senese* (Siena, Biblioteca Comunale, S IV 8), fol. 18r. The top plan on fol. 9r of the Codex Barberini is repeated in the *Taccuino Senese*, fol. 18r. The top plan, like the Quirinal reconstruction, features what can only be read as a monumental palace chapel. Although transformed from a temple into a chapel, the unusual placement of a large religious space at the heart of a palace may be related to the Quirinal design.

59. Another aspect of the confusion regarding the identification of the monument, again originating with Biondo, may have suggested a different set of ideas derived from ancient literature. For as often happens, one misunderstanding feeds another, and because Biondo had read in Suetonius that Nero had built his *Domus Transitoria* and later *Domus Aurea* over the horti of Maecenas, the Quirinal also came to be associated with Nero, as the name "Frontispizio di Nerone" testifies. Intriguingly, it was this association that was taken up by the next generation of the Colonna family, and specifically promoted in their gallery, conceived as a new *Domus Aurea*. I would like to thank Christina Strunk for sharing this information with me. It has been explored in her doctoral dissertation, *Berninis unbekanntes Meisterwerk Architektur und Programm der Galleria Colonna in Rom (1661-1700)*, Freie Universität Berlin, 2001.

60. Torino, Biblioteca Reale, Cod. 148, fol. 82. Cited by H. Burns, "Restaurator delle ruine antiche": tradizione e studio dell'antico nell'attività di Francesco di Giorgio in F.P. Fiore and M. Tafuri (eds.), *Francesco di Giorgio architetto*, Milano, 1994, pp. 164-67. I would like to thank Caroline Elam for her suggestion that I consider the relationship between the palace designs of Giuliano and Francesco di Giorgio.

61. For example, Torino, Biblioteca Reale, Cod. 148, fols. 17v-18r, 91r, and many others.