

PEGASUS

Beiträge zum Nachleben
antiker Kunst
und Architektur

N.F. 2.2026



Fund und Aufstellung – Fragment und Ganzes

Bildwerdung der Antike II

PEGASUS

Beiträge zum Nachleben antiker Kunst und Architektur

N.F. 2.2026

Fund und Aufstellung – Fragment und Ganzes
Bildwerdung der Antike. Zur Episteme von Zeichnungen
und Druckgraphiken der Frühen Neuzeit – II

Herausgegeben von

Ulrich Pfisterer

Cristina Ruggero

Timo Strauch

PEGASUS

Beiträge zum Nachleben antiker Kunst und Architektur

Herausgegeben von

Horst Bredekamp, Elisabeth Décultot, Arnold Nesselrath und Ulrich Pfisterer

Mit Unterstützung durch

Berlin-Brandenburgische Akademie der Wissenschaften

Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg

Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte München



Redaktion

Prof. Dr. Ulrich Pfisterer, Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte,

Katharina-von-Bora-Str. 10, 80333 München



Diese Zeitschrift ist grundsätzlich unter der Creative Commons Lizenz CC BY-SA 4.0 veröffentlicht; das Cover unterliegt der Creative Commons Lizenz CC BY-ND 4.0.

Die Kennzeichnung der Abbildungen, die nicht unter CC-BY-SA 4.0 veröffentlicht sind, erfolgt zudem im Bildnachweis.

Die Online-Version dieser Publikation ist auf <https://www.arthistoricum.net> dauerhaft frei verfügbar (Open Access).

doi: <https://doi.org/10.60604/pega.2026.2>

Publiziert bei

Universität Heidelberg/Universitätsbibliothek, 2026

arthistoricum.net – Fachinformationsdienst Kunst · Fotografie · Design

Grabengasse 1, 69117 Heidelberg

<https://www.uni-heidelberg.de/de/impressum>

E-Mail: ub@ub.uni-heidelberg.de

© 2026. Das Copyright der Texte liegt bei den Autor:innen.

eISSN 3052-492X

ISSN 1436-3461

ISBN 978-3-98501-408-8 (PDF)

ISBN 978-3-98501-409-5 (Softcover)

Inhalt

- 5 Editorial: Fund und Aufstellung – Fragment und Ganzes
- 7 Anfang offen.
Zur Bildwerdung des *Torso Belvedere*
ANNA DEGLER
- 31 »Che no sia tondo e che abia dello aovato«.
Uffizi U1132A, a Stratification of Meanings and Strategies
within the Sangallo's Workshop
FRANCESCO BENELLI
- 49 Giovanni Nardi and Ancient Egypt at the Medici Court
DANIELA PICCHI
- 81 Reconstructing the Fragments of Pietro Santi Bartoli's
Reproductive Corpus
ANNIE MALONEY
- 101 Transparenz und Verschleierung.
Ambivalenzen restauratorischer Dokumentationen
in Katalogen antiker Bildwerke
LENA DEMARY
- 115 Filippo Aurelio Visconti on the Benefits of Intervention.
An Exploration of Restorations of Ancient Sculpture
as Epistemic Images
KOENRAAD VOS
- 133 *Pars pro toto*. Zur visuellen Dokumentation des Palatins in
Rom vom Beginn des 18. bis zur Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts.
BARBARA SIELHORST
- ***
- 157 Vénus pour Muse, Cy Twombly et Brice Marden
ANTHI-DANAÉ SPATHONI

»Che no sia tondo e che abia dello aovato«.

Uffizi U1132A, a Stratification of Meanings and Strategies within the Sangallo's Workshop

Francesco Benelli

This paper considers the study of the ancient Roman theatre by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and his brother Giovanni Battista. In particular, it looks at the theatre at Ferento, which was built in the 4th century and is located in the northern part of Lazio, between Viterbo and Montefiascone. It was abandoned in the 12th century and is now a remote rural site (Fig. 1).¹

It is worth noting that during the Renaissance—but this was true until the digital era—, measuring ancient buildings was a challenging practice that required significant time, physical effort, and financial resources, as Philibert de l'Orme observed.² Therefore, it is essential to have a strong motivation for undertaking such a practice, both from a professional and theoretical perspective. This would enable architects to leverage their knowledge as a powerful tool to attract wealthy and cultivated patrons in the 16th century.

The material produced by the practice of measuring can, however, lead to unexpected results and be the stage for a debate or a speculation on issues related to the analysis of the data, on modes of measurements, and on how much the interpretation of a ruin could be driven by the theory of Vitruvius's *De Architectura*, the only theoretical source on the architecture of Roman theatres available in the Renaissance.³

1 I would like to extend my gratitude to Arnold Nesselrath, Ulrich Pfisterer, and Timo Strauch, for inviting me to present my paper at the conference *Bildwerdung der Antike. Zur Episteme von Zeichnungen und Druckgraphiken der Frühen Neuzeit*, they organized at the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte in Munich.

For the consistency of this theatre from its first construction until the 19th century: Patrizio Pensabene: *Il teatro romano di Ferento. Architettura e decorazione scultorea*, Rome 1989. For the *scena*, see p. 33.

2 Philibert de l'Orme remarks the high cost —»Iules ou Carlins«— and time consuming of the surveying practice: Philibert de l'Orme: *Le premiere tome de l'architecture*, Paris 1567, fol. 131.

3 For the influence of Vitruvius' *De Architectura* on Renaissance architecture is still seminal Pier Nicola Pagliara: Vitruvio da testo a canone, in: Salvatore Settis (ed.): *Memorie dell'antico nell'arte italiana*, 3 vols., Turin 1984–1986, vol. 3, 1986, pp. 5–85.



Fig. 1 Roman Theatre, Ferento (Viterbo), 4th century, view

This paper addresses the following issues: Why measure and draw ancient buildings, especially theatres? What do we mean by a survey? What are the potential issues, technical as well as theoretical, that could arise from the process of measuring?

Let's start by considering the reasons why Antonio and Giovanni Battista measured the Roman theatres, filling nearly 80 Uffizi sheets with drawings and annotations. The ruins they surveyed were located in Rome, its surrounding areas, as well as Recine (today Macerata in the Marche region) and Verona.⁴ It is worth noting that the rediscovery of the theatrical performance, which began in the first half of the 15th century, did not coincide with the rebirth of its architecture.⁵ With the exception of the theatre della Passione in Velletri,

4 For Antonio's and his workshop's studies of Roman theatres see: Christoph L. Frommel: Raffaello e il teatro alla corte di Leone X, in: *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* 16 (1974), pp. 173–187; Annarosa Cerutti Fusco: Teatro all'antica e teatro vitruviano nell'interpretazione di Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane, in: Gianfranco Spagnesi (ed.): *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane*, Rome 1986, pp. 455–469; Pierre Gros: *Palladio e l'antico*, Venice 2006, pp. 83–95; Francesco Benelli: *Dicie Vitruvio*, Rome 2024, pp. 274–300.

5 During the Middle Ages and throughout the 15th century the theatrical space had no specific shape. The only common feature of places dedicated to this kind of performance was to provide the spectator with a sense of being inside a surrounding space. Fabrizio Cruciani: *Lo spazio*

which was demolished in the 18th century, one must wait until Palladio's Teatro Olimpico (opened only in 1585) to see the very first example of *teatro all'antica*.⁶ Furthermore, it seems unlikely that the interest in the Roman theatre was driven by a desire to reproduce it, given its sheer size. However, from Julius II, it became clear that some patrons were open to building structures of dimensions close to the large imperial ruins.⁷ It might be suggested that the knowledge of the architecture and design criteria of the Roman theatres could be a useful tool for professional purposes, beyond their specific function. In fact, they served as an example of seminal structures and forms for modern architecture, starting from Leon Battista Alberti who suggests the use of pillars and arches with engaged columns or pilasters and vaulting covering systems of oblong spaces (typical of theatre corridors). Moreover, Alberti suggests that this system is appropriate not only for the required *firmitas*, but also for the idea of triumphalism, because it is typical of triumphal arches (Fig. 2).⁸

Studying the architecture of the theatre was a way to become familiar with a structural system with which Roman architects built a variety of buildings

del teatro, Rome (1992) 2020, pp. 48–61. For the architecture of Renaissance theatres are still important all the articles in: *Bollettino del Centro Internazionale di Studi di Architettura Andrea Palladio* 16 (1974), as well as those in Paul C. Castagno: *Theatrical Spaces and Dramatic Places. The Reemergence of the Theatre Building in the Renaissance*, Tuscalooza 1996.

- 6 The theatre in Velletri was an isolated and exceptional case. It was built following ancient roman models and provided with a *scaena all'antica*. The whole structure was made with stones and bricks. The construction started at the beginning of the 16th century, probably under the episcopate of Raffaele Riario, patron of the Accademia Romana—an institution which covered a crucial role in the rediscovery of classical theatre—and eventually abandoned in 1563 to be demolished in 1765. Fabrizio Cruciani: *Teatro nel Rinascimento, Roma 1450–1550*, Rome (1983) 2020, p. 471; Marco Nocca: *Sacra rappresentazione e teatro classico a Velletri nel Rinascimento*, in: *Teatro e Storia* 6 (1989), pp. 147–190; Timo Strauch: *Der Codex des Antonio da Faenza. Die Traktatsammlung eines Künstlers im frühen 16. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols., Petersberg 2019, vol. 1, pp. 50–57. Noteworthy is also the provisional theatre made in timber, dated 1539, by Sebastiano Serlio assembled in the courtyard of Porto's palace in Vicenza. Sebastiano Serlio: *Il secondo libro di prospettiva*, Paris 1545, fols. 64–66. For the Teatro Olimpico see the bibliography by Almut Goldahn (updated until 2000) in: Guido Beltramini and Antonio Padoan (eds.): *Andrea Palladio. Atlante delle architetture*, Venice 2000, pp. 281–283.
- 7 See for example the sheer size of Bramante's project for Saint Peter basilica or the Belvedere courtyard, as well as Raphael's for Villa Madama.
- 8 »Erantque apertiones et columnationes primis istiusmodi substitutis porticibus non quales in templis recensuimus aut in basilicis, sed opera solido et pariete firmissimo ductis lineamentis ex arcu triumphorum.«, cit. from Leon Battista Alberti: *L'Architettura*, translated by Giovanni Orlandi, introduction and footnotes by Paolo Portoghesi, 2 vols., Milan 1966, vol. 2, p. 741. For the translation into English: Leon Battista Alberti: *On the Art of Building in Ten Books*, translated by Joseph Rykwert, Neil Leach, and Robert Tavernor, Cambridge, MA 1988, p. 274.



Fig. 2 Arch of Constantine, Rome, 315, view

of large dimensions and with a high symbolic meaning, such as aqueducts and the Pantheon.⁹

It is now helpful to consider the large, detailed, although complex description offered by Vitruvius in book V, which occupies a good half of the text.¹⁰ The Vitruvian language is known to be challenging and sometimes obscure, and it can be misleading and misunderstood, which is also true in this case.¹¹ Furthermore, the rigorous geometrical and functional organization of the plan described in

-
- 9 Alberti was the first one to relate the Pantheon's structure with the one of the aqueducts: »Ad templum Pantheon praestantissimus architectus, pariete cum esset opus crasso, solis ossibus usus est, caetera complementa respuit, spatiaque istic, quae imperiti complevisset, scafis et apertionibus occupavit, eoque pacto impensam minuit, molestiam ponderum sustulit operique elegantiam adiecit.« cit. from Alberti 1966 (see note 8), vol. 2, p. 605. For the translation into English: Alberti 1988 (see note 8), p. 9. See also: Giangiacomo Martines: La struttura del Pantheon *velut regionem fornicatam*, in: *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, N.S. 41 2003 (2004), pp. 3–16.
- 10 Vitruvius: *On Architecture*, translated by Richard Schofield with an introduction by Robert Tavernor, London 2009, p. 129–153.
- 11 This issue was clear from Alberti, the first humanist to complain about: »res autem ipsa in esse porrigenda neque Latinum neque Graecum fuisse testetur, ut par sit non scripsisse hunc nobis, qui ita scripserit, ut non intelligamus.«, cit. from Alberti 1966 (see note 8), vol. 2, p. 440; for the translation into English: Alberti 1988 (see note 8), p. 154.

the text makes it tough to compare the theoretical and the material source, that is, the ruin.¹² The latter is difficult to analyze, given its large dimensions, often corrupted shortly after its completion, and even more during the Middle Ages when many of them were already ruined.

It is the rediscovery of Vitruvius' *De Architectura* that allows us to identify these large structures often standing in the centres of many Italian and European cities, whose function was previously unknown for a great deal of the 15th century (Fig. 3).¹³ Due to the discrepancy between the Vitruvian description of the geometrical and architectural organization of the theatres and the evidence of the ruins, recent historiography has suggested that the Vitruvian theatre may be an »abstraction that can't be tracked in any Italian case.«¹⁴

Antonio da Sangallo owned at least four editions of *De Architectura*, all annotated, even if the pages on the theatre are basically blank, if one does not consider tabulations.¹⁵ Antonio's studies on the theatre produced several geometrical diagrams about the plan and the section of the *cavea*, however lacking of indication about structural issues, not provided by the Latin text.¹⁶ It would be beneficial to address this issue by analyzing the ruins, and the deepest and most accurate mode to understand them is measuring and drawing.

However, other reasons can be tracked for Antonio's interest in the Roman theatre. These can be found in the annotations written on the Uffizi sheets about the theatre of Ferento, which are also useful in understanding the questions raised by the comparison between Vitruvius' text and the ruins.

This theatre was also known by Francesco di Giorgio Martini, Baldassarre Peruzzi, Sebastiano Serlio and Pirro Ligorio who all together rendered it more or less accurately, focusing on aspects that interested them for different reasons.¹⁷

12 For the complexity of the geometrical construction of the plan and the way it was interpreted during the Renaissance: Gros 2006 (see note 4), pp. 83–95.

13 Sebastiano Serlio: *Il terzo libro di Sabastiano Bolognese, nel qual si figurano, e si descrivono le antichità di Roma e le alter che sono in Italia e al di fuori d'Italia*, Venice 1540; Michael Greenhalgh: *The Survival of Roman Antiquities in the Middle Ages*, London 1989, pp. 107–109; Arnold Esch: *Roma dal Medioevo al Rinascimento (1378–1484)*, Rome 2021, pp. 26–39; Guendalina Ajello Mahler: *Monumental Transformations* Turnhout, 2017.

14 Edmond Frézouls: *Aspects de l'histoire architecturale du théâtre romain*, in: Hildegard Temporini and Wolfgang Haase (eds.): *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt*, 37 vols., Berlin 1972–1998, vol. 12.1, 1982, pp. 343–411, here p. 368. According to this scholar, Vitruvius has drawn the geometry from Hellenistic theatres. Pensabene 1989 (see note 1), p. 29.

15 For Antonio's annotated editions of *De Architectura* see Benelli 2024 (see note 4), pp. 14–18.

16 Benelli 2024 (see note 4), pp. 14–18.

17 Benelli 2024 (see note 4), p. 292.

Serlio, in particular, describes it as »molto ruinato«, highly damaged, noting also that the emerging part of the *scaena* was lacking all the decorations (Fig. 3).¹⁸ However, such remains, if compared with *scaenae* of other theatres, can be considered conspicuous, and from the drawings one can appreciate that it was provided with niches, doors, and windows. The inner part of the *cavea* is dug into the ground, whereas the other upper half is built upon through a series of pillars and arches. This combination is useful to understand both the Greek theatre, typically laid on the slope of the hill, and the Roman theatre, which after Pompeii was built off the ground. The *orchestra* diameter, according to Serlio, is 141 Roman feet long (41.88 m), which is longer than the one indicated by Vitruvius.¹⁹

This ruin was relatively straightforward to measure, thanks to its isolated location and the absence of medieval structures built over the foundations. Moreover it is one of only a few in the Italian peninsula to show a consistent part of the *scaena*. Antonio and his brother filled five sheets with measurements, reconstructions and comments on the Ferento theatre.

One of these, U1132A, which is difficult to date, was very likely drafted by Battista and is particularly meaningful in relation to the Vitruvian studies. It also reveals some work dynamics within Antonio's workshop, especially with his brother (Fig. 4).²⁰ The sheet is mostly occupied by a reconstruction plan made with tools, along with a number of comments and annotations written only after the reading of Vitruvius for the presence of the so-called »generative circumference« and of the four equilateral triangles within, which, according to the roman theoretician, are required for setting the geometry of the Latin

18 The poor quality of the structure is confirmed by the architectural survey on sheet U1132A where the width of each arch is measured revealing how they differ one from another: Serlio 1540 (see note 13), fol. LIII. In the area, several columns were forming all together the orchestra and pulpit's colonnade. See Pensabene 1989 (see note 1), pp. 97–105; Annarosa Cerutti Fusco: La restituzione grafica dei teatri antichi nei primi decenni del Cinquecento, in: *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura*, N.S. 1/10.1983/87 (1987), pp. 301–312, here pp. 307–308. Patrizio Pensabene: Monumenti medievali a Ferento nell'area del teatro e delle terme, in: *Rivista di studi liguri* 59/60, 1993/1994 (1995), pp. 267–296.

19 Serlio 1540 (see note 13), fol. LV; Vitruvius 2009 (see note 10), pp. 137–147.

20 For this drawing see: Orietta Vasori: *Teatro di Ferento*, in: *I monumenti antichi in Italia nei disegni degli Uffizi*, Rome 1980, pp. 110–114; Annarosa Cerutti Fusco: U1132 A recto, in: Christoph L. Frommel, Nicolas Adams, and Georg Schelbert (eds.): *The Architectural Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and his Circle*, 4 vols., London 1994–2022, vol. 3-A, 2022, pp. 126–127; Benelli 2024 (see note 4), pp. 292–295.

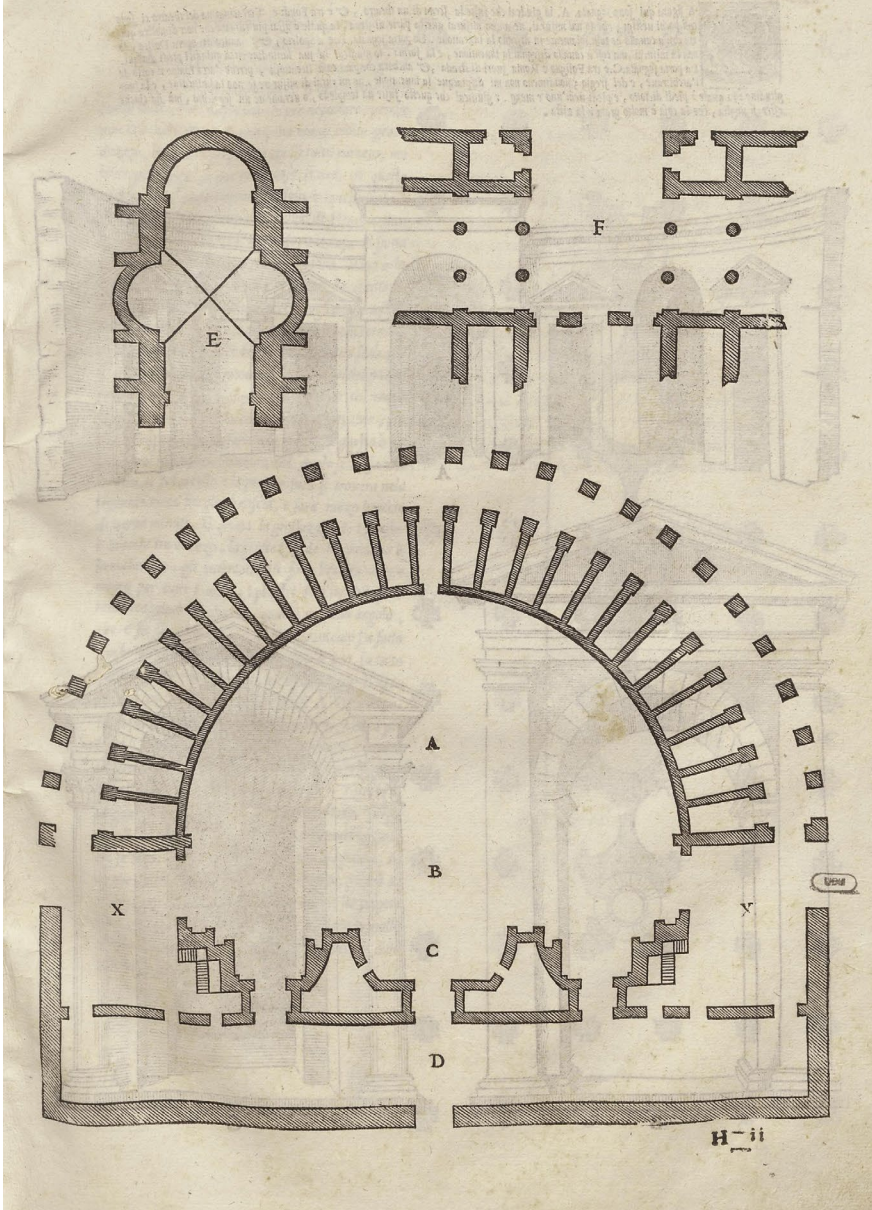


Fig. 3 Plan of the theatre at Ferento, in: Sebastiano Serlio: *Il terzo libro di Sabastiano Bolognese ...*, Venice 1540, fol. LIII

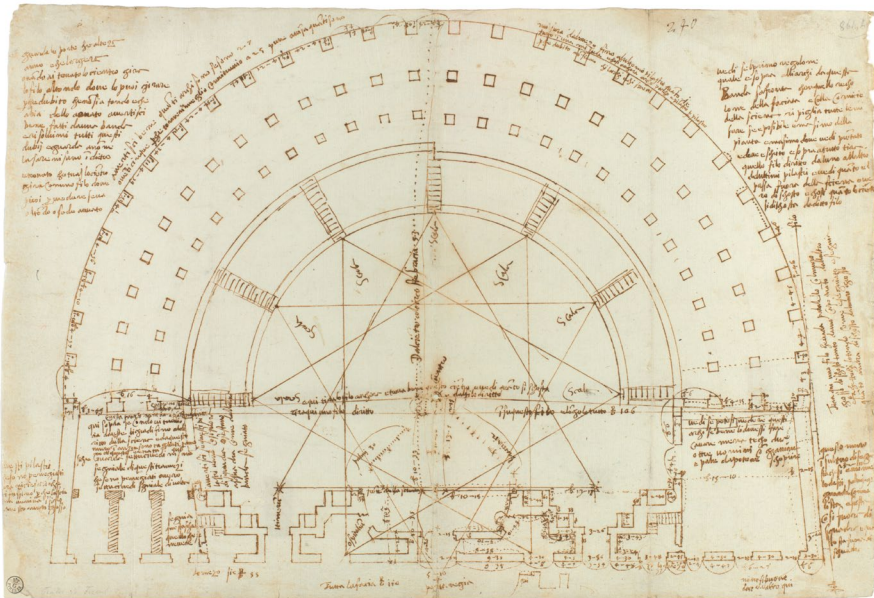


Fig. 4 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and Giovanni Battista da Sangallo: U132 A, first half of the 16th century, ink on paper, 297×434 mm, Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi

theatre. This construction was sketched by Antonio in U1301A *verso*, in which also appears the foundation of the *scaena* (Fig. 5).²¹

The annotations, all written by Antonio, relate to measuring techniques, such as the choice of measurement points, as well as other issues that cannot be explained graphically, like building materials. They also include requests to Battista, for verifications and further measurements that were missing in the first place. Vitruvius is quoted twice in the context of comparison with the ruin, which reveals Antonio's questioning about the relevance between the text and the visible material evidence. Some of these remarks are a sort of notes to self, while others are addressed to Battista, who was in charge of verifying the work *in situ*. This was a common practice in the Sangallo workshop, which explains the rigid hierarchical relationship between the elder and the younger brother. Antonio occasionally dispatched Battista on a site inspection such as the case of the cathedral of Foligno, a town far from Rome where the workshop was

21 For this drawing Cerutti Fusco 2022 (see note 20), vol. 3-A, p. 164. This scholar dated this drawing after 1534. The issue of the generative circumference see: Gros 2006 (see note 4), pp. 83–95.

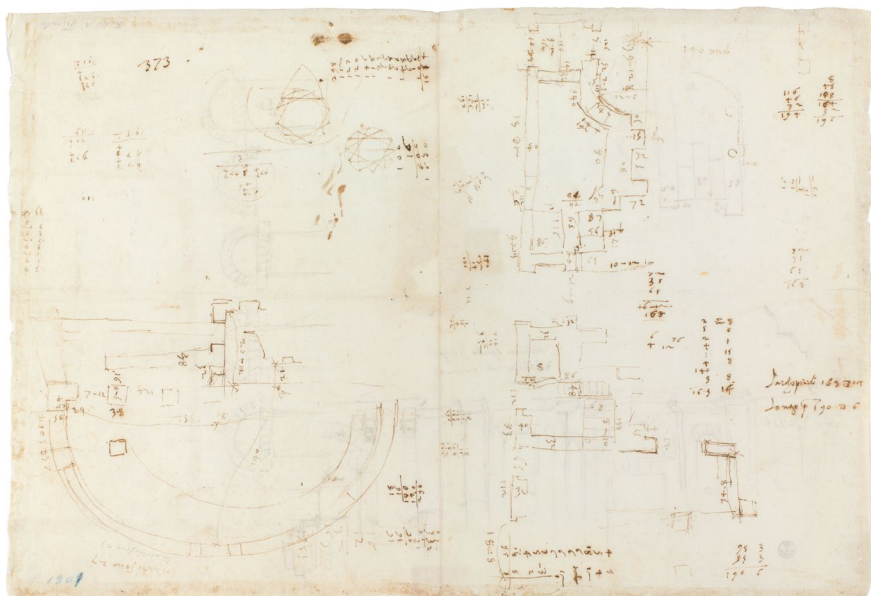


Fig. 5 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: U1301 A verso, first half of the 16th century, ink on paper, 295×432 mm, Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi

based. He also asked him to measure some part of the Pantheon entablature in the inside, which was a challenging and potentially risky endeavour, being positioned at a high level from the floor.²² It is also worth noting the dedication to studying the ruin at Ferento. In a note written on the sheet under the three bays on the right of the *cavea*, Antonio suggests to Battista that they might consider examining the arches in more detail. He adds that it might be helpful

22. The organization of Antonio's workshop is worth to be deepened. The following scholars attempted to address this issue: Gustavo Giovannoni: *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane*, 2 vols., Rome 1959, vol. 1, pp. 96–105; Arnaldo Bruschi: *Incrinature manieristiche nella setta sangallesca. Il sacello funerario dei Santacroce a Veiano*, in: *Quaderni dell'Istituto di Storia dell'Architettura* 13 (1968), 73/78, pp. 67–108, here pp. 101–127; Christoph L. Frommel: Introduction. The Drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: History, Evolution, Method, Function, in: Frommel, Adams, and Schelbert 1994–2022 (see note 20), vol. 1 (1994), pp. 1–60, here pp. 39–51; Till R. Verellen: Antonio da Sangallo the Younger and the setta of sculptors, in: Francis W. Kent and Patricia Simons (eds.): *Patronage, Art, and Society in Renaissance Italy*, Oxford 1987, pp. 283–298; Paul Davies: Antonio da Sangallo, his Workshop, and the Drawings for Santa Maria di Monte Moro in Montefiascone, in: Maria Beltramini and Cristina Conti (eds.): *Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. Architettura e decorazione da Leone X a Paolo III*, Milan 2018, pp. 120–132.

to consider bringing along two or three workers equipped with digging tools to help him out in carefully excavating the ground in order to better analyze the arches.²³ Such an effort can be explained in at least two ways, in addition to the previous one: The first possibility is that it relates to a preparatory study for a high-prestige and remunerative project that could be the one for Villa Madama and this, therefore, would date the drawing to around 1519. Alternatively, it could be connected to Antonio's own edition of the *De Architectura* commentary project, of which the first draft of the *Proemio* was completed in 1531.²⁴ This would show that he put a great deal of commitment and care into this project.

It seems plausible to suggest that the first hypothesis may be corroborated from his acquaintance with the area of Ferento before 1519, given that he frequently travelled to the Farnesian architectural appointments in Capodimonte, Montefiascone and Gradoli.²⁵ However, there is a certain degree of generic correspondence between the Medicean theatre at Villa Madama and the ruin, despite both responding to the geometrical Vitruvian rule, which is also described in detail in the letter that Raphael wrote probably in 1519 to Baldassarre Castiglione. Here Antonio describes his project in the very period in which he was hired to address some structural and engineering issues that arose during the construction.²⁶

23 »vedi se potesi vedere questi archi se bene li dovessi fare cavare mena techo dua e ttre uomini con granine e pale da potere schoprire.«, cit. from Uffizi U1132A. I wish to thank Marianna Mancini who pointed me out a different meaning of »mena teco«. Digging the soil for understanding the nature of the foundations and for measuring purpose was evidently common. Antonio Manetti in writing about Filippo Brunelleschi's time in Rome during the second half of 1410's states that: *E in molti luoghi facevano cavare per vederve e riscontri de' membri degli edifici et le loro qualità*. Antonio Manetti: *Notizia di Filippo di ser Brunellescho*, ed. by Giuseppe Giari, Firenze 2021, p. 42.

24 The first draft is dated March 1st, 1531, the second one 1539. The *Proemio* has been transcribed and published several times. See the most accurate transcription by Paola Barocchi: *Scritti d'arte del Cinquecento*, 3 vols., Turin 1971–1977, vol. 3, 1977, p. 3028. For an analysis of the text: Bernd Kulawik: Sangallo, Vignola, Palladio y la »Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura« romana, in: *Temporanea* 2 (2021), pp. 52–79; Benelli 2024 (see note 4), pp. 18–19.

25 For Antonio's commissions in the area see Maddalena Scimemi: Dottrina e autorità dell'antico in Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane. Una dieta per Alessandro Farnese sull'Isola Bisentina, in: Lucia Corrain et al. (eds.): *Architettura e identità locali*, 2 vols., Florence 2013, vol. 2, pp. 243–260; Davies 2018 (see note 22), pp. 120–132; Maddalena Scimemi: Da vicariato a feudo con tanta, et subita magnificenza. Sangallo il Giovane e l'architettura per lo Stato Pontificio, in: *Annali di architettura* 33, 2021 (2022), pp. 65–92.

26 Frommel 1974 (see note 4), pp. 173–187; Cruciani 2020 (see note 6), pp. 459–469; Christoph L. Frommel: Villa Madama, in: Christoph L. Frommel, Manfredo Tafuri, and Stefano Ray (eds.): *Raffaello architetto*, Milan 1984, pp. 311–322, 326–329. Cerutti Fusco 1986 (see note 4), pp. 455–469;

The first remark on the congruency with the Vitruvian theory is written in the upper left part of the sheet, related to the type of circularity of the *cavea*. The plan is sized according to the accurate measurement campaign, but it can be argued that it is organized and put together according to the Vitruvian rules for the Latin theatre that lead to a semi-circular configuration (different from the Greek theatre, which is oval).²⁷ Antonio is uncertain about the solution he sees in the plan, questioning whether it is truly circular or whether it has an oval shape, *che no sia tondo e che abia dello aovato*. He requests that his brother verify this *in situ*, suggesting that he might have raised this doubt comparing it with other theatres they previously measured throughout central Italy.²⁸ The annotation also explains the method to adopt for this verification: »when you have found the centre of the doors, turn the thread around where you can.« This indicates, in other words, to draw an arch. »The next step is to make sure you're working on a side and to resolve any remaining doubts. It's important to keep going until you find the centre, then use a thread to check if it is round or oval.«²⁹ It seems evident that Antonio is the one who is most familiar with the technical rules of measurement, which he has learned since his early years, when he was involved in survey campaigns of ancient ruins under the guidance of his uncle Giuliano da Sangallo.³⁰

On the other side of the sheet, in addition to providing further instructions on rules of measurements, he asks to Battista to check if the thick cornice visible only on that side over the arches, which is also represented on U1966Av as well as from Baldassarre Peruzzi, is lined up with the same level of the one on the façade—i.e. the wall behind the *scaena*—and the one of the same *scaena* (Fig. 6).³¹

for Raphael's letter to Castiglione in English: John Shearman: *Raphael in early modern sources (1483–1602)*, 2 vols., New Haven 2003, vol. 1, pp. 405–413.

27 Vitruvius 2009 (see note 10), pp. 137–145 and pp. 146–147 for the Greek theatre; Gros 2006 (see note 4), pp. 83–95.

28 For Antonio's drawings of roman theatres: Cerutti Fusco 1986 (see note 4), pp. 455–469; Cerutti Fusco 1987 (see note 18).

29 »Quando hai trovato lo cietro gira lo filo altondo dove lo puoi girare«, indicating to draw an arch. He goes on: »avertisci bene fatti da un abanda e risolvimi tutti questi dubji e guarda a non lasare nisuno indietro e trovato che tu aj lo cietro gira con un filo dove puoi vedere se va al tondo o se da ovato.«, cit. from Uffizi U1132A.

30 Giovannoni 1959 (see note 22), vol. 1, pp. 28–35; Arnaldo Bruschi: s.v. »Cordini, Antonio, detto Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane«, in: *Dizionario Biografico degli italiani* 29 (1983), pp. 322–3.

31 »Il regolone quale e sopra gli archi«. cit. from Uffizi U1132A. Peruzzi's drawings on this theatre have the following call numbers: U364A *recto* and *verso*, and U491A. They have been published by Heinrich Wurm: *Baldassarre Peruzzi. Architekturzeichnungen*, 2 vols., Tübingen 1984, vol. 1,



Fig. 6 Roman Theatre, Ferento (Viterbo), 4th century, view of the *scaena* in which is visible the *regolone* (cornice)

He appreciated the same feature in the ruin of the theatre at Cassino, rendered on U1066A, at first glance a minor detail, which however refers to Vitruvius' rule that the roof of the upper portico of the *cavea*, for acoustic purposes, must be lined up with the top of the *scaena*. The result is a structure with a compact appearance, the same Antonio reached in the theatre at Villa Madama rendered in U1228A.³²

The annotation continues, with the request to fill in all the missing measurements, which have been marked with dotted lines (one of Antonio's typical graphic conventions), and to calculate the distance between the *scaena* and the *cavea*'s diameter.³³

pp. 63, 97–99. See also Ann C. Huppert: *Becoming an Architect in Renaissance Italy*, New Haven Connecticut 2015, pp. 85–87.

32 For the theatre in villa Madama see footnote 26. The drawing of the theatre in Cassino is published by Christoph Jobst: U1066 A, in: Frommel, Adams, and Schelbert 1994–2022 (see note 20), vol. 3-A (2022), pp. 90–91. For Vitruvius' rule on the cornice: Vitruvius 2009 (see note 10), pp. 139.

33 For Antonio's graphic conventions see: Paul Davies: The hidden signature. Scale keys in Italian Renaissance architectural drawings, in: *Pegasus. Berliner Beiträge zum Nachleben der Antike* 16 (2014), pp. 123–150.

Furthermore, on the left side of the sheet just outside of the outer portico, following its curvature, Antonio writes to the brother to verify if the number of the arches is equal to 27—corresponding to 28 pillars, a number that in fact matches the quantity drafted on the plan and that is still the same today—or if it is 25, because the latter amount would be more in line with Vitruvius's rules.³⁴ This doubt is not generated by the discrepancy with Fra Giocondo's illustration in which the bays are 35, a number that is the result of dividing each sector in four parts (Fig. 7).³⁵ It is important to acknowledge that with such a number of ramps—of which the lower part of the *cavea* was not provided in the first place—lined up radially with the wedges, according to the text, they do not always coincide with the centre of the bays, as they should be in an efficient and proper path in order to avoid obstacles to the flow of the people. Instead, they appear to align with the axes of the pillars. This discrepancy is due, once more, to the combination of data from a real ruin—the number of bays and their widths—with the theoretical rules of Vitruvius, two sets that don't match each other.

Antonio points out that the left cross wall of the *cavea* is not *diritta* (straight)—overlapping with the diameter of the same *cavea*—but radial, therefore not in line with Vitruvius's precept.³⁶ The discrepancy is relatively minor, at just three degrees, but it does suggest how Antonio is meticulously studying the ruins. Arnold Nesselrath might describe this as ›pedantry‹ but here it shows how much he is generally very thorough in his analytical approach.³⁷ He adds that ›this wall is not perfectly straight. According to Vitruvius, it should be cut to allow a doorway. However, it seems that this doorway is no longer visible.‹³⁸ It seems that above this wall, according to Vitruvius, there were steps, *gradi*, for

34 »Avertisci bene qua[n]ti archi sono se sono 27 o uenticinque p[er]che torneria meglio con uitruio a 25 pure auisa qua[n]ti sono«. cit. from Uffizi U1132A .

35 Fra Giocondo (ed.): *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus cum figuris et tabula ut iam legi et intelligi possit*, Venice 1511, fol. 50v.

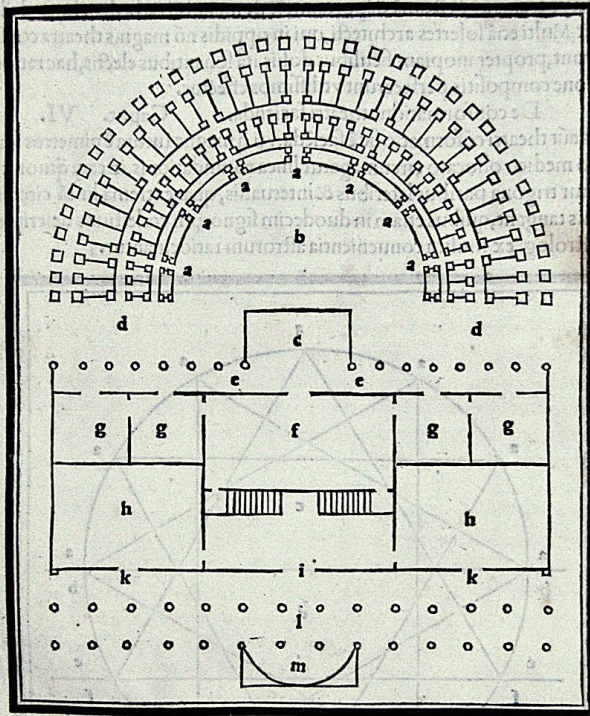
36 Vitruvius 2009 (see note 10), p. 137–145.

37 For Antonio's accurate analytical approach that pushes Arnold Nesselrath to define him as pedant, see: Arnold Nesselrath: U306 A recto, in: Frommel, Adams, and Schelbert 1994–2022 (see note 20), vol. 2 (2000), pp. 134–135; Id.: U874 A, in: Frommel, Adams, and Schelbert 1994–2022 (see note 20), vol. 2 (2000), pp. 171–172; Ursula Kleefisch-Jobst: U874A verso, in: Frommel, Adams, and Schelbert 1994–2022 (see note 20), vol. 2 (2000), pp. 172–173.

38 »Questa parete none va a *** diritta // qui sopra secondo Vitruio // cia da esse li gradi fino al diritto della scena e da questo // muro inanzi e sono tagliati per avere di questa entrata quasi che Guarda settu ci vedi nisuno // segniale di questi tramezi // che sono penegiati overo // settu ci vedi segnaiale di volta.«, cit. from Uffizi U1132A.

Ex his trigonis cuius latus fuerit proximum scenæ ea regione qua præci-
dit curuaturam circinationis, ibi finiatur scenæ frons, & ab eo loco per cen-
trum parallelas linea ducat, quæ disiungat proscenii pulpitum & orchestra
regionē, ita latius factū fuerit pulpitum, q̄ græcorū, quod oēs artifices in sce-
nam dant operā. In orchestra autē senatorū sunt sedibus loca designata, &
eius pulpiti altitudo sit ne plus pedū quinque, vti q̄ in orchestra sederint, spe-
ctare possint oīum agentū gestus, Cunei spectaculorum in theatro ita diui-
dant vti anguli trigonorū, qui currunt circum curuaturā circinationis, diri-
gant ascensus scalasq̄ inter cuneos ad primam præinctionem.

- a. cunei.
b. orchestra
c. pulpitum.
d. pſenium.
e. podium
f. scena
g. scenæ mē/
bta
h. hospitalia.
i. ualuz re-
giæ
k. hospitalio-
rum ualuz
l. pontic' post
scenam
m. odeum.



Supra autē alternis itineribus superiores cunei mediū dirigant, Hi autē qui
sunt in imo, & dirigunt scalaria, erunt numero septem, reliqui quinque sce-
næ designabunt cōpositionē, & vnus mediū cōtra se ualuz regias habere
debet, & qui erūt dextra ac sinistra, hospitalium designabūt cōpositionem,

Fig. 7 Plan of the roman theatre according to Fra Giocondo drawn from Vitruvius, Fra Giocondo (ed.): *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus* ..., Venice 1511, fol. 50v

the spectators up to the *scaena*, which are no longer visible. For this reason, he suggests to Battista to look for some *segnali*, clues of their existence.³⁹

It is also worth noting that the analysis of the plan identifies the different parts of the theatre according to the Vitruvian terminology: *porta regia*, *ospitalium*, *itinerum* and the *fronte della sciena*, which is similar to the approach taken in the analysis of the theatre of Marcellus.⁴⁰

To conclude our study of the Ferento theatre, let's move to the plan drafted on sheet U1966A *verso*, which includes a section of the *cavea*. This section emphasizes the *opus quadratum*, the flat surface above the portico, the back façade with arched apertures, which become shorter as they extend towards the sides (Fig. 8).⁴¹ Finally, after turning the sheet 180° degrees, Antonio drafts a rendering of the inside of the *scaena*, based upon the plan sketched free hands, provided with dimensions.

U1132A, along with many other Sangallesque drawings, is important to emphasize the doubts that a ruin raises when studied through the Vitruvian lens, which is the only theoretical source survived from antiquity that allows to geometrically organize the measurements taken *in situ*. However, further material beyond these drawings that allows us to see Sangallo's choices and conclusions are not available. It is difficult to understand whether other study drawings on Ferento's theatre are about the answers given by Battista to Antonio's questions. However, it seems that certainly they are lacking in details on the parts of the building questioned by Antonio.

But what did Antonio make of this material? Some of it was intended for publication in his own commented edition of *De Architectura*, while other parts may have been useful for his various jobs, including the theatre at Villa Madama, where he advised Raphael, and eventually for the provisional theatre, used to perform Plautus *Bacchides*, drafted on U845A, which was eventually completed by Peruzzi for the wedding celebration of Giuliano Cesarini with Giulia Colonna in 1531.⁴²

39 Cerutti Fusco 2022 (see note 20).

40 Antonio analyzed this theatre in several drawings but on U626 A he identifies its parts using the Vitruvian terminology: Annarosa Cerutti Fusco: U626 A, in: Frommel, Adams, and Schelbert 1994–2022 (see note 20), vol. 3-A (2022), p. 63.

41 This drawing has been described by A. Cerutti Fusco: U1966A recto and verso, in: Frommel, Adams, and Schelbert 1994–2022 (see note 20), vol. 3-A (2022), p. 211. The author dates this drawing after 1519–1520.

42 This drawing has been commented by Frommel 1974 (see note 4), p. 183; Christoph L. Frommel: *Baldassarre Peruzzi als Maler und Zeichner*, Munich 1968, p. 22; Fabrizio Cruciani: *Prospettive*

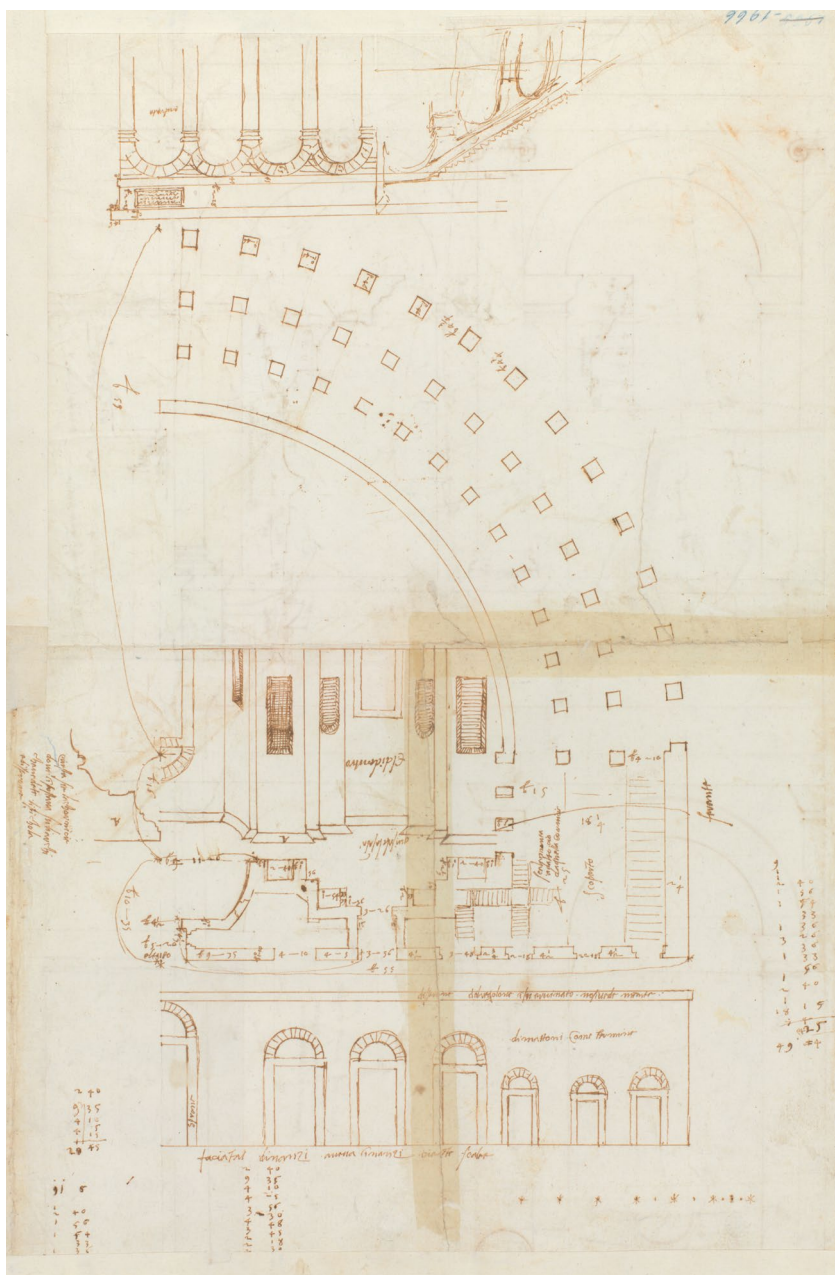


Fig. 8 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: U1966 A verso, first half of the 16th century, ink on paper, 434 × 282 mm, Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi (ed.): *M. Vitruvius per Iocundum solito castigatior factus ...*, Venice 1511, fol. 50v



Fig. 9 Antonio da Sangallo the Younger: Farnese palace, Rome, from 1515, view of the courtyard

It might be said that the use of pillars supporting arches framed by engaged columns, which Antonio employed in the courtyard of Palazzo Farnese and elsewhere, was not necessarily a consequence of the reading of the text, which description is lacking (Fig. 9). Rather, it might be suggested that it was the result of an understanding of the efficiency of this approach, derived from the analysis of the real ruins, in particular the theatre of Marcellus.

Nevertheless, it is possible that Antonio may have seen in Vitruvius's great appreciation for this type of building a way to increase the sense of authority of such a structure and the will to study it deeply.

della scena. Le Bacchidi del 1531, in: Fabrizio Cruciani (ed.): *L'invenzione del teatro. Studi sullo spettacolo del '500*, monographic issue of *Biblioteca teatrale* 15/16 (1976), pp. 49–69, here pp. 56–57; Benelli 2024 (see note 4), pp. 299–300.

ORCID®

Francesco Benelli  <https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8555-7518>

Image credits

Author: **Fig. 1, Fig. 2, Fig. 3, Fig. 6, Fig. 7, Fig. 9**

Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe degli Uffizi (Su concessione del Ministero della Cultura – Galleria degli Uffizi. Ulteriori riproduzioni o duplicazioni con qualsiasi mezzo vietati.): **Fig. 4, Fig. 5, Fig. 8**