



LES DESSINS DE VOYAGES | I
Les artistes voyageurs :
formes et fonctions du dessin de voyage
XVI^e - XVII^e siècles



DIX-SEPTIÈMES
RENCONTRES INTERNATIONALES
DU SALON DU DESSIN
20 ET 21 MARS 2024

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Les artistes voyageurs :
formes et fonctions du dessin de voyage
XVI^e - XVII^e siècles

Sous la direction de Marco Simone Bolzoni,
conservateur des dessins
de maîtres anciens et du XIX^e siècle
de la collection de Debra et Leon Black, à New York

Textes réunis par Cordélia Hattori.

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Anne Fortune

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CATHERINE WHISTLER

Travel, drawing and the imagination in Renaissance Italy : the artist, the amateur and the armchair traveller

The role of drawings as agents in particular kinds of travel in Renaissance Italy will be considered in this essay, that is, in virtual travel or journeys of the imagination. First, the essay will examine some of the ways in which the educated elite – whether aristocrats, ecclesiastics, intellectuals or merchants – made use of drawings of antiquities and monuments not just to visualize the classical world through armchair travel, but also to organize their recollections of ancient history and its material forms. A second closely related aspect to be examined is the way in which drawings were made, and used, by the same educated elite, as *dilettanti*, both in active travel and in armchair travel. Finally, the essay will argue that the understanding which these educated individuals shared of the practice of drawing and the significance of *disegno* in fact afforded artists new possibilities of deploying drawings as demonstrative elements in paintings, notably in portraits. In doing so, artists challenged the viewers of these portraits to undertake a journey of the imagination, by following the path opened up in each case by the drawing represented.

Early modern societies were characterised by mobility : elite travel was generally linked with diplomacy, with military campaigns, or with academic, ecclesiastical and mercantile networks. At other levels of society, individuals were constantly on the move, from mendicant friars, preachers and pilgrims to seasonal workers, pedlars or vagabonds.

Even in the familiar group of pen and ink drawings of landscapes by Fra Bartolomeo, where the artist's focus seems to be entirely on depicting hilly terrain, woodland and buildings, the outdoor spaces are often inhabited by travellers on foot or on horseback, sometimes barely visible in the distance. Within this context of incessant mobility, certain kinds of travel were carefully planned as part of elite education. The medieval pilgrimage model of travel – with spiritual fulfilment in mind and the need for protection from the corrupting influences of other cultures – gradually gave way during the Renaissance period to a more open-ended model of travel that was concerned with self-improvement. Of course, inter-cultural awareness on the one hand, and scepticism about the value of travel on the other, had been features of ancient writings on travel, as they would be of early modern publications¹. Moreover, elements of pilgrimage, such as piety, continued to co-exist in the Renaissance with a thirst for knowledge as motives for travel to Italy. Essentially, towards the later *Quattrocento* travel came to be understood as a means of advancing knowledge and shaping moral behaviour, whether in the case of young noblemen acquiring courtly skills and improving their knowledge of the classical world, or aspiring humanists widening their academic range and scholarly networks. The ultimate goal of travel involved civic utility, the return home to the service of the community, the state, and of humanity more broadly².

At the heart of the concept of travel was the fundamental Christian belief of the journey of the soul from original sin to salvation, embodied in the metaphor of life as a journey. Edifying lessons could be learned from the classical past, whether identifying the virtues of Aeneas in the trials that led to the foundation of Rome, or examining the concepts of honour and public service treated in the writings of Cicero. Hence, monuments, statues, antique fragments and coins were studied as testimonies to historical events and activities described in the texts of classical authors; at the same time, the proper study of antiquity pointed towards moral enlightenment, with ancient authors and ancient remains providing exemplary models and precepts that were utterly relevant to modern civic and public life. Indeed, ancient inscriptions, particularly epitaphs, could provide a condensed form of wisdom, applicable in the journey through life. For example, the inscription on each face of the Arch of Constantine presents a celebration of rightful victory over tyranny (fig. 1), the « tyrant » being Maxentius who was defeated by Constantine at the Battle of the Milvian Bridge in AD312: close attention to the handsomely-incised words was understood as morally uplifting (and there might also be a lesson in literary style)³. Drawings conveying the significance and elegance of ancient inscriptions were made by humanist travellers like Ciriaco d'Ancona, or by artists including Jacopo Bellini, Francesco di Giorgio and Pirro Ligorio⁴. Epigraphic testimonies and exemplars could be understood through the first-hand experience of travel; but this understanding was reinforced through subsequent visualization and recollection, using drawings to stimulate the memory and to provide visual records of what had been, or might have been, seen.

The sixteenth century saw the formation of a canon in Italian travel with routes and destinations slowly becoming standardised, and travel manuals giving advice to the novice while extolling prudence as the highest of the virtues in the face of the temptations of foreign travel⁵. In fact, given the ubiquity of travel and its manuals, the German scholar and poet, Nathan Chytraeus (1543-1598) in his *Delights of Various Travels through Europe* (1594) urged his readers to stay at home, «*sedentaria*», seated with his volume; a contemporary, Johannes Kessel, invoked the discomfort and dangers of travel, extolling armchair travel with books by learned authors to hand⁶. Side by side with actual travel, the Renaissance saw an enormous increase in the circulation of visual information that permitted carefully-planned journeys of the imagination into the world of the antique. The longstanding model-book tradition, involving compilations of motifs as a useful workshop repertoire, was invigorated by artists and architects in the later *Quattrocento* as they enriched this tradition with innumerable drawings after antiquities. However, studies notably by Arnold Nesselrath of the numerous *libri* of antiquarian drawings that have survived reveal that many were made for aristocrats, merchants, clerics and intellectuals, rather than for pragmatic use in a workshop⁷.

Consisting often of copies, on occasion with selective or re-arranged content, these *libri* or codices bring challenges for modern scholarship in identifying authors and disentangling prototypes. Yet, the commissioning and possession of copies attests to the international network of elite owners who engaged with these drawings⁸. Moreover, even in the age of the print, drawings maintained an important role in the dissemination of knowledge of the antique : in the 1530s and 1540s figures as diverse as the merchant Gabriele Vendramin in Venice, or the Hapsburg minister Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle owned or commissioned books of drawings of antiquities⁹. Earlier, the compilation of copies now known as the *Codex Escorialensis* was acquired by Rodrigo Díaz de Vivar y Mendoza on one of his trips to Italy, probably that of 1506; this also had an impact on architectural practice in Andalusia¹⁰. Containing a range of visual material, with drawings of antique sculpture, *grotteschi*, depictions of monuments, and views of Rome, the *Codex* generated new knowledge; it also acted as a catalyst for armchair travel (fig. 2 and fig. 3). For Mendoza, this would have involved recalling and experiencing anew what he had previously seen in Italy; for others who might not have travelled there, the *Codex* afforded a visual synthesis of what a visit to Rome could offer. Moreover, perusing the contents inevitably evoked allusions to classical literature, where ancient authors had extolled the grandeur of certain views of Rome or certain monuments¹¹.

Commemoration in drawing and the organization of knowledge were motivating forces in a type of presentation of the antique promoted by humanists in the later *Quattrocento* – a purpose fulfilled easily by copies. An important compilation of texts and images, the *Collectio antiquitatum*, originated with Giovanni Marcanova (c.1418-1467), a physician in Padua and Venice, who was professor of Natural Philosophy at

Bologna when he completed his work in 1465¹². The intended recipient of the first manuscript, now in the Biblioteca Estense, Modena, was Domenico Malatesta Novello, the learned Signore of Cesena. However, an early set of copies was made, possibly for Costanzo Sforza, lord of Pesaro; this set decades later belonged to a French humanist, Marc Antoine Muret (1526-1585), who died in Rome¹³ (fig. 4). Marcanova probably asked more than one artist to create the drawings scattered through the manuscript that matched his interpretation of the antique, and Marco Zoppo may have been responsible for the set of views of Rome¹⁴. The purpose was not one of visual documentation : instead, Marcanova described his compilation as a « monumentum », meaning an artefact fabricated to preserve memory. In terms of travel, these extraordinarily vivid and detailed drawings seem to provide a virtual journey through ancient Rome. But their ultimate purpose was that of commemoration and historical recollection. In a detailed study, Rosemary Trippie identified the primarily rhetorical features of the drawings, which use activities and images as catalysts for the memory of places and events. The figures populating the scenes or the unusual appearance of buildings and monuments are not evidence of naivety, fantasy or a desire to charm the viewer. Instead, these elements have specific roles in bringing forth recollections of literary or historical associations, or of etymology, which was a powerful tool in myths of origin. The images are constructed using familiar mnemonic devices, so that scrutinising them involves a journey into memories and the imagination, both individual and collective.

If Marcanova created a set of drawings after the antique through employing artists like Zoppo, other drawings were made by humanist amateurs with particular knowledge and interests, albeit often with copies as sources. One instance is the *Codex* or “*Taccuino*” at Salzburg University Library (Ms.Ital. M III 40), containing drawings and texts that, as scholars have established, were made not by an architect but by a *dilettante* or amateur. The *Codex* features complex presentations of ancient types of buildings, with detailed commentaries that display specific and erudite interests, notably in ancient theatre and spectacle. For example, in lengthy texts accompanying drawings of the Colosseum or of the Amphitheatre of Domitian (“Anphitreatro posto in mezzo di Roma adimandato Agone”) colourful descriptions of the violent action, the blood-letting and the excitement of the crowds abound, signifying the draughtsman-author’s intensely imaginative attempts to envisage and convey the lived experience of these arenas in ancient times. In an important analysis, Cristina Fumarco suggested that the draughtsman-author might have been a diplomat linked to the Sforza court in Milan, active in the 1490s¹⁵.

This period also saw the development of a visual system for representing the antique that can be correlated with early illustrations of natural history¹⁶. Humanists were concerned with the organization and retrieval of knowledge, seen in the rapidly developing practice of using personal note-books with headings under which written information could be stored¹⁷. Visual systems with easily assimilated examples of, for instance, ancient capitals, align with this rhetorical culture of ensuring that one had at

one’s disposition an abundance (*copia*) of examples or arguments. Compilations of antiquarian drawings were repositories of knowledge, with their own information-retrieval systems based on a taxonomic presentation : thus, rows of ornamental motifs were laid out as specimens or isolated fragments (see fig. 2). This early type of scientific arrangement of samples was functional and continued to be used in these *libri* or compilations, as can be seen in some handsome studies in the Ashmolean Museum by Giovanni Battista Montano (c.1534-1621), made about 1600-20, in which columns are presented by typology, with the examples taken from modern as well as antique (including non-canonical) sources. Montano was probably planning a treatise that would present the classical orders as well as other highly ornamental models¹⁸.

Perhaps the desire for a personalised repository of knowledge for an elite patron relates to a demand for more elaborate compositions, such as those seen in a *libro* from the workshop of Jacopo Ripanda (active c.1500-1516) in Rome, made between about 1512 and 1517, now in the Ashmolean Museum (fig. 5 and fig. 6). Identifying the ancient sources and the relationship with other copies of the same prototypes has been one locus of scholarly attention¹⁹. There is an arrangement by typology, with a series of groups of capitals, another of architectural drawings, of triumphal arches, and a group of drawings after reliefs on sarcophagi. However, there are unusual and striking features to this *libro*, including theatrical and fantastical aspects, or inventive scenes where figures interact with monuments, as seen in the portrayal of the Mausoleum of Santa Costanza with *putti* wrestling and at play (fig. 5). Similarly, the drawing of an animated group of men taking measurements inside the Colosseum and discussing their findings – with a knowing reference to Raphael’s *School of Athens* fresco – gives a meta-textual view on the representation of antiquities as found in the *libro* as a whole, as well as inciting reflections on the ambition and dedication involved in studying the antique (fig. 6). The unconventional character of the compilation implies that the contents might have been intended to spark sociable conversations, raising the possibility that the *libro* was made for an individual owner, who might have given artists access to it²⁰. Of course, it could have had multiple functions, including an exemplary and demonstrative use within a workshop, to be studied by artists and viewed by clients and patrons.

The phenomenon of *dilettanti* or amateurs making drawings of antique subjects has already been noted. Drawing with the pen was closely associated with writing; just as writing down notes as one read involved a method of investigation that also assisted with recollection, so too drawing could be linked to searching, excavating and recording. Humanists regularly scribbled notes in the margins of books and manuscripts, sometimes making sketches. An early owner of Jacopo Mazzocchi’s *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, published in 1521, who was possibly Michel de La Haye, a canon in Evreux, Normandy in 1522, copied or adapted a few of the woodcut illustrations, making a personal mental journey into the varieties of antique ornament²¹. The confidence in drawing seen here could generate liminal activities of doodling that are often a stimulus for intellectual creativity.

In the sixteenth century, the term *amatore* begins to describe an individual who loves the arts and is keenly interested in practice : the word is used in a praiseworthy manner by Sebastiano Serlio and by Giorgio Vasari²². The idea of the *amatore* or the *dilettante* who takes delight in the arts is closely associated with the concept of *virtù*, a term that does not so much concern the personal pursuit of virtue as the overall embracing of civilised values, notably of honour and good judgement. Hence, by the mid-century the term *virtuosi* denoted a category of erudite and generous owners of antiquities and works of art who will treasure their possessions, and share their knowledge with others²³. Learning to draw was part of a gentleman's education, being one of the accomplishments of a courtier (as is already clear in Baldessar Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano*) or of an aspiring *virtuoso*; a representation of the young Alessandro de' Medici intently engaged in drawing, a copy of a lost sheet by Pontormo, evokes the custom of teaching in elite households²⁴ (fig. 7). In a drawing treatise, *Ragionamenti delle regole del disegno* composed probably in 1565, Alessandro Allori intended to provide lessons in understanding the human form for the gentlemen of the Accademia Fiorentina, who as he said desired a knowledge of *disegno* to add to their accomplishments; his method was one of graceful linearity. Allori was roundly criticized by Benvenuto Cellini who believed that these *signori* should appreciate the arts, but should not practice them²⁵. In fact, the Accademia del Disegno had discussed allowing amateurs or *dilettanti* to become members in July 1563; in the end, *dilettanti* were admitted from the late 1580s²⁶.

Many instances can be cited of drawing by *dilettanti* : Anton Francesco Doni wrote to Paolo Giovio in 1544 of his enjoyment in music and drawing ('mi diletto di scrivere... sonare, disegnare et poetizzare'), while in other letters he describes his own efforts at drawing²⁷. The erudite philologist Don Vincenzo Borghini (1515-80) was a skilled practitioner : he provided imposing designs for architecture and ephemeral decorations that in the past have been attributed to Giorgio Vasari, such as an elaborate design in Florence for a fountain with river-gods representing the Arno and the Danube of 1565²⁸. In Venice, the equally erudite Daniele Barbaro (1514-70) was proficient in technical and architectural drawings, as emphasised in the majestic portrait by Paolo Veronese painted after 1556 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam)²⁹. Another noted amateur, Daniele's brother Marc'Antonio Barbaro (1518-95) provided designs for architecture and painting, encouraged by Veronese, for example designing the stucco figures at the Nymphaeum of the Villa Maser³⁰.

As well as guaranteeing the *virtuoso* status of an individual, drawing had practical uses for amateurs who for military, diplomatic or scientific reasons undertook travels, locally or further afield. When writing to Marc'Antonio in 1546, Pietro Aretino spoke of the drawings he had made of the sites and the landscapes of foreign places³¹. During his time as *bailo* or diplomatic representative in Constantinople, Marc'Antonio developed a serious interest in Ottoman architecture so that, as Deborah Howard has argued, he

strongly influenced the design of Palladio's church of the Redentore³². One would like to speculate that he conveyed some of his knowledge through his own drawings, although none have been identified. Drawing and travel, albeit locally, furthered the scientific interests of Gherardo Cibo (1512-1600) who, like other noble *dilettanti* such as Doni learned to draw, together with gaining musical proficiency as part of his education in Rome and Bologna. Cibo became a noted botanist, his prowess in drawing enabling him to carry out research, develop his understanding of nature and share his scientific interests with others, as attested by his 168 illustrations to a magnificent herbal now in the British Library, London³³. He was a prolific draughtsman over a long career – especially after settling in Rocca Contrada (now Arcevia) in the Marche in 1540 – making a variety of studies of trees and plants in pen and ink, or more elaborate compositions on blue paper with ink, washes and white heightening. Through drawing, Cibo observed and constructed landscapes, creating his personal itineraries through the Marche, as seen in drawings made on the spot (fig. 8). His landscape sketches also acted as catalysts for recollection of particular moments such as the location of certain species of plants, found on a specific day, recorded at the time in detailed inscriptions.

Scattered through Renaissance literature are references to the value of drawing for military purposes. For instance, in Castiglione's *Libro del Cortegiano*, the Count of Canossa holds forth on this theme, explaining that a knowledge of drawing enables the noble military leader to sketch towns, rivers, bridges, citadels and fortresses in such a way that others can understand them³⁴. Interestingly, in the ceiling painting of *Cosimo de' Medici studying the siege of Siena* in the Sala Grande of the Palazzo Vecchio, by Giorgio Vasari and his collaborators in c.1563-65, the Duke's accomplishment and intelligence is carefully staged. Represented as an exemplary leader, he is depicted holding a drawing of military fortifications during the time of the siege of Siena : with an ink-pot in front of him and a pair of compasses, usually the attribute of *disegno*, in his hand, one might imagine that he had made the drawing himself. Certainly, his command of the information conveyed is not in doubt. Cosimo's leading military engineer, Giovanni Battista Belluzzi or Bellucci (1506-1564) generally took part in military action, and indeed was killed during the siege. Drawing had a key role in Belluzzi's apparent involvement in espionage in search of information on Siena's well-guarded water supply : a sheet in coloured inks showing the perimeter of the city with its gates, some of the fortifications and the routes of its water supply attests to this activity³⁵. An attractive depiction of military figures engaged in drawing is seen in a detail of Jacques Callot's large etching of the *Siege of Breda* of 1627-28, where at the lower left, a cluster of soldiers includes a draughtsman at work with a companion wielding a pair of compasses – this is Callot himself, with the leading military strategist of the Spanish troops, Giovanni Francesco Cantagallina³⁶.

Because of the understanding of the practice of drawing and the importance of *disegno* gained by the Renaissance elite through education, drawings begin to appear in

sixteenth-century paintings, primarily portraits. Artists employed the painted drawing as a device that would encourage the viewer to embark on a journey of understanding : the drawing provides a key to unlock the character of the sitter, but also a portal to enter into their material and mental world and to appreciate their values and achievements. While artists sometimes depict themselves in the act of drawing, as in self-portraits by Titian or by Lavinia Fontana in each case with pen in hand³⁷, my focus is on the calculated demonstration of a painted drawing, where the sitter in a portrait calls the viewer's attention specifically to that artefact, urging them towards a journey of discovery. If the sitter is an artist, then the drawing is understood as representing intellectual concerns as well as artistic achievement – their respect for the values of *disegno*, and their capacity in *disegno*. In such portrayals of artists – for example, that of Michelangelo pointing to a drawing, ascribed to Sebastiano del Piombo, or the group portrait of an artist and his students copying sculpture in drawings by Bernardino Licinio - there is a sense of theatricality in the gestures and in the positioning of a drawing within the composition, thus insisting that the viewer attend closely to the motif and its meaning³⁸.

Even more interesting is the way in which drawings appear in other sixteenth-century portraits, similarly acting as portals. These paintings demand that the viewer should focus on the drawing that is ostentatiously presented, and should follow a thoughtful journey in order to learn by analogy and develop an understanding of the personality of the sitter, or the values that they insist they embrace. A magnificent instance is provided by Lorenzo Lotto's portrait in the National Gallery, London, of a noblewoman who firmly holds a pen drawing representing the ancient heroine Lucretia as she commits suicide³⁹. Technical investigations of the painting have shown that the representation is of a drawing, rather than a print, although Lotto's initial idea of a coloured background with a white border now shows through, creating the effect of a plate-mark. While the drawing is one element in a series of attributes in the painting, it is a dynamic device that Lotto deliberately made prominent as the result of the sitter's movements and gestures. The viewer can appreciate how the sheet of paper is crumpled by the strength of the woman's grip, and the concomitant fierceness of her thoughts. The mental journey of the viewer involves first, the interpretation of the figurative motif and the recognition of the subject, followed by a consideration of how the classical heroine's story might relate to the sitter, both in a symbolic and in an exemplary mode. The viewer comes to a deeper understanding of the woman's character, aspirations and values as a direct result of this mental journey.

By contrast, in Pontormo's portrait of Alessandro de'Medici, the sitter looks up while apparently drawing a portrait of his beloved, possibly from memory as he contemplates her beauty and virtue (fig. 9). The drawing presents the head of a woman in profile in a linear form, as a familiar type of ideal beauty in Florence. It is apparently a metalpoint drawing, associated with poetic as well as artistic tradition, although Alessandro seems to be using a stylus point without the aid of a holder⁴⁰. The painted drawing opens up

a path for the viewer to traverse : first, it evokes Petrarchan poetry, specifically two celebrated poems where Petrarch's beloved, Laura, is drawn by Simone Martini, who is described as using a *stilo* or stylus on paper. Sonnets in praise of virtue and beauty, often concerning portraits of beautiful women and recalling Petrarchan imagery had become newly popular in courtly circles in Renaissance Italy⁴¹. The making of the drawing, as the contemporary viewer would understand, is an act of poetic homage by Alessandro, evoking a culture of honour, chivalry and graceful gestures of composition. The viewer then moves towards appreciating the Duke's capacity in *disegno* : his sober attention to the practice of drawing eloquently encapsulates his *virtù*, his embrace of civilised values such as love of knowledge, good judgement and self-reflection. A second piece of paper is visible beneath the portrait drawing, and in noting this, Linda Wolk-Simon proposed that Alessandro was in fact pricking his drawing with a pin for transfer to this new support, rather than making a metalpoint drawing. Such an activity, based on a knowledge of drawing practice, would also demonstrate the Duke's self-control and concentration. In fact, scholars have remarked on the irony of this depiction of Alessandro as a humanist poet and gentleman, since he was notorious for his vices, his wild, bloodthirsty behaviour and his lack of any moral scruples. Here, ideas about the nobility of *disegno* are harnessed to camouflage the Duke's vicious character⁴².

The final case-study concerning drawings and virtual journeys is more complex, in that the sitters in a double portrait by Lavinia Fontana are as yet unknown⁴³ (fig. 10). The seated man, a gentleman of high rank, wears the fur-lined robe of a scholar, and his son is luxuriously dressed. The father holds a drawing prominently but with nonchalance – it is upside-down in relation to the viewer, although visible to the two sitters⁴⁴ (fig. 11). The subject of this pen and ink drawing is one of the labours of Hercules, showing the hero killing the Hydra, a nine-headed monster whose writhing serpentine forms coil around the hero. In its forceful pen style the drawing recalls some strongly marked Hercules studies in pen and ink by Raphael from about 1505, such as the *Hercules and the Hydra* in the Royal Collection, Windsor where the protagonist's right arm is upraised⁴⁵. However, in Fontana's painted drawing, Hercules is presented with a more Mannerist pose, leaning quite far backwards with his arm raised to give greater force to the swing of his club. This pose may be based on a type found in classical relief sculpture, as in an example from a Roman imperial sarcophagus formerly in the collection of Camillo Borghese (Paris, musée du Louvre, inv. MR 795, cat.292.1). Additionally, the drawing is in the conventional linear style of studies after antique sculpture; this linearity together with the hatching in the negative spaces recalls some studies by Girolamo da Carpi, as a typology⁴⁶. The subject may refer to family names – Ercole, or the Ercolani family of Bologna – or it may carry a message from father to son regarding heroic virtues to emulate. Hercules, both an ancient hero and a Christian exemplar, embodies strength, good judgement and wisdom. Apart from iconography, the gentleman's familiarity with owning and looking at drawings is signalled : this, the viewer understands, represents his wider interests in *disegno*, in artistic judgement, and, fundamentally, in the antique.

This essay has considered three aspects of drawings as agents for virtual travel, or for journeys of the imagination in Renaissance Italy : the use of antiquarian drawings by early collectors for armchair travel and understanding of the antique; the amateur or dilettante who made drawings, often as part of travel; and the ways that painted drawings could trigger journeys of discovery. A common theme has been the role of drawing in generating knowledge – not only knowledge of antiquities and of the virtues of the ancient past, but also technical and scientific knowledge. Finally, a fruitful area for further research is that of the potential relationships of drawing – the act and the object – with the educated amateur, in real and virtual travel.

NOTES

1. For a stimulating overview, see Elsner and Rubiés, 1999, pp. 1-56: side by side with praise for the value of travel sat criticism of types of travel that were neither virtuous nor rational, from Plato to Michel de Montaigne. See also Stagl, 1995, pp.47-48 on *pietas* as an acceptable justification for pilgrimage, unlike *curiositas* which could lead people away from the worship of God and the centrality of Christianity in their lives.
2. See the views of Justus Lipsius on this question, Papy, 2019, pp. 105-107. On his time in Rome from 1568-1570 as secretary to Cardinal Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, when Lipsius became friends with Fulvio Orsini, see Papy, 2004. Lipsius was highly aware of the value of material culture, noting that in Rome he diligently sought out many libraries, statues, inscriptions, coins and whatever was relevant to the understanding of antiquity.
3. While attributed to Bartolomeo Neroni (il Riccio) and dated c. 1520, the drawing in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, illustrated at fig. 1 has been identified as a tracing (*lucido*) after Francesco di Giorgio Martini, the prototype thus dating from the 1490s : see the discussion (with references) at Rome, 2005, no. II 9.2, p. 256, entry by Giorgio Ortolan.
4. Waters, 2014, especially pp. 15-25.
5. Enenkel and De Jong, 2019.
6. De Jong, 2019.
7. Nesselrath, 1986 remains a fundamental taxonomical study; see also Nesselrath, 2014. Furlotti, 2019, pp. 87-90 emphasises the diversity of what has been viewed as a category of learned antiquarians : in fact, individuals with serious interests in antiquities ranged from humanists and aristocrats to courtiers, merchants, artists and dealers. See also Christian, 2018 on different approaches to antiquarianism in early Renaissance Rome.
8. On the desire for copies of codices, see Pincelli, 2010, pp. 79-80, regarding Flavio Biondo's encyclopaedic work on Rome that was immediately copied for "praelati et nobiles" with at least 21 codices known, often decorated or ready for ornamentation. For an anecdote told by Jean-Jacques Boissard on copying antiquities, see Stenhouse, 2005, pp. 403-404.
9. Marcantonio Michiel saw books of drawings of antiquities in Vendramin's collection in 1530, and others are described in the posthumous inventory, see Windows, 2014; Giovanni Battista Scultori in Mantua corresponded with Granvelle in 1547 regarding the *libro* he was compiling with copies of antiquities, see Farinella, 1992, p.168. See Brothers, 2010, and Waters, 2012, on the continuing significance of drawing in this context; see also Vagenheim, 2020 regarding the manuscript tradition in epigraphy in the age of the printed book.
10. See Marias, 2005, with references, regarding the *Codex*; and Marias, 1992 on its influence on architecture.
11. For example, a view of the Colosseum could evoke the writings of Martial : see De Beer, 2017 on ways of experiencing Rome through episodes in ancient literature.

12. Trippe, 2010, with previous references.
13. The early copy is Garrett MS 158, Princeton University Library, digitized, with bibliographical details, see <https://catalog.princeton.edu/catalog/9936544973506421#view>. Another early copy in the Bibliothèque National, Paris, no longer has the group of drawings. In other parts of the compilation, Marcanova appropriated the well-known work of humanist travellers such as Ciriaco di Ancona.
14. See Calogero, 2017 for the context of Zoppo and his relationship with humanists in circles in Bologna, Padua and Venice.
15. Rome, 2005, no. II. 4.1, p. 256, entry by Birte Rubach; Fumarco, 2013.
16. See further Moser, 2014.
17. Yeo 2020; see also Cevoloni, 2016. The practice of making notes organised with headings was contested by those who argued that it weakened the memory, a highly-trained faculty.
18. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, Larger Talman Album, WA1942.55.155, see the catalogue research by Giovanni Santucci as part of the online project, *John Talman : an early eighteenth-century collector of drawings*, Università di Pisa, on the website, talman.arte.unipi.it/IT/index.html.
19. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, inv. WA1935.69; see Cafà 2002, and important studies by Farinella, 1992, and Faietti, 1992, with previous references.
20. Farinella, 1992, p. 164.
21. Stenhouse, 2020, p. 73.
22. Taylor, 2016. On *diletto*, see Cast, 2009.
23. On the concept of the « virtuous riches » of the collector, see Thornton, 1997, pp.113-114 and Schmitter, 2004.
24. An early inscription on the drawing identifies the sitter as Duke Alessandro and the drawing as by Pontormo : Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, black chalk, 238 x 187 mm, inv. 1959.02; discussed in Philadelphia, 2004, p. 114 (entry by Carl Brandon Strehlke). For the teaching of drawing to children in a Roman patrician family in the seventeenth century, see Haillant, 2009.
25. Reilly, 2004.
26. Barzman, 2000, pp. 35 and 72-73 on the fact that prominent Florentines gained membership in the 1590s at the time of Ferdinando I (ruled 1587-1609), when as the author notes, the discourse of *disegno* had become a noble practice authorised by the state.
27. See Pepe in Doni, 1549 (1970 ed), p.18.
28. Uffizi, Florence, inv. 1611 E, see Pillsbury, 1973, and with further references New York, 2008, no. 38, pp. 84-85 (entry by Anna Maria Petrioli Tofani).
29. Camerota, 2020.
30. On amateurs in Venice, see Whistler 2016, p. 41-42. On Marc'Antonio's skill as an amateur, see Howard, 2011, pp. 4-5 ; and p. 32 for his authorship of the stucco sculptures at the Villa Maser.
31. Hochmann, 1992, pp. 244-245, especially for Pietro Aretino's letter to Marc'Antonio regarding his talents in painting and drawing, in which Aretino speaks of the sites and landscapes of foreign places that he has captured on paper.

32. Howard, 2003.

33. See Tongiorgi Tomasi, 1989 on the importance of this early herbal; and on Cibo's career with a catalogue of the drawings, Mangani and Tongiorgi Tomasi, 2013.

34. Castiglione 1528, pp. 98-99. See also Holroyd, 1903, pp. 164-165, where in the third dialogue, Hollanda gives Michelangelo a lengthy speech on the value of drawing for military purposes, particularly for sketching landscapes, harbours, fortresses, and other places of value to the commander and his troops. Similarly, Memmo, 1545 p. 88v, describes the importance of learning *disegno* for its use in times of war.

35. Adams, Lamberini and Pepper, 1988; the sheet was discovered at the back of a volume of architectural drawings in the Biblioteca Comunale, Siena.

36. Hesterberg, 2023, p. 74 on this detail, and fig. 9 and fig. 10.

37. On the Titian self-portrait last recorded in a private collection in Rome, see Fletcher, 1992, pp. 55-56; on that by Fontana of 1579 in the Uffizi, Florence, see Dublin, 2023, no. 4, p. 46 (entry by Aoife Brady).

38. For the portrait of Michelangelo of the 1520s ascribed to Sebastiano in the Galerie Hans, Hamburg, see Barbieri, 2007, and London, 2017, no. 30, p. 157 (entry by Matthias Wivel); on the remarkable group portrait by Bernardino Licinio of c. 1530 in the Duke of Northumberland Collection, Alnwick Castle, see Whistler, 2016, pp. 17-19 and 69-71, with references.

39. Penny, 2004, especially p. 74 and pp. 78-79; Whistler, 2016, pp. 20-22, with the connection proposed to a drawing in the Uffizi (inv. 697 E); see the catalogue entry in Madrid and London, 2018, p. 279 by Matthias Wivel, reiterating the argument that a drawing is represented.

40. Cropper, 2004, pp. 19-22 and Philadelphia, 2004, no. 26, pp. 112-115 (entry by Carl Brandon Strehlke); see the important study by Simons, 2008. The portrait, described by Giorgio Vasari, was said to have been given by Alessandro to Taddea Malaspina, his lover and mother of two of his children. Wolk-Simon, 2021, pp. 115-118 revisits these questions.

41. See Simons, 2008, pp. 661-665 on the Petrarchan imagery; on the popularity of the Petrarchan form and poetry by Pietro Aretino and Giovanni della Casa relating to paintings, see Whistler, 2012 with further references; Bolzoni, 2010 is an overarching study.

42. Simons, 2008.

43. Dublin, 2023, no. 31, p. 90 (entry by Aoife Brady), as dating from 1575-78; see also Marubbi, 2003, no. 70, pp. 107-108 (entry by Daniele Benati).

44. Murphy, 2003, pp. 179-180, as datable to the early 1580s.

45. Royal Collection, Windsor, inv. RCIN 912758 recto, see Clayton, 1999, no. 14, p. 62.

46. I am grateful to Ian Hicks for his comments on these characteristics. For examples of Girolamo da Carpi's linear style, see Canedy, 1976.

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EXPOSITIONS

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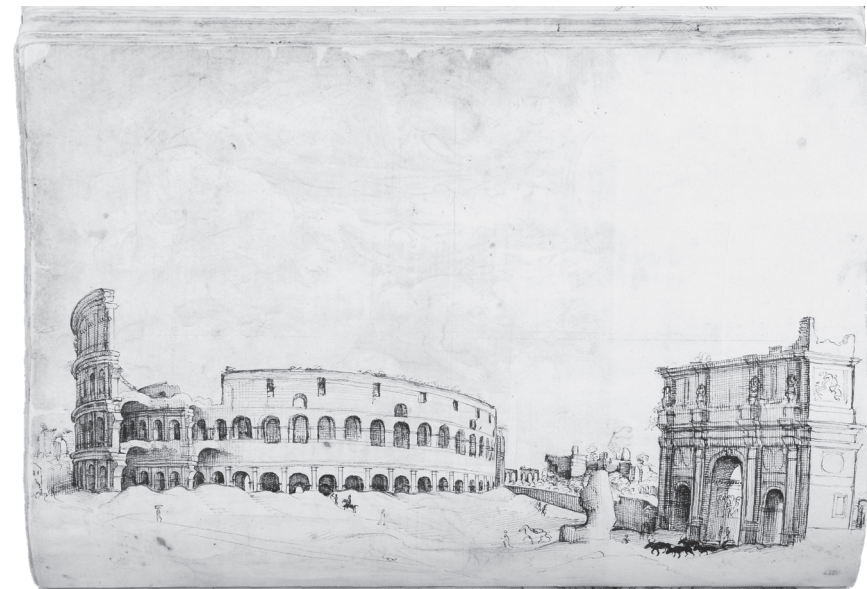
La Roma di Leon Battista Alberti. Umanisti, architetti e artisti alla scoperta dell'antico nella città del Quattrocento, Rome, Musei Capitolini (curated by Francesco Paolo Fiore and Arnold Nesselrath), Rome and Milan, 2005.



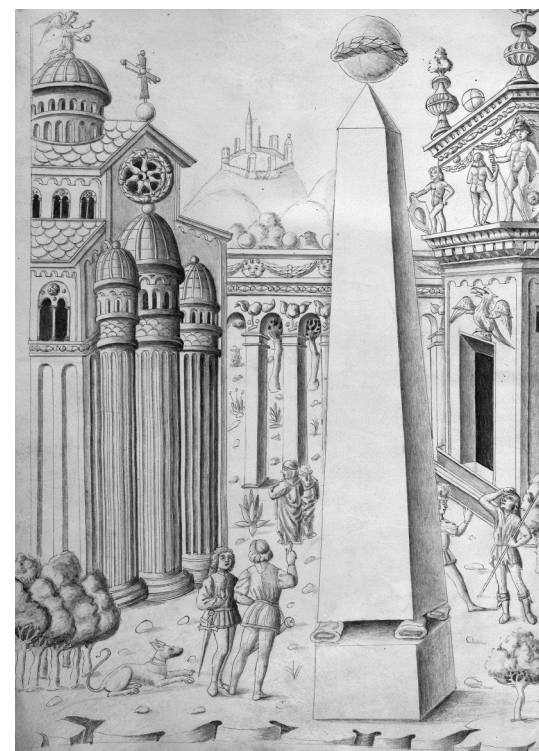
1
COPYIST OF FRANCESCO
DI GIORGIO MARINI
(TRADITIONALLY ATTRIBUTED TO
BARTOLOMEO NERONI, IL RICCIO)
The Arch of Constantine, Rome,
pen and brown ink,
303 x 255 mm, New York,
The Metropolitan Museum of Art,
inv. 80.3.585.



2
FLORENTINE ARTIST
Codex Escorialensis, fol. 22 verso,
pen and ink, 330 x 230 mm,
Patrimonio Nacional de España,
RBME, MS 28-11-12.



3
FLORENTINE ARTIST
Codex Escorialensis, fol. 28 verso, pen and ink, 330 x 230 mm,
Patrimonio Nacional de España, RBME, MS 28-11-12.



4
COPYIST OF MARCO ZOPPO (?)
Vatican,
fol. 6 verso of Giovanni Marcanova,
Collectio antiquitatum,
pen and brown ink
and wash on parchment, 360 x 265 mm,
Special Collections,
Princeton University Library,
inv. Garrett MS158.



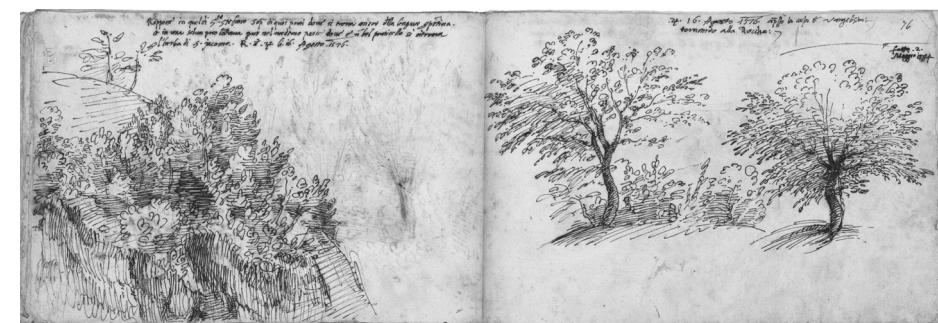
5
MASTER OF THE OXFORD ALBUM
(WORKSHOP OF JACOPO RIPANDA IN ROME)
Mausoleum of Santa Costanza
with putti at play, pen and dark brown
and light brown ink with brown wash,
over geometrical indications with a blind stylus,
333 x 235 mm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum,
inv. WA1935.69.16 recto.



6
MASTER OF THE OXFORD ALBUM
(WORKSHOP OF JACOPO RIPANDA IN ROME)
Interior of the Colosseum
with a group of men taking measurements,
pen and brown ink with brown wash,
333 x 235 mm, Oxford, Ashmolean Museum,
inv. WA1935.69.16 verso.



7
AFTER JACOPO PONTORMO
Alessandro De' Medici drawing, black chalk, with an early inscription
in pen and ink, 238 x 187 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. 1959.02.



8
GHERARDO CIBO (1512-1600)
Sketchbook, fol.24 verso and 25 recto, pen and brown ink with notes of locations and date
(6 August 1576), each fol. 141 x 209 mm, New York, Morgan Library and Museum, inv. 1969.16.



9
JACOPO PONTORMO
Portrait of Alessandro De' Medici,
oil on panel, 101.3 x 81.9 cm,
Philadelphia Museum of Art, inv. Cat.83.
Planche IV



1
Vienna meets Berlin.
12. Februar 2024.
© Christof Metzger, Wien



10
LAVINIA FONTANA
A Gentleman and his Son, oil on canvas,
133.5 x 106 cm, Cremona, Museo Civico,
Pinacoteca Ala Ponzoni, inv. 192.
Planche V

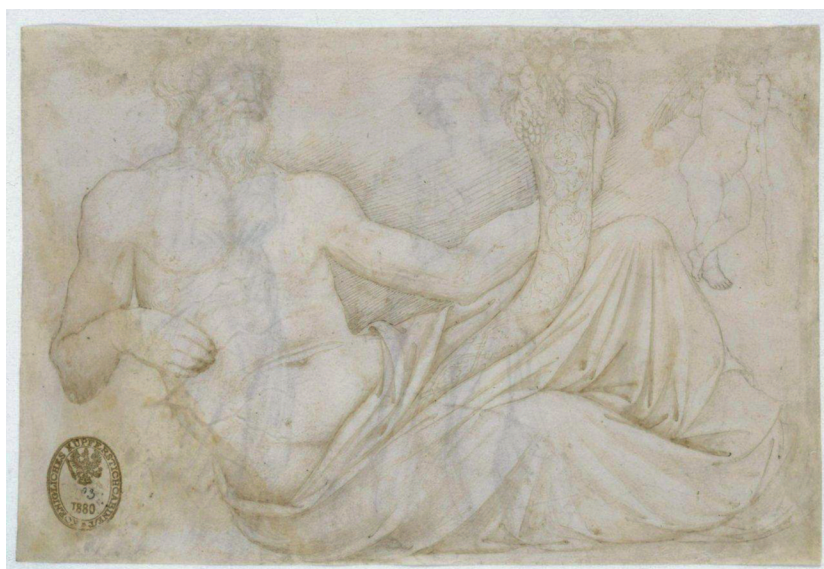
11
Detail of fig. 10.



2
ALBRECHT DÜRER
Das Rosenkranzfest, 1506, Öl auf Pappelholz, 162 x 192 cm, Prag,
Národní galerie v Praze, Inv. O 1552. © Národní galerie v Praze.



II | FEDERICO ZUCCARI
Ritratto di un uomo stante, pietra
nera, pietra rossa, 205 x 140 mm,
Collezione privata.



III | PISANELLO (CON RIPASSI DI BOTTEGA)
Taccuino di viaggio : Tiber capitolinum e altri studi, punta metallica, acquerellature marroni,
ripassi in penna marrone, su pergamena, 137 x 205 mm,
Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 1359v.



IV | JACOPO PONTORMO
Portrait of Alessandro De'Medici,
oil on panel, 101.3 x 81.9 cm,
Philadelphia Museum of Art,
inv. Cat.83.



V | LAVINIA FONTANA
A Gentleman and his Son,
oil on canvas, 133.5 x 106 cm,
Museo Civico,
Pinacoteca Ala Ponzone,
Cremona, inv. 192.