

THE “COLONNACCE” OF FORUM NERVAE AS CRONACA’S INSPIRATION FOR THE “CORNICIONE” OF PALAZZO STROZZI

by Gustina Scaglia

The name “Colonnacce” was first used in the nineteenth century for a pair of columns with entablature, cornice, and attic plinths with cornices that articulate what is presumed to be the precinct wall of the Forum Nervae’s east side, also known as the Forum Transitorium (Fig. 1).¹ The monument has been restored and unveiled to the public (1989). The columns are marble, the wall is *peperino*, and part of the marble lining is still in place. The columns are 10 meters high and 0.90 meters in diameter, and the intercolumniation 5.30 meters in width. The attic, which is 4.40 meters high, has a plinth and a cornice, and the relief of Minerva on the rear wall is 2.65 meters high. Some surface excavation has been undertaken (1989) near the Forum’s southern wall, which extended almost to the Basilica Aemilia, and excavation is expected to continue down to the foundations.² When the Via dei Fori Imperiali (1932) separated the Forum Nervae into two parts, the Colonnacce stand at right angle to the sidewalk beside the highway. Drawings of the Colonnacce by fifteenth-sixteenth century artists are remarkably numerous, as listed in Appendix.³

Artists’ notes identify the antiquities that they illustrated in drawings, other popular ones including the Colosseum, Pantheon, Basilica Aemilia (Forum Umbuarum), Arcus Titi, Aedes Castori (Tre Colonne), and Arcus Constantini. In the Middle Ages, the Imperial Fora had been built upon by the monastery and gardens of San Basilio. The ground was rather swampy (“pantano”), according to popular names given to two antiquities. Monastery buildings and gardens were built into the stone and brick masonry of the Forum Traiani and Mercati Traianei; Forum Augustum. Possibly the Basilian monastery occupied some part of the Forum Nervae, which had the remains of the Templum Minervae standing in place on the east side of the Forum Augustum, and the Colonnacce were at the temple’s right side. Artists’ notes on drawings listed in Appendix sometimes say so. Close behind the Colonnacce at the east is the Torre dei Conti (869 A.D. or 1238 A.D.). The Torre delle Milizie (ca. 1200 A.D.), located above the Mercati Traianei on the Quirinal Hill, lent its name sometimes to the hemicycle of Forum Traiani, built on two levels: “delle Milizie”; “emiciclio”. The Mercati Traianei on the Via Biberatica near the Torre delle Milizie were then known as “Bagni di Paolo Emilio” or “Magnanapoli” or “Monte Magnanapoli”, names that were sometimes applied to the hemicycle.⁴

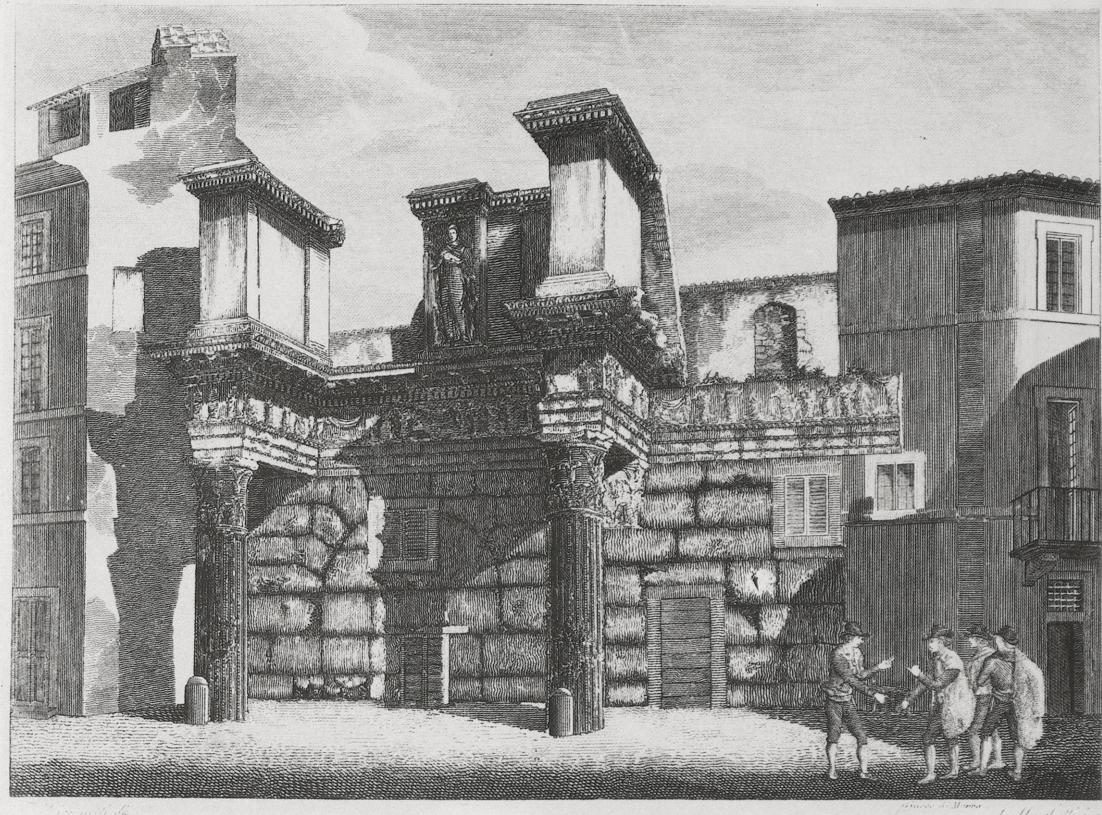
Artists’ sketchbooks and copybooks illustrate whatever antiquities could be seen amid the monastic structure: side colonnade of the Templum Martis Ultoris (Forum Augustum) beside the Arco del Pantano (a stone arch as a passageway in the Cinta or rear wall of Forum Augustum); the Hemicyclium (Forum Traiani); columns and pediment of the porch of Templum Minervae (Forum Nervae). The latter temple was then sometimes named “Portico di Nerva”, due to the loss of the first letters of “Minerva” inscribed on the temple’s frieze. The Colonnacce, which are in parallel with the right-side of the temple porch, was named the “arco accanto il portico di Nerva” or else “Arco al Pantano”. Several artists call the Colonnacce an “arch”, and locate it beside the temple’s façade. When it is called “Arco al Pantano”, it is not the archway in the Cinta (Arco del Pantano), because the drawing which so names it shows the forms of the Colonnacce. Between the Colonnacce and the Templum Minervae’s east side there was a very narrow path (Argiletum) to another street (Suburra), the first traversed by a stone arch (Arca di Noè; Arcus Aureus) behind the temple.⁵



1 Colonnacce, Forum Nervae, Rome. After the excavation in 1932.



2 Colonnacce, Forum Nervae, Rome. Before the excavation in 1932.



3 F. Cicconetti & A. Moschetti, resti del Foro di Nerva, in "Principali Monumenti di Roma" (1872), pl. 21. Engraving.

Sometimes the district of the Colonnacce was designated "Spoglia Christi", after a church so named, its exact location unknown today. However, the *Codex Escurialensis* (folio 46 r) shows the Colonnacce with bells hanging from the cornice of the entablature, designated as "Spoglia Christo".⁶ Another drawing of the Colonnacce by an anonymous artist active ca. 1500, in *Album II.1.429*, folio 50 v shows a church-bell hung from the same place (Fig. 8), annotated "De palazo di nerva ttroiano".⁷ Evidently the church of Spoglia Cristo was built into the Colonnacce.⁸ The district being relatively small, some artists used the name "Spoglia Christi" for monuments near the Column of Trajan. For some personal reason, the artist of the *Codex Escurialensis* (folio 46 r) arbitrarily added to the Colonnacce's entablature a scene of Foliated Erotes, which belonged instead to the platform in the Forum Traiani.

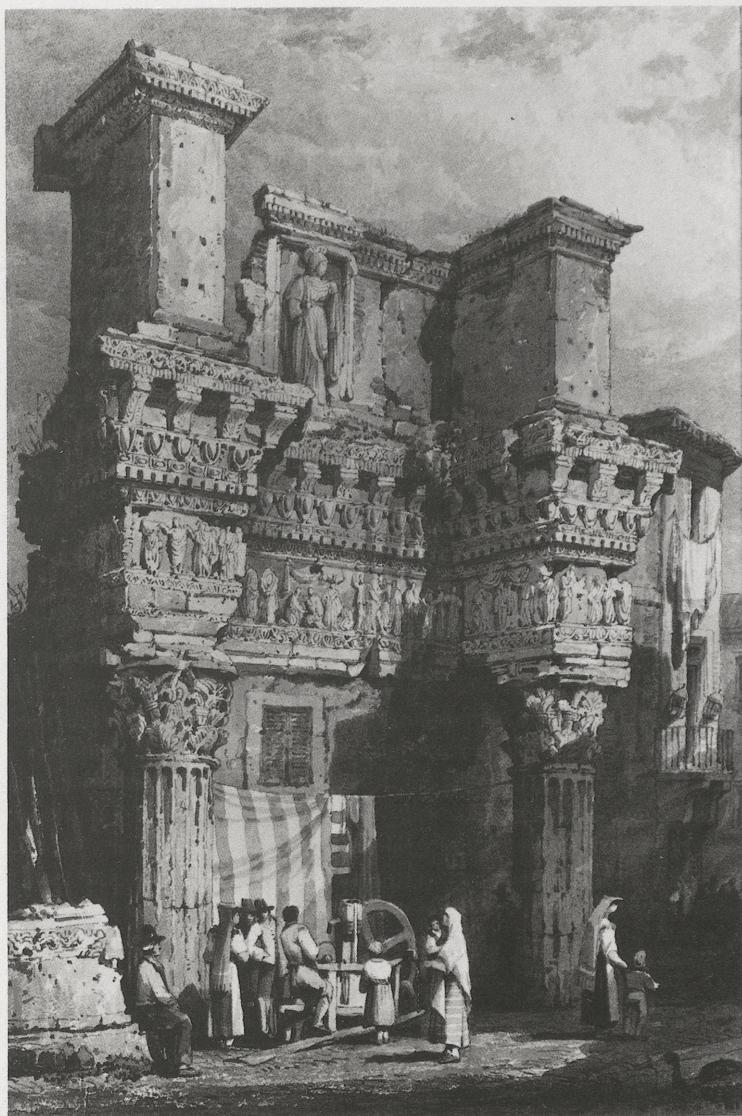
The Templum Minervae was always represented from its front, and, at some distance on its left side the columns of the Templum Martis Ultoris and the belfry of SS. Quirico e Giulitta (later known as the Campanile delle suore Neofite). Artists ceased to illustrate the Templum Minervae's remnants when these were reused to build the Fontana dell'Acqua Paola on the Janiculum (1606-1612). Excavation of the Forum Nervae (1932) did not resolve the question where exactly the temple's porch was located. That is problematic even now as one looks on the stone blocks presumably of the porch or stairway, which are only a few meters away from the Colonnacce. Old photographs (Fig. 2), engravings (Figs. 3, 4), and Samuel Prout's (1783-1852)



4 Giovanbattista Piranesi, “Tempio di Pallade nel Foro di Nerva”, in R. Venuti, Accurata e succincta descrizione topografica delle antichità di Roma (1824). Engraving.

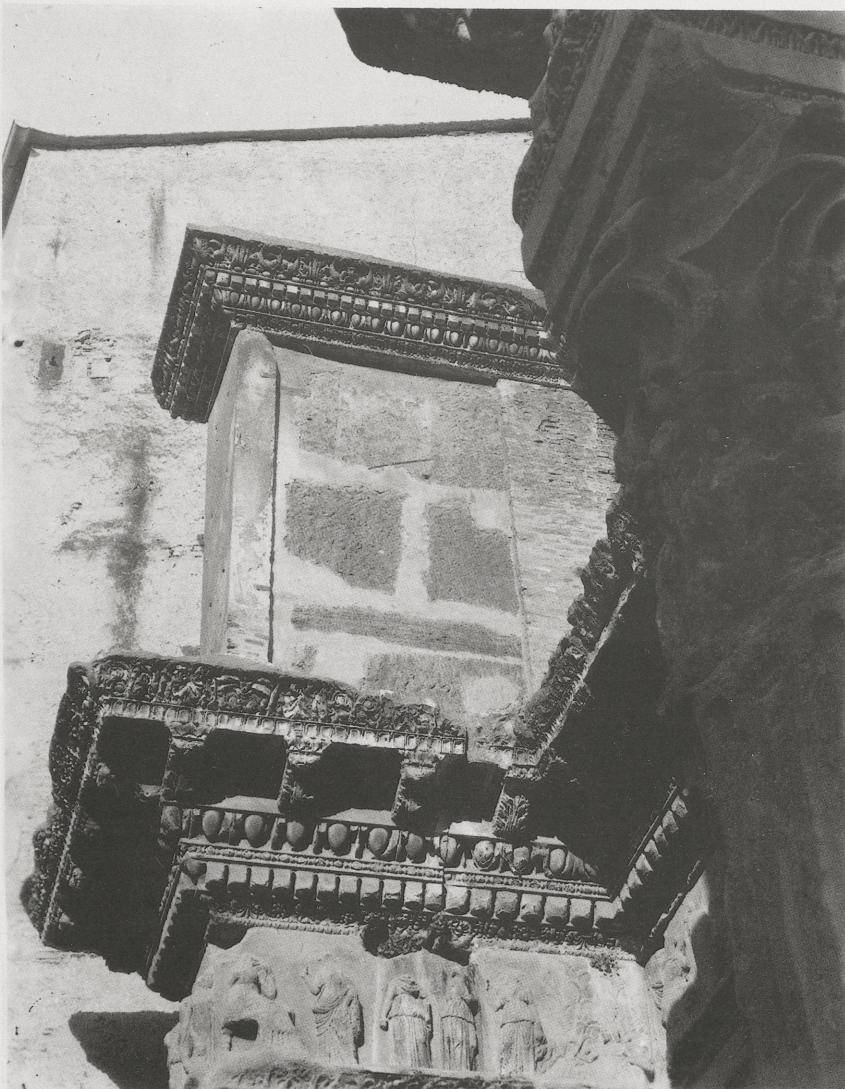
watercolor (Fig. 5) show the foreground occupied by a broad pavement, which covered the narrow Argiletum and the site of the temple. The columns of the Colonnacce were then buried for at least one-half of their height, compared with their appearance after excavation (Fig. 1). Forum Nervae was a narrow sliver of space 120 or 160 meters in depth, and 45 or 46 meters wide, so the Templum Minervae’s west side was squeezed against the Forum Augustum’s eastern exedra.

The Colonnacce’s columns carry a broken entablature, its reliefs on the frieze badly worn, surmounted by a heavy cornice (Fig. 1). Its attic is formed by two plinths at right angles to the rear wall and finished with elaborate cornices (Fig. 6). Artists rarely portrayed the Colonnacce in full elevation; they preferred to draw, separately, the entablature-cornice and the attic-plinth cornice, doing so in profile or in perspective projections (Appendix). They left the frieze a neutral surface, seldom including the narrative scenes. Sometimes they merely suggested, at the profile-edge, the motifs as a detail of each horizontal band, which is not always sufficient to identify the drawing as that of the Colonnacce. In photograph (Fig. 6), the entablature-cornice shows the following motifs in sequence: frieze; *tondi* with slits; *palmette* and *rosette* alternation; dentils; bead-reel; acanthus leaves on consoles; framed ellipses in a row; *rinceaux*. The attic-plinth cornice (Fig. 6) has relief ornaments: *tondi* with slits; *palmette* [?] and *rosette*; egg-dart; dentils; bead-reel; acanthus leaves alternating with confronted dolphins.



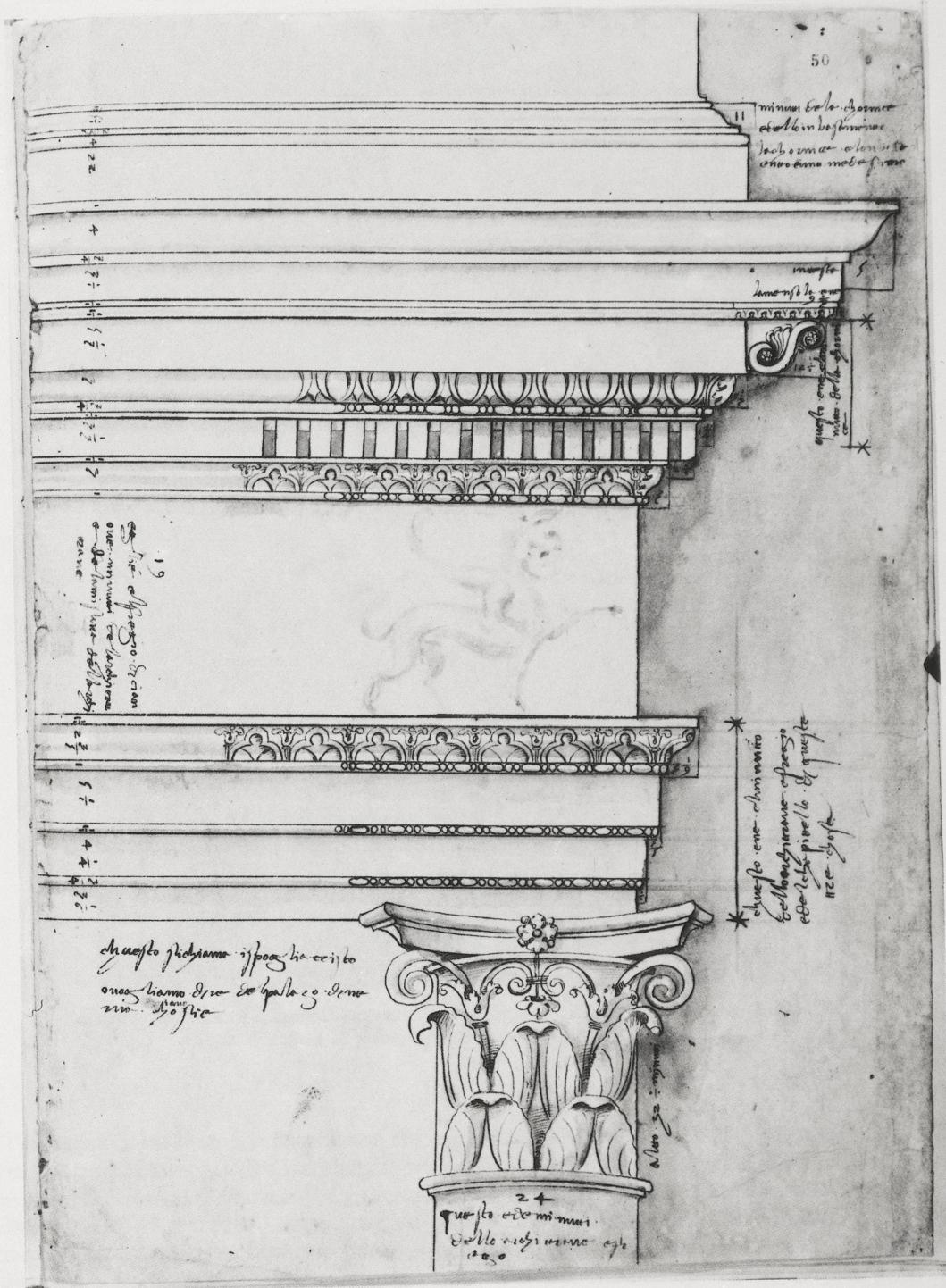
5 Samuel Prout, "Forum of Nerva, Rome". Water-color of the Colonnacce. Victoria & Albert Museum, London.

Among the earliest drawings, a reconstituted Colonnacce is shown in frontal elevation by a copyist of Francesco di Giorgio's *Monumenti antichi* (folio 78 r, Codex 148 Saluzzo)⁹, and the identification is Francesco's by dictation: "Difitio dengnissimo in Roma di sopra a Sancto Adriano. È di grandissima circumferentia hornato di mirabili scolture". Represented as a free-standing structure, the figurative scenes of the frieze are totally different than the actual reliefs; there are pedestals under the columns, and a socle formed from their height extends horizontally to the sides of a central doorway. The Colonnacce (Fig. 1) never had pedestals and socle of that kind, but its rectangular doorway is like that of Francesco's *Monumenti antichi* version.

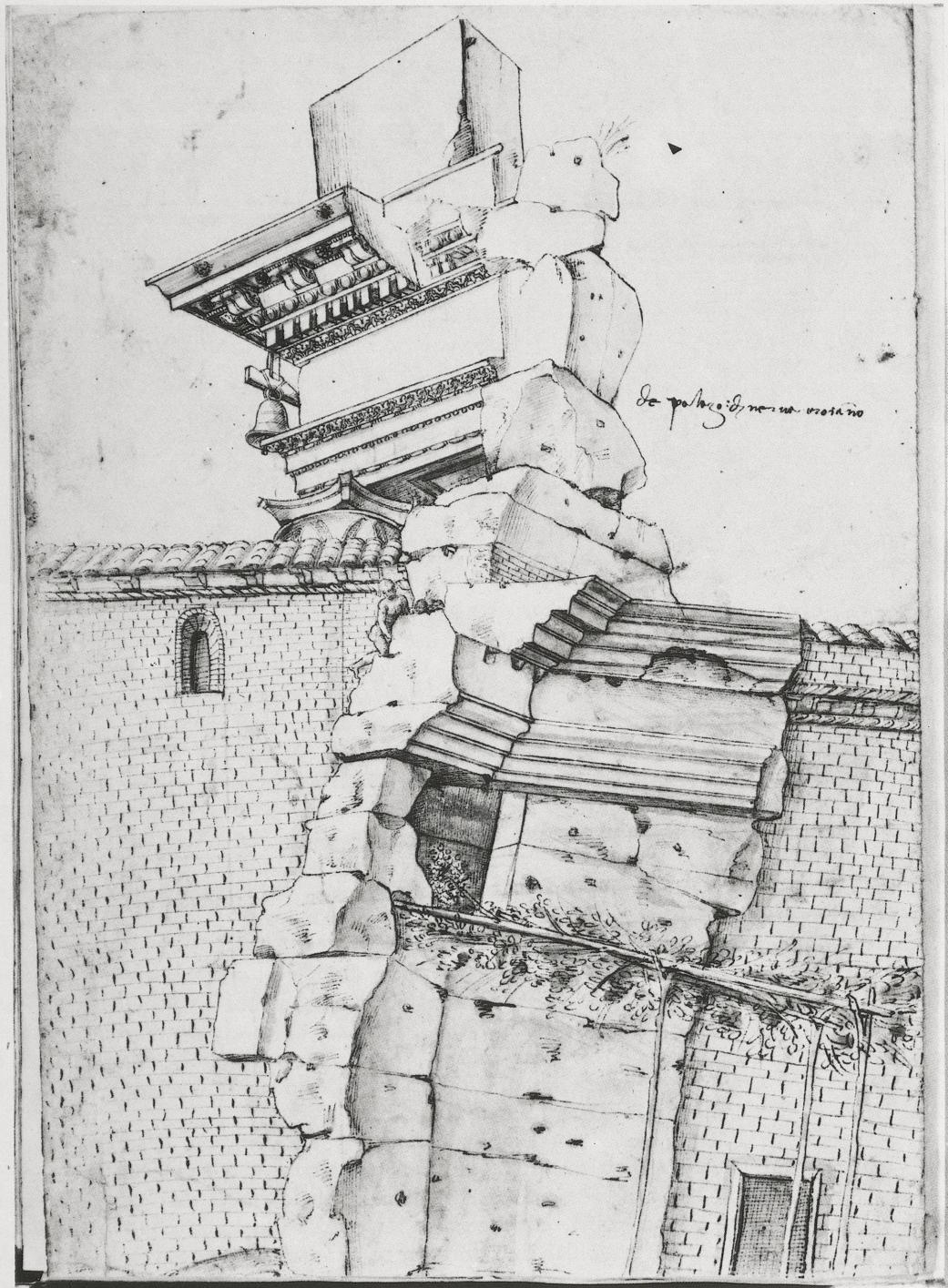


6 Colonnacce, Forum Nervae, Rome. Entablature-cornice and the Attic-plinth cornice, detail.

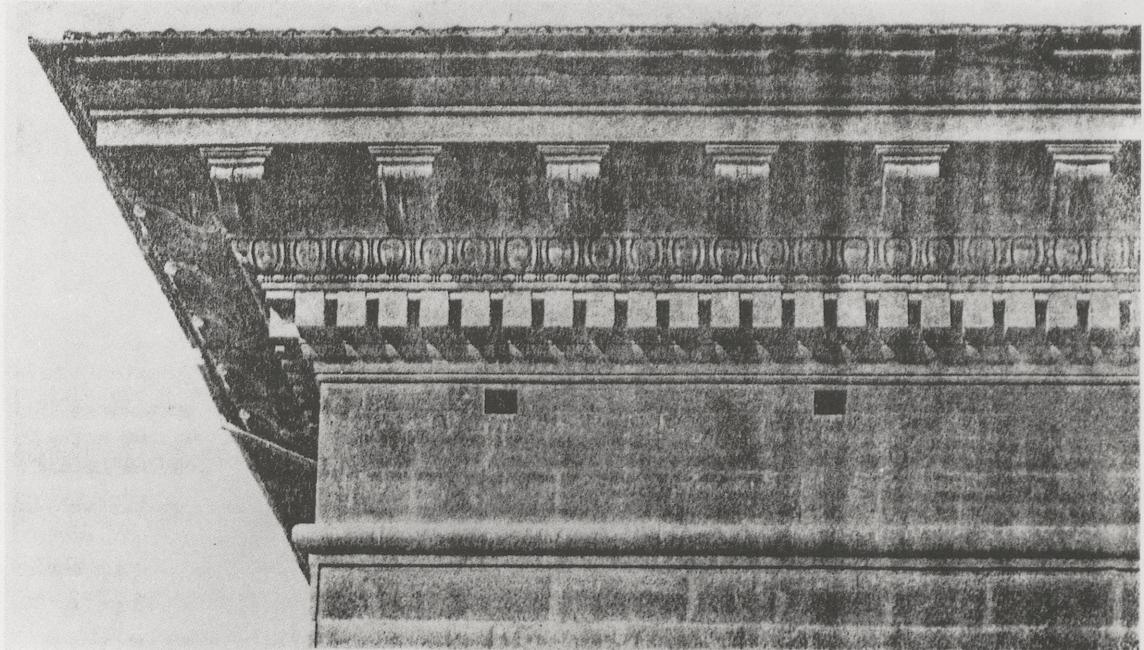
The great cornice ("cornicione") of Palazzo Strozzi is considered the work of Il Cronaca (Simone del Pollaiuolo; 1457-1508), a nickname "the chronicler" for reports on what he had seen and done in Rome. Vasari wrote: "Di costui si racconta che mentre Antonio Pollaiuolo era in Roma a lavorare le sepolture di bronzo che sono in San Pietro [of Sixtus IV and Innocent VIII], gli capitò a casa un giovanetto suo parente, chiamato per proprio nome Simone, fuggitosi da Fiorenza per alcune quistioni ..."¹⁰ At that time, Cronaca was no longer a youth ("giovanetto"). Vasari also noted that Benedetto da Maiano, whose model of Palazzo Strozzi was in construction, left Florence when Cronaca returned from Rome. Filippo Strozzi then employed Cronaca to construct his model of the palace. According to Vasari, the palace's roof



7 Anonymus 1 - not Cronaca, Drawing in *Album II 1 429*, folio 50 r, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.



8 Anonymus 1 - not Cronaca, Drawing in *Album II 429*, folio 50 v, Biblioteca Nazionale, Florence.



9 Cronaca, Palazzo Strozzi's "Cornicione".

line is "una cornice corinzia molto magnifica [...]. Questa cornice fu ritratta dal Cronaca e tolta e misurata apunto in Roma da una antica che si trova a Spoglia Cristo, la quale, fra molte che ne sono in quella città, è tenuta bellissima; bene è vero ch'ella fu dal Cronaca ringrandita a proporzione del palazzo, acciò facesse proporzionato fine et anche col suo agetto tetto a quel palazzo."

Commenting on Vasari's biography, Luigi Grassi (*Vasari-CdL*, 1963) believes that Cronaca's visit to Rome occurred much earlier than Antonio Pollaiuolo's work on the papal tomb, ca. 1493, and that in consequence probably the visit occurred in 1475-1485.¹¹ Grassi's reason for the early date, which is not convincing to me, is that in Cronaca's sketchbook his measured drawings of ancient buildings in Rome alternate with Florentine buildings.¹² When Grassi first published the sketchbook (1943)¹³, and identified Cronaca as its artist by calligraphic evidence, it was in the collection of Prof. Castellani in Rome; now it is *Codex Lambert* (Inv. Dr 1985: 0674-0680).¹⁴ One of Cronaca's drawings is dated in 1483; his drawings of the Piccolomini Altar in Siena are datable ca. 1500-1504.

Grassi's first study (1943) included a photograph of Cronaca's *cornicione* (Fig. 9). He cited Adolfo Venturi's finding a document that Cronaca was *capomaestro* in 1491. Thus the conception of the *cornicione* and the courtyard of Palazzo Strozzi would be of that year. Cronaca's travel to Rome, perhaps a second time, was likely to have occurred in 1483-1491. Giuseppe Marchini believed the *cornicione* is similar to a drawing in Giuliano da Sangallo's *Libro* (*Codex Barberini Lat. 4424*, folio 9 v).¹⁵ Grassi (1943) emphasized Vasari's statement about the *cornicione*'s derivation from one at Spoglia Cristo, while noting that the church of that name is lost; he believes Cronaca based it on various cornices he had seen in Rome, including the Pantheon's cornice and entablature (*Codex Lambert*, folio 6 v).

Discrepancies between that drawing by Cronaca and Palazzo Strozzi's *cornicione* are the absence of dentils on the drawing; a bead-reel is included, instead, under the band of egg-dart motifs. A drawing of the Colonnacce is not now preserved in Cronaca's sketchbook, *Codex Lambert*. However, his design of the *cornicione* (Fig. 9) relates to the Colonnacce's entablature (Fig. 6) by its sequence of ornament, although the *cornicione*'s surface ornament was not fully carved, merely the elements are the same ones: moulding; frieze (unarticulated); moulding (unarticulated); dentils; bead-reel; egg-dart; simplified acanthus leaves on consoles; corona and sima (unarticulated).

An anonymous artist's two drawings (*Album II.1.429*, folios 50 r, 50 v; Figs. 7, 8) show the Colonnacce's lower entablature-cornice and the attic-plinth cornice with precise measurements on the first, and a slight change of ornament (tri-lobe design and flower ornament on the moulding above and below the frieze). Among extensive notes, two identify this monument: "de palazzo di Nerva Ttroiano" (50 v); "chuesto se chiama Ispoglia Cristo ovoglioni dire del palazo di Nerva Troiana chosi e" (50 r).¹⁶ This artist's calligraphy identifies him as the Anonymus 1 - not Cronaca, ca. 1500.¹⁷ He executed a series of fantasy drawings of "Roma antica" (Uff. 159 A r and v; 160 A r Santarelli; 163 A r and v Santarelli; 164 A r and v Santarelli; 165 A r and v Santarelli), and drawings of actual antiquities in Rome (Uff. 157 A r and v Santarelli; 158 A r and v Santarelli; 160 A r and v Santarelli; 161 A r and v Santarelli; 166 A r and v Santarelli; 437 A r and v; 438 A r and v; 1879 A r and v; 2059 A r; 8026 A r). Drawings of other antiquities by the Anonymus 1 - not Cronaca are in Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, and in Christ Church, Oxford.¹⁸

The Uffizi drawings were misattributed to Cronaca by neglect of paleographic authentication, first by Pasquale Nerino Ferri (1895), then by Alfonso Bartoli¹⁹, and I followed their attributions.²⁰ Reviewing Cronaca's calligraphy²¹, it is clearly different than that of the Anonymus 1 - not Cronaca. Other drawings of fantasy architecture are by artists whom I designate as Anonymus 2 - not Cronaca; Anonymus 3 - not Cronaca; Anonymus 4 - not Cronaca; and Anonymus 5 - not Cronaca.²² These artists copied the set of fantasy architecture of the Anonymus 1 - not Cronaca, which were subsequently copied by French and Flemish artists, one of them being Jacques Androuet Ducerceau, who also modified some of the set and added new examples drawn from his imagination.

APPENDIX: DRAWINGS OF THE COLONNACCE²³

- Francesco di Giorgio, Monumenti antichi²⁴, 78 r ("Difitio dengnissimo in Roma di sopra Sancto Adriano. E di grandissima circumferentia hornato di mirabili scolture" - reconstituted elevation, Colonnacce).
- Sangallo, Giuliano da, Taccuino²⁵, 35 v ("A Spoglia Cristi in Roma" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce).
- Sangallo, Giuliano da, Libro²⁶, 9 v (non-sited; entablature-cornice, Colonnacce; attic-plinth cornice, Colonnacce); 10 r ("a pie di Spoglia Cristi" - entablature).
- Sangallo, Circle of (attrib.). Harvard University Museum²⁷, Inv. 1932.271.5A (non-sited; entablature-cornice, Colonnacce).
- Ripanda, Jacopo, Follower of. Oxford, Codex 668²⁸, 11 v (non-sited; reconstituted precinct wall, Colonnacce).
- Anonymus 1 - not Cronaca. Firenze, Album II I 429²⁹, 50 r ("Chuesto si chiama Ispoglia Cristo ovogliano dire del palazo de Nerva Troiano chosi e" - capital, entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); 50 v ("De palazo di Nerva Ttroiano" - capital, entablature-cornice, Colonnacce).
- Codex Escurialensis³⁰, 46 r ("a Spoglia Christo" - entablature-cornice, attic-plinth, Colonnacce); 50 r ("Nerva" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); 57 v (Templum Minervae, Colonnacce, Arcus Aureus, Torre de' Conti).
- Addenda Architect. Metropolitan Museum, Drawings on Sheets Added to a 1511 Vitruvius Edition³¹, folio (14) 10 r ("Chornison di Nerva Troiana [changed to "del tre cholone"] - cornice, not of the Colonnacce; "frego e architrave di Nerva Troiana in tor de [C]honto" [cancelled] - architrave, not of the Colonnacce).
- Peruzzi, Baldassarre.³² Uff. 389 A r ("in Foro Nerve apud Sanctum Hadrianum" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); Uff. 390 A r ("in Foro Nerve; tavole di marmo" - architrave, frieze ["frego"] - Colonnacce); Uff. 625 A r ("Santo Hadriano"; "archo" - plan, Colonnacce); Uff. 631 A v -478 A r ("tucte queste cornici e base son state trovate in Foro Transitorio dietro a Sancto Adriano" - Colonnacce [?]: three cornices; two bases).
- Falconetto, Gio. Maria. Album in Vicenza³³, 7 r ("Cornixe che andava intorno el foro transitorio" - Colonnacce's base, capital, entablature, cornice, and attic plinth with cornice); 30 r (reconstituted: plan, Forum Nervae, Templum Minervae, Colonnacce and precinct wall).
- Anonymus 1 - not Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio.³⁴ Codex Strozzi: Uff. 1587 A r ("larchitrave e frego e chornice del lavoro dirinpetto alla logg[i]e di Nerva ..." - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); Uff. 1596 A v ("questa e le mensole che e in sue lencrespatura della testa delle chornice di Nerva sopra el pilastro" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); Uff. 1598 A v ("e lavoro dirinpetto alla logg[i]a di Nerva questo lavoro e intorno el foro Troiano vedesene pezi separati luno dall'altro ..." - elevation, Colonnacce).
- Sangallo, Antonio da, il Giovane. Uff. 1140 A r ("Di foro transitorio ..." - cornice, Colonnacce; "Di foro transitorio dal cornicione primo in su" - base, Colonnacce; "Cornicione di sopra del foro transitorio cioe ultima" - attic-plinth cornice, Colonnacce); Uff. 1141 A r ("S. Basilio; Foro transitorio; S. Basilio" - plans; Colonnacce); Uff. 1143 A r ("Dalla imposta dell'i archi di foro transitorio a una foglia che [...] in questo archo"; "Foro in piazza di San Basilio" - plan, Colonnacce; Arcus Aureus); Uff. 1187 A v ("Spoglia Cristi" - architrave; "el tempio di foro transitorio" - base; "San Basilio" - base [notes by Giovanbattista da Sangallo]; Uff. 1221 A r ("Anticha in istorie" - elevation, Colonnacce); Uff. 1221 A v ("A foro Troiano dalla cholona al pilastro fa chossi alle mensole" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce; plan, Forum Nervae); Uff. 1299 A r ("Entrata de fori; Foro transitorio; Arca di Noè; quanto largo questo archo" - plan, Forum Augustum, Forum Nervae, Colonnacce).
- Sangallo, Giovanbattista da. Uff. 1402 A r (non-sited; elevation, Colonnacce); Uff. 1665 A v ("Spoglia Cristi da libretto di Giuliano" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce [copied from Giuliano's drawing]).

Codex Coner³⁵, no. 88. ("Spogliae Christi" - cornice, Colonnacce); no. 89 ("Apud Arcem Militum" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); no. 106 ("Apud arcorum Militum" - entablature); no. 113 ("Prope arcem Militum" - entablature); no. 136 ("Prope arcem Militum" - base).

Leningrad, Album B Destailleur³⁶, 19 r ("Nel foro Traiano et oggi si dice lo Pantano bellissima delligente et oggi le [por]tata a San Pietro per guastare" - cornice, Colonnacce).

Anonymous - not Antonio Abaco.³⁷ Uff. 1850 A r ("Del Pantano" - entablature's cornice, Colonnacce).

Anonymous 1 - not Fra Giocondo.³⁸ Uff. 1543 A r ("a Marforio drieto a Chanpidollio in Roma" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce).

Anonymous 1 - not Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane.³⁹ Uff. 1543 A r ("D [...] in Marforio drieto a Chanpidollio in Roma" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce [?]).

Anonymous 1 - not Jacopo Sansovino.⁴⁰ Uff. 1961 A v ("La chornicie grande di San Basilio" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); Uff. 1962 A r ("Al archo di San Basilio di Roma" - entablature with frieze reliefs, cornice, and attic-plinth cornice, Colonnacce); Uff. 1962 A v ("Chornicio de termini" - capital, entablature-cornice, Colonnacce).

Albertini, Alessandro.⁴¹ Uff. 1968 A v ("Larco Pantano" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); Uff. 1969 A r ("al arco de [name cancelled] - attic-plinth cornice, Colonnacce); Uff. 2064 A r ("Opera corintia ... a Spoglia Cristo ..." - cornice).

Dosio, Giovannantonio. Uff. 2009 A r ("Disegno della basa ... del portico di Nerva fu scavata il terreno per ritrovarla ... el capitello ... e del medesimo edificio ..."; "Disegno del pilastro e del cornicione ... di detto portico di Nerva ...") - base, capital, entablature: Colonnacce; Templum Minervae); Uff. 2513 A r ("Vestigie del foro di [Nerva] - elevation, Colonnacce); Uff. 2514 A r ("Portico del foro di Nerva" - façade, Templum Minervae; Colonnacce; Arcus Aureus; columns of Templum Martis Ultoris; Campanile of S. Basilio); Uff. 2583 A r ("Parte del medesimo foro di Nerva" - elevation, Colonnacce); Uff. 2583 A v ("Il foro di Nerva" - Templum Minervae; Colonnacce; Arcus Aureus; columns of Templum Martis Ultoris; Campanile of S. Basilio); Uff. 8542 A r Santarelli ("Al foro di Nerva vicino a torre de Conti" - Templum Minervae; Colonnacce; Arcus Aureus).

Heemskerck, Marten van. Berlin, Album II⁴², 37 r (Templum Minervae, with inscription written "Minerva"; Arcus Aureus; Colonnacce; 84 r (Templum Minervae; Arcus Aureus; Colonnacce).

Palladio, Andrea. London, RIBA, Vol. XI⁴³, 19 r, 19 v (non-sited; reconstituted plan, temple façade, and precinct wall with Colonnacce).

Sambin, Hugues. Album Destailleur, Berlin Hdz. 4151⁴⁴, 8 r, 8 v, 9 r, 9 v, 10 r ("El portico di Nerva; del foro di Nerva" - entablature-cornice; capital; Templum Minervae side-elevation; elevation, Colonnacce; cornice, Colonnacce).

Vignola, Jacopo [?]. Uff. 7927 A r ("... cornice grande di Nerva Troiano al suo tempo apreso a tore di Conti in Roma ed e quella del frontespizio" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce; "Questa cornice e del tempio di Nerva Troiana" - cornice).

Albertina, Anonimo Italiano H⁴⁵, AH 90 r ("Difitii dil Pantano" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce; "Colone scanelati arrutia; il fregio fate di figure" - elevation, Colonnacce; "Lettere grande circa palmi doi dinanzi non a architrave non gira altro che da 2 facie A, B" - entablature, Templum Minervae; "Sopra il gocolatoio al frontespizio dinanzi C si trovato in questi di febraro 1596 che ano chavato a viva et a li gradini sono stati levati rovinato asai" - plan, marked A, B, C; "archo", of porch, Templum Minervae).

Album Destailleur, Berlin OZ 109⁴⁶, 22 v ("... cornice e del tempio di Nerva apreso a tore de Conti" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); 23 r (non-sited; entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); 23 v ("Forum Nerva" - plan, elevation, Colonnacce); 24 r (non-sited; capital, entablature, cornice, Colonnacce; 24 v (non-sited; side-view, Colonnacce; non-sited: plan, Forum Nervae); 25 r ("Questa e la testa del foro transitorio di Roma; Questa e lo sfondato del sotto architrave"; "facia di pisalto"; "questo e lo sfondo dell sotto architrave" - architrave's soffit; plan, elevation, capital, entablature, Colonnacce).

nacce); 30 r (non-sited; entablature, Colonnacce); 49 v ("Colonna di Spoglia Cristi a Roma schanala infino alla basa ed e anchora ritta. Questa colonna senz altro laconico oggi non si trova ne si puo più vedere. E della colonna al pilastro suo sia braccia 4 minuti 27 1/2"; "architrave di Spoglia Cristi"; "cielo del architrave di Spoglia Cristi" - column; capital; architrave-soffit; Colonnacce).

Codex Chlumczansky⁴⁷, 31 r (non-sited; entablature-cornice, Colonnacce).

Anonymous North Italian ca. 1540. Codex CCA - Montréal⁴⁸, 9 r ("In Roma" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce).

Anonymous Artists. Vatican, Album Rossianae 618⁴⁹, no. 3 (non-sited; entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); no. 19 (non-sited; capital, entablature [with reliefs] - cornice, Colonnacce).

Anonymous Artists. Windsor Album⁵⁰, no. 10419 ("In palatio divi Nervae Traiani Romae" - entablature-cornice, Colonnacce); no. 10431 (non-sited; entablature with arabesque on frieze - Colonnacce?); no. 10787 r ("Al foro di Nerva Troiana" - Templum Minervae; Colonnacce; Arcus Aureus; columns of Templum Martis Ultoris; Campanile of S. Basilio); no. 10791 r ("Parte del foro di Nerva" - elevation, Colonnacce, and an entablature sunk in the foreground).

NOTES

¹ P.H. von Blanckenhagen, Flavische Architektur und ihre Dekoration. Untersucht am Nervaforum (Archäologisches Institut des Deutschen Reiches), Berlin 1940; G. Lugli, Roma antica. Il Centro monumentale, Rome 1946, pp. 258-273 (Il Foro di Augusto); pp. 273-278 (Foro di Nerva o Transitorio); pp. 278-309 (Il Foro di Traiano; I Mercati di Traiano), each site with previous bibliography; F. Coarelli, Guida archeologica di Roma, Verona 1974, pp. 102-134 (I Fori Imperiali), esp. p. 111 (Foro di Nerva o Transitorio). No previous bibliography cited. The dimensions and materials of the Colonnacce cited below have been published by S.B. Platner, The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome, Boston/New York/Chicago 1904, rev. 1911, pp. 282-284 (Forum Nervae or Forum Transitorium). Platner's description dates before the Colonnacce was excavated to the original pavement of the forum. Photographs of buildings in this area before 1930 are in: L. Prisco and G. Mercurio, La Via Alessandrina a Roma: assenza del passato?, in: Storia, architettura, VI, no. 2, 1982, pp. 85-98. As yet no photograph is available of the Colonnacce after last year's restoration.

² The excavation is conducted jointly by the Comune di Roma, X Ripartizione AA.BB.AA. and the Università di Roma "La Sapienza", Sezione di Topografia antica, in association with the Soprintendenza Archeologica di Roma. I heard lectures on the site (June, 1989), and a pamphlet was distributed: Il Foro di Nerva. Uno scavo archeologico nel centro di Roma. SPQR. Assessorato alla cultura, Sovrintendenza Comunale.

³ Excerpted from my Index of Architectural Drawings, Sketchbooks, Copybooks, and Albums by Renaissance Artists, which is to be published in: Röm. Jb. 1991. The Index is part of my study of drawings by the Addenda Architect of North Italy, which he added to his 1511 edition of Vitruvius, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York City.

⁴ Some pertinent information is in U. Gnoli, Topografia e Toponomastica di Roma medioevale e moderna. Nuova edizione accresciuta, Foligno 1939, reprint 1984. M. Quercioli, Le Torri di Roma, Rome 1985, pp. 31-39 (Torri delle Milizie); pp. 40-47 (Torre dei Conti).

⁵ Gnoli (n. 4), pp. 8, 23 (Arca di Noè; Arcus Aureus); Lugli (n. 1), pp. 273-276; Fig. 77 (engraving by Etienne Dupérac showing the Templum Minervae, Arcus Aureus, and the Colonnacce). The road between the temple and the Colonnacce appears to be very wide when, in fact, the space was narrow, as shown in the archaeological plan by Coarelli (n. 1), pp. 102-103.

⁶ Codex 28.II.12., El Escorial, Biblioteca. See H. Egger, Codex Escurialensis. Ein Skizzenbuch aus der Werkstatt Domenico Ghirlandaio, Vienna 1905-1906 (Sonderschriften des Österreichischen Archäologischen Institutes in Wien, Vol. 4).

⁷ Unpublished album of drawings by various artists, BNCF.

⁸ Ch. Huelsen, Le chiese di Roma nel Medioevo, Florence 1927, p. 319 (S. Mariae in Campo Carlei); Gnoli (n. 4), p. 306 (Spoglia Cristo). He notes the "contrada" of Campo Carleo assumed the name "Spolia Christi"

and a church of Sta. Maria or San Salvatore has been demolished (1864). In 1555, Sta. Maria is located at "Spoglia Christi alias in Campo Carleo prope Forum Nervae". The Via di Spoglia Cristo, cited in 1409, was incorporated in the new Via Alessandrina, located between the Forum Traiani and Via dei Carbonari (*ibidem*, p. 5).

⁹ Torino, Biblioteca Reale. The *Monumenti antichi* form Chapter 19 of *Trattato I* in *Francesco di Giorgio Martini*, Trattati di architettura, ingegneria e arte militare, ed. C. Maltese and L. Maltese Degrassi, Milan 1967, Vol. I, p. 280, and pl. 143.

¹⁰ Vasari-CdL, Vol. IV, pp. 133-147, Vita del Cronaca architetto fiorentino; quotations concerning Palazzo Strozzi and the cornice at Spoglia Cristo from pp. 135-136 and pp. 137-138.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, p. 134.

¹² Eleven of the thirty-one drawings illustrate parts of the Baptistry, San Miniato, and SS. Apostoli in Florence. Other drawings show parts of Roman buildings in Rome, and the Piccolomini Altar, Siena.

¹³ L. Grassi, Disegni inediti di Simone del Pollaiuolo detto il Cronaca, in: Palladio, VI, fasc. 1, 1943, pp. 14-22 (with illustrations of seven folios, recto and verso. These folios are now numbered differently than in 1943).

¹⁴ Centre Canadien de l'Architecture [CCA], Montréal. The codex of seven folios was acquired by Phyllis Lambert from Sotheby's, London, Catalogue, July 4, 1985, Lot no. 94, and illustrations, pls. XXXI-XXXVII. Each of thirty-one drawings is identified in an essay thereto by A. Nesselrath, "Seven Folios from a Sketchbook after the Antique. Simone di Tomaso del Pollaiuolo, called Il Cronaca". The entablature with cornice that Nesselrath identified as "Foro Transitorio" (Luigi Grassi had suggested the entablature was on the Palatine) does not represent the Colonnacce or the Templum Minervae, despite Cronaca's note "Il palazzo di Nerva" on the drawings. Cronaca's mistaken identification of the monument is obvious, first in that he shows a Doric capital instead of the temple's Corinthian ones; secondly, the entablature's cornice has different ornaments. Folio 2 verso illustrates a base and a cornice in Siena, the Pantheon's architrave, and a base found (not excavated, as stated by Nesselrath) in a villa near Sta. Domitilla in Rome in 1483, reused for other work ("Trovato da Santa Domitilla in una vigna sopra a urchiolano 1483 e dissfesi per farsene altri lavori").

¹⁵ G. Marchini, Il Cronaca, in: Riv. d'Arte, XXIII, Jan.-June 1941, pp. 99-136. Sangallo's *Libro* is in Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Ch. Huelsen, Il Libro di Giuliano da Sangallo. Codice Barberiniano Latino 4424, Leipzig 1910, Text p. 18, plates, folio 10 recto; new facsimile edition, 1984. About the entablature on a strip of vellum added to folio 10 recto, see note 26, below. Huelsen noted (p. 18) C. von Fabriczy's observation that this cornice, annotated "Spoglia Cristo", supplied Cronaca with a model for Palazzo Strozzi's *cornicione*. Sangallo's note actually says the entablature was on the ground ("a pie di Spoglia Cristi").

¹⁶ Other notes on folio 50 recto are the following: [under and beside the capital] "24. questo e de minutti de lo architrave e frego"; "alto 32 minutti"; [on the frieze] "egli e el fregio dicianove minuti del architrave de la misura dell architrave"; [beside the architrave and a measuring unit between two asterisks] "chuesto ene el minuto del architrave e fregio e del chapitello di queste ttre chose"; [measured unit beside the console] "questo ene el minuto della chornice"; [on the sima] "la mensola ene 9 1/2"; [base of plinth]: "minutti de la chornicie e dello inbasamento; la chornice e linbasamento e un medesimo inttesta".

For the drawing's tri-lobe motif, see note 38, below. It appears on the drawing of the entablature-cornice of the Colonnacce attributed to Raphael (RIBA, Vol. XIII, folio 1 r), as reproduced by V. Fontana and P. Morachiello, Vitruvio e Raffaello, Rome 1975, pl. 31. One note is: "architectura di Giovan recamatore di Viletre cavato dal anticho". The tri-lobe motif resembles the ornament on the great cornice of the Templum Concordiae ad radices Montis Tarpei, which is preserved in the Tabularium.

¹⁷ In the Index of Architectural Drawings (n. 3), the drawings are discussed at Items 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44. Items 40, 41, 42 are in the Uffizi; Item 43 is in the Biblioteca Nazionale. For the Uffizi drawings, see n. 19, below.

¹⁸ Inv. 1341, 252 r and v, Musée Bonnat, Bayonne, listed as Item 39 in the Index. Inv. 0814 r, Christ Church, Oxford University, listed in the Index as Item 44.

¹⁹ A. Bartoli, I Monumenti antichi di Roma nei disegni degli Uffizi di Firenze, Rome 1914-1922, Vol. I, Figs. 33-42. Some sheets listed in the second group are not reproduced by Bartoli. I have studied all drawings in the Gabinetto di Disegni e Stampe.

²⁰ G. Scaglia, Fantasy Architecture of Roma antica, in: Arte Lombarda, XV, no. 2, 1970, pp. 9-24.

²¹ Cronaca's other drawings, listed at Item 27 in my Index of Architectural Drawings (note 3, above), are the following: Berlin-Dahlem, Kupferstichkabinett, KdZ 5714 r, 5714 v, 5624 r, 5624 v; KdZ 5713 r is not Cronaca's drawing. Others, listed at Item 28 of the Index, are: Uff. 1877 A r and v; 4330 A r and v. At Item 29 of the Index, Codex Lambert, Inv. DR 1985; 0674-0680, CCA, Montréal. Listed at Item 30, one folio, Inv. M.A. 2337, Pierpont Morgan Library, New York City. The latter sheet was removed from the sketchbook that has become the Codex Lambert when the codex was in an English collection sometime before 1911.

²² Drawings by the Anonymus 2 - not Cronaca are discussed at Item 45 of the Index (note 3, above). These are in Vol. Collezione Disegni I: 109032; 109033; 109035; 109036 (fantasy architecture), Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome, Palazzo Venezia, Sala Lanciani. They were published as Cronaca's work by V. Cianfarani, Mostra di disegni della Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale d'Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte. Palazzo Braschi. June-July 1956, Rome 1956, unnumbered page for Items 5-8, and Figs. 1, 2.

Drawings by the Anonymus 3 - not Cronaca are KdZ 25012; KdZ 25015 (fantasy architecture), Berlin, Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett. These are described at Item 46 of the Index. They were discussed by M. Winner, Zeichner sehen die Antike. Europäische Handzeichnungen, 1450-1800 (Staatliche Museen der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz), Berlin-Dahlem 1967, pls. 1, 33. Drawings by the Anonymus 4 - not Cronaca (also known as the Anonymous French, ca. 1500) are Hdz. 3918, folios 1 r and v (fantasy architecture), Berlin, Kunstabibliothek. This is Item 47 of the Index. See S. Jacob, Italienische Zeichnungen der Kunstabibliothek Berlin. Architektur und Dekoration 16. bis 18. Jahrhundert, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz 1975, p. 15, and pl. 1. Jacob refers to related drawings of the set in albums collected in London (S. Kaufmann; Soane's Museum) and in Kassel. The latter is now published by H. Günther, Das Studium der antiken Architektur in den Zeichnungen der Hochrenaissance, Tübingen 1988, pl. 90.

A drawing of a fantasy building by the Anonymus 5 - not Cronaca is in the collection of Lodewijk Houthakker, Amsterdam. It is Item 48 of the Index. See P. Fuhring, Design into Art. Drawings for Architecture and Ornament. The Lodewijk Houthakker Collection, London 1989, p. 462, Cat. 739. Here the drawing is studied by Geneviève Monnier, Cabinet des Dessins, Louvre.

²³ This list, arranged in relative chronology and some alphabetic order, has been excerpted from three parts of my Index of Architectural Drawings (note 3, above) with description and bibliography for each. The first two parts of the Index range from ca. 1470 to ca. 1527, the third, beginning with the name, Alessandro Alberti, dates from ca. 1530 to 1590s. The sequence of drawings is by name of the artist or the name of the codex, and by the name of the city where the drawings are preserved. I have coined pseudonyms for anonymous artists by using the name of the artist to whom a drawing has been attributed.

Many drawings of the Colonnacce listed hereafter were first reproduced and discussed in the significant study by Marita Horster, Der Minervatempel auf dem Forum Transitorium in Zeichnungen der Renaissance, in: Flor. Mitt., XXVIII, 1984, pp. 133-172 and Figs. 2, 3, 5, 7-13, 20. She reproduced and discussed other drawings that include the Colonnacce by Netherlandish artists and Federico Zuccari (Figs. 1, 15-17), which I have excluded, and still other drawings illustrate the remains only of the Templum Minervae (Figs. 4, 6, 14, 21-23).

²⁴ In Codex 148 Saluzzo, Torino, Biblioteca Reale (note 9, above). It is Item 8 in the Index.

²⁵ Codex S IV 8, Siena, Biblioteca Comunale. R. Falb, Il Taccuino senese di Giuliano da Sangallo, Siena 1902; reprint 1979. It is Item 35 in the Index.

²⁶ Codex Barberini Lat. 4424, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (note 15, above). It is Item 36 in the Index. Importantly, a drawing that Giuliano shows on a strip of vellum he added to his folio 10 recto shows a large entablature, which he annotated "a pie di Spoglia Cristi trovato di nuovo che una cosa belissima in Roma". Giovanbattista da Sangallo copied (Uff. 1326 A r) it and noted "A Spoglia Christo cavata di tera". Thus it is not part of the Colonnacce as preserved today (Figs. 1, 6).

²⁷ Photo: Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, Fototeca.

²⁸ Ashmolean Museum, Oxford. It is Item no. 119 in the Index. Photo: Biblioteca Hertziana, Fototeca.

²⁹ Notes 7 and 17, above.

³⁰ Note 6, above. It is Item 57 in the Index.

³¹ Note 3, above.

³² Drawings reproduced in: H. Wurm, Baldassarre Peruzzi. Architekturzeichnungen. Tafelband, Tübingen 1984. These are Items 102-104 in the Index (n. 3).

³³ G. Zorzi, I disegni delle antichità di Andrea Palladio, Venice 1959, pp. 73-75, and Figs. 147, 152.

³⁴ Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio's calligraphy appears on drawings of buildings he actually built; for example, Uff. 1610 A r and v (Campanile della Madonna di Montepulciano) and on other two sheets: Uff. 1608 A r, 1611 A r and v. See Item 50 in the Index (n. 3).

³⁵ In Sir John Soane's Museum, London. It is Item 185 in the Index. I have studied it directly. Photos: Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London; Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, Fototeca.

³⁶ In the Hermitage, Leningrad. At Item 166 of the Index of Architectural Drawings, the artist of Album B is named Anonymus 12 - not Fra Giocondo. The Album is unpublished, and the correct folio number cannot be ascertained. Photos: Census, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University.

³⁷ Antonio dell'Abaco (Antonio Labacco) of Vercelli. His signature on a letter (Uff. 1793 A v) differs from the calligraphy on drawings attributed to him. The Anonymus is discussed at Item 154 of the Index.

³⁸ Fra Giovanni Giocondo's calligraphy, which does not appear on this drawing or on many others attributed

to him, is in a letter reproduced by R. Brenzoni, Fra Giovanni Giocondo veronese. Verona, 1435 - Roma, 1515, Florence 1960, p. 60. The present drawing's tri-lobe and leaf design on the moulding is the same as that by the Anonymus 1 - not Cronaca (Figs. 7, 8). See Item 155 of the Index for drawings by the Anonymus 1 - not Fra Giocondo.

³⁹ Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane's letter of 1538 is Uff. 307 A r. An attribution to Antonio il Giovane instead of Fra Giocondo has been suggested for Uff. 1543 A r. The drawings of Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane are discussed at Items 134-137 in the Index.

⁴⁰ Jacopo Sansovino's signature is on his letter of 1516, in: Carteggio di Michelangelo, Biblioteca Laurenziana, Florence. His calligraphy is on a drawing of a Corinthian capital: Uff. 1760 A r. The Anonymus 1 - not Jacopo Sansovino is discussed for his drawings in Item 172 of the Index.

⁴¹ Alessandro Albertini's writing is on Uff. 2064 A v where he writes "e io Alesandro Albertini lo misurai ...". He was active in 1560s-1590s. See Item 200 of the Index.

⁴² Ch. Huelsen and H. Egger, Die römischen Skizzenbücher von Marten van Heemskerck, Vol. I, Berlin 1913; Vol. II, Berlin 1916. The albums are Inv. 79 D2 [Vol. I] and Inv. 79 D2a [Vol. II], in Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Kupferstichkabinett.

⁴³ Zorzi (n. 33), pp. 73-75, and Figs. 148, 150.

⁴⁴ E. Berckenhausen, Die französischen Zeichnungen der Kunstsbibliothek Berlin. Kritisches Katalog, Berlin 1970, p. 23. The Album is Item 265 of the Index. I have seen the drawings. Photos: Biblioteca Hertziana, Fototeca.

⁴⁵ H. Egger, Kritisches Verzeichnis der Sammlung architektonischer Handzeichnungen der K. K. Hof-Bibliothek, Vienna 1903. I have studied the drawings.

⁴⁶ Inv. Hdz. 3267-3383, Kunstsbibliothek, Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kulturbesitz. Drawings in the album are by anonymous artists and Giovannantonio Dosio. It is Item 301 in the Index. Photos: Census, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, Fototeca. I have seen the drawings.

⁴⁷ Codex XVII. A 6, Prague, Musée Nationale, Bibliothèque. Vladimir Juřen, Le Codex Chlumczansky. Un recueil d'inscriptions et de dessins du XVI^e siècle, in: Monuments et Mémoires. L'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres 68. Presses Universitaires de France 1986, pp. 105-212. It is Item 313 in the Index.

⁴⁸ Inv. DR 1982: 0020: 001-033, Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal. It is Item 299 in the Index (n. 3). See: J.S. Ackerman, The Tuscan/Rustic Order. A Study of the Metaphorical Language of Architecture, in: JSAH, XLII, 1983, pp. 15-34. Six drawings of the codex have been studied as part of a larger question by M.N. Rosenfeld, From Drawn to Printed Model Book: Jacques Androuet Du Cerceau and the Transmission of Ideas from Designer to Patron, Master Mason and Architect in the Renaissance, in: Revue d'art canadienne/Canadian Art Review [RACAR], XVI, 2, 1989, pp. 131-145, and Figs. 135, 138, 141, 144, 147, 149.

⁴⁹ Album Rossianae 618, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Drawings by various anonymous artists. I have described it at Item 290 of the Index. An annotated drawing of the Arcus Titi's entablature (folio 24 v) has been attributed, wrongly, to Antonio Labacco (see note 37, above) by T. Buddensieg, Bernardo della Volpaia und Giovanni Francesco da Sangallo, in: Röm. Jb., XV, 1975, pp. 89-107, and Fig. 9.

⁵⁰ In the Royal Library, Windsor Castle. See Item 319 of the Index. Photos: Census, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University; Conway Library, Courtauld Institute, London; Biblioteca Hertziana, Rome, Fototeca.

RIASSUNTO

Nel corso del tardo Quattrocento e del Cinquecento, più di trenta artisti eseguirono almeno settantacinque disegni delle Colonnacce, una parte del muro di confine quasi integralmente conservato, ed i suoi nitidi ornamenti, restaurati poco tempo fa, accanto al Tempio di Minerva (distrutto) nel Foro di Nerva. Annotazioni di artisti su accurati disegni delle Colonnacce, ammirate per la loro bellezza, le identificano spesso con la designazione di una chiesa conosciuta come Spoglia Cristo. Vasari notava come il disegno di Simone del Pollaiuolo, detto il Cronaca, per il grande cornicione di Palazzo Strozzi fosse modellato sulle antichità di Spoglia Cristo. L'affermazione del Vasari è confermata da un confronto della trabeazione delle Colonnacce, nel profilo e nell'ornamentazione, con la cornice di Palazzo Strozzi. Un riesame di annotazioni d'artista su disegni di antichità — sia reali che di fantasia — attribuiti al Cronaca suggerisce che si tratti invece in primo luogo di un artista da denominarsi *Anonymous 1* - non Cronaca. I suoi disegni si trovano in: Firenze, Biblioteca Nazionale, Album II 1 429; Firenze, Gabinetto Disegni e Stampe degli Uffizi; Bayonne, Musée Bonnat; Oxford, Christ Church. Seguendo le annotazioni degli artisti, sono stati coniati altri pseudonimi per rettificare l'errata attribuzione al Cronaca: *Anonymous 2* - non Cronaca; *Anonymous 3* - non Cronaca; *Anonymous 4* - non Cronaca; *Anonymous 5* - non Cronaca. I relativi disegni di architetture di fantasia si trovano, rispettivamente, a: Roma, Biblioteca dell'Istituto Nazionale di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte; Berlino, Kupferstichkabinett; Berlino, Kunstabibliothek; Amsterdam, collezione Lodewijk Houthakker.

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Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Rome: Figs. 1, 6. - Biblioteca Hertziana, Fototeca, Rome: Figs. 2-4. - Victoria & Albert Museum, London: Fig. 5. - BNCF: Figs. 7, 8. - After Grassi (n. 13), fig. 1: Fig. 9.