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Francisco de Hollanda's *Os Desenhos das Antigualhas* (1538–ante 1571) and the Study of the Antique

Abstract

This article focuses on Francisco de Hollanda's (1517–1585) *Os Desenhos das Antiqualhas*, an album of drawings preserved at the El Escorial Monastery Library in Madrid (inv. no. 28–I–20). Using high-definition images of the drawings, published for the first time in this volume, the article casts fresh light on the material, graphic, and historical details of Hollanda's graphic production. Cross-referencing the evidence from the drawings with passages from Hollanda's treatises (e.g., *Da Pintura Antiga* and *Da Ciência do Desenho*), the article offers new insights into the album's original function and patronage. Hollanda worked on these drawings over a protracted period and, as the article demonstrates, likely viewed this album as his portfolio of drawings, as evidence of the artistic/antiquarian culture he had brought back to Portugal. The second part of the article focuses on Hollanda's method of copying antique subjects (e.g., his decision to copy specific ancient models; the modifications he introduced in his copies; and the distinctness of his working practice when compared to the methods adopted by other contemporary artists). By highlighting the commonalities between Francisco de Hollanda and the Sangallo workshop, this article juxtaposes the rich and unusual repertoire of antique and modern subjects copied by Hollanda with the drawings of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, whose guidance may have impacted which subjects Hollanda considered worthy of study. Finally, the artistic representations of antique subjects in Hollanda's drawings are discussed in dialogue with his ideas on the antique, as recorded in his treatises. More specifically, a careful analysis of Hollanda's attempts to fill in the antique subject's lost detail and damaged areas with his own interpretations shows that his notion of the antique as an ideal aesthetic model is reflected in his graphic production.

"Disegna Antonio, disegna Antonio.
Disegna e non perder tempo."
Michelangelo (1475–1564)[1]

Introduction

At the end of the nineteenth century, interest in Michelangelo and his relationship to Vittoria Colonna's artistic circle encouraged scholars to address the works of Francisco de Hollanda (1517–1585), a Portuguese artist who had sojourned in Rome between 1538 and 1540. Research on the Portuguese artist's life, cultural background, and artistic production[2] has been driven mainly by Francisco de Hollanda's relationship with Michelangelo, alluded to in his treatise, *Da Pintura Antiga* – mainly in Part Two (i.e., *Diálogos en Roma*).[3] Scholars have studied *Diálogos en Roma* to uncover new aspects of the artistic circle of Michelangelo and Vittoria Colonna, including their relationship with Hollanda.[4] However, as Tietze and Redig de Campos have shown, Hollanda likely exaggerated the closeness of his connection to Michelangelo. A single letter sent by Hollanda to Michelangelo (dated 15 August 1553) testifies to a link, but does not substantiate his claim of a close friendship with Michelangelo.[5] As Bury has stressed, although Hollanda knew Michelangelo personally, in many passages of his treatise, the words he ascribes to Michelangelo relate more to his own ideas than to Michelangelo's.[6]

* I want to express my deepest gratitude to the Royal Library of San Lorenzo de El Escorial for their generous authorization to study and publish high-definition images of Francisco de Hollanda's drawings. The images are also accessible online as part of the Hertziana Photographic Collection (https://foto.biblhertz.it/exist/foto/search.html?antigualhas+color). I am deeply grateful to Sandro de Maria, Marzia Faietti, Eric M. Moormann, and the anonymous reviewers for their precious scholarly suggestions and recommendations. Furthermore, I wish to thank all Hertziana fellows for their interest in discussing these results at the internal seminars. The research for the present publication received support from Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max Planck Institute for Art History (BH-P-20-25).

1 For Michelangelo's handwritten note in the British Museum Drawing (inv. no. 1859,0514.818), dated 1522–1524, see https://www.britishmuseum.org.

2 Essential biographical references include Moreira 1982, Oliveira Caetano 2013, Deswarte-Rosa 2016 (Hollanda's biography); Hollanda 2003 and Bury 1981 (Hollanda's artistic and literary production); Di Stefano 2004 and Hope 2013 (Hollanda's ideas in art theory); for a recent summary about the academic literature on Hollanda: Fonseca 2011.

3 Although Hollanda wrote other brief treatises (e.g., *Do Tirar Polo Natural*, 1549; *Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa*, 1571; *Da Ciência do Desenho*, 1571), most academic interests have been devoted to *Da Pintura Antiga* (1548) and evolved around the last decades of the 19th century because of the first Portuguese edition of *Da Pintura Antiga* (Vasconcellos 1890) and, subsequently, its translations into other languages: German (Vasconcellos 1899), French (Rouanet 1911), Italian (Pellizzari 1915), and Spanish (Hollanda (1563)1921). While the first Spanish translation was made in 1563 by the Portuguese painter Manuel Denis (published only in 1921), a first attempt for a French translation was already made in 1846 by Racynski (although considered strongly inaccurate); for further details about the translations of Hollanda's literary works, see Hollanda 2003, pp. 12–18; for a recent Portuguese edition of Hollanda's treaties, see Hollanda (1538) 1984; Hollanda (1548) 1984; Hollanda (1571) 1984a; and Hollanda (1571) 1984b and Soler 2018; for a recent English translation of *Da Pintura Antiga*: Hollanda (1538) 2013.

4 Several scholars have studied the relationship between Michelangelo, Vittoria Colonna, and Hollanda (e.g., *Dialoghi michelangioleschi* 1924, pp. 203–209; Clements 1964, pp. 322–323; Folliero-Metz 1996, pp. 19–30; Deswarte-Rosa 1997, Nagel 1997; Bianco/Romani 2005; Donati 2019, 121–174). On the other hand, excluding the study by Thérault 1968 (which partially investigates some dynamics and philosophical discussions of the circle), currently, there are no serious studies exploring the social and logistical aspects of Vittoria's circle (e.g., how the circle organized its reunions and how frequently, how the discussions were structured, and how they related to other humanistic circles). Also, in Campbell's study on the female figures within the humanistic circles, Vittoria Colonna's circle is only briefly mentioned (Campbell 2006, pp. 27–28, 141–142).

In recent decades, research on Francisco de Hollanda has examined several themes, ranging from his Neoplatonic interests,[7] personal life,[8] and possible artwork[9] to the influence of classical literature on his works.[10] However, as scholars have often tended to focus on his literary works and aesthetic philosophy as a means to investigate the life and ideas of Michelangelo,[11] less attention has been paid to *Os Desenhos das Antigualhas*, his album of drawings, and his methods of copying the works of classical antiquity, or to his own study of the antiquity.[12] Preserved at the El Escorial Monastery Library in Madrid (inv. No. 28–I–20), Hollanda's *Os Desenhos das Antigualhas* is a collection of drawings, featuring mainly ancient Roman subjects (i.e., statues, reliefs, ruins, and buildings), he encountered during his travels through Italy.

This article partially derives from another wide-ranging study on the Renaissance drawings of Domus Aurea's wall paintings (Brunetti 2022) that aims to reconstruct these original ancient wall paintings and analyze the copying methodologies of Renaissance artists. As Hollanda's watercolor renditions of these Neronian wall paintings are precious sources for this purpose (fig. 1, fig. 3 and fol. 13r), a more comprehensive study of Hollanda's entire album was previously carried out to verify the fidelity of his drawings to the ancient model in order to assess to what extent he had relied on artistic license. Within the framework of that study, Hollanda's drawings of antiquities were analyzed in conjunction with archaeological evidence, and its main findings, specifically concerning Hollanda's methodologies of copying antiquities for his album of drawings, are laid out in the present article. High-definition images of the drawings, published here for the first time with their original colors in full display (e.g., fig. 12), allow highlighting some issues that have been overlooked or taken for granted thus far, specifically to cast fresh light on Hollanda's methodology of copying (i.e., which ancient models he decided to copy and why; how he modified the models in his copies; in what ways the working practice he adopted set him apart from other contemporary artists) and the extent to which he had deferred to a familiar repertoire employed by other Italian artists in his selection of antique subjects. Moreover, in regard to the relevance of classical antiquity in his education as an artist and art theorist, we established that his album of drawings had not been sufficiently analyzed in theoretical terms in light of his views on the Antique and the art of drawing set out in his treatises *Da Pintura Antiga* (1548) and *Da Ciência do Desenho* (1571).

5 Tietze 1905 and Giannotti 1939, pp. 30–31 (for Hollanda's letter, see *Carteggio di Michelangelo* 1983, p. 9 and Hollanda 2003, pp. 195–198); more recent studies on the relationship between Hollanda and Michelangelo: Tera 2012, Di Stefano 2004, pp. 30–31.

6 Bury 1981, pp. 1–3.

7 Di Stefano 2004; Hope 2013; Pereda 2020.

8 Deswarte-Rosa 1974; Bury 1981, pp. 1–26; Oliveira Caetano 2013.

9 Bury 1981, pp. 38–45; Deswarte-Rosa 2016; Parada López de Corselas/Schiaffino 2017.

10 Modroni 1998.

11 Excluding Moreira 1982 and Alves 1986, most recent scholars have chosen to consider Hollanda's literary productions to study his aesthetic philosophy, rather than his biography or artistic production (e.g., Deswarte-Rosa 1992; Di Stefano 2004; Hope 2013, pp. 45–64; Santos 2017; Parada López de Corselas/Schiaffino 2017; Pereda 2020). On the other hand, a few studies are focused on Hollanda's biography and artistic production (Bury 1981; Oliveira Caetano 2013; Deswarte-Rosa 2016). Deswarte-Rosa often reveals a tendency to presume many aspects of Hollanda's life, and to take them for granted in subsequent studies (e.g., identifying the recipient of *Os Desenhos das Antigualhas* as Dom Luìs). Nevertheless, some of her studies provide new archival and historical evidence for Hollanda's biography (e.g., Deswarte-Rosa 1991; Deswarte-Rosa 2016).

12 See Bartsch 2003, one of the few, well-supported studies in this sense, mainly focused on fol. 8r with the representation of the Colossus of Barletta; the concept of Antique in Hollanda's art is also touched upon in Tagliabue 2012.

Before embarking on these topics, it is important to review literature on Hollanda's album of drawings, to highlight some questionable considerations and hypotheses laid out in earlier research regarding the album's chronology and patronage. Thus, the initial focus will be on *Os Desenhos das Antiqualhas*, especially its chronology, function, possible recipient, and how this album of drawings differs from other drawing books. Secondly, in turning to the Portuguese artist's main cultural interests, this article seeks to establish a connection to the culture of the Renaissance period and reflect on the purpose of Hollanda's journey.

Os Desenhos das Antigualhas: Dating and Genesis of the Drawings

Scholars began to pay attention to Hollanda's album of drawings only after Elias Tomo published a facsimile of the album in 1940.[13] Tormo, the first to publish all of Hollanda's drawings, ensured its notoriety. Since then, no other scientific contribution has attempted to collect and compare all data on the album provided by later academic literature. In fact, some aspects have since undergone significant reassessment, especially those concerning the artist's own life, his travels to Italy, and his choice of archaeological models.[14] Even the dating and collecting history of *Os Desenhos das Antigualhas* has been reexamined. According to Tormo, the date of the album of drawings corresponds to the period of Hollanda's stay in Italy.[15] Some references in his treatises indicate that Hollanda's travels transpired between 1538 and 1540. Indeed, based on his literary work, *Da Ciência do Desenho* (1571), where Hollanda not only declares that he had embarked on his Italian journey at the age of twenty[16] but also mentions the drawings he had made during that stay,[17] O*s Desenhos das Antigualhas* has often been dated to 1538–1540, without considering the possibility that Hollanda may have continued to work on his drawings after 1540.

The most precise chronology rendered thus far for the production of *Antigualhas* is owed to new archival research conducted by Moreira and Deswarte-Rosa, who relied on three main pieces of evidence to establish that *Antigualhas* came into being in the period spanning 1538–*ante* 1571.[18] The first piece of evidence is the dedication on the frontispiece in Hollanda's handwriting, to the "deceased King John III of Portugal". Since the king died in 1557, it is possible to conclude that Hollanda had worked on his album of drawings until at least 1557. However, further evidence suggests that Hollanda had continued to tend to his *Antigualhas* drawings well past that time period, until 1564–1571. Indeed, in

13 Tormo 1940. Before the facsimile edition of Tormo, the first publication concerning *Os Desenhos das Antigualhas* was a brief article by Battelli 1939. A second facsimile edition was curated by José da Felicidade Alves (Alves 1989). However, the scholar used the same images as in Tormo's edition and, unfortunately, no further information has been provided on the history and material features of the album.

14 Owing to the impossibility of recognizing and verifying all antique models that Hollanda copied, Tormo often made some wrong attributions. In our final list of the drawings, we have corrected some mistakes.

15 Tormo 1940, pp. 16–21.

16 "When I was twenty [*scil.* 1537], the King – your grandfather [*scil.* John III of Portugal] – sent me to Italy for copying many drawings of the most important Italian things. And, I did it and, indeed, one drawing book is now owned by Infante's son, Dom António.": *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 7 (or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984a, p. 41; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 235). According to De Vasconcellos, while the journey began in 1537, Hollanda arrived in Italy in the late summer of 1538 (Vasconcellos 1899, p. XXVII).

17 The mention of his album of drawings can also be found in another passage of *Da pintura Antigua*, Second Book (*Diálogos en Roma*), First Dialogue: "What stucco painting or grotesque is discovered among these grottoes and antiquities, not only in Rome but also in Pozzuoli and Baia, that the rarest of them is not to be found sketched in my notebooks?": (En. ed: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 170; or. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 1984, p. 23; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 103).

fol. 2r, Hollanda notes the date of Michelangelo's death (18 February 1564) on his portrait.[19] Characterized by the same calligraphy and abbreviations seen elsewhere in Hollanda's drawings, his handwriting is unmistakable, which refutes the idea that this note could have been authored by someone else.[20] As such, it is possible to conclude that Hollanda could still have been working on his *Antigualhas* drawings at least until Michelangelo's death (1564), at which time the album had not yet been handed over to his patron. However, his work on *Antigualhas* appears to have culminated before 1571. As he mentions in the *Da Ciência do Desenho* (dated to 1571), at that time the album of drawings was owned by Dom António (1531–1595), Prior of Crato and nephew of the King John III of Portugal.[21]

In the passage just mentioned, Hollanda reveals that he had traveled to Italy at the behest of John III "in order to copy many drawings of the most important Italian things."[22] However, one question remains unanswered: if John III of Portugal had sent Hollanda to create an album of drawings, why was *Antigualhas* still in Hollanda's possession as late as 1564? This aspect is crucial to understand the album's function. As shown below, although Hollanda had intended to draw some "important Italian subjects" for his patron, creating *Antigualhas* was not the aim of his Italian journey.[23] The evidence suggests that, Francisco de Hollanda, who had fallen out of royal favor over the fourteen years since returning to Portugal, decided to create a 'luxury edition' of his Italian drawings to renew the interest of the royal family and regain its protection.

Antigualhas has long been considered a special book-souvenir created for King John III of Portugal (Tormo 1940)[24] or for the King's brother, Luís of Portugal (Deswarte-Rosa 1991). According to Tormo, the cover page of the album of drawings, where Hollanda dedicates his work to the "deceased King John III", reveals that *Antigualhas* was made for John III.[25] On the other hand, the significant presence of military subjects (fortresses, military buildings, and fortified citadels) has led Deswarte-Rosa to believe that Dom Luís of Portugal, a proxy minister of war for John III, was the final recipient of *Antigualhas*.[26] Deswarte-

18 Moreira 1982; Deswarte-Rosa 2016; see Bartsch 2003, pp. 115–116.

19 Under the *imago clipeata* of Michelangelo (fol. 2r), Hollanda's note states: "Nacque Michael Angelus negli anni MCCCCLXXIV [*scil.* instead of 1475] et se ne passo di codesta vita a XVII [*scil.* instead of 18] di febraio l'anno MDLXIII [*scil.* instead of 1564] etati sue LXXXVIIII.": Tormo 1940, p. 38.

20 Cf. the calligraphy with that in fig. 25: letters "st", "p", "et".

21 "Sendo eu de idade de 20 anos, me mandou El-Rei vosso avô a ver Itália e trazer-lhe muitos desenhos de coisas notáveis dela, como fiz em um livro que agora tem o filho do Infante [*scil.* Dom Luís], Senhor Dom António": *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 7 (Hollanda (1571) 1984a, p. 41; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 235); António was the son of Luís of Portugal (1506–1555), Duke of Beja and second son of King Manuel I of Portugal (1469–1521). The first son of Manuel I – John – went on to become king of Portugal (John III of Portugal: reg. 1521–1557).

22 See footnote no. 21.

23 For *Antigualhas* as an album of drawings commissioned by a patron (John III or Dom Luís): Tormo 1940, pp. 5–8; Nesselrath 1986, p. 134; Deswarte-Rosa 1991; Tagliabue 2012, p. 81; Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 245, n. 44 (= p. 154, n. 8).

24 "Porque se ha llegado a decir que Francisco d'Ollanda fué enviado a Italia a fines del 1537 por el Rey de Portugal, principalmente para el estudio del nuevo arte de las construcciones militares, nacido, transformado, y con ensayos e invenciones diversas, precisamente en Italia.": Tormo 1940, p. 6.

25 "Reinando en Portugal el Rey Dom Juan III, que Dios tiene (esto es, que de Dios goza ya), Francisco d'Ollanda pasó a Italia, y de las antigüedades que vió, retrató de su mano todos los dibujos de este libro.": fol. 1r (Tormo 1940, p. 35).

26 "Dans cette perspective et examiné selon la chronologie des dessins, on voit que le livre des *Antigualhas* de Francisco de Holanda fut d'abord conçu comme un recueil de relevés de fortifications – à commencer par la forteresse de Salses (f. 43v) – destinés à l'infant D. Luís.": Deswarte-Rosa 1991, p. 265.

Rosa's reasoning that since the album of drawings was owned by Luís's son Dom António in 1571, *Antigualhas* was originally intended as a gift for Dom Luís, does not explain why Hollanda did not gift *Antigualhas* to him immediately after his return to Portugal (1540), instead continuing to work on it even after Dom Luìs' death in 1555. Deswarte-Rosa cites two passages from Hollanda's treatises in support of her assumption, although they are inconsistent with other facts at hand.

In the first, a passage in his treatise *Da Ciência do Desenho*, Hollanda alludes to the utility of the art of drawing, especially in relation to military and defense buildings, stating: "Thus, the King [*scil*. John III] and the Infante [scil. Dom Luís] used my art for the fortress of Mazagão [*scil*. El Jadida, Morocco], following a model and project of mine, which became the first fortress in Africa; I drew a similar project during my return from Italy and France, having drawn and measured major fortresses of the world."[27] Apart from falsely claiming credit for the design of Mazagão's fortress,[28] in this passage and elsewhere, Francisco de Hollanda seems to emphasize that the drawings deriving from his Italian journey were made for Dom Luís, who could use them for military purposes.[29] However, the notion that *Antiqualhas* had indeed been conceived as a gift for Dom Luís is contested by the initial dedication to the "deceased King John III". Moreover, in *Da Pintura Antiga*, Hollanda declares that he had come to Italy out of personal interest, and not because he had been sent by others: "When I was a youth [I was] in the service of the Infante Dom Fernando and the most serene Cardinal Dom Alfonso, my master; and knowing this gave me a desire to go to see Rome."[30]

The second passage, which informs Deswarte-Rosa's hypothesis, concerns the treatise *Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa*, which was written in 1571 and published in 1576.[31] It is only in this passage in *Da Fábrica*, among all other Hollanda's treatises, that he explains why he participated in the Portuguese diplomatic mission sent to Italy, although the reader does not come away with the real reasons for his journey. Specifically, over thirty years after his Italian journey, he claimed that he had been sent to copy some military and defensive buildings, which would be used for future Portuguese building projects.[32] However, as Bury rightly notes, the *Antigualhas* drawings of military/defensive buildings cannot be considered architectural projects, to be replicated or reused by other builders, but are simply city landscapes or artistic images of military buildings (e.g., fig. 8).[33] Secondly, around the same time (i.e., 1571), his artistic status within the

27 *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 5 (or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984a, p. 33; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 231).

28 Mazagão's fortress was built in 1514 and transformed in 1541–1548 by Benedetto da Ravenna: Oliveira Caetano 2013 p. 19, p. 41 n. 21, p. 42 n. 46.

29 See also two passages in *Da Pintura Antiga*, specifically: *Da Pintura Antiga,* Second Book (*Diálogos en Roma*), First Dialogue ("I was constantly pondering how I might steal the masterpieces and elegances of Italy and carry them, stolen, away to Portugal for the gratification of the King [*scil*. John III] and the Infantes, and the most serene lord, the Infante Dom Luís.": En. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 170; or. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 1984, p. 23); *Da Pintura Antiga,* First Book, Prologue ("Dom Luís, your most generous brother, who I believe values this science [*scil*. the painting art] no less for purposes of war than for the delectation and adornment of peace.": En. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 68; or. ed.: Hollanda (1548) 1984, p. 16).

30 *Da Pintura Antiga,* First Book, cap. 13: En. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 94 (or. ed.: Hollanda (1548) 1984, p. 41; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 44).

31 For a chronology of all Hollanda's treatises, see Hollanda 2003, p. 16.

32 "I do not want to offend the memory of your passed-away grandfather [*scil*. John III] who sent me in Italy, when I was young, for seeing and copying the Italian fortresses and the most famous buildings (as I did); [*scil*. He sent me] so that I could have brought back the drawings and I made them with great effort and danger because I did what was necessary to satisfy him; however, due to the circumstances, nobody requested my art for many buildings built [*scil*. In Portugal] and towards which I might have contributed what little I have.": *Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa*, Prologue (or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984b, p. 11; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 200).

royal court had already been on the decline,[34] and his Italian journey probably offered him an opportunity to reinvent himself as an official architect in the eyes of King Sebastian of Portugal – to whom Hollanda dedicated his treatise, *Da Fábrica*.

Finally, in another passage of the same treatise, Deswarte-Rosa concludes that Hollanda would have shown his 'Italian drawings' to Dom Luís after returning to Portugal (1540): "Au retour de Francisco au Portugal, l'Infant D. Luís fut l'un des premiers à voir les dessins du voyage."[35] However, in that passage, Hollanda does not describe such an event. Rather, he simply states that following his Italian travels, he was summoned by Dom Luís to meet and visit Sintra together.[36] According to Deswarte-Rosa, the precise moment when Dom Luís commissioned Hollanda to include certain drawings in *Antigualhas*, as described by Hollanda himself, was at their meeting in Barcelona:[37] "Ainsi, à Barcelone, l'infant D. Luís a chargé Francisco de Holanda d'une mission, celle de recueillir durant son voyage le maximum d'informations stratégiques et militaires en Espagne, en France et en Italie: armées, sièges, arsenaux, et surtout les nouveautés en matière de fortification."[38] However, this passage in *Da Fábrica* must be carefully reconsidered, for there is no evidence suggesting that Hollanda had intended to create an album during his Italian journey or that Dom Luís had commissioned Hollanda to create one, or that Dom Luís was to be its final recipient.[39]

It is true that Hollanda and Dom Luís had a close professional relationship.[40] Indeed, because of his calligraphic skills, Hollanda had been engaged to write important letters for Dom Luís.[41] Moreover, Dom Luís had asked Hollanda to copy some military subjects for him.[42] Together with other members of the royal Portuguese family, until his death in 1555, Dom Luís had also contributed to Hollanda's salary.[43] However, although Dom Luís' name occurs frequently in Hollanda's treatises,[44] the person mentioned more often, particularly in relation

33 About the 'architectural uselessness' of Hollanda's military drawings: Bury 1981, pp. 18–19.

34 Despite his Italian journey and artistic training, when Hollanda returned to Portugal, King John III chose Pedro Nunes (Tagliabue 2012, pp. 84–86) and Miguel de Arruda (Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 41, n. 21) as his architects and scientific consultants. In a certain way, their work probably prevented Hollanda from realizing his dreams as an intellectual and architect/artist of the court.

35 Deswarte-Rosa 1991, p. 265 and n. 101.

36 "Quando me o Infante Dom Luís, vosso tio que Deus tem, levou a mostrar a Serra de Sintra, mandado-me para isso chamar a Lisboa quando vim de Itália.": *Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa* (1571), cap. 9 (or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984b, p. 31; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 214).

37 It was the meeting between Charles V, Hollanda and Dom Luís that took place in March 1538 (Deswarte-Rosa 1991, pp. 257–262).

38 Deswarte-Rosa 1991, p. 264: the scholar only refers to fols. 43v and 44v in support of her hypothesis; similarly, Oliveira Caetano 2013, p. 20: "The drawings in the album of the *Antigualhas* appear to have been one of the motives for Hollanda's journey."

39 *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 7 (or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984a, pp. 41–44; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, pp. 235–237).

40 For the figure of Dom Luís: Deswarte-Rosa 1991 (for his relationship with Francisco de Hollanda: pp. 257–265).

41 *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 7: "Thus, he [*scil.* Dom Luís] apologized to me, since he was a very honest and excellent prince; afterwards, he used my [*scil.* Graphic] skills for writing some letters: one to the Pope, one to the King of France and the other to the Marquess of Vasto." (or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984a, p. 44; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 237).

42 *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 5: "I also saw the army of the King of France, standing next to the counts of Lombardy; I drew it [*scil.* The army] and I sent it from Nice to your uncle [*scil.* Dom Luís]." (or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984a, p. 32; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 230).

43 Moreira 1982, p. 648; Oliveira Caetano 2013, pp. 37–39.

44 E.g., *Da Pintura Antiga,* First Book, Prologue; *Da Pintura Antiga,* Second Book (*Diálogos en Roma*), Prologue and First Dialogue; *Do Tirar polo Natural*, Prologue; *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. Nos. 4, 5, and 7; *Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa*, cap. nos. 6 and 9.

to Hollanda's Italian journey, is King John III, Dom Luís' brother.[45] As pointed out above, in his written works, Hollanda often thanked King John III for including him in the diplomatic mission to Italy, and later commemorated the dead sovereign in *Antigualhas* (and not the king's brother, the late Dom Luís). Hollanda's Italian journey was possible because he was allowed to accompany the Portuguese ambassador, Dom Pedro de Mascarenhas, to Italy on a diplomatic mission to the court of Pope Paul III.[46] However, in no other passages of his treatises does Hollanda specify why he was part of such an exclusive trip. Nor is it clear who had granted Hollanda the permission to participate. However, the fact that Hollanda's father, António de Hollanda, enjoyed the favor of the royal family may have played some role in the affair.[47] We may consider that Hollanda had wanted to visit Italy and study its artistic heritage since he was a boy. Indeed, before his Italian journey, and for almost four years (1534–1537), Hollanda had stayed at the household of Cardinal-Infante Dom Alfonso, the bishop of Évora, where he "entered an environment that was entirely dominated by the study of antiquity and the reception of humanistic ideas."[48] Not by chance, as mentioned above, in *Da Pintura Antiga*, Hollanda insists that he had come to Italy out of personal interest, and not because he had been sent by others: "When I was a youth in the service of the Infante Dom Fernando and the most serene Cardinal Dom Alfonso, my master; and knowing this gave me a desire to go to see Rome."[49]

Considering Hollanda's youth and his limited artistic experience (as far as we know),[50] we can conclude that Hollanda's only 'duty' during his Italian journey was to study and improve his artistic skills and must reject the thesis that Dom Luís had specifically commissioned Hollanda with the task of creating an album of drawings for him or, even less plausibly, that *Antigualhas* had been created as part of an 'espionage' mission to study military buildings.[51] Hollanda's long and deliberate progress on *Antigualhas* had most likely become possible because there was no specific patron. After falling out of favor with the royal family, he had likely donated the album to reestablish himself as an artist. Considering his biography, Dom António (Dom Luís' son) would have been the most suitable person to receive such a gift and, for that reason, in 1571 he became the album's owner.

Surely, Hollanda had donated some copies of Italian subjects he had made during his journey separately to his patrons (sending them from Italy or gifting them once he was back to Portugal).[52] However, no statement by Hollanda suggests that the *Antigualhas* drawings are linked to a specific commission. In light of Hollanda's contradictory explanations for his Italian journey, we will never know whether his participation in the diplomatic mission had a purpose – of

45 E.g., *Da Pintura Antiga,* First Book, Prologue; *Da pintura antiga,* Second Book (*Diálogos en Roma*), First Dialogue; *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 7; *Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa*, Prologue.

46 Deswarte-Rosa 1983, pp. 61–65; Oliveira Caetano 2013, pp. 17–22; for the precise political mission of Dom Pedro de Mascarenhas' journey: Deswarte-Rosa 1991, p. 257, n. 68.

47 For António de Hollanda: Oliveira Caetano 2013, pp. 9–12; "The opportunity to accompany the ambassador Dom Pedro de Mascarenhas on his mission to the pope may have had to do with a possible career in the College of Arms such as his father had pursued.": Oliveira Caetano 2013, pp. 18–19.

48 Oliveira Caetano 2013, p. 13.

49 *Da Pintura Antiga,* First Book, cap. 13: En. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 94 (or. ed.: Hollanda (1548) 1984, p. 41; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 44).

50 Moreira 1982; Alves 1986.

51 Folliero-Metz 1998, p. 3, n. 5.

52 While Hollanda was in Italy, he sent at least one drawing to Dom Luís (*Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 5); similarly, upon his return to Portugal, Hollanda gave Dom Luís some drawings as sources of inspiration to create weapons: *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 4 (or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984a, p. 28; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 229).

creating drawings of Italian subjects – or if his role as 'draftsman of the diplomatic mission' was only an expedient for converting his Italian apprenticeship into an 'official artistic investiture' in the eyes of the royal court. Indeed, the data compared and collected so far proves that *Antigualhas* had not been envisioned as a project at the start of the journey, in the sense that Hollanda did not embark on his travels with the intention of creating an album of drawings for a particular patron. On the contrary, as the variety of subjects depicted in this album and of styles and techniques used (sometimes specific and demanding and, other times, less accurate and sketchy) reveals no specific aims and seems to have been dictated by Hollanda's personal desires and interests, *Antigualhas* was not the reason for, but an outcome of his protracted stay in Italy. For only subsequently did Hollanda decide to edit and compile the drawings, turning his collection into an official, 'luxury edition' that he could present as a special gift.

It would be remiss not to mention that during his Italian journey, Hollanda created more than one book of drawings of sketchy designs that he later re-elaborated, recopied, and reused in different ways (e.g., as gifts, projects, and personal study/memory). Indeed, in his treatise *Da Pintura Antiga* (1548), Hollanda says that he copied many ancient subjects in "his drawing books" (plural form): "What stucco or grotesque painting is to be found in these caves and antiquities, not only in Rome but also in Pozzuoli and Baia, that the rarest of them is not found sketched in my notebooks [or. ed. *cadernos*]?"[53] This passage reveals that, contrary to what some scholars believe, the *Antigualhas* drawings derive not just from one but several drawing books that Hollanda had used during his Italian journey. Hollanda's use of the verb "riscar" suggests that the drawings of his subjects were simply sketches, neither accurate nor detailed: "[*scil*. subjects] sketched into my notebooks", i.e., "meus cadernos riscados", and not "desenhar", "pintar", or "retratar."

It is possible that, during his Italian journey, Hollanda had lacked the time (in view of time devoted to other duties, such as cultivating contacts or having to frequently move from one town to another, etc.) to create or complete some of the fine drawings included in *Antigualhas* (e.g., the watercolors of Domus Aurea's wall paintings: figs. 1 and 3). Instead, he created cursory sketches, as shown below, furnishing them with notes describing the subject (e.g., original colors, measures, etc.) to enable him to recall those features following his return to Portugal, where he recopied or refined them.

As he writes in *Da Pintura Antiga* (1548), he had already gifted some drawings to King John III and Dom Luís: "I was constantly pondering how I might steal the masterpieces and elegances of Italy and carry them, stolen, away to Portugal for the gratification of the King [*scil*. John III] and the Infantes, and the most serene lord, the Infante Dom Luís."[54] Since *Da Pintura Antiga* was published in 1548 and dedicated to King John III, we must assume that he had gifted some drawings from his Italian journey (else a similar passage would have been considered ridiculous by the royal court). Of course, even while gifting away individual drawings to royal family members, Hollanda had retained his ownership of *Antigualhas* as a whole and continued to work on this collection until its completion, i.e., at least until 1564.

53 *Da Pintura Antiga*, Second Book (*Diálogos en Roma*), First Dialogue: "Que pintura de estuque ou grutesco se descobre por estas grutas e antigualhas, assim de Roma, como de Puzol e de Baias, que se não ache o mais raro delas pelos meus cadernos riscados?" (or. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 1984, p. 23; En. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 170; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 103).

54 *Da Pintura Antiga,* Second Book (*Diálogos en Roma*), Fist Dialogue*:* En. ed. Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 170 (or. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 1984, p. 23; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 103).

The Antigualhas: Function, Collecting History, and Features

Since Tormo's study, scholars have provided more insights into how *Antigualhas* finally arrived at the El Escorial Monastery Library in Madrid. Owing specifically to archival documents studied by Moreira, it has been possible to suggest that *Antigualhas* was one of the "dous livros de debuxos" to have been preserved in Dom António's *escritório* (a sort of portable library) and abandoned by him during the battle of Alcântara (25th August 1580).[55] According to Deswarte-Rosa, *Antigualhas* might have been one of the "libros de pinturas" that Emperor Philip II had carried with him to Spain.[56] Following this, the next mention of *Antigualhas* appears in an inventory list of Philip II's possessions, written in the year of his death (1598).[57]

Owing to the wide variety of subjects contained in the album and the dedication made to King John III, Nesselrath describes *Antigualhas* as a "souvenir drawing book".[58] The term "souvenir", in its final form, suggests that the "drawing book" does not appear to be a personal sketchbook, but instead a figural memorial of the main Italian and Roman monuments, made for a special patron.[59] As mentioned above, in 1571 the album of drawings was owned by Dom António, Dom Luís' son, and nephew of King John III of Portugal.[60] Since *Antigualhas* had been donated between 1564 (the date of Hollanda's latest album entry) and 1571 (and Dom Luís had died in 1555), Dom António had not inherited it from his father but received it as a gift directly from Hollanda.

Despite Nesselrath's characterization of Hollanda's album of drawings of antique subjects as a "souvenir drawing book", it is more accurate to define *Antigualhas* as a "souvenir album of drawings". Indeed, considering Nesselrath's distinction between drawing book ("libro di disegni") and album of drawings ("album di disegni"),[61] it must be stressed that Hollanda did not draw the *Antigualhas* subjects directly on the sheets of the blank codex. Instead, he first drew on single sheets and then cut and mounted the drawings onto the blank pages of the codex, as in the case of the Codex Berolinensis preserved at Kupferstichkabinett of Berlin (inv. 79.D.1).[62] Indeed, the center of each page of *Antigualhas* has been cut out to render the drawings on the recto and verso visible, as a passepartout.[63] After the cutouts of his drawings were mounted into the 'window space' of the blank pages, Hollanda drew a red framework around the mounted drawing (fig. 1), thereby hiding the junction of the drawing and the page of the codex. Of course, as discussed above, we can only assume that Hollanda had carried out the cutting and pasting only upon his return to Portugal (after 1540).

Antigualhas consists of 54 single sheets, with each sheet of the codex showing one drawing on the recto and one on the verso. While the size of codex's pages is 460 (height) × 350 (width) mm, each drawing measures approximately

55 Moreira 1982, pp. 644–645; p. 645 n. 43; according to Deswarte-Rosa, the second drawing book in the "escritório" was *Genealogía del Infante D. Fernando*: Deswarte-Rosa 2016, pp. 266–267.

56 Deswarte-Rosa 2016, p. 272; for Philip II's letter dated to 4 June 1582: F. Bouza 1998, no. XXI, p. 84.

57 Sánchez Catón 1956–1959, p. 177, no. 1315: "Un libro de tropheos y antiguallas romanas" and, on one side of this note, another note specifies: "es para Sant Lorenzo". The first time when the inventory number of *Antigualhas* (28–I–20) appears is in 1762: Bury 1981, p. 34.

58 Nesselrath 1986, p. 134.

59 For the concept of 'souvenir drawing book', see Nesselrath 1986, pp. 129–134.

60 See footnote no. 21.

61 For the distinction between "libro di disegni" and "album di disegni", see Nesselrath 1986, Elen 2018.

62 Elen 1995, pp. 342–345.

63 "Er stellte vielmehr die Reinzeichnungen seiner vor Ort aufgenommenen Skizzen neu zusammen, indem er sie aufwendig in Passepartouts aus feinem Leinwandpapier einfaßte und in der Mehrzahl mit farbigen Rahmen versah.": Bartsch 2003, p. 115.

1 Francisco de Hollanda, *'Grande Fregio' on the Western Wall of Room 80 of the Domus Aurea*, 1538–ante 1571, watercolor and gouache on paper (traces of lapis), 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20j, fol. 14r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

2 Francisco de Hollanda, *Trajan's Arch in Ancona*, 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink, brush and diluted ink, traces of white lead on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 48(bis)r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

390 × 270 mm.[64] In five cases (11r, 43r, 44r, 46r, 48r), the recto has two drawings, as a folded sheet is mounted on the codex's page. When the folded sheet is closed, it shows one design, as in the case of fol. 48(bis)r (fig. 2). Once the folded sheet is opened, it reveals a 'double drawing' that is twice the size of the 'single drawing'. One of these five designs is the watercolor of the Volta Dorata, to be analyzed later (fig. 3). Even if Tormo does not specify the size of the 'double drawings', the five double folios are exactly the size of two single folios (hence, the 'double drawings' are 390 × 540 mm).

In some cases, Hollanda glued a smaller drawing onto another sheet mounted subsequently in the 'window space' of a blank page. This happened, for example, in the case of the watercolor of the Colosseum (fig. 4). This detail has not been examined so far, but it seems crucial to understand how *Antigualhas* was created from individual drawings. A similar process of cutting and pasting is easier to distinguish on other sheets: e.g., in fols. 48v, 43v, 29r. For instance, in fol. 43v (fig. 5), the drawings were undoubtedly hand-cut, i.e., cut without the aid of an orthogonal line traced in pencil to ensure cutting precision. Seemingly irrelevant at first sight,

64 Tormo 1940, p. 26.

3 Francisco de Hollanda, *Volta Dorata the Domus Aurea*, 1538–ante 1571, watercolor and gouache on paper, 390 × 540 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fols. 47(bis)v–48r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

however, this detail proves that the drawings mounted in *Antigualhas* stemmed from different sheets (or drawing books). To create the drawings included in *Antigualhas*, Hollanda did not simply rip out pages of an extant drawing book and mount them. As he explained in *Da Pintura Antiga*, he had used designs from single sheets or drawing books and pasted them onto the codex's blank pages.[65]

Most drawings in *Antigualhas* are mounted onto the blank pages of the codex (i.e., 390 × 270 mm) and perfectly fit the 'window space'. However, some drawings that are smaller than the 'window space', such as those just mentioned, were pasted on other blank single pages measuring 390 × 270 mm (fig. 4). In other cases, drawings larger than the 'window space' were partially cut to fit the 'window space' of the blank pages (e.g., fols. 21 r, 28 r). It is important to note that the drawings with more accurate and fine workmanship (e.g., the watercolors) perfectly fit the 'window space'. For this reason, Hollanda had likely decided to create a 'window space' of 390 × 270 mm to fit the size of his most refined drawings. Consequently, it is possible that the drawing book Hollanda had used to carefully copy some of his drawings before he created *Antigualhas* measured approximately 390 × 270 mm, and he later chose some drawings from there, using the page size of that book to calculate the 'window space' for all other drawings for *Antigualhas*. In such a hypothetical, dismembered drawing book, Hollanda might have drawn some subjects on two pages (i.e., the verso of one sheet and the recto of the other) creating his five 'double drawings'. In these five cases, Hollanda would have ripped out the two drawings he had made on two separate sheets (verso–recto) of this hypothetical drawing book. Then, after sewing them

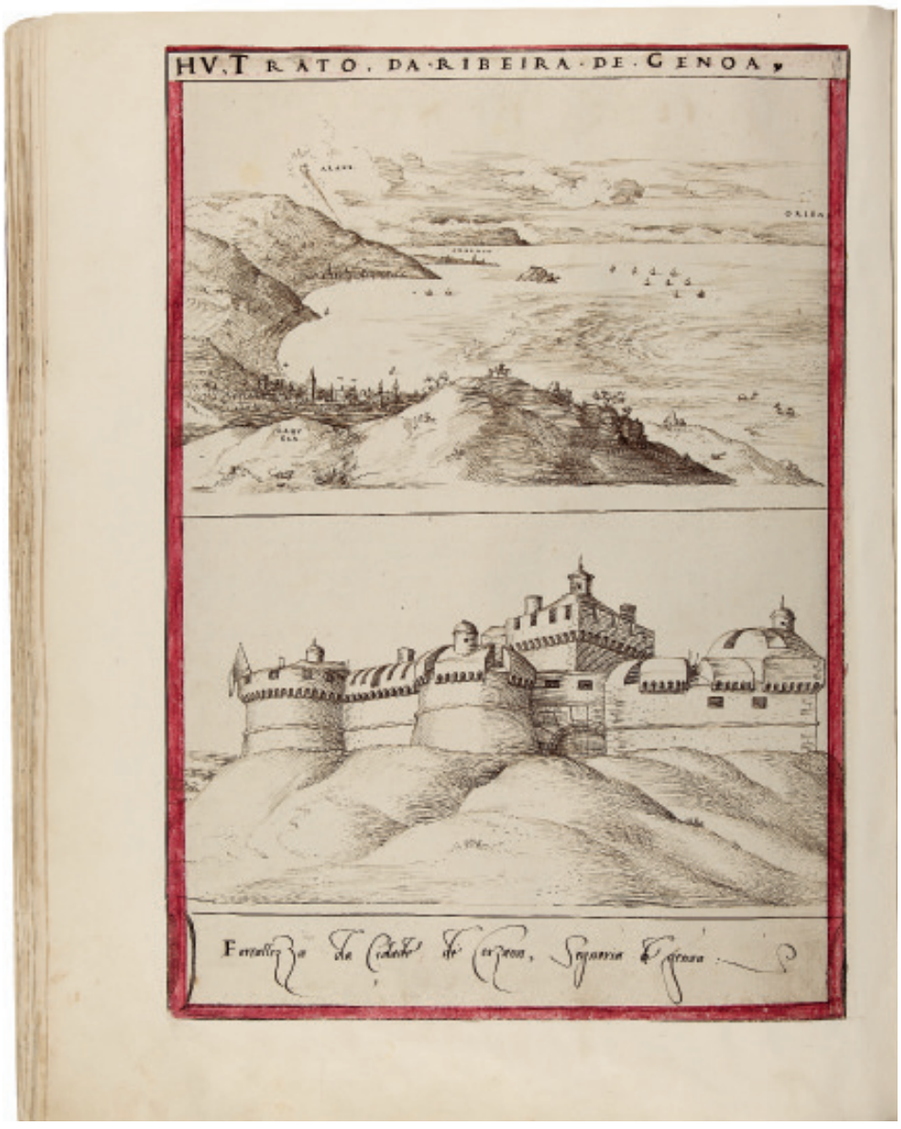
65 *Da Pintura Antiga*, 2, First Dialogue: "[…] meus cadernos riscados?".

4 Francisco de Hollanda, *Colosseum,* 1538–ante 1571, watercolor, gouache, and traces of white lead on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 5v (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

5 Francisco de Hollanda, *Fort de Salses, France*, detail, 1538–ante 1571, red chalk on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28-I-20, fol. 43v (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

6 Francisco de Hollanda, *Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine,* 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink, brush and watercolor on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 25r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

7 Francisco de Hollanda, *Reliefs of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius,* 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink, brush and diluted ink on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28-I-20, fol. 25v (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)



8 Francisco de Hollanda, *Bay of Genoa* (*Westside*) *and the Fortress of Sarzanello,* 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 37v (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

together, he transferred and folded them into the *Antigualhas* drawing book so they would appear as a double-sided single drawing (fig. 3). In other cases, he took a drawing occupying the verso–recto of the hypothetical drawing book and transferred it onto two separate sheets of *Antigualhas.*[66] Such a process is confirmed by the inscriptions that originally ran across two separate sheets (verso–recto): see fig. 1 where the second part of the inscription can be seen.

Hollanda's habitual cutting and pasting of drawings from different sheets might explain why some subjects and inscriptions appear to be off-center. For instance, in fol. 25r (fig. 6), the inscription is not located at the center of the sheet and ends close to the right border. Simply miscalculating the space needed for an inscription would be an amateurish mistake. Probably Hollanda preferred to cut a slightly bigger portion of the right side rather than the left one to fit the drawing into the window space. Similar cases can be seen in fols. 6v, 30v (see the asymmetry of the inscription) or fols. 21v, 28r, 31r (e.g., fig. 9: see how the artist chose to cut figural subjects). A further, clearer example in this sense is fol. 25v (fig. 7). Here Hollanda pasted a small piece of paper above the inscription to fit the new text into the available space, fortunately revealing that the text under the

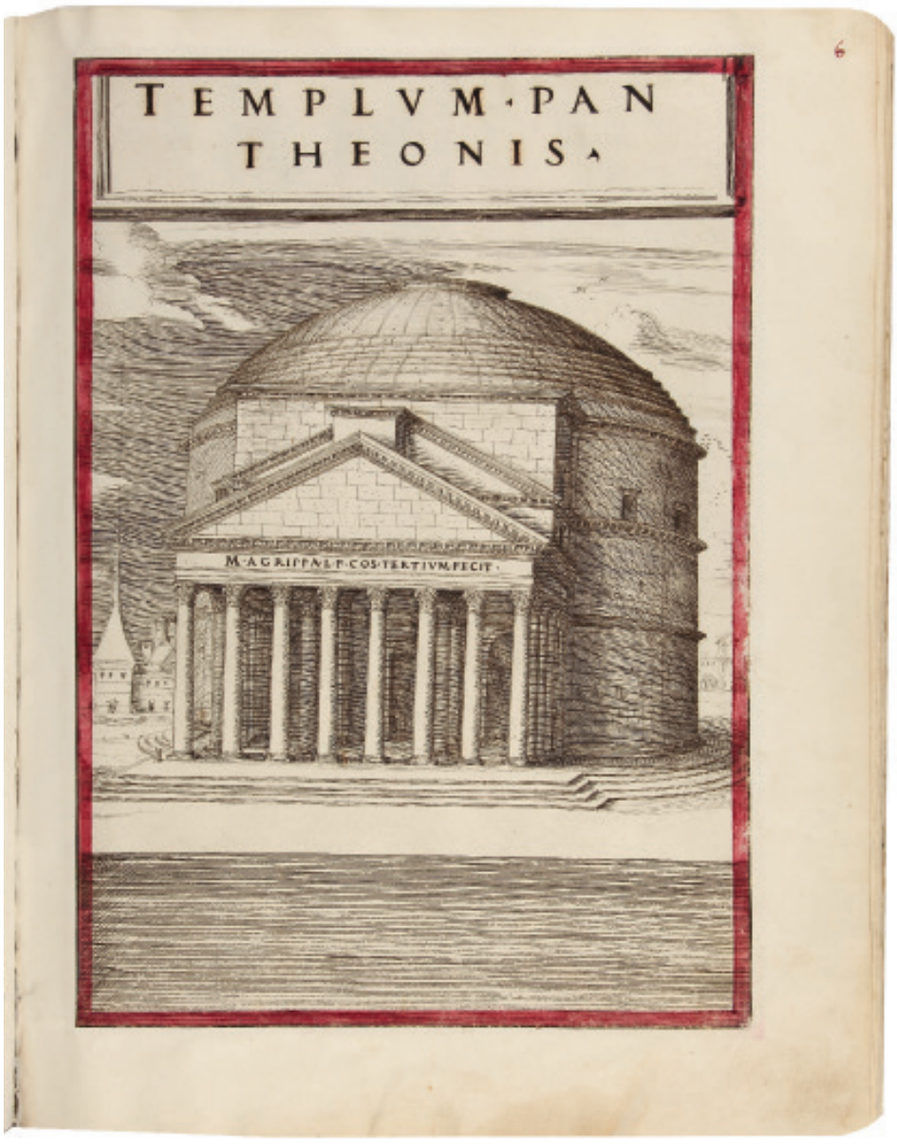
66 E.g., fols. 13v–14r [fig. 1]; 15v–16r; 14v–15r.

9 Francisco de Hollanda, *Venus Knidia,* 1538–ante 1571, red chalk on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 31r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

new paper was the same, although it occupies a slightly larger space.[67] We can thus explain several inaccuracies and mistakes that would otherwise be considered results of artistic naivety or inexperience.

The sheer variety of drawing techniques is impressive. Watercolors (e.g., figs. 1, 3), pen drawings (e.g., fig. 8), red chalk drawings (e.g., fig. 9), pen drawings that simulate engravings (e.g., fig. 10), drawings using both pen and paintbrush with diluted ink (e.g., fig. 11), pen drawings on a watercolored paper – such as the blue color used to simulate Venetian design (e.g., fig. 12).[68] This fantastic variety cannot merely be attributed to a desire to illustrate different artistic styles. Instead, it shows Hollanda's desire to improve his artistic skills in each technique. The *Antigualhas* drawings reveal the same mixture of techniques that Renaissance artists commonly learned during their apprenticeship. They were also used for drawings within the "libri di disegni" and single drawings that circulated during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries among

67 A very similar case can be seen in fol. 20r: here, on the right side of the drawing, Hollanda had first written "sic Rome / in via Sacra" on two lines, afterwards correcting it to "sic Rome / in via / Sacra" on three lines (see also how the word "sacra" is written in a different ink).
68 For the design on blue paper, see Hugo Chapman, in Chapman/Faietti 2011, p. 38.



10 Francisco de Hollanda, *Pantheon,* 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 6r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

workshops/artists to disseminate ideas on certain models and styles.[69] For instance, fol. 26r (fig. 13)[70] shows that two different techniques were used for the Juno Ludovisi head and other sculptures from the Cesi collection.[71] Specifically, Hollanda had used red chalk for the Juno Ludovisi head and a pen design for the Cesi sculptures to simulate the engraving.[72] The cross-hatching and the red chalk used for the Ludovisi sculpture recall a type of drawing from the Antique, typical of certain drawing books such as Codex Escurialensis (28–II–12)[73] or Heemskerck's album.[74] Indeed, such a double technique (red chalk and pen)

69 For "libri/album di disegni", see Nesselrath 1986; Elen 1995; Elen 2018.

70 Tormo 1940, pp. 118–120.

71 During Hollanda's Italian journey (1538–1540), Juno Ludovisi and other sculptures depicted by Hollanda were preserved in Cesi's collection (now Torlonia Collection); Juno Ludovisi passed to Ludovisi collection in 1622 and to Museo Nazionale Romano in 1922 (today, Palazzo Altemps): Heintze 1957; Bober/Rubinstein 2010, p. 60, no. 8.

72 Similarly, fol. 43v and 45r.

73 Traditionally attributed to Giuliano da Sangallo (because of the similarities with Codex Barberini: Egger 1906, p. 9), the codex was attributed to Ghirlandaio and his workshop (Egger 1906, Shearman 1977) and, later on, to Giuliano da Sangallo's workshop by Nesselrath, who dated it to 1506–1508 (Nesselrath 1986, pp. 132–134, Nesselrath 1993, pp. 52–53; for an overview on the bibliography and attribution issues, see Elen 1995, pp. 256–259).

11 Francisco de Hollanda, *Arch of Constantine* (*North Façade*), 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink, brush and diluted ink on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28-I-20, fol. 19r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

on the same sheet may have been chosen by Hollanda intentionally and in line with the different styles and techniques that he had encountered during his Italian journey.[75] In the Renaissance drawing books, different subjects were often depicted using different techniques (e.g., Fossombrone's Codex, Codex Wolfegg, Codex Barberini, etc.).[76] For instance, Codex Wolfegg contains pen

74 Heemskerck Album I (Kupferstichkabinett of Berlin, inv. 79.D.2), dated post 1532 – ante 1537, e.g., fols. 8v, 11v, 21v, 31r (Bartsch 2019, pp. 161–239); for the red chalk in Heemskerck's drawings: Bartsch 2019, 43–44, 51–53, 79–80, Di Furia 2019, p. 156; for the use of red chalk in drawings after antiquity, see Adriano Aymonino, in Aymonino/Varick Lauder 2015, p. 28.

75 During his Italian journey, apart from Michelangelo, Hollanda was also in touch with some important artists and draftsmen like Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Iacopo Meleghino, Sebastiano Serlio, and Valerio Belli (*Da Pintura Antiga*, First Book, cap. 43.1; *Da Pintura Antiga*, Second Book, Fourth Dialogue [En. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 2013, pp. 138, 218]). Considering Hollanda's interest in collecting drawings of other artists (Deswarte-Rosa 1983, pp. 99–110; pp. 23–25; Oliveira Caetano 2013, pp. 9–12), we may assume that, as the case of Halicarnassus' Mausoleum shows (see later), he studied the designs of other artists/workshops.

76 For Renaissance drawing books, see Nesselrath 1986; Elen 1995; Hugo Chapman, in Chapman/Faietti 2011, pp. 48–52; Elen 2018.

12 Francisco de Hollanda, *Nile God Statue in Vatican,* 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink, brush and diluted ink, traces of white lead on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28-I-20, fol. 50r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

drawings (e.g., fol. 22r), where Aspertini used the cross-hatching for imbuing the subject with more depth, also using the brush and diluted ink on a thin ground for the same reason in other folios (e.g., fol. 19v). Of course, the techniques were not as varied as those depicted in *Antigualhas*, which comprises watercolors, red chalk drawings, pen drawings on watercolored paper. As such, Hollanda does not just appear to follow a practice widespread among Italian drawing books but seems attracted to different graphic techniques. Nevertheless, comparing Hollanda's drawing in fol. 26r to those of Girolamo da Carpi[77] and Pierre Jacques (for the Juno Ludovisi)[78] and to van Heemskerck's design (for the Cesi sculptures),[79] it becomes evident that his use of the pen is not as precise as he claims in light of the body proportions and the elegance of the *ductus*.[80]

77 Rosenbach Album (1539–1543): Canedy 1976, R31, p. 42; Dauner 2005, pp. 30–31; for Girolamo da Carpi and Roman collections of antiquities: Ferrari/Pattanaro 2019.

78 Codex Remensis, Rés. Fb 18a–4°, fol. 14r (1572–1577): Reinach 1902, p. 117.

79 Heemskerck Album I (Kupferstichkabinett of Berlin, inv. 79.D.2), fol. 25r (post 1532–ante 1537): Leoncini 1991, pp. 110–111; for Heemskerck's drawings of antiquities or inspired by the Antique: Bartsch 2019, DiFuria 2019 (see also footnote no. 74).

80 Hollanda lists himself last among the architects in the "Table of the Famous Architects of the Moderns" (or. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 1984, p. 148; En. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 241).

13 Francisco de Hollanda, *Juno Ludovisi and Other Scultures from Cesi Collection,* 1538–ante 1571, red chalk on paper (above), pen and ink on paper (below), 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 26r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

14 Francisco de Hollanda, *Mosaics, Paintings, and the Sarcophagus in Santa Costanza,* 1538–ante 1571, watercolor and gouache on paper (above), pen and ink, brush, and diluted ink on paper (below), 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28-I-20, fol. 27v (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

In some cases, his drawing had not been fully executed. For instance, Hollanda copied part of the mosaics that decorated the dome of the Mausoleum of Santa Costanza ("templo de Baco") in the upper section of fol. 27v (fig. 14);[81] the lower part contains a drawing of the Sarcophagus of Costantia (now preserved at the Vatican Museums).[82] While Hollanda used watercolors to render the mosaics, he chose not to color the sarcophagus, a comparatively rare dark red porphyry. Hollanda noted the material of the sarcophagus ("Aiuint sepulcrum Bacchi ex lapide numidico"), making it highly likely that the decoration was simply left unfinished, and there was no deliberate decision to avoid color.[83] Similarly, his drawings from Michelangelo's Sistine Chapel – copying Asaf, Giosafat and Ioram (fol. 12r) and the Erithrean Sybil (fol. 11v: fig. 15) – seem perfunctory with their rough background and truncated inscriptions, and show

81 See also fols. 21v and 22r.
82 Tormo 1940, pp. 124–131.
83 In fol. 27v, see also the sketched decoration of the porch with coffered ceiling below the mosaics of the dome.
84 Micheli 1982.

15 Francisco de Hollanda, *Sibilla Eritrea from the Sistine Chapel of Michelangelo,* 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 11v (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

that they had not been executed for the purpose of accuracy. In the case of Renaissance sketchbooks or drawing books (e.g., Giovanni Colonna da Tivoli's drawing book), it goes without saying that the sketchy and impromptu representations are mainly for personal use.[84] However, if we consider the function of *Antigualhas* as a tribute, the inclusion of such designs seems inconsistent in light of the fine workmanship of other drawings in the album (e.g., fig. 3, 7, 11, 12). We may conclude that Hollanda's copies of some subjects were rather sketchy because, at the time, they were meant solely for his own use.

Two other elements in fol. 27v (fig. 14) are helpful in clarifying the genesis of *Antigualhas* and the subjects depicted therein. Together with fol. 4v of Codex Escurialensis, fol. 27v is the only other Renaissance drawing that depicts the mosaics of Santa Costanza's dome that have since disappeared.[85] It is unlikely that Hollanda had taken inspiration from Codex Escurialensis for this subject. Indeed, even if the owner of Codex Escurialensis had been in Italy between

85 Amadio 1986, pp. 19–59, 67–72, 76, 81–83; Simone Piazza, in Andaloro/Romano 2006, pp. 72–78.

1538–1540 and shared some common acquaintances with Hollanda,[86] there is no evidence to suggest that Hollanda ever saw Codex Escurialensis first hand. As shown later, comparing *Antigualhas* and Codex Escurialensis reveals several similarities between Francisco de Hollanda and the Sangallo's workshop, especially the works of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger.

Fol. 27v can also help us understand the seemingly casual order of the subjects depicted in *Antigualhas.* While fols. 21v and 22r show the Mausoleum of Santa Costanza, the third drawing illustrating this monument is placed at quite a distance in fol. 27r. Likewise, the wall paintings of Domus Aurea (fols. 13v–14r, 47(bis)v–48r), artworks from the Belvedere/Vatican collection (e.g., fols. 8v, 9r, 9v, 19v, 26v, 50r), subjects from the Della Valle's collection (fols. 28r, 28v, 54r), from Pesaro (fols. 44v, 36v) and the French subjects (fols. 37r, 42v, 49v, 54v) do not follow any discernible logical order, nor do they replicate the chronology of Hollanda's journey. The drawings are also not arranged according to the subjects (e.g., sculptures, buildings, paintings, city views) or the artistic techniques.

While all pages of the codex (recto side) are numbered in the upper right corner, the five 'double drawings' show a number recorded in pencil on their folded recto side (e.g., fol. 48(bis)r: fig. 2) or in blue ink (e.g., fol. 10(bis)). The codex's recto pages were numbered only as *Antigualhas* was being created, because the same red ink was used for the red framework around the drawings. On the other hand, the numbers on the five 'double drawings' do not follow a previous number sequence, as some scholars have suggested.[87] These numbers were inscribed by a modern hand to assign a number to the drawings on the folded side, because Hollanda had failed to do so. It is possible that he decided against a predictable order for his drawings to illustrate the 'disorder' of the subjects depicted in Italian drawing books; however, one would have expected a more logical pattern for an album of drawings meant as a gift.[88]

This lack of care or caution in assembling *Antigualhas*, with some drawings only approximately cut and glued over others, is consistent with Hollanda's approach. Some subjects or inscriptions are not centered on the page and cut off at the border of the 'window space'. The red ink framing is perfunctory, and often hides a part of the drawing (e.g., fols. 4v and 7r), the layer of uneven color. This is surprising, considering that Hollanda was particularly competent in the use of watercolor, ink, and brush (e.g., fig. 3). Finally, some simple sketches are placed next to more refined drawings that evidently required much attention and effort (e.g., fols. 18r/v). Some drawings, shown alongside more refined pieces, were likely intended to be donated separately afterwards, as Hollanda's note on fol. 3v indicates ("Fra[nc]iscus Olla[n]dius Faci[e]bat").[89] As such, we may conclude that *Antigualhas* comprises designs stemming from different sheets, drawing books and, probably, individual drawings that were intended to be donated sep-

86 The owner of Codex Escurialensis, Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza y Pacheco (1504–1575), inherited it from Don Rodrigo de Vivar y Mendoza (1466–1523): Kruft 1969 and Kruft 1970. Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza was acquainted with Don Luis de Ávila (ca. 1500 – ca. 1564) and the latter knew Hollanda before his Italian journey in Portugal and Spain (for the artistic interests of Don Diego Hurtado de Mendoza and his collection of drawings and designs: Cacciotti 2005, Hobson 1999; for the connection between Don Diego Hurtado and Don Luis de Ávila see the two letters in verses: Knapp 1877, pp. 116–129; for the relationship between Hollanda and Don Luis de Ávila, see *Da Ciência do Desenho*, cap. 7 [or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984a, pp. 41–44; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, pp. 235–237]).

87 "Alguns desenhos possuem uma numeração visível na margem, o que pressupõe que, antes da organização do livro, possuíam alguma outra ordem em sua organização.": Santos 2017, p. 75; *contra*: Tormo 1940, p. 28.

88 "El mismo D'Ollanda, y no otra persona, y con mucho cuidado, ordenó seguramente y dirigiría la delicada labor de la que llamaremos incrustación de las hojas dibujadas, en las hojas más grandes que las sostienen (cual passe-partout).": Tormo 1940, p. 28.

89 Tormo 1940, pp. 42–43.

arately. They were cut, sometimes pasted onto other sheets, and mounted into the 'window space' in the pages of the blank codex without apparent care or caution, for Hollanda often cropped the subjects depicted and overlapped them within a rough red framework. Finally, Hollanda (or whoever created the binding materially) did not provide a logical order to the subjects depicted, and some drawings he collected and bound do not evince the same refined workmanship as other designs.

In conclusion, the evidence suggests it is unlikely that *Antigualhas* was conceived or created during Hollanda's Italian journey, or as a gift to a special recipient (Don Luís or King John III), or that the mission of his journey was to copy the most 'remarkable subjects' in Italy. Despite the time Hollanda may have had at his disposal after his return from Italy to work on some drawings, the drawings were assembled and bound rather carelessly. However, we will never know if, between 1564 and 1571, he had been forced by circumstance to create a gift for Don António and his family or if he simply lost much of his original interest for the Italian drawings he had preserved for at least fourteen years. Indeed, as stated in his *Da Ciência do Desenho* (1571), he no longer had the same love of or interest in art and design.[90] Nevertheless, twenty years after his Italian journey, Hollanda continued to use this experience (albeit improperly) as evidence of his artistic skills, whose potential he felt the royal family never exploited in full.

A Repertoire to Select: Methodology of the Copy and the Study of the Antique

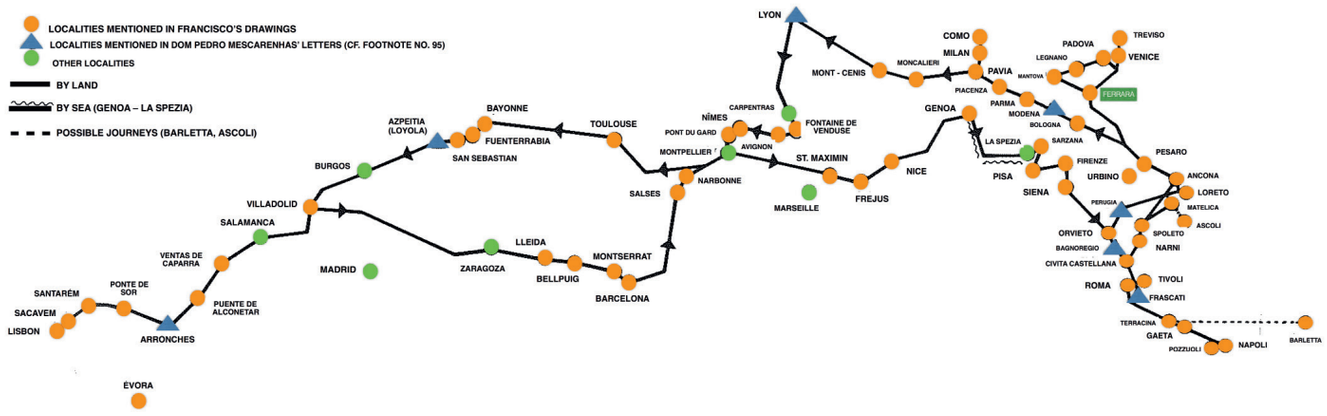
"But at this point may I be permitted to say that I was the first person in this Kingdom to praise antiquity and to proclaim that is perfect and that there is no other excellence in works of art, and this during a time when everyone was inclined to scoff at it, when I was a youth in the service of the Infante Dom Fernando and the most serene Cardinal Dom Alfonso, my master; and knowing this gave me a desire to go to see Rome, and when I returned I did not recognize this country, seeing that I did not find a stonemason or a painter who did not say that the Antique (which they call the mode of Italy) was the source of everything; and I found them all such masters of this that no one had any recollection of me."[91]

This passage confirms the analysis undertaken thus far and introduces Hollanda's methodologies of copying and studying the Antique. As previously mentioned, in 1548, following the publication of *Da Pintura Antiga*, Hollanda became particularly frustrated at the lack of artistic recognition and esteem bestowed on him by the royal family.[92] However, some passages indicate that his texts must be read with caution, because of Hollanda's tendency to contradict himself. For instance, in the case of the Mazagão fortress, mentioned above, he declares he had received undeserved credit. Moreover, unlike his claims in the passage just mentioned, Hollanda has not been the first in Portugal to admire

90 *Da Ciência do Desenho,* cap. 1: "On hundred things I could say, I will speak about ten or twelve because the satisfaction and the passion for this argument [*scil.* The Art of design and paintings] are totally frozen and lost, because of the time and space where I live today on the Mountain, in consideration of another kind of painting." (or. ed.: Hollanda (1571) 1984a, p. 15); in Hollanda's treatises, the word "painting" includes all the arts requiring design, while the expression "ancient painting" defines the art that perfectly reflects the idea of beauty: Di Stefano 2004, p. 16.

91 *Da Pintura Antiga,* First Book, cap. 13: En. ed. Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 94 (or. ed.: Hollanda (1548) 1984, p. 41; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 44).

92 I.e., *Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa,* Prologue: "However, due to the circumstances, nobody requested my art for many buildings built [*scil.* In Portugal] and for which I might have given my little contribute."



16 Map of Francisco de Hollanda's Journey from January 1538 to June 1540, from: Deswarte-Rosa 1983, p. 61 (revised by the author)

the works of the antiquity and use them as his source of inspiration.[93] His stated reasons for his Italian journey reveal other contradictions. Hollanda probably owed his participation in the diplomatic mission to his father's good standing at the Portuguese court.[94] He had not been commissioned to copy monuments and buildings for the royal family, or for that matter to study military architecture for Dom Luís, but simply to study Italian subjects and improve his artistic skills.

Surely, Hollanda can be credited with using Neoplatonic philosophy in an artistic treatise and exploring this topic through several examples – possibly more for the artists and patrons than for philosophers.[95] Nevertheless, aside from his intellectual and philosophical profile, it is important to explore Hollanda's capability as a draftsman, if his ideas on the Antique expressed in his treatises are reflected in practice, why he chose to study certain ancient subjects, and how he went about copying them.

For that, firstly, it is necessary to assess whether Hollanda had directly encountered all the antique subjects he drew and whether his copies are reliable from an archaeological point of view. Since De Vasconcellos' study (1899), scholars have used *Antigualhas* and some passages of his treatises to map out his Italian journey, and each stage has been graphically reconstructed (fig. 16).[96] Hypothetically, his journey comprised three main phases: the journey towards Rome via some towns in Tuscany and Latium (January–August 1538); his stay in Rome, interrupted by three short trips to Veneto, Marche, Umbria, and Campania; and his return to Portugal (March – June 1540).[97] However, the reconstruction of his journey's hypothetical stages is based on two biased assumptions. The first assumption is that all Hollanda's statements in his treatises are completely reliable, although Hollanda's written account relates to events that happened twenty years earlier and clearly contains some contradictions.[98]

93 Di Stefano 2004, p. 24 (e.g., *Martyrdom of St. Sebastian*, Gregório Lopes, 1536–1539, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisboa); Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 159, n. 83 (e.g., the façade of the Graça Church in Èvora and the title of *Augustus* for the king).

94 *Da Pintura Antiga,* First Book, Prologue: "And [I give thanks] for the attention that Your Highness showed in sending me (as I say) to see Italy, and for the favor and benevolence that you always show toward me and toward my father, being one who possesses knowledge and excellent judgment concerning our art." (transl. by Sedgwick Wohl: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 68.

95 Di Stefano 2004, p. 16; Deswarte-Rosa 2006.

96 Vasconcellos 1899, pp. XXI–XL; Tormo 1940, pp. 8–14; Deswarte-Rosa 1983, pp. 61–65: Deswarte-Rosa also considers some geographical references mentioned in a few letters of Francis Xavier and Dom Pedro Mascarenhas (Schurhammer 1973, 5, p. 559, n. 6; Coelho 1981, pp. 281–284).

Second, scholars often overlook the fact that Hollanda may have copied some of his subjects from other drawings.[99] The map of Hollanda's journey comprising all the subjects and localities depicted in *Antigualhas* (fig. 16) shows an implausibly large number of stops during a relatively short stay of less than two years. Hollanda had spent a long time in Rome meeting eminent personalities and cultivating public relations.[100] The most obvious evidence is the drawing of the Colossus of Barletta (fol. 8r): the geographical position of the statue (Puglia) is extremely distant from all other subjects depicted in *Antigualhas*. Hollanda's drawing of the model reveals that the artist had resorted to artistic license and, thus, does not represent an accurate copy made *in situ*.[101]

Some letters of Francis Xavier and Dom Pedro Mascarenhas indicate that the itinerary of the diplomatic mission to Rome had probably included towns such as Bagnoregio and Perugia.[102] Some locations along this route, such as Orvieto, were thus also included in Hollanda's journey. However, although the diplomatic mission of Dom Pedro Mascarenhas gave Hollanda a chance to view many monuments and locations, the mission had other important tasks.[103] In no way did Hollanda's artistic interests dictate the stops in the journey, especially since the localities were not even vaguely on the route to Rome. Moreover, the stops some scholars suggest he had made do not match Hollanda's own accounts in his treatises. For instance, scholars have hypothesized that before his arrival in Rome, he had made stops in Latium and Tuscany, and at Orvieto, where he would have drawn St. Patrick's Well (fol. 43(bis)r). However, in *Da Pintura Antiga*, Hollanda says: "Then, of those whom I met and knew still during my time in Rome,

97 Some main moments from his itinerary include his departure from Lisbon (January 1538); his meeting with Charles V and his stay in Barcelona (February–April 1538); his participation in the Treaty of Nice (May 1538); departure from Genoa; the passage through some locations of Central Italy in the summer 1538 (Bagnoregio, Viterbo, Orvieto, Siena, Pisa, Florence, Civita Castellana); arrival in Rome at the end of summer 1538; the journey to Veneto (Venice, Padua, Treviso) and Mantua at the beginning of 1539 for the investiture of the new doge (Pietro Lando); a second stay in Rome; the journey to the Marche and Umbria regions in September–October 1539 (Orvieto, Perugia, Pesaro, Loreto, Ancona, Jesi, Tolentino) for Pope Paul III's arrival in Loreto accompanied by Dom Pedro Mascarenhas; journey to the south of Italy (January–February 1540); departure from Rome (March 1540) toward Portugal via Pavia, Milan, Mont Cenis, Avignon, Nîmes; arrival in Portugal in June 1540 (Deswarte-Rosa 1983, pp. 61–65; Oliveira Caetano 2013, pp. 19–20).

98 *Da Ciência do Desenho* (cap. 5) is considered a credible source for ascertaining the stops that Hollanda had made during his journey since it mentions some of the fortresses depicted by Hollanda. However, Hollanda does not say that he saw these fortresses in that moment. Moreover, in *Da Fábrica que Falece à Cidade de Lisboa* (cap. 7), published in the same year as *Da Ciência do Desenho*, in 1571, mentions some localities in Spain and France while speaking about his journey towards Italy. Nevertheless, it cannot be presumed that he passed through these cities in 1538.

99 For Hollanda as a collector and passionate observer of drawings: Deswarte-Rosa 1983, pp. 99–110; pp. 23–25; Oliveira Caetano 2013, pp. 9–12; for the widely studied phenomenon of copying from other drawings during the Renaissance, here are a few general references: Ames-Lewis 2000, pp. 17–87; Hugo Chapman, in Chapman/Faietti 2011, pp. 46–60.

100 Considering the period from his arrival in Rome (at the end of summer 1538) and his departure for Lisbon (March 1540), Hollanda's journey effectively lasted less than two years (see footnote no. 97). During his stay in Rome, thanks to Lattanzio Tolomei, a close friend of Don Miguel da Silva (John III's secretary who lived for many years in Rome), Hollanda had the opportunity to meet many intellectuals and artists (Deswarte-Rosa 1989, p. 40).

101 Bartsch 2003; on the other hand, Tormo provides a complex hypothesis to justify the arrival of Hollanda in a place so distant from Rome, as well as other locations that he supposedly visited in central Italy (Tormo 1940, pp. 59–60).

102 Schurhammer 1973, 4, p. 559, n. 6; Coelho 1981, pp. 281–284.

103 For the political issues that the diplomatic mission had to solve, see the letter of Hieronimo Capodifero to Ambrogio Ricalcato (5th January 1538): Witte 1980, 2, no. 63, pp. 213–214.

there was Master Antonio da Sangallo, architect to the pope, who built the fountain in Orvieto [*scil*. St. Patrick's Well] and is now, with great diligence, completing the church of Saint Peter's, and I saw the model by his hand, made of wood, very perfect, in the same church."[104] After his personal meeting with Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, Hollanda seemed fascinated by the history of the building, which he apparently was seeing for the first time. His drawing of St. Patrick's Well does not include the historic well's famous inscription ("quod natura munimento inviderat industria adiecit"). Instead, he notes the number of steps in the double staircase ("habet per anbas vias CCCCXCVII gradus") and its circumference ("hic in circuitu gressus sex saginta").[105] These details, and his ties to Antonio da Sangallo the Younger, to be discussed shortly, make it unlikely that Hollanda had copied the building *in situ*. Instead, Antonio's notes and drawings may have provided the basic material (e.g., Uffizi drawing 1242 A with measurements noted).[106]

Although Hollanda indisputably visited or passed through some places rendered in the sketches in *Antigualhas*, one cannot assume that he drew all subjects on the spot without referring to other drawings or that he did not use notes and information from other drawings as he copied *in situ*. In this regard, like the examples mentioned so far, another case in point is fol. 47r. Here, Hollanda copied one portal in Genoa that scholars have not been able to identify, leading them to conclude that the portal no longer exists.[107] However Kruft points out that Hollanda's arch was not a typical Genoese portal, but rather an arch inspired by the portal of Villa del Principe (Palazzo Doria) in Genoa, drawn by Perin del Vaga.[108] The drawings of Perin del Vaga's portal projects were particularly famous, as Vasari mentioned in his *Vite*.[109] We do not know whether Hollanda had reinterpreted one of Perino's drawings or (more likely) copied another drawing based on Perino's model. Rather, it is possible to conclude that the Genoese portal drawing in *Antigualhas* had been copied not from an existing structure but probably from another drawing. Hollanda's drawing of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus (fols. 45(bis)v–46r) is an obvious example, which also allows reflection on his practice of copying from other drawings. Some iconographic details of this drawing suggest that Hollanda did not directly copy the subject from a once-famous medal by Valerio Belli, despite mentioning the medal in one of his treatises.[110] Some details of the building's interior drawn by

104 *Da Pintura Antiga,* First Book, cap. 43.1 (En. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 138; or. ed.: Hollanda (1548) 1984, pp. 82–83; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, p. 90).

105 For Antonio da Sangallo the Younger in Orvieto and his drawing of St. Patrick's Well (Uffizi Drawing 1242 A), see Riccetti 1998; for a similar representation of St. Patrick's Well, see Della Valle 1791, Pl. "Ultima".

106 *Contra* Tormo 1940, p. 192: "Estas palabras parecen asegurarnos de que d'Ollanda no copió un diseño proyecto de San Gallo, sino que, tomados los datos, lo reconstituyó por sí mismo, cuando otra cosa paracería al observador, probablemente."

107 Tormo 1940, p. 208; Alves 1989, p. 53.

108 Kruft 1971, p. 20; for the absence of any other similar portals, see also Bedocchi Melucci 1988.

109 "All'entrata del palazzo del principe è una porta di marmo, di componimento et ordine dorico, fatta secondo i disegni e modelli di man di Perino, con sue appartenenze di piedistalli, base, fuso, capitelli, architrave, fregio, cornicione e frontispizio, e con alcune bellissime femmine a sedere che reggono un'arme: la quale opera e lavoro intagliò di quadro maestro Giovanni da Fiesole, e le figure condusse a perfezzione Silvio scultore da Fiesole, fiero e vivo maestro.": Vasari (1550–1568)1966–1987, 5, pp. 137–138 (*Vita di Perino del Vaga*); for Perino del Vaga and Villa del Principe: Parma Armani 1986, pp. 73–152; Elena Parma Armani, in *Perino del Vaga* 2001, pp. 204–261.

110 *Da Pintura Antiga,* Second Book (*Diálogos en Roma*), Fourth Dialogue ("Among those medals he showed me one of Artemisia in the Greek style, with the Mausoleum on the reverse.": transl. by Sedgwick Wohl: Hollanda (1538) 2013, p. 219).

Hollanda differ from the building on Belli's medal, but are very similar to those depicted in the Uffizi drawing 240 by "a member of the Sangallo workshop", suggesting again Hollanda's familiarity with this atelier.[111] In conclusion, although Hollanda had surely seen many of the subjects he had copied in *Antigualhas*, Deswarte-Rosa's map of Hollanda's journey cannot be considered reliable (fig. 16). Instead, we can use it as a 'cognitive map' that indicates the various stages of his artistic curiosity, with the understanding that he studied some subjects using other artists' drawings.

Before analyzing the methodology used in *Antigualhas* to copy the antique subjects one issue must still be discussed. Hollanda's youth and his lack of familiarity with Italian/Roman localities and antiquities indicate that he relied on someone else's trusted and expert guidance as to which monuments or subjects were worthy of study. Considering Hollanda's interest in ancient art, he needed guidance on which subjects were part of the 'all'antica' repertoire that all artists were required to study during their training. Indeed, after the Sack of Rome (1527) and Pope Paul III's investiture (1534), the 1530s were characterized by remarkable and influential archaeological events and studies (e.g., the display of the sculpture fragments at Palazzo dei Conservatori, the restoration of the bronze equestrian statue of Marcus Aurelius and of the Arch of Titus, the publication of Giovanni Bartolomeo Marliano's *Antiquae Romae Topographia*).[112] In the same decades when Hollanda traveled around Italy, many important artists came to Rome to study the Antique: Girolamo da Carpi,[113] Maarten van Heemskerck (1532–1537), and Pirro Ligorio (1537–1568), to name only a few. From the end of the fifteenth century, Renaissance artists began to share a repertoire of antique subjects deemed essential in artistic training, which, however, also represents an ever-expanding subject in light of fresh discoveries.[114] From the 1520s onwards, this repertoire, illustrating Rome's main monuments and antiquities, also comprised some printed works, such as Marliano's work (1534),[115] which included Antonio Salamanca's etchings (1530s)[116] and Jacopo Mazocchio's *Epigrammata Urbis Romae* (1521).[117] In addition to a number of printed anthologies, Hollanda also had a copy of Mazocchio's text, in which he noted the monuments that he had seen and copied some of their inscriptions for his drawings.[118] It is likely that the four primary inscriptions on ancient public monuments that appear in Hollanda's album of drawings had been copied from Mazocchio's text. They include the inscriptions of the base of Trajan's Column (fol. 6v), the Arch of the Argentarii (fol. 18v), the Arch of Constantine (fol. 19r), the Arch of Titus (fol. 20r).

111 In Hollanda's and the Uffizi drawings, the shorter side of the temple is decorated with niches with statues, which Belli's medal mentioned by Tormo (Tormo 1940, p. 206) does not depict; for the Uffizi drawing 894 A by Antonio da Sangallo the Younger of the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus and Uffizi drawing 240 A by "a member of the Sangallo workshop": Raub 2014; Fane-Saunders 2016, pp. 275–280.

112 Weiss 1969, pp. 101–104; Jacks 1993, pp. 205–214; Barkan 1999, pp. 23–42; DiFuria 2019, pp. 81–107.

113 Girolamo traveled to Rome in 1531, and probably other times before his stay in Rome (1549–1553): Dauner 2005, pp. 3, 4, 7.

114 For the main antique subjects copied during 1480s–1530s, here are a few essential references: Haskell/Penny 1981; *Da Pisanello alla Nascita dei Musei Capitolini* 1988; Günther 1988; Bober/Rubinstein 2010; for the drawings after the Antique in the Early Renaissance: Adriano Aymonino, in Aymonino/Varick Lauder 2015, pp. 20–29.

115 For Marliano's work (edited in 1534 by Antonio Blado): Laureys 1996 (especially, pp. 156–157, 163).

116 For Antonio Salamanca's editorial activity and its influence on Antonio Lafreri's *Speculum Romanae Magnificentiae*: Parshall 2006, pp. 8–10.

117 Arnold Nesselrath, in *Raffaello Architetto* 1984, p. 443; for a recent study on Mazocchio's text, see Germain/Carbonell Manils 2020.

118 Deswarte-Rosa 1983, pp. 66–68; Oliveira Caetano 2013, pp. 17–22.

17a Francisco de Hollanda, *Arch of the Argentarii in Rome* (detail), 1538–ante 1571, pen and ink, brush and diluted ink on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 18v (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

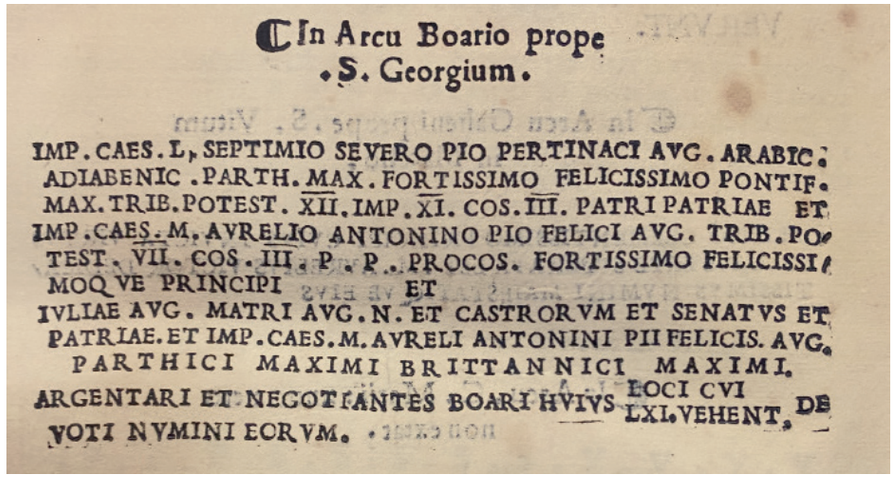
Indeed, from an epigraphical point of view, the inscription of the Arch of the Argentarii (fig. 17a) is so precise and so closely resembles Mazocchio's text that we could assume Hollanda had copied it from the printed work rather than directly from the monument (fig. 17b).

Obviously, other texts characterizing the topography of ancient Rome that were available at the time might also have served as inspiration for locations and subjects.[119] However, as a young and foreign artist, Hollanda would have needed more expert guidance to select the repertoire beyond what the printed texts and etchings could have offered. As shown below, the Accademia della Virtù and the figure of Antonio da Sangallo the Younger may have played an essential role in Hollanda's cultural training and in helping him to decide which subjects were worthy of study.

The Antique is the main topic underlying the *Antigualhas*' drawings. Indeed, among all 112 drawings (107 'single' drawings + 5 'double'), 58 show antique subjects (including the late antique subjects and facades/courts where ancient statues/reliefs were displayed).[120] This number is remarkable if we consider the remaining eight drawings of natural landscapes, 17 drawings of city landscapes (particularly military buildings, fortresses, and walls), and 29 drawings of modern artworks and architecture (including portraits, inventions, and

119 E.g., *Opusculum de Mirabilibus Novae et veteris Urbis Romae* (1510) and *Septem mirabilia orbis et urbis Romae et Florentinae civitatis* (1510) by Francesco Albertini: Bartsch 2003, p. 116.

120 E.g., Santa Costanza's mosaics and wall paintings (fol. 27v), the Colossus of Barletta (8r), sculptures from the Della Valle Collection (fols. 28v/r), Bramante's sculptures in Nicchione Belvedere (fol. 19v).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MAX. TRIB. POTEST. XII. IMP. XI. COS. III. PATRI PATRIAE ET
IMP. CAES. M. AVRELIO ANTONINO PIO FELICI AVG. TRIB. PO-
TEST. VII. COS. III. P. P. PROCOS. FORTISSIMO FELICISSI-
MOQVE PRINCIPI ET
IVLIAE AVG. MATRI AVG. N. ET CASTRORVM ET SENATVS ET
PATRIAE. ET IMP. CAES. M. AVRELI ANTONINI PII FELICIS. AVG.
PARTHICI MAXIMI BRITTANNICI MAXIMI.
ARGENTARI ET NEGOTIANTES BOARI HVIVS LOCI CVI
VOTI NVMINI EORVM. LXI. VEHENT, DE

17b Jacopo Mazocchio (ca. 1475–1527), *Inscription of Argentarii's Arch in Rome,* 1521, printed book, 221 × 311 mm. Rome, Palazzo Venezia, Biblioteca di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Inv. Roma X 452 A, *Epigrammata Antiquae Urbis*, p. V (photo Biblioteca dell'Istituto di Storia di Archeologia e Storia dell'Arte, Rome)

allegories).[121] Among the 58 drawings of antique subjects, almost all relate to Rome and its surroundings (e.g., Tivoli), and only six are located far from Rome (the Colossus of Barletta, the Krater of Pisa, the bronze horses of St. Mark in Venice, the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Naples, Trajan's Arch in Ancona, and the Amphitheater of Nimes).[122] As Bartsch has shown, Hollanda's itinerary resembles those of other foreign artists (e.g., Maarten van Haeemskerck) who were documenting the antiquities both inside and outside the Eternal City.[123] However, in Hollanda's drawings, more careful attention is paid to the antique provenance of the subjects copied and the antique topography of Rome in which the subject was potentially located. Hollanda, thus, reveals an interest more typical of antiquarians – whether they were experts of epigraphy, numismatics, or ancient topography. In this sense, we can explain the inclusion of some subjects in *Antigualhas* that other Renaissance artists rarely copied into their drawing books (e.g., the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, the mosaics of Santa Costanza, the Temple of Castor and Pollux, the 'Grande Fregio' of the Domus Aurea). In his drawings, references to historical and antiquarian knowledge are so frequent that Deswarte-Rosa suggests that Hollanda had a deep knowledge of Vitruvius' text,[124] in addition to the works of Mazocchio and Huttichius.[125] However, some references to ancient Rome captured in his drawings cannot be easily harmonized with the written texts available at that time. Therefore, we might consider that, rather than being an avid reader of antiquarian texts, Hollanda had been in touch with experts of ancient Roman art and topography, who guided his study and provided him with significant and exclusive information.

One clear example of that can be found in the drawings relating to the figure of Emperor Nero in fols. 5v (the Colosseum), 13v–14r (the 'Grande Fregio' of the Domus Aurea), 30r (the Ruins of the colossal statue of Constantine), 47(bis)v–48r (the Domus Aurea's Volta Dorata). These drawings surprisingly reveal the artist's knowledge about the topography of ancient Rome. Specifically, while all other graphic documents ascribe the Volta Dorata to Titus's Baths or

121 About the problem of categorizing the drawings, in some cases, a single sheet shows two different subjects at the same time, for instance: fol. 26v (one antique subject and one modern), 43v (one natural landscape and one city landscape).

122 In the final list of *Antigualhas* drawings, where possible, the provenance and current location of the antique subject are noted, correcting many of Tormo's inaccuracies (e.g., fol. 10r: the location of the model is incorrect [MANN of Naples instead of Louvre]; fols. 12v, 13r, 16v: the current location of the subjects is not identified).

123 Bartsch 2003, pp. 116–124.

124 Deswarte-Rosa 1981 (cf. Nesselrath 2014).

125 Deswarte-Rosa 1983, pp. 65–68.

other monuments, Hollanda is the only artist who clearly states in his drawings of the Volta Dorata (fig. 1, 3) that the wall paintings belonged to Domus Aurea.[126] In his drawings of the Colosseum, he notes that the name of this immense building derives from its location on a site previously occupied by the colossal statue of Nero.[127] Finally, in his drawing of the Colossus of Constantine, Hollanda conjectures, as many contemporary antiquarians hypothesized, that the remaining fragments probably belonged to the Colossus of Nero.[128] Surprisingly, he seems to have gained significant access to knowledge on Domus Aurea that was familiar only to a small circle of artists and antiquarians who had compared the archaeological evidence of the Oppian Hill with descriptions offered by Pliny and Suetonius.[129] Indeed, owing to his connection to Lattazio Tolomei (1487–1543), widely mentioned in his treatises,[130] Hollanda could have been in touch with Lattazio's brother or cousin, Claudio, who was a great connoisseur of Roman antiquities. Like Pirro Ligorio, Claudio Tolomei was a member of the 'Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura' (or 'Accademia della Virtù') and the promoter of a highly ambitious project that aimed to map and copy all the antiquities of Rome.[131]

While his friendship with Tolomei's might have enriched Hollanda's antiquarian knowledge, the subjects depicted in his *Antigualhas* also reveal an intimate understanding of a repertoire strictly associated with Sangallo's workshop. Antonio da Sangallo the Younger was a masterful artist and member of a family of artists and architects specialized in copying antiquities and ancient monuments.[132] His workshop undertook a remarkable number of high-quality drawings on antique subjects. As young artist, Hollanda's access to these materials would have relied on his strong ties with the master himself. Indeed, as mentioned earlier, he knew Antonio da Sangallo the Younger personally, but there is no precise information about the circumstances of their meeting nor specifically about who had arranged it (e.g., Dom Pedro de Mascarenhas, Miguel da Silva, or Blosio Palladio).[133] Surely, Hollanda had met Sangallo the Younger through his network of acquaintances in the Vatican. Indeed, in the passage mentioned above, Hollanda underlines the role of Antonio at the Papal Court ("architect of the Pope") and their meeting in the Vatican ("and I saw the model by his hand, made of wood, very perfect, in the same church [*scil*. Saint Peter].").[134] Hollanda's drawing of St. Patrick's Well (fol. 43(bis)r) and its inclusion in the album, as

126 Foll. 47(bis)v–48r (fig. 3): "IN FORNICE DOMUS AUREA NERONIS APUD / AMPHITEATRUM"; "PALMOS LIII POR BANDA"; fols. 13v–14r (fig. 1): "ROMAE. DE DOMUS AUREA NERONIS APUD / AMPHITEATRUM".

127 Fol. 5v: "AMPHITEATRUM. ROMANUM. A. VESPASINO / AUG. CONDITUM. NUNC. VOCITATUM. COL / LOSSEVM. A COLLOSSO. DEDOMOAVREA. NERONIS."

128 Fol. 30r: "EX. AERE", "ROMAE, IN CAPITOLIO. / FRAGMENTA, EX, COLOSSO, DE DOMO, AUREA, / NERONIS, / ALTITUDE, CXX, PEDUM", "EX. MARMORE".

129 Brunetti 2022, pp. 46–48.

130 *Da Pintura Antigua*, Second Book (*Diálogos en Roma*), First and Second Dialogues (or. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 1984, pp. 23–48; En. ed.: Hollanda (1538) 2013, pp. 170–195; It. ed.: Hollanda 2003, pp. 103–126).

131 The project – described by Claudio Tolomei in his famous letter to Agostino de' Landi – would be executed between 1535 and 1555 by the 'Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura': Kulawik 2018.

132 For more information on Antonio da Sangallo the Younger's workshop, see Frommel 1994, 39–51; Davies 2018. For Sangallo's wider workshop and the drawings of antiquities in Sangallo's workshop: Verellen 1987; Donetti 2017; Dario Donetti, in *Giuliano da Sangallo* 2017, pp. 114–123.

133 "The papal secretary Blosio Palladio and the Sienese ambassador Lattanzio Tolomei, with whom Pedro de Mascarenhas had contacts, introduced the young artist into the circle of Vittoria Colonna and Michelangelo.": Oliveira Caetano 2013, p. 19; Lattanzio Tolomei was a close friend of Don Miguel da Silva (John III's secretary who lived for many years in Rome): Deswarte-Rosa 1989, pp. 39–47.

134 See footnote no. 103.

mentioned, could also be attributed to his acquaintance with Sangallo the Younger. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy that so many subjects depicted in *Antigualhas* are also part of Sangallo's workshop's graphic production, while rare in available documentation of Renaissance drawings. As already shown, Hollanda's Mausoleum of Mausolus at Halicarnassus was a copy of a drawing made by a member of Sangallo's workshop. Another sheet with one of Hollanda's drawings of Santa Costanza's dome mosaics (fig. 14) depicts figural scenes from the Old Testament and the aquatic landscape below these religious scenes that are now missing. Significantly, these details are depicted only in fol. 4v of Codex Escurialensis of Giuliano da Sangallo's workshop (fig. 18) and in one drawing by Antonio da Sangallo the Elder (fig. 19), namely the graphic documents produced by the Sangallo's workshop.[135]

Finally, Hollanda's drawing in fol. 36r of 'Pisco Montano', the promontory near Terracina cut away by Trajan to allow the Appian Way to pass through, offers another case in point, in that it had been depicted in only two other drawings – one attributed to Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane (Uffizi A 1210) and another to Baldassarre Peruzzi (Uffizi 405 Av).[136] However, Hollanda's red chalk drawing reproduces some measurements that Antonio had copied and not found in Peruzzi's drawing. Indeed, the side of the Pisco facing the sea is marked by Roman numerals, indicating the width of the promontory before being cut away (with numerical values higher at the base of the promontory than at the top). While Peruzzi did not copy the two highest numbers (i.e., "X [*scil*. feet]" and "XX [*scil*. feet]") because they were not more visible (nor likely documented by the Romans), as Orietta Vasori rightly suggests, Antonio had added the two said measurements based on his personal calculations. As such, this surprising coincidence suggests that Hollanda likely had copied these calculations because of his ties with Sangallo's atelier.[137]

Other ancient models included in *Antigualhas* were rarely copied at the time. These niche choices prove remarkable knowledge, quite unusual in a young, foreign artist. For instance, Hollanda was the first to depict the Temple of Castor and Pollux (fol. 45v) in Naples in its entirety (thus anticipating Pirro Ligorio's drawing),[138] and he also drew a view of the Gulf of Pozzuoli with the Temple of Augustus on fol. 52v. Knowledge about both subjects had been compiled, and disseminated among Roman artists, mainly by Giuliano da Sangallo.[139] When representing cities or natural landscapes, Hollanda often copied subjects documented primarily by Giuliano's workshop and depicted in Antonio's drawings, such as the view of Terracina[140] and the Round Temple of Tivoli.[141] Finally, while the subjects and city landscapes that Hollanda copied are unmistakably connected to Antonio da Sangallo's work travels to Ferrara,[142] Civita Castellana,[143] Loreto[144] and Pesaro[145] undertaken a few years prior to Hollanda's arrival, they were not

135 For the interpretations and identifications of the figural scenes depicted in figs. 14, 18, see Simone Piazza, in Andaloro/Romano 2006, pp. 72–78; for the Uffizi drawing 7842 Ar (fig. 19), see Rasch/Arbeiter 2007, pp. 243–246, 250, 272.

136 Malizia 2020.

137 Vasori 1981, pp. 138–139.

138 Schreurs-Morét 2006.

139 Giuliano da Sangallo noted the inscription of the Temple of Castor and Pollux in Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 67v (Lenzo 2011, pp. 39–40); for the temple of Augustus in Pozzuoli: Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 6v and Sen. S. IV. 8, fol. 9 (Borsi 1985, pp. 261–264).

140 *Antigualhas,* fol. 36r: cf. Uffizi 1210 A by Antionio da Sangallo the Younger.

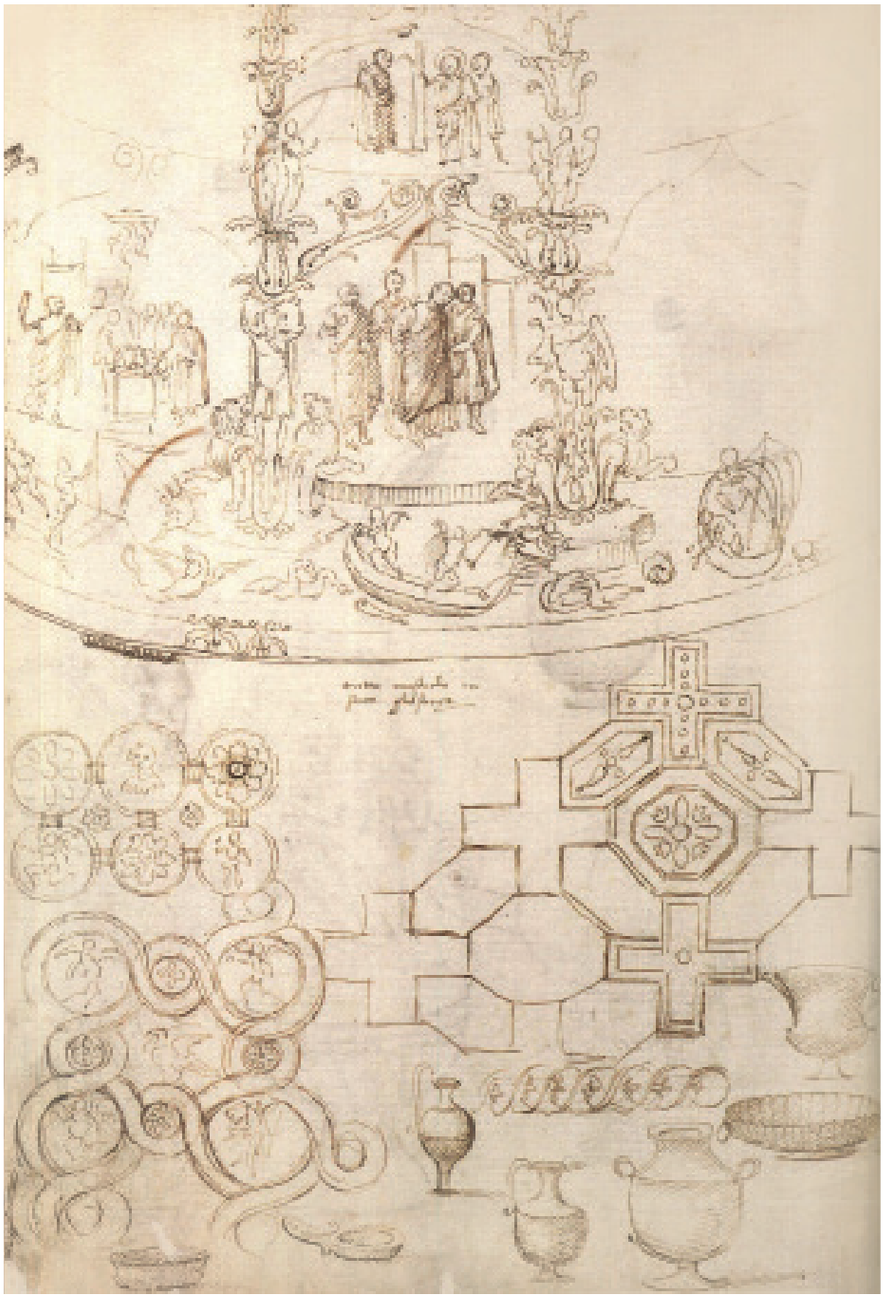
141 *Antigualhas,* fols. 43(bis)v–44r: cf. Barb. Lat. 4424, fol. 42r (Giuliano da Sangallo); Uffizi 1216 Ar, 1216 Av, 1069 Ar (Antonio da Sangallo).

142 Frommel 1994: fol. 881r/v.

143 Frommel 1994: fols. 839r, 977r/v, 1145r/v, 1846r/v.

144 Frommel 2000: e.g., fols. 139r, 141r/v, 174r, 921v.

145 Frommel 1994: fols. 972r, 978r.



18 Giuliano da Sangallo Workshop, *Mosaics of Santa Costanza*, 1490–1506/1507, red pen on paper, 330 × 230 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–II–12, fol. 4v (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

commonly copied by his contemporaries. It is possible that Hollanda had visited these places during Pope Paul III's journey to Loreto – with Dom Pedro Mascarenhas in attendance. Nevertheless, Hollanda's decision to leave Rome and its inexhaustible repertoire of subjects to visit some minor cities in central Italy might have also been influenced by Antonioa and his knowledge of the artistic and architectural relevance of these less-known localities, gained from his earlier travels across Italy as they were personally acquainted.

The commonalities between Hollanda's drawings and the works emanating from the Sangallo's workshop show that Hollanda had copied his subjects from Antonio's drawings, who had inherited not only his uncle's cultural heritage but perhaps also some of his techniques.[146] However, it is also vital to consider that the rich and unusual repertoire of antique and modern subjects copied by Hollanda

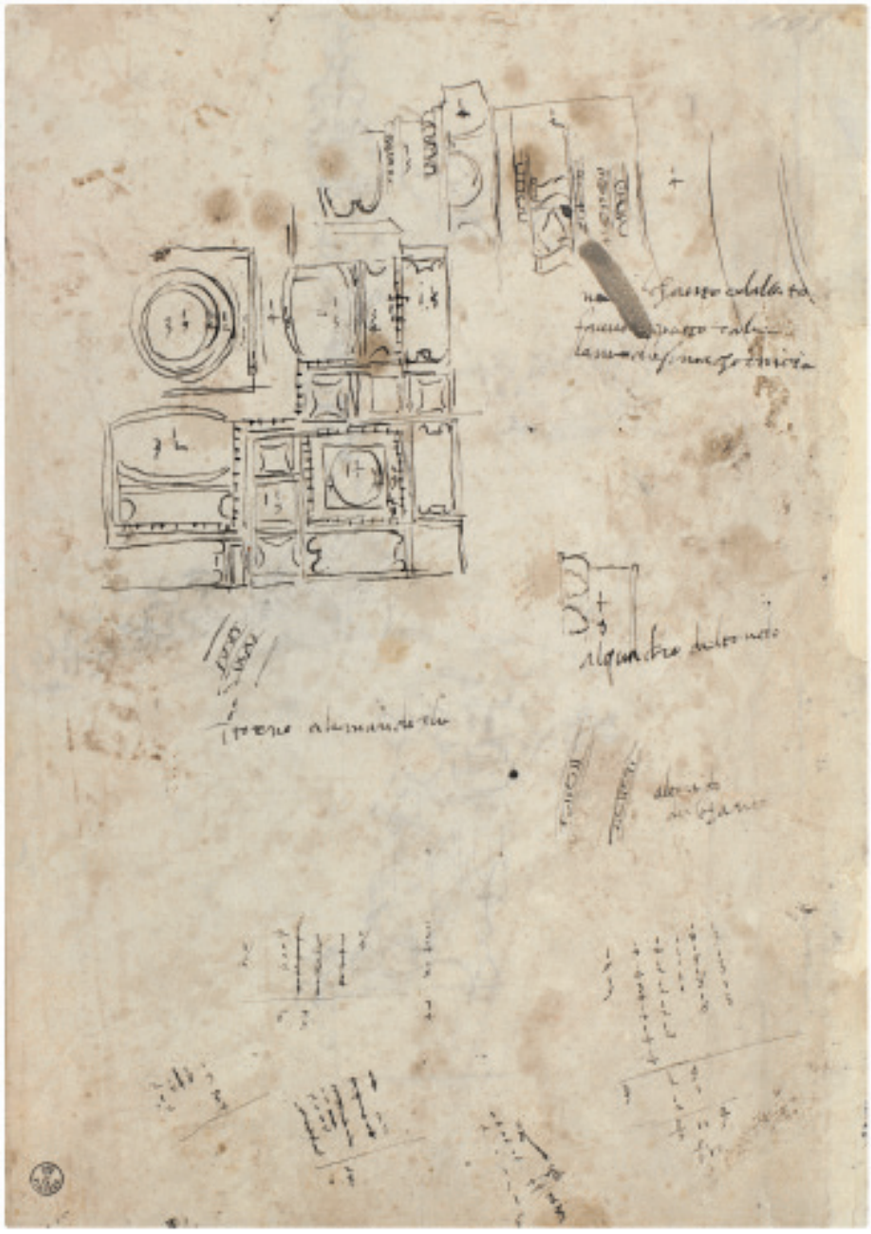
146 For the complex – and still not well investigated – topic of Antonio da Sangallo's workshop, see Davies 2018.

19 Antonio da Sangallo il Vecchio (1445–1534), *Mosaics of Santa Costanza*, post 1492–ante 1524, lapis and pen on paper, 407 × 292 mm. Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe delle Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 7842 Ar (photo MiBACT)

points to the influence of a more expert connoisseur such as Antonio, who might have suggested subjects worthy of study. Thus, Hollanda's interests in architectural and military buildings and his strong interest as a young artist in specific architectural topics following his Italian journey must also be understood against that backdrop.

Particularly in his drawings of ancient subjects, Hollanda was careful to mention the size of the subjects copied. For instance, in the watercolor of the Volta Dorata (fig. 3), he noted the length of the vault ("PALMOS LIII POR BANDA"), as recently shown, accurately, in that it tallied not only with the vault's real dimensions but also with measurements cited in other drawings of highly qualified artists such as Giovanni da Udine (Windsor drawing RCIN 909568r) and Antonio da Sangallo the Younger Uffizi 1273 Ar (fig. 20).[147] We

147 Brunetti 2022, pp. 96–97.



20 Antonio da Sangallo il Giovane (1483–1546), *Vault Corner of the Volta Dorata with Measurements* (*with Sketches of Stucco Vault Moldings*), post 1519–ante 1546, pen and ink on paper, 471 × 333 mm. Florence, Gabinetto dei Disegni e delle Stampe delle Gallerie degli Uffizi, inv. 1273Ar (photo MiBACT)

cannot dismiss the hypothesis that, although Hollanda may have copied the Volta Dorata directly, he may have acquired information about these measurements and other similar data from other artists. Indeed, the working conditions in Room 80 of the Domus Aurea did not make it easy to calculate the length of the Volta Dorata, not least owing to its curvature. The study of his gouache drawing (fig. 3) offers indications of how Hollanda may have adjusted to the challenging working environment at the Domus Aurea. The colors, stucco moldings, and many figural scenes have been faithfully rendered. While he certainly noted many details *in situ*, he probably executed the final versions of his works only subsequently due to the poor lighting inside the room. However, Hollanda invented some figural scenes in areas where the vault was seriously damaged. By way of example, one figural panel of the vault was embellished with the famous subject of Michelangelo's drawing of *Archers shooting at a Herm* (Windsor, inv. RCIN 912778).[148] Similarly, in the case of the Colossus of Barletta, a drawing thoroughly investigated by Bartsch, the representation of the subject can be considered more "ein Produkt künstlerischer Imagination" than a precise

copy. It seems that Hollanda had relied on a certain degree of artistic license to reconstruct its original appearance.[149]

Hollanda also used his artistic license for modern subjects, such as the nymphaeum in fol. 34r, the Nicchione Belvedere in fol. 19v, and the chimney in fol. 24r, portals in fols. 46r and 47v. Hollanda's treatment of modern subjects can often be explained as being rooted in architectural conversations with Serlio and other scholars of Vitruvius' text.[150] However, for antique subjects, he appears to be attempting to reconstruct and reimagine their original appearance. It is in this sense, that Francisco de Hollanda's uniqueness stands out: if we consider the drawings of contemporaries like Girolamo da Carpi, Maarten van Heemskerck, and Antonio da Sangallo, Hollanda seems more an exception in the artistic context of that time. While Antonio da Sangallo rarely studied the Antique to restore an artifact to its original condition and admire it in all its ancient glory, Hollanda's attempt to recover the original appearance of damaged ancient subjects was more in line with other antiquarians and artists such as Pirro Ligorio, a member of 'Accademia de lo Studio de l'Architettura', who desired to restore Rome to its ancient glory. Hollanda's drawings of the Volta Dorata (fig. 3), the Colosseum (fig. 4), the Pantheon (fig. 10), the Colossus of Barletta (fol. 8r), and the Amphitheater of Nîmes (fol. 54v) show a restored version of the ancient works. The Colosseum is emblematic (fig. 4), in that it stands apart from the 'philological' copies of his colleagues (fig. 21), suggesting Hollanda's keen interest in reconstructing the antique monument. Despite Tormo's suggestions to the contrary, the archaeological accuracy of Hollanda's depictions must at times be interrogated.[151] However, setting aside their archaeological reliability, these drawings reveal a vision of the Antique enshrined in Hollanda's treatises, meaning that Hollanda's graphic productions bear out the idea of the Antique he developed in his treatises – as being synonymous with eternal beauty and perfection – exemplified in his recurring attempts to fill in the antique subject's lost detail and 'recover' damaged areas.[152] From the last decades of the fifteenth century to the first decades of the sixteenth century, most Renaissance artists studied ancient art and learned to create a more substantial, refined style.[153] Hollanda's drawings seem to overcome this model, revealing a more nostalgic and retrospective conception of the Antique.[154] Whereas his Italian colleagues moved

148 The scene with the archers shooting at a herm was not originally present in the Volta Dorata (Room 80 of Domus Aurea) for the following reasons: scene 12 should have indeed contained a bucolic or Dionysiac subject – like all other similar panels of the so-called 'External Frieze' of the vault; a similar scene (and, generally, scenes with archers) is not testified by any other archaeological parallel, be they paintings, reliefs, or decorations on objects (see the unique case of scene CXV in Trajan's Column); no further graphic document testifies to the presence of a similar scene, although this figural panel is located in the south-west corner of the vault (the most copied vault-corner in Renaissance drawings): Brunetti 2022, pp. 127–129. Therefore, considering the famed contact between Hollanda and Michelangelo, we are very likely facing a reverse situation. Owing to his friendship with and admiration for Michelangelo, Hollanda inserted into his gouache drawing of the Volta Dorata the allegorical scene of the 'Saettatori' that Michelangelo had drawn around the year 1530 and that was already known among Renaissance artists.

149 Bartsch 2003, p. 118.

150 Deswarte-Rosa 1981.

151 Tormo 1940, p. 21.

152 "Infatti l'Antico assurge a categoria estetica e diviene uno dei modi per indicare la bellezza e la perfezione artistica poiché viene a coincidere con l'unica vera e buona pittura [...] I principi che informano l'arte dell'antichità costituiscono un modello di perfezione che l'artista moderno deve avere come riferimento, considerandolo quasi una 'seconda natura' da imitare": Di Stefano 2004, pp. 67–68.

153 Zanker 2009.

154 For further considerations, especially about Hollanda's concept of *antiqua novitas*, see Berbara 2013.

21 Maarten van Heemskerck (1498–1574), *Colosseum*, post 1532–ante 1537, pen and ink on paper, 209 × 319 mm. Berlin, SMB-PK, Kupferstichkabinett, Heemskerck Album II, Inv. 79.D.2a, fol. 47r (photo Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett)

beyond the past and took a prospective view, Hollanda saw in the Antique an embodiment of perfection and unsurpassed beauty.

This does not mean that Hollanda always resorted to artistic license when copying all ancient subjects. We need only list a few examples: Trajan's Arch in Ancona (fig. 2), the Basilica of Maxentius/Constantine (fig. 6), the reliefs of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 7), the Nile God Statue in the Vatican (fig. 12) as well as the mosaics, the paintings and the sarcophagus in Santa Costanza (fig. 14). Moreover, the accuracy and relevance of his drawings are also confirmed by the inscriptions he painstakingly transcribed, the measurements he carefully documented (e.g., Krater at Pisa's Camposanto),[155] and the colors he rendered that are so rarely copied by other artists (e.g., the Volta Dorata, the Fountain of Villa Madama, the mosaics of Santa Costanza).

Considering the evidence and the aspects highlighted so far, casting Francisco de Hollanda as a uniquely misleading inventor, or conversely, as a reliable copier of what he saw, is both confusing and hinders a broader discussion of his approach to the Antique, for instance, Hollanda's emblematic use of artistic license and imagination to fill in empty spaces and 'repair' the damage of time sustained by an antique subject, specifically when its original appearance could be envisioned. Particularly in his rendering of the Volta Dorata, he was extremely meticulous in copying the geometrical scheme of the vault, the molding frames, and the colors. Regarding the figural scenes of the vault, in the sixteenth century, at least seven figural scenes were visible (scenes B, H, I, C, 2, 8, 1) – as they still

155 Fol. 23v: here Hollanda noted "PALMOS. VI.", which, indeed, corresponds to the 134 cm of the krater (without the pedestal). In other cases, like for monumental buildings (e.g., the Colosseum, the Arch of Constantine, Trajan's Column), he depicts human figures simply to emphasize the proportions.

22 Francisco de Hollanda, *Arch of Constantine* (*North Façade*) (detail), 1538–ante 1571, pen and diluted ink on paper, 460 × 350 mm. El Escorial, Biblioteca Real de San Lorenzo, Inv. Cod. 28–I–20, fol. 19r (photo Patrimonio Nacional, Madrid)

were in the eighteenth century. Even if Hollanda had carefully copied two scenes (B, C), he was quite perfunctory in copying three other scenes (2, 8, I, 1), and forgot to copy scene H. When some iconographies were not easy to understand, he rendered them only partially (scenes I, 2, 8, 1). On the other hand, when he decided to invent some scenes, he created new iconographies that might have resembled those that were still visible.[156]

In other circumstances, where ancient artifacts were severely damaged, Hollanda seems to have been unwilling to reconstruct their original appearance, as in the cases of the Basilica of Maxentius/Constantine and the Septizodium (fol. 23r). As often happens, there are a few exceptions and hybrid cases, such as the reliefs of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 7), which Hollanda had copied before they were restored by Ruggero Bescapé in 1595, recording only some damaged parts and artistically 'restoring' others. Similarly, in the case of the Arch of Constantine (fig. 11), while the copy of the North Facade of the Arch that Hollanda included in his album of drawings is, in its design, faithful to the monuments' architectural elements, proportions, and inscriptions, that is not always case with the figural scenes. Although some figural scenes are highly faithful to the ancient model (fig. 22), others are inventions or renditions of other models (such as the reliefs of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius). Indeed, when considering Hollanda's execution of the four Hadrianic *tondi*, the two on the left correspond to those of the ancient model, while the two on the right are from the South Façade of the Arch. Similarly, among the four upper Antonine panels, only the first panel on the left is faithful to the original, while the others are invented, whereby the third from the left seems inspired by a relief on the Arch of Marcus Aurelius (fig. 7).

156 Brunetti 2022, pp. 238–243.

In conclusion, Hollanda's drawings of antiquities cannot be characterized simply as either reliable copies aspiring to verisimilitude or purely artistic inventions. This article highlights the rich variety of approach that Hollanda brought to his graphic production, ranging from faithful copies of ancient models and copies of other drawings to personal studies of models supported by printed works or drawings he might have studied. His approach entailed pasting different ancient models together and reworking them into hybrid forms of representation. Similarly, in his reconstructions, he also took some degree of artistic license to fill in damaged, empty spaces or introduce details he probably had not taken note of *in situ*. And yet, what is relevant and intriguing about Francisco's drawings of antiquities, even those re-elaborated or invented (e.g., Volta Dorata, Arch of Constantine, Colossus of Barletta, etc.), is that they still preserve important data or antiquarian knowledge on the ancient model.

Antigualhas represents an essential repertoire of antique subjects and a source for archaeologists. At the same time, this album of drawings also documents how Renaissance artists worked practically, demonstrating that knowledge of ancient Rome was disseminated not only through written texts but often also through conversations, meetings, and personal acquaintances. Hollanda's album of drawings also represents the essential art repertoire studied by artists as part of a consolidated antiquarian culture and artistic tradition. Moreover, as mentioned in the first part of this article, many aspects of the genesis and function of *Antigualhas* indicate that this album of drawings had not been made simply to be gifted away entirely to someone else. Instead, the album is a collection of a series of drawings made using different techniques for different reasons, only a few of which were originally conceived as gifts. A long time elapsed between their original creation and their final assembly in the blank codex – possibly because the drawings were subjected to a re-elaboration after the artist's Italian journey. Thus, Hollanda might have worked on these drawings over a protracted period thereafter and considered them as much a part of the most important phase in his artistic training and his artistic portfolio as the preserved evidence of an artistic culture that he had imported into Portugal. Possibly, Hollanda may have decided to make a final gesture of gifting *Antigualhas* to win the esteem of the royal family. Regardless of the reasons at the root of its creation, *Antigualhas* undoubtedly offers invaluable insights into the working methods of Renaissance artists and, in particular, into how a young artist, such as Francisco de Hollanda, was able to assimilate a foreign culture through the rigor of artistic training and study, and yet ultimately also create a portfolio of drawings that would end up testifying to an alternative vision of the antiquity.

Appendix

Subjects Depicted in Francisco de Hollanda's Album of Drawings

1r	Frontispiece
1v	Portrait of Paulus III
2r	Portrait of Michelangelo
2v	Studies of Some Italian Female Garments ("Francesa", "Lombarda", "Genoesa", "Florentina")
3r	Studies of Italian Female Dresses ("Senesa", "Romana", "Napolitana", "Venezeana")
3v	Allegory of Imperial Rome
4r	Allegory of the Fall of Rome
4v	Titulus Crucis of Jesus Christ ("INRI")
5r	Solomonic Column at the Old Saint Peter's Basilica (Vatican, Tesoro della Basilica di San Pietro)
5v	Colosseum
6r	Pantheon
6v	Trajan's Column
7r	Column of Marcus Aurelius
7v	Equestrian Statue of Marcus Aurelius
8r	Colossus of Barletta
8v	The Sleeping Ariadne in the Vatican (Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino, inv. 540) and Sarcophagus with Barbarians (Vaticani, Cortile del Belvedere, inv. 942)
9r	Apollo Belvedere (Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino, inv. 1015)
9v	Laocoön and His Sons (Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino, inv. 1059)
10r	Melpomene Statue at the Palazzo della Cancelleria (Louvre, inv. MA 411)
10v	Dioskouros on the Quirinal Hill ("opus Fidiae")
11(bis)r	Dioskouros on the Quirinal Hill ("opus Praxitelis")
10(bis)v–11r	Fireworks at Castel Sant'Angelo
11v	Eritrean Sibyl in the Sistine Chapel by Michelangelo
12r	Asaf, Giosafat and Ioram in the Sistine Chapel by Michelangelo
12v	Maenad Relief from the Sodoma Collection (Louvre, inv. CP 4170)
13r	Herakles Relief and the Cretan Bull from the Sodoma Collection (Louvre, inv. CP 4170)
13v	'Grande Fregio' from the Volta Dorata (Room 80 of the Domus Aurea, West Wall)
14r	'Grande Fregio' from the Volta Dorata (Room 80 of the Domus Aurea, West Wall)
14v	'Trophies of C. Marius' from Alexander Severus' Nymphaeum (Rome, Piazza del Campidoglio)
15r	'Trophies of C. Marius' from Alexander Severus' Nymphaeum (Rome, Piazza del Campidoglio)
15v	Tragic Masks at the Belvedere Courtyard (Vatican Museums, Cortile Ottagonale)
16r	Tragic Masks at the Vatican Museums (Vatican Museums, Cortile Ottagonale)
16v	Roman Footwear and Statues in Front of the Pantheon (nowadays Nectanebo's lions are at the Vatican Museum [inv. nos. 22676 and 22677], while the porphyry tub/*louterion* is in Cappella Corsini of San Giovanni in Laterano)

17r Dionysus and Icarius Reliefs (Naples, MANN, inv. 6713), Head of Athena (Torlonia Collection, inv. MT 298?) and Head of a Lion (Torlonia Collection, inv. MT 417)
17v Head of Pericles and the Sleeping Eros Statue from the Cesi Collection (lost)[157]
18r Pasquino (Rome, Piazza Pasquino)
18v Arch of the Argentarii and the Arch of Janus
19r Arch of Constantine
19v 'Nicchione del Belvedere' in the Vatican
20r Arch of Titus
20v Wall and Pediment of the Temple of Serapis on the Quirinal Hill
21r Entablature and Column of the Baths of Diocletian's Tepidarium
21v Plan of Santa Costanza
22r Interior of Santa Costanza
22v Temple of Saturn at the Roman Forum
23r Septizonium
23v Vineyards and Krater with Bacchic Thiasos (Pisa, Camposanto, inv. 56)
24r Sculpted Fireplace with Two Modern Statues of Ephesian Artemis
24v Overview of the Roman Forum (Baths of Constantine, Temple of Antoninus and Faustina, Temple of Minerva, Temple of Serapis)
25r Basilica of Maxentius and Constantine
25v Reliefs of the Arch of Marcus Aurelius (Rome, Palazzo dei Conservatori: inv. MC0808, MC0809, MC0807)
26r Juno Ludovisi (Rome, Palazzo Altemps, inv. 8631) and Other Sculptures from the Cesi Collection (Tazza Cesi, Torlonia Collection, inv. MT 297; Silenus, Torlonia Collection, inv. MT 374)
26v Pigna in the Vatican and One Unidentified Sphinx
27r Statue of Capitoline Mars (Capitoline Museums, inv. MC0058)
27v Mosaics, Paintings, and the Sarcophagus in Santa Costanza (Vatican Museums, Museo Pio-Clementino, inv. 237)
28r Sculptures from the Della Valle Collection (Statue of Marsyas: Florence, Uffizi Museum, inv. 1914/199; Pan statues: Capitoline Museums, Palazzo Nuovo: inv. S 4 [Albani D2] and inv. S 16 [Albani D2])
28v Sculptures from the Della Valle Collection (Daphnis seated playing Pan pipes: Florence, Uffizi Museum, inv. 1914/253)
29r The Sculpture of Resting Hermes and *leonté*-type *caligae* (Florence, Uffizi Museum, inv. 1914/250)
29v Bocca della Verità and the Spinario (Capitoline Museums, inv. MC1186)
30r Ruins of the Colossal Statue of Constantine (Capitoline Museums, inv. MC1072)
30v Krater of Santa Cecilia (Rome, S. Cecilia in Trastevere)
31r Venus "ex Balneo": Originally located in Cortile delle Statue of Belvedere (Vatican Museums, Magazzini inv. 256).
31v Pope Leo X's Elephant Hanno
32r Grotesques of Raphael's Vatican Logge
32v Fountain and Amoretti Sarcophagus at Villa Madama in Rome
33r Roman *equites*
33v Nymphaeum of Egeria
34r Unknown Nymphaeum
34v Crypta Neapolitana
35r Basilica of Saint Anthony (Padua) and the Equestrian Statue of Gattamelata by Donatello

157 Bober-Rubinstein 2010, p. 99.

35v	Walls of Ferrara
36r	Pisco Montano in Terracina
36v	Walls of Pesaro
37r	Nice and Villefranche-sur-Mer
37v	The Bay of Genoa (Westside) and the Fortress of Sarzanello
38r	Gaeta and the Fortress on the Garigliano River in Minturno
38v	Spoleto and the Ponte delle Torri Bridge; the Bridge of Augustus at Narni
39r	Fortress of Civita Castellana (Forte Sangallo)
39v	Saint Mark's Clocktower in Venice
40r	Portrait of Doge Pietro Lando
40v	Equestrian Statue of Bartolomeo Colleoni in Venice by Andrea del Verrocchio
41r	Venetian Arsenal in Venice
41v	Belforte Fortress on the Timavo River (destroyed) and 'Squero' at the Mouth of the Timavo
42r	Fortifications under Mount Urgull at San Sebastian (Gipuzkoa, Spain) and Fortress of Hondarribia (Fuenterrabía)
42v	Fortresses in Milan and Pavia, Windmills of Toulouse
42(bis)r	Bronze Horses of Saint Mark in Venice
42(bis)v–43r	Loggetta by Sansovino in Venice
43v	Fort de Salses (France) and View of Spoleto
43(bis)r	Pozzo di San Patrizio, or Saint Patrick's Well, in Spoleto
43(bis)v–44r	Waterfalls of Aniene River and the Temple of the Sibyl at Tivoli
44v	The Villa Imperiale at Pesaro
45r	Castel Sant'Elmo in Naples
45v	Temple of Castor and Pollux (Naples, Piazza San Gaetano)
45(bis)r	Renaissance Portal in Doric Style
45(bis)v–46r	Mausoleum at Halicarnassus
46v	Renaissance Portal in Ionic Style
47r	Ionic Gateway in Genoa
47v	Renaissance Portal in Bossage Style
48(bis)r	Trajan's Arch of Ancona
47(bis)v–48r	Volta Dorata of the Domus Aurea (Room 80)
48v	Reliquary of St. Mary Magdalene at Saint-Maximin-la-Sainte-Baume Basilica
49r	Mont Cenis Pass (Piemonte, Italy) in Winter
49v	Fontaine de Vaucluse
50r	Nile God Statue (Vatican Museums, Braccio Nuovo, inv. 2300)
50v	Public Fighting in Moncalieri (Turin)
51r	Baptistery, Cathedral, Campo Santo Cemetery and the Tower of Pisa
51v	Santa Casa in the Basilica della Santa Casa at Loreto
52r	City Landscape of Loreto
52v	Bay of Pozzuoli (Naples) and the Phlegrean Fields (Campi Flegrei)
53r	Volcano of Monte Nuovo (Naples)
53v	7450 Castel Nuovo at Naples
54r	Della Valle Statue Courtyard in Rome (cf. Bartsch 2003)
54v	Arena of Nîmes or the Nîmes Amphitheatre

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